

and the operation of the political and administrative institutions as well as the decision-making process at all levels.

As an interdisciplinary forum for discussion it will not only accept articles which integrate knowledge from the various fields of social science but will also accept articles from its various disciplines. The major criteria of choice will be originality, relevance of ideas to the African scene, and contribution to the solution of African problems. A major objective of this journal is to encourage African scholars, statesmen and administrators to contribute their knowledge and understanding of our continent and people to the struggle for African emancipation and progress. Significant interpretations of African events have been monopolized by foreign 'experts'. African scholars must now assume the major responsibility for explaining their way of life and suggesting ways and means of improving it.

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#### EDITORS

## The National Members of the Tanzania Parliament: A Study of Legislative Behaviour

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Among the reasons which have been suggested for the ineffectuality of African legislatures is the heavy emphasis in their deliberations on narrow local concerns. Each of the backbenchers presses primarily for the satisfaction of the needs of his own particular constituency, and questions of public policy are rarely considered from a broad national perspective or in terms of the national interest.

An imaginative effort to remedy this weakness has been made in Tanzania through the addition to its Parliament of a special category of National Members. This innovation was proposed by the Presidential Commission on the Establishment of a Democratic One-Party State and was incorporated in the Constitution which came into effect in 1965. That instrument provided that fifteen legislators should be elected by the National Assembly itself from a list of candidates submitted to it by the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), the sole party. This list would contain the names of persons who had been approved by the NEC from nominees forwarded to it by certain "institutions of a national character" designated by the President.<sup>1</sup> The following seven institutions were so designated: (1) the National Union of Tanganyika Workers (NUTA), the single labour union in the country; (2) the Cooperative Union of Tanganyika (CUT), which linked the numerous individual cooperatives and was supposed to serve as the spokesman of the farmers; (3) the Tanganyika Association of Chambers of Commerce (TACC); (4) the TANU Youth League (TYL), a section of the Party open to citizens from six to thirty-five years of age; (5) the Union of Women of Tanzania (UWT), which was designed to rally all the women so that they could participate effectively in the development of the nation; (6) the Tanganyika African Parents' Association (TAPA), which managed certain primary schools and undertook to advise and assist the Government in all matters concerning education and the rearing of children; and (7) the University College, Dar es Salaam (UCD).

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<sup>1</sup> *The Interim Constitution of Tanzania, 1965* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1965), Article 30.

It was clearly intended that the National Members should function as representatives of the entire nation, speaking from a national viewpoint and espousing the national interest, so as to offset the persistent parochial demands of the popularly elected members. The Presidential Commission explained why it proposed their creation as follows: "We believe that the National Assembly would be strengthened and the quality of its debates improved by the addition of a substantial number of members, free from the care of constituency business and from concern with purely local issues, which necessarily occupy the time of constituency members."<sup>2</sup> The Second Vice-President, who had served as Chairman of that Commission, told the National Assembly when it was considering the proposal that "these Members will represent the whole nation; they won't have any constituency to represent."<sup>3</sup>

Some thought that the purpose was to provide for the explicit representation of the designated national institutions. This was not the intention of the originators of the idea, however. The Presidential Commission stated that these institutions "would not be confined to their own members" in making their own nominations, and expressed the hope that nominees would be drawn "from all walks of life in the community."<sup>4</sup> To correct a rather widespread misunderstanding, the Second Vice-President asserted that the national institutions would simply "help us by forwarding certain names of people whom they consider capable of representing the nation in the National Assembly . . . . When these National Members are selected, they cannot say 'I am representing a University College worker' or 'I am representing the farmers'.<sup>5</sup>

The Constitution itself provided no guidance for the nomination of National Members beyond the stipulation that they must possess the qualifications required of constituency Members. Each of the institutions was authorized to nominate up to five persons and was left free to choose them in whatever manner it saw fit. The choices were made at closed meetings of their top executive bodies early in October 1965 after—in some cases—soliciting suggestions from the rank and file. Most of the institutions chose their nominees largely from among their own leadership.

When the NEC of TANU met on 9 October 1965 to consider these nominees, two of them—Bibi Titi Mohamed, President of the UWT, and Mr. Timothy S. Samjela, Educational Secretary General of TAPA—announced that they wished to withdraw their names because they had been defeated in the General Elections and felt that it would be unfair for them to enter Parliament "through the back door".

The NEC applauded these decisions and then proceeded to reject all the nominees on the grounds that too many of them were "directly connected" with the institutions which had proposed them. The institutions were requested

<sup>2</sup> *Report of the Presidential Commission on the Establishment of A Democratic One Party State* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1965), p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> The National Assembly of the United Republic of Tanzania, *Official Report of the Parliamentary Debates* (hereafter called *Parl. Deb.*), 9 June 1965, col. 132.

<sup>4</sup> *Report of the Presidential Commission*, p. 18.

<sup>5</sup> *Parl. Deb.*, 9 June 1965, col. 133.

to submit new lists, taking care this time to nominate "people from both within and without" their membership.<sup>6</sup>

The CUT and TAPA drew up entirely different slates containing the names of some who were leaders of these organizations and others who were not. NUTA, the TYL, and the TACC replaced several of their original nominees but each renominated at least one of its leaders. The University College dropped the name of the Vice-Chairman of its Council (who had also been defeated in the General Elections), but added a member of its staff. The UWT refused to accept Bibi Titi Mohamed's withdrawal. A meeting of its Annual Conference in mid-November unanimously re-elected her as its President and agreed to submit only two names, hers and that of Bibi Fatuma Haji, who had been selected originally by the Zanzibar women's organization.

The NEC considered the new lists on 16 December 1965 and approved twenty-five of the thirty-one nominees, including nine who had been included in the previous lists (one of whom was now proposed by a different institution). Bibi Titi Mohamed, the only one of those nominated at this stage who had been defeated in the General Elections, was again rejected, thereby firmly establishing the precedent that National seats would not be available to candidates who had been unsuccessful at the polls. Several persons who were members of the institutions nominating them were approved along with some who were not. Each institution was allowed at least one nominee, and all of those put forward by NUTA, CUT and TYL were approved.

