

important task before African statesmen is therefore the creation of conditions conducive to the establishment of stable and progressive governments. Scholars can assist in the search for justice and stability by raising and commenting upon basic issues concerning the sources of legitimacy and authority for the new states and the participation of citizens in the running of their own affairs. This journal will welcome examination of African political systems which aim to identify how the basic functions of government are performed in each of them. We solicit studies of the operation of particular political and administrative institutions and of the decision-making process at all levels.

Africans are members of a growing international community. African states cannot be isolated or insulated from it. Given the limitations imposed upon them by the existing distribution of power in the world, the African nations must find new methods and measures for furthering their own interests, and enriching the community. At the same time, they must make new efforts to promote and strengthen African unity and mutual co-operation. Scholars in the field of international politics are encouraged to use the forum provided by this journal to discuss ways and means by which this may be accomplished.

Particular attention will be paid to the phenomena of imperialism and neo-colonialism. Articles analysing it and exposing governments and interest groups whose policies subordinate the genuine interests of Africa to foreign interests will be published in this journal. For too long Africa has been dominated and exploited by the forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism for their own benefit and its peoples discriminated against on grounds of their race and colour alone. In addition the interpretation of significant events in African politics has been monopolized by foreign "experts". The journal will explore alternative African solutions to African problems and appeals to African scholars to contribute their knowledge and understanding of their continent and its people. Concepts like self-reliance and socialism will be discussed and analysed in an effort to give them concrete meaning. Emphasis will be placed on the originality and relevance of ideas to the African scene.

The Department of Political Science of the University of Dar es Salaam is the originator of this journal. Editorial responsibility is vested primarily in a board consisting of faculty members and students of that Department. One person each from the Departments of Political Science at the University of Nairobi, Makerere University and the University of Zambia have agreed to be associate editors. In addition, there are regional editors from other parts of Africa and from other Continents who have an advisory responsibility.

EDITORS.

Tanzania Ten Years after Independence*

Report by the President of TANU, Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere

In Bagamoyo in December, 1961, I made what many people regarded as a rash statement. I said that in the coming ten years we, the people of Tanganyika, would do more to develop our country than the colonialists had done in the previous forty years. Those ten years will be up on 9th December this year. Have we justified my prophesy? More important, how does life feel to the people of Tanzania? What progress have we made in dealing with the "poverty, ignorance and disease" which I referred to on that day? And, following from that question, what new problems of development have we reached in 1971?

This report is intended