The election took place four days later. Each Member of Parliament was given a list of the twenty-five candidates, arranged in alphabetical order and identified only by the name of the institution which had nominated him, and was allowed to cast up to fifteen votes but no more than one for any candidate. The Second Vice-President emphasized again that the National Members were not to be elected as representatives of the nominating institutions. "The point in bringing these Members to the House is to help diversify the House's perspective, and the institutions have been used only as instruments like microscopes to single out people who did not stand in the general elections yet who can contribute constructively to the building of the nation,"<sup>7</sup> he said. There was no public discussion of the merits of the various candidates, and the election was conducted by secret ballot.

The number of votes received by the winners ranged from one hundred and eighteen (cast for Bibi Fatuma Haji) to fifty-seven (cast for Mr. Ismaili Saleh Ismail, NUTA nominee from Zanzibar). Four seats were won by NUTA nominees, including Mr. Alfred C. Tandau, its Deputy General Secretary (who was to become its General Secretary in 1969); three by the TACC, including Mr. Joseph T. Lupembe, its Vice-President (who was also President of the Dar es Salaam Chamber of Commerce and was to become President of the TACC itself in 1967), and Mr. Mohamed Natha Hirji, President of the Moshi Chamber of Commerce; three by the UCD, including Mr. Nicholas A. Kuhanga, a Senior Organizer in its Institute of Adult Education (who was

<sup>6</sup> *The Nationalist* (Dar es Salaam), 11 October 1965.

<sup>7</sup> *Parl. Deb.*, 20 December 1965, col. 403.

to be promoted to Resident Tutor in 1969); two by TAPA, Mr. Diwani A. Manywele, who had been a member of its National Executive since 1956, and Mr. Thomas Kubini, one of its Regional Chairmen; one by the CUT, Mr. Tito Zakaria Kingu, who was a member of a cooperative society and a regional cooperative union but held no office in the cooperative movement; one by the TYL, Rev. Daniel Omari Mfaume, a Lutheran pastor who was a member of its National Council and one of its District Chairmen; and one by the UWT.

Several candidates who were not so closely identified with the institutions which nominated them and who could be expected to provide leadership of a national character were elected. These included Dr. Leader D. Sterling, an Englishman nominated by the UCD who was the Medical Superintendent of a Roman Catholic hospital and had served as a constituency Member of Parliament from 1959 to 1965; Alhaj Omari Muhaji, also nominated by the UCD, who was the Educational Secretary General of the Muslim Welfare Society of Tanzania; Mr. Charles Ley, nominated by NUTA, who was Public Relations Manager for Esso Standard, Ltd. for East Africa (and was to become Chairman of the East African Industrial Disputes Tribunal and General Manager of the Tanzania National Tourist Board); Mr. Wilfrem R. Mwakitwange, nominated by the TACC, who was General Manager of the Tanganyika National Transport Cooperative; and Mr. Stephen R. Mhando, nominated by NUTA, a journalist who had served as Organizing Secretary of TANU in the mid-1950s and had later taught Swahili in the German Democratic Republic.

The selection process and results revealed a continuing tendency for the National Members to be regarded as representatives of the nominating institutions, despite the efforts of the TANU leadership to dispel this notion. The national institutions had persisted in putting forward at least some of their own leaders, and the National Assembly seemed to favour those candidates who were most strongly preferred by the national institutions and were most closely identified with them. It elected eight of the nine persons who had been successfully renominated and nine who were members of the nominating institutions including seven who were among their leaders. Most M.P.s evidently considered it appropriate to distribute their votes among the seven institutions—as if to give them all a voice. It seems more than coincidental that each institution saw at least one of its nominees elected and that the largest number of votes was won by Bibi Fatuma Haji who was not well-known on the Mainland but was nominated by the only institution putting forward a single candidate.

The newly installed National Members found themselves in a position which a popularly elected Member might have envied, at first glance. Freed from responsibility to voters in a particular constituency and explicitly enjoined to represent the nation as a whole, they escaped the often difficult problem of having to balance—or perhaps choose between—the national interest and the local interest. Moreover, such a situation would presumably allow them to be guided more by their own personal and independent judge-

ment—to be more of a 'trustee' and less of a 'delegate'—since the nation was such a broad constituency that it could hardly be expected to speak with as clear and compelling a voice as an ordinary single-Member district and would be less capable of issuing a mandate. But, the National Member could not consider himself an entirely free agent. He owed his seat to three different groups, any one of which could prevent him from being returned to the next Parliament by withdrawing its support: the national institution which nominated him, the NEC which approved him, and the National Assembly which elected him, and the expectations of these three groups were not identical. Although the national institutions had been told authoritatively that the National Members were not their representatives, it would certainly be realistic to think that they would be more inclined to renominate a Member who had been active on their behalf than one who had manifested little concern for their interests. The NEC would presumably judge the National Members according to how well they spoke for the nation as a whole, and favour the replacement of one who emerged as nothing more than the spokesman of a particular interest. It would also expect some loyalty to the Party and would most likely take a dim view of a National Member who opposed TANU policies in the name of the national interest. Such behaviour would constitute a very fundamental challenge, for the justification of rule by a single party rested on its claim to perceive and express the true national interest itself.

The views of the other M.P.s as to the proper role for a National Member could not be clearly ascertained; they had not been and were not required to be explicitly stated. The National Member would certainly have to be sensitive to his colleagues' reactions to him and take care not to annoy or outrage them but rather be a good member of the club and follow the rules of the game. The task of pleasing his electors might be more difficult for a National Member than for a constituency Member because he could not escape their close and continual scrutiny.

The National Members' lot was, therefore, not altogether a happy one. They might well find themselves subject to conflicting pressures, faced with dilemmas, and caught in ambiguous situations. How would they in fact perceive and interpret their novel role? Would they be inhibited and inactive, possibly because of a feeling that they lacked the authority and legitimacy which constituency Members derived from popular election? Or would they be assertive and vigorous, confident that their views deserved special respect because they spoke for all the people, as the President himself did? What sorts of interest would they articulate? What issues would they raise or react to? How would they define their relationship to each of their three 'masters'? How, especially, would they discharge their exalted responsibility to represent the nation as a whole? Answers to these questions may be found through a systematic examination of their actual behaviour as reported in the verbatim records of the National Assembly's proceedings over a four year period—from 21 December 1965 when the first of them was sworn in through December 18, 1969, the last sitting of that year.

There was considerable variation in the extent to which National Members participated in the public deliberations of the Assembly, but the performance of most of them corresponded quantitatively to that of the popularly elected Members. Abnormally active was Mr. Mwakitwange, probably the most loquacious Member of the House. He submitted twenty parliamentary questions and rose one hundred and ninety-five times to ask questions supplementary to those submitted by others. He commented on twenty-eight bills and five motions and spoke twenty-three times on the estimates. His speeches were not only frequent but also often very long; in the budget sessions it was not uncommon for him to speak for several hours at a stretch. At the other extreme was Mr. Ley, who never said a word and whose seat was declared vacant on 28 August 1969 because of his failure to file a personal financial statement as evidence that he had complied with the Leadership Code of the Arusha Declaration which provided that no leader should hold shares or a directorship in any private enterprise, receive more than one salary or own rental property. The only other National Members who were conspicuously inactive were the two from Zanzibar (Bibi Fatuma Haji and Mr. Ismail) and Mr. Hirji; they spoke no more than three or four times each during the entire period.

The National Members clearly felt that it was appropriate for them not only to commend the Government when it took or proposed steps which met with their approval, but also to criticize it when they felt it was mistaken. They asked parliamentary questions which were designed to register complaints and press for action as well as to elicit information. They welcomed some bills, but asked for specific changes in others. In the budget debates they sometimes praised the policies and performance of Ministries, but often expressed dissatisfaction and urged new measures. Some National Members found less to object to than others and two of them were brought into the Government. Mr. Muhaji was named Junior Minister of Communications, Labour and Works in June 1967 and two months later was transferred to the post of Junior Minister of National Education. He filled this office until April 1969 when he became a Regional Commissioner. Since that appointment carried with it ex officio membership in Parliament, he relinquished his seat as a National Member at that point. Mr. Mhando was elevated to the position of Minister of State for Foreign Affairs in November 1968.

The most critical, by far, was Mr. Mwakitwange. He demanded the withdrawal of the entire budget proposed for 1967/68 because, he said, it would not raise the standard of living of the common man. He charged that the Government was out of touch with the people, was not keeping its promises, was incapable of managing the economic enterprises which it had taken over, and had lost sight of its goals; that the Constitution needed wholesale revision; and that top leaders were guilty of tribalism. He even went so far as to suggest on 24 July 1968 that Tanzania was going the way of George Orwell's *Animal Farm*. The Second Vice-President accused him of making baseless allegations and of not using his tongue to benefit the nation, and on 18 October 1968 the NEC expelled him from the Party (along with six consti-

tuency Members), whereupon he automatically lost his seat in Parliament. It charged that he and the others had "grossly violated the Party creed both in their actions and attitude, all of which sum up to a very clear opposition to the Party and its policies."<sup>8</sup> The vacancy created by Mr. Mwakitwange's removal was filled on 10 June 1969 by the election of Dr. Arnold J. Temu, Senior Lecturer in History and Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Social Science at the University College Dar es Salaam, who had been nominated by NUTA. The seats vacated by Mr. Ley and Mr. Muhaji had not been filled by 1970.

If one undertakes to define the roles played by National Members, it becomes apparent that some of them regarded themselves as spokesmen or advocates in the Assembly for the institution which had nominated them and the group with which that institution was identified. This was especially true of Mr. Tandau who repeatedly prefaced his remarks with such words as "On behalf of NUTA I say," "We leaders of NUTA believe," "NUTA welcomes," "NUTA's wish is," "We on the side of NUTA support," and "Another thing which NUTA sees to be urgent is". He explained the position and accomplishments of NUTA at length and defended it against criticism by other Members. He spent much time discussing matters of particular concern to workers and asking for action which would benefit them. For example, he welcomed the expansion of the National Provident Fund and steps towards the creation of workers' councils; and he urged higher wages and allowances, improvements in grievance procedures, safeguards against dismissals, further training opportunities, a more comprehensive health insurance scheme and rent and price controls. He did not emerge as an adversary of the Government, however. While championing the claims of the workers, he also stressed the need for them to contribute more effectively to national development. At one point he said:

I want to ask all civil servants and all other workers to work hard so that we can demonstrate before the world that the Republic is ours and nobody else can guide us. . . . At times it seems that some of us are not serving the nation but rather thinking of salaries.<sup>9</sup>

When explaining what labour was asking for on another occasion, he stressed: "Our aim is to serve the nation and our people."<sup>10</sup> After his promotion to General Secretary of NUTA, he affirmed:

I see the necessity of cooperation between NUTA and the Government so as to coordinate our efforts in making the workers realise their role in nation-building. . . . Our future discussions will be on how to make workers more skillful, more responsible, and more devoted to their jobs.<sup>11</sup>

His relations with the Minister of Communications, Labour and Works seemed to be quite cordial, and he sometimes assisted that leader in answering points raised by other Members. The Minister expressed appreciation for his contribution to the debate on the Report of the Presidential Commission on

<sup>8</sup> *The Nationalist*, 19 October 1968.

<sup>9</sup> *Parl. Deb.*, 4 July 1966, col. 1663.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 24 October 1967, col. 77.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 27 June 1969 (cyclostyled, unpaginated).

NUTA, saying: "Actually we in the Ministry have nothing to add because most of it has been said by Mr. Tandau."<sup>12</sup>

Mr. Lupembe was much less obvious about identifying himself with the institution which had nominated him than was Mr. Tandau, but he did say after the Minister of Finance's budget speech in 1966: "I can assure him that the Chamber of Commerce and all the people of Tanzania have been happy with his speech and have accepted it wholeheartedly."<sup>13</sup> Moreover, he rose to defend the TACC vigorously three years later when several Members attacked it as a group of exploiters and called for its abolition or its subjugation to the State Trading Corporation. After reminding Members that he was the President of the TACC, he explained its purposes and functions at length, arguing that it was not detrimental to anyone. He manifested a concern for the welfare of businessmen when he opposed the Hire Purchase Bill of 1966 because it did not provide enough protection for lenders (and, he added, would therefore operate to the disadvantage of low income people who could not put up security) and urged that those in the lending business should be given a chance to state their views before putting it to a vote; when he differed with a Member who proposed further nationalization of industries immediately (holding that this would be inconsistent with the national policy of trying to attract foreign investment); when he urged the Government to strengthen the Export Promotion Council so that it would do more to stimulate the sale of Tanzanian products abroad rather than leaving this task up to the small traders; and when he welcomed a bill which authorized the Government to close down companies guilty of certain abuses, but asked for assurances that the manager of such a company could appeal to the courts against the decision and would be allowed time to wind up his business.

Rev. Mfaume seemed to feel a special responsibility for the TYL. He pressed its interests most obviously when he complained that some of the youths in the National Service objected to becoming TYL members, saying he believed that all young people in mainland Tanzania ought to be members of the TYL; and when he urged amalgamating the Boy Scouts and the Girl Guides with the TYL. "This," he said, "would make our Youth League stronger. I don't see any need for having many youth associations in a single nation."<sup>14</sup> He also expressed the TYL view when he sharply attacked the University College students who had demonstrated against the National Service and had since failed to show repentance by participating in TYL activities, farming, or working in self-reliance projects.

Mr. Kuhanga communicated the views and needs of various elements of the University College community. He explained to the House certain objections by the students there to the National Service which, he said, "seem to have something in them,"<sup>15</sup> and asked that they be allowed to receive a higher income and to spend a greater portion of their time doing

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 16 January 1968, col. 474.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 23 June 1966, col. 807.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 29 June 1967, col. 1026.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 3 October 1966, col. 289.

work for which they were specially qualified while in the National Service. He complained that staff members at the University College were not eligible for Government loans to build houses such as were available to civil servants, acknowledging that he had a personal interest in this matter. He also urged the further development of adult education, in which his own Institute was directly involved, and pressed for the improvement of primary and secondary schools which produced the students who would enter the University College.

Dr. Temu called for the participation of workers in the management of industries, the removal of managers with capitalist attitudes, protection of NUTA business enterprises from competition with private firms, taxation of wealthy farmers, and an increase in the minimum wage of workers. He emphasized in his maiden speech that he was speaking on behalf of urban workers not because he had been nominated by NUTA but because their wages had not kept pace with rising prices and he felt it would be inequitable to transfer the tax burden to them, as provided in the new budget, without taking steps to raise their incomes further.

Other National Members made no explicit reference to the institutions which had nominated them, but did articulate the interests with which these institutions were identified. Mr. Kingu, the CUT nominee, asked a few questions about the take-over by the Government of certain cooperative societies, and spoke out with vigour on behalf of his fellow farmers. Mr. Hirji, a businessman who had been nominated by the TACC, asked for information on how small industries might be started by groups of traders working together with the Government and urged that rents for commercial buildings should be controlled so that the traders occupying them would not be forced to raise their prices and thereby incur blame from the consumers.

Mr. Manyele, who had been nominated by TAPA, asked the Government to assist in providing better residential quarters for teachers in schools operated by voluntary agencies as well as for those in Government schools, and to dismiss unmarried teachers who became pregnant. He also condemned young men in the towns who dressed in such a way as to invite homosexual advances and urged that they be taken back to their parents in the rural areas "to be judged."<sup>16</sup> Bibi Fatuma Haji said that she was speaking for the people of her own sex when she supported the National Defence Bill because it would provide increased security for them at night. She also called on the Minister of Development and Culture to see to it that the fashion of wearing mini-skirts was eradicated, at which point she was presumably speaking for her own generation rather than for all females.

Mr. Kubini never mentioned TAPA, which had nominated him, nor any matters relating to education or the rearing of children which were its primary concerns; but he evidently felt that he should act as its representative and probably would have done so had he been better informed of its needs and wishes. On 18 December 1969, he asked why National Members were not given a constituency allowance to enable them to visit the institutions "which

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 9 May 1968, col. 552.

sent them to Parliament." In answering, the Second Vice-President explained once more that National Members had no constituencies and were not elected to represent the nominating institutions.

The extent to which National Members operated as spokesmen of the institutions which nominated them varied according to their relationship to the latter. Those who were leaders in them—such as Messrs Tandau, Lupembe and Mfaume—played such a role most prominently. By virtue of their positions, they were immediately aware of the views of the institutions and automatically prepared to protect or promote their interests. No doubt more National Members would have been advocates for the institutions had not the NEC enforced a selection procedure which delivered many of the fifteen seats to persons who were not so closely identified with them.

The prominence accorded the interests of the nominating institution in the speeches of a National Member varied also according to the nature of the institution itself. NUTA was much more of a functionally specific interest group than the UCD, for example, and was more concerned to exert pressure on the shaping of public policy, or at least to do so over a wider range of matters. Those nominated by the UCD, therefore, were freer to represent other interests. Moreover, the claims of some of the nominating institutions were regarded as less respectable than others. It seems likely that Mr. Lupembe and Mr. Hirji were less active on behalf of their institutions than were Mr. Tandau and Rev. Mfaume because of their doubts about the propriety of pressing overtly the particular interests of the Chamber of Commerce and its clientele in the Parliament of a country which had embarked on the socialist path. The leaders of NUTA and the TYL need have no such inhibitions.

Certain National Members displayed a special concern for the particular areas where they lived, relaying grievances from the people there and requesting that action be taken to improve local conditions. Mr. Manywele, for example, was often virtually indistinguishable from a constituency Member. In his maiden speech, he said: "I would like to speak about my region, Dodoma. . . . I request Government to give more attention to Dodoma."<sup>17</sup> He described the serious water problem there, and urged the Government to do something about it. He raised this matter again on two subsequent occasions, and also pressed the Government to repair a road, extend telephone services, improve an airport, build a tomato canning factory, increase the income of farmers, and even send an expert to interpret the inscriptions on certain stones—all in Dodoma.

Mr. Kingu also attached high priority to parochial interests. He complained several times about cattle thefts in his area and recommended harsher punishment to reduce them. Another local problem which he raised repeatedly was the ritual murders committed by the Wamang'ati. After some measures had been taken to control them, he rose to say: "On behalf of the people of Singida Region I thank and congratulate the Government for what it has done . . . to remove fear and hardship."<sup>18</sup> He complained also that the econo-

17 Ibid., 17 June 1966, cols. 364-5.

18 Ibid., 16 July 1968, col. 2048.

mic development of Singida had been neglected, and urged that industries should be established there and that the land should be irrigated.

Mr. Hirji seemed to regard himself as primarily a representative of his locality. He urged the Government to encourage the building of factories in areas other than Dar es Salaam and Arusha, for example, Moshi. "I live in the Kilimanjaro Region," he said, where only three factories were to be found.<sup>19</sup> Industries were badly needed there, he argued, because of the acute land shortage and the large number of primary school leavers who could not be accommodated in secondary schools. He also pressed for the extension of electricity to certain towns in Kilimanjaro Region.

Mr. Kubini articulated local demands when he asked for the improvement of a road, the piping of water, and the establishment of a new District in his Region of Mara, and directed attention to the difficulties faced by the cotton growers there.

Mr. Lupembe, a resident of Dar es Salaam, spoke several times of problems in that city, citing particularly the need to keep the streets clean, to tow away abandoned cars, to enforce a minimum speed limit on Ocean Road, to arrange for the collection of refuse at night, and to prevent trailer-trucks filled with petrol for Zambia from parking downtown where sparks might cause an explosion.

Mr. Muhaji, who was from Kondoa, called for the improvement of its roads, the enlargement of its airport, an increase in its supply of tractors, encouragement for the cultivation of cotton, and measures to combat soil erosion which he said was "a serious problem for the whole nation" but was more serious in Kondoa than anywhere else.<sup>20</sup>

Dr. Sterling, who had recently moved to Moshi after a long period of service in various parts of southern Tanzania, objected strongly to the omission from the Five Year Development Plan of provision for a new trunk road from Dar es Salaam to Mtwara, arguing that the development of the South should not be further delayed. He went on to say that although he no longer lived in the South, he still felt a strong emotional attachment to it. This remark prompted the only reprimand of a National Member for expressing the interests of a particular area. The Minister for Economic Affairs and Development Planning charged that the position which he had taken was inappropriate for a National Member, and added: "He should spread his feelings equally over Tanzania as a whole."<sup>21</sup>

Those National Members who exhibited the strongest areal orientations were the ones who were most active in local politics. Mr. Manywele was a member of the District and Regional Committees of TANU in Dodoma, Chairman of a Ward Council, and leader of a ten-house cell; Mr. Kingu was Chairman of the Singida District Council; and Mr. Hirji was a member of the Moshi Town Council, the Kilimanjaro District Council, and the Kilimanjaro Regional Development Committee. Such local politicians were

19 Ibid., 12 July 1966, col. 2396.

20 Ibid., 15 July 1966, col. 2788.

21 Ibid., 16 June 1969 (cyclostyled, unpaginated)

especially subject to local pressures. People came to them with problems and suggestions, and they felt an obligation to forward them to the Government. These people did not always appreciate the distinction between a National Member who was a local notable and a constituency Member, especially when, as in the case of Mr. Hirji, the National Member had previously served as a constituency Member. Many voters in Moshi continued their habit of contacting him about matters which they felt should be raised in Parliament and this tendency was strengthened by the fact that he was more accessible to them than most of the elected Members from Kilimanjaro Region who spent a great deal of their time in Dar es Salaam.

Several National Members sought to protect or promote the interests of particular groups which were not linked to the institutions that had nominated them but with which they were themselves personally connected by virtue of their own occupations or vocational activities. Dr. Sterling, for example, functioned as a representative of the physicians of Tanzania, particularly—but by no means exclusively—those who, like himself, were employed in hospitals operated by voluntary agencies. Thus he asked the Government to provide more allowances to such hospitals and to exempt various items which they imported from customs duties. Later he expressed the agencies' appreciation for increased grants from the Government and explained that every cent was needed because their medical work had increased greatly. He objected to the National Defence Bill of 1966 because, he said, "it reflects on the honourable profession to which I happen to belong." The section providing penalties for "every medical practitioner who signs a medical certificate or other document containing a false statement" implied, he felt, that a substantial number of practitioners would be so corrupt as to make false statements; he therefore moved an amendment substituting "any" for "every".<sup>22</sup> He told the House that not only he but "many responsible doctors in various hospitals in this country"<sup>23</sup> wished to support the Medical Practitioners and Dentists Ordinance (Amendment) Bill of 1966 since it would allow them to receive the help of foreign doctors without lowering the standards of the medical profession in Tanzania. He asked the Minister for Health to consider amending the Pharmacy and Poisons Ordinance to enable medical practitioners to import scheduled poisons. When such an amendment was introduced, he welcomed it warmly and urged the Minister to revise the Poisons Rules as soon as it was passed because they were so badly outmoded that "we doctors . . . are greatly inconvenienced in our work."<sup>24</sup> Moreover, he requested the Government to investigate why some Tanzanian physicians wished to resign from Government service and to try to meet their grievances. He also looked after the interests of those who were professionally associated with doctors. Thus he urged that salaries for nurses and Rural Medical Aids be increased, that nurses in certain categories be given further training and upgraded, and that the status of Laboratory Assistants be regularized. The

22 Ibid., 25 February 1966, cols. 294-5.

23 Ibid., 5 October 1966, col. 413.

24 Ibid., 6 October 1966, col. 450.

Nurses and Midwives Registration Ordinance (Amendment) Bill of 1967 was opposed by him because he felt that it discriminated against old Grade B nurses.

Dr. Sterling was also Chief Scout of Tanzania, and this position gave him another set of interests to defend. He rose quickly to oppose Rev. Mfaume's proposal that the Boy Scouts should be combined with the TYL. He denied the latter's assertion that the Scouts were controlled from London, and he described various self-help and nation-building activities in which they had long been engaged. On another occasion, he thanked the Government for its aid to the Scouts and assured the Members that the money would be used carefully to support its plans.

He was also an active Roman Catholic layman, and that affiliation led him to ask why Bishop Russell had been expelled from Zanzibar and Bishop Maranta had been prohibited from entering Zanzibar and to request that the former decision be reconsidered. He also enquired whether it was true that Pope Paul was not coming to Tanzania on his visit to East Africa because he had not been invited.

The three farmers among the National Members spoke out repeatedly on behalf of those who were engaged in agriculture. They complained about the fall in the prices of their products and the rising costs of things they had to buy, charged that they were being required to bear an unfair share of the tax burden (and expressed appreciation when this was reduced), and urged the Government to make loans available to them on more favourable terms and to take steps to increase their income corresponding to what had been done for workers in towns. Mr. Kubini was especially disturbed about the plight of those who, like himself, grew cotton. "As a cotton farmer, allow me to speak a bit concerning cotton farming,"<sup>25</sup> he said. He described the problems besetting the cotton cooperatives, after saying "I don't understand how coffee or pyrethrum cooperative societies are organized. That is why I am going to talk about cotton with which I am familiar."<sup>26</sup> On one occasion, however, he asked the Government to make a nationwide agricultural survey with a view to determining where farmers might do better if a different crop were introduced. Mr. Manywele made it clear at one point that he was speaking particularly of those who grew food crops. "I do not include cotton or sisal farmers or those who grow other cash crops," he said, "for I did not see these; in my region they are not grown."<sup>27</sup> Such farmers should be helped, he maintained, because they supplied what everyone needed. Mr. Kingu complained that the standards of living of the farmers generally had not risen since Independence and that the Government had failed to heed their demands.

Among the interests defended by Mr. Mwakitwange were those of the transport cooperatives which he managed. He argued that transportation lagged behind everything else, and urged that the Minister be given authority to see that it was improved throughout the country in order to benefit people

25 Ibid., 8 July 1967, col. 1677.

26 Ibid., 14 April 1967, col. 351.

27 Ibid., 23 July 1968, col. 2656.

generally. He welcomed the Transport Licensing Ordinance (Amendment) Bill of 1965 because, he said, it would facilitate the work of the transport cooperatives, would help them take transportation out of the hands of the capitalists, and "would be used for the good of the nation."<sup>28</sup> He attacked the Government plan to impose a tax on cooperatives before they had developed adequately. "People might say that I am declaring my own interests," he said, "but . . . these cooperatives are not mine."<sup>29</sup> He explained the financial situation of the Tanganyika National Transport Cooperative (TNT), and urged that such organizations should be exempted from taxation for two or three years lest they be destroyed by it. After the TNT went bankrupt, he argued that its failure should not be blamed on a few individuals like him, but on the refusal of the Government to assist it sufficiently.

It is clear that the behaviour of the National Members was strongly affected by their sectional and occupational ties. They, like other Members, spoke frequently of the needs of those areas and groups with which they were most closely associated and whose interests they themselves shared. Again, like other Members, they sometimes undertook to present these needs in more general terms, to equate or identify the particular interests which they were pressing with the national interest, and to argue that what would be good for their own locality or group would be good for the country. Whether they were acting on such occasions in response to a primary commitment to the national interest and were citing specific problems merely as illustrations because they were more familiar with them, or were rationalizing and seeking to disguise a primary commitment to a particular interest to make their claims more respectable cannot be finally determined; but it would surely be naive to conclude that it was always the former.

From time to time, however, the National Members defended or sought benefits for groups with which they had no identifiable connection. Sometimes they spoke up for individuals or small minorities whose interests were being neglected. Thus Dr. Sterling urged that people with diseases which could be fatal if they were required to work hard should be exempted from nation-building projects and, on two separate occasions, asked when political detainees would be brought to trial or released. Mr. Kuhanga complained that unemployed people in towns were being repatriated to rural areas too abruptly; Mr. Kingu requested an investigation into charges that prisoners were being harshly treated; Mr. Kubini suggested that money made through the national lotteries should be used to build places where destitutes could be housed; Mr. Manywele objected to the unsympathetic treatment accorded elderly patients in Government hospitals; and Mr. Mwakitwange proposed that civilians be added to a committee which was to determine compensation for property damaged in military training exercises to assure that its awards would be "fair and just."<sup>30</sup>

Sometimes they pressed the interests of rather substantial groups which

28 Ibid., 22 December 1965, col. 726.

29 Ibid., 21 June 1966, col. 599.

30 Ibid., 25 February 1966, col. 306.

had their own spokesmen, such as farmers and workers. They evidently believed that these groups were so important in the national picture that a National Member should take cognizance of their welfare; they may well have felt an obligation to balance in this way their major concern for interests with which they were themselves clearly linked. In a few cases such interventions seemed to spring from a belief that the groups in question were in fact not being adequately represented by those who should be speaking on their behalf. Thus, Mr. Manywele, who was primarily a champion of agricultural interests, said in debate on the Government's development proposals for 1968/69:

Some members claim that everything is found in towns and that the Government is wasting a lot of funds in improving towns rather than rural areas. That is not true. The Government is the parent and guardian of both towns and rural areas . . . We rural people are entitled to one share while our friends in town deserve two shares since they have more problems than we have because their cost of living is higher.<sup>31</sup>

On another occasion he charged that many workers were being dismissed without getting any help from NUTA and asked why this was so. "One fails to understand," he said, "whether the workers' association actually helps to build the nation . . . Only those working in government and large companies are much better off."<sup>32</sup> Mr. Kingu, another farmer, reminded the Government not to neglect businessmen, pointing particularly to the need for Africans to be instructed in how to succeed in retail trade.

Although Mr. Tandau functioned principally as the voice of NUTA, he once expressed concern for farmers, a concern which was not unrelated, however, to the workers' interests. He asserted that favouritism had been practised in the allocation of public funds because development programmes were concentrated in towns or in the more advanced areas and little was planned for the peasants who constituted over ninety per cent of the population. He added:

It will have no meaning to develop urban areas while the rural areas remain static, as then people will flow to the towns thereby creating unemployment . . . Instead of spending our meagre funds in towns where there are industries we could channel them to villages where most of the people live and have neither hospital nor dispensary.<sup>33</sup>

Mr. Lupembe was evidently eager not to appear as a Chamber of Commerce man pure and simple. He supported the Workmens' Compensation Ordinance (Amendment) Bill of 1966, which extended coverage to workers with higher incomes because, he said, it would improve the workers' morale. He even endorsed another Member's suggestion that the Government consider making it retroactive. This might be difficult for the employers to accept, he acknowledged, but it would be very desirable for the workers. He also urged that the Tanzania Sisal Board should sell directly abroad rather than through

31 Ibid., 9 May 1968, col. 550.

32 Ibid., 5 July 1966, col. 1796.

33 Ibid., 21 June 1966, cols. 654-5.



brokers, for "we want to remove the middleman who simply consumes the farmers' money without doing any work."<sup>34</sup> The primary aim should be to see to it that the farmers' produce was sold quickly and fairly, he maintained.

Dr. Sterling suggested that the farmers would be better off if the Government encouraged them to plant more maize and less millet. "I must confess," he said, "that I am not a farmer. I dig with a knife only; in harvesting, I harvest a child. But I comment on the Minister for Agriculture's speech because it concerns everybody."<sup>35</sup> Rev. Mfaume urged the Government to deal with the problem of falling prices of farm products. "My main petition," he said, "is for doing something so that the majority in the rural sector are enabled to cope with rising costs."<sup>36</sup>

Mr. Mwakitwange devoted most of his time to espousing the interests of farmers, demanding even more benefits for them than were requested by the farming Members themselves. He attacked the Minister for Finance's budget speech in 1967 because it did not indicate how the Government would help them, adding:

The farmer is the basis of our democracy and stability. When the farmers grumble and the Regional Commissioners tell the Government that the farmers are happy, they do not exercise their responsibilities and this is very dangerous for our nation . . . . We should put as our top priority that the farmer should get a bigger share from his own efforts.<sup>37</sup>

He said that the Minister was very popular with businessmen, which meant that his budget must be bad for the ordinary people; and he charged that he "had not had a chance to understand village life as we have through experience,"<sup>38</sup> alluding to the fact that the Minister, Mr. Amir Jamal, was an Asian. Mr. Jamal challenged Mr. Mwakitwange's right to speak on behalf of villagers since he was a National Member who had been elected by the Parliament while he, Jamal, had been elected by the voters in a purely rural constituency. Mr. Mwakitwange also attacked the Government for inattention to the workers' welfare, pressing their interests much more aggressively than did any of the Members nominated by NUTA. It was believed by several top TANU leaders that Mr. Mwakitwange's behaviour was motivated not so much by a sincere solicitude for the common man as by a desire to attract popular support for his own political ambitions.

To complete this survey of the performance of National Members, it must be pointed out that they frequently took a stand which could not be explained simply in terms of a concern for the interests of any particular locality or group. At such times they seemed most clearly to be acting as representatives of the nation as a whole. They called, for example, for measures to facilitate travel between Tanganyika and Zanzibar, to strengthen District Councils, to discipline civil servants who were not attending to their duties properly, to improve road safety, to promote tourism, to increase the use of

34 Ibid., 24 October 1969 (cyclostyled, unpaginated).

35 Ibid., 6 July 1967, col. 1586.

36 Ibid., 21 June 1968, col. 233.

37 Ibid., 22 June 1967, cols. 464, 471.

38 Ibid., col. 475.

Swahili in Government institutions and publications, to control smuggling, and to deter crime generally. But here too their order of priorities was often affected by their personal experiences and values.

Dr. Sterling, for example, pressed the cause of public health more forcefully and frequently than any other Member of the House, for he tended to define the promotion of the national interest primarily in terms of waging a more effective fight against disease. In the 1966 budget session, for example, he complained that the estimates for the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare were grossly inadequate, being only eight per cent of the total national expenditure. Tanzania could make more rapid progress economically, he argued, only if its people had good health. He expressed strong disagreement with the development expenditures proposed for 1968/69 because health development received only five million shillings out of a total appropriation of three hundred and eighty million shillings, while over ten million shillings had been allocated for the construction of three bridges. He said: "I earnestly request the Government to reconsider the priorities in this Plan. Health is a vital priority . . . ; without it development is useless."<sup>39</sup> Again in the 1969 budget debate, he congratulated the Minister for Health and Social Welfare for having secured an increase in his finances, but held that they were still inadequate because there had been a relatively greater increase in the number of patients. He rose repeatedly to urge that the Government provide more facilities for the treatment of the mentally ill, recruit more dentists, inform doctors of new types of drugs, require that Children's Homes be inspected by Medical Officers, publicize the possibility of curing elephantiasis, educate parents in the proper care of crippled children, give more attention to the prevention of leprosy, malaria and bilharzia, put an end to the wasteful use of medicine by unqualified people working under inadequate supervision in rural hospitals and dispensaries and reconsider its decision to discontinue the training of Assistant Health Inspectors.

Similarly, Mr. Kufanga and Mr. Muhaji, who were professionally involved in education, attached special importance to the fight against ignorance. The former spoke a good deal about the need to improve adult education, urging that more adult education programmes be provided on Radio Tanzania and at better times, that more centres be established where adults could listen to the radio together, that better qualified people be employed to implement adult education projects, and that follow-up materials be prepared for use by adults who had completed preliminary literacy training. He defended these proposals in the following terms: "When we ask things here it seems as if we are making personal requests, but I represent no particular constituency. I speak for the whole country. I am a National Member."<sup>40</sup> He was also concerned with the quality of business education and urged that certain institutions providing such instruction should be brought under the control of the Minister of National Education to assure the maintenance of high standards. In addition, he objected sharply to requiring school children to

39 Ibid., 7 May 1968, col. 363.

40 Ibid., 13 July 1966, col. 2539.

spend so much time drilling for displays at national festivals, for this interfered with their study and would result in poor academic performance. Mr. Muhaji urged in 1966 that the amount allocated for education in the budget should be increased, and later supported the Government's proposal to allow local bodies to set higher school fees because, he said, he realized from his own experience that this was necessary to provide education of good quality.

The significance of the information media for national development was stressed by Mr. Mhando, a journalist who had worked in radio as well as on newspapers. He urged steps to improve the quality of English and Swahili in these media. He argued that newspapers have a part to play in political education as well as in reporting news and accordingly encouraged the Government to establish a national news agency with its own foreign correspondents who could interpret the news properly, to train Radio Tanzania staff members to present the news so as to "suit our own aims," and to ban subversive newspapers lest they mislead the people and cause chaos in the country.<sup>41</sup>

Foreign policy received little attention. One reason for this was suggested by Mr. Mwakitwange when he announced that he would comment only briefly on the estimates of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (in striking contrast to his usual performance) because he lacked the experience and skill required to criticize such matters. The only National Member who spoke at length on the problems dealt with by that Ministry was Dr. Temu, who had earned graduate degrees in history at universities in the United States and Canada. On 16 July 1969, he urged the Government to move much further to the East in its foreign relations and called particularly for the speedy recognition of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam and for the recruitment of experts from socialist rather than capitalist countries. A few random comments on international affairs were made on other occasions by Messrs Tandau, Mfaume and Kingu.

Looking back over the behaviour of the National Members, it is clear that most of them played a variety of roles and articulated various sets of interests. Each manifested a mixture of concerns, and no two of them struck precisely the same balance. They did not conform to a common pattern which distinguished them collectively from the other Members of the House. Although several were strongly responsive to the needs and desires of specific groups or areas, none can be classified as nothing more than a spokesman for a single interest. Although no one managed to divest himself entirely of his particular connections, most of them occasionally, at least, expressed broad viewpoints, articulated interests with which they were not personally linked, and urged measures which they thought would be generally beneficial.

The intentions of those who originated the idea of National Members were not fully realized. In spite of the determined effort on the part of the TANU leadership to prevent these Members from functioning as representatives of the nominating institutions, that was in fact one of the roles played

by a few of them. It might be argued that this was not altogether unfortunate. The Parliament was perhaps able to do its work more effectively by virtue of having always available within its own ranks authoritative spokesmen of such important national institutions as NUTA and the TACC, and its stature in the eyes of the public and the Government may have been enhanced as a result.

Those who might have expected the National Members to discharge their obligation to represent the nation as a whole by distilling and presenting a clear, coherent, and generally acceptable definition of the national interest were disappointed. There was no consensus among them as to what the national interest required; each interpreted it from a different perspective.

The National Members must be credited with performing a valuable service, however, in relaying the special claims of a multiplicity of groups, especially those which were not areally defined and might not have found adequate expression otherwise. They provided a supplementary channel of communication which made it possible for additional aspects of the complex bundle of interests throughout the nation to be more freely and openly expressed. This is a particularly important service in a country like Tanzania which lacks a comprehensive network of well-organized and fully autonomous pressure groups. The National Members were willing and able to perform it not only because they were not elected by or responsible to particular constituencies but also because they were not chosen entirely from the leadership of the 'official' interest group organizations. Their services may have provided some satisfaction to the groups which gained access to the legislative forum through them and assurance that their views would at least be heard. This may have prevented the rise of frustration and disaffection in some quarters and may have increased support for the system.

Their services certainly provided the decision-makers with a more complete picture of the distribution of needs and desires and a wider range of perspectives from which these might be considered. This reduced the risk that the top leaders might remain unaware of areas of dissatisfaction or miscalculate the levels of tension. The system could be more responsive as a consequence.

One might have hoped that the National Members would function as brokers or mediators, offering some guidance as to how the various competing interests might be reconciled. On rare occasions, a few of them seemed to be striving for such a role but in general what they did was to impose additional unaggregated demands on the system, leaving it up to Party and Government élite to make the hard choices as to how these demands could be integrated and how the scarce available resources should be allocated. Their contribution essentially was to provide a broader base on which policies that would be in the national interest could be constructed.

41 Ibid., col. 2524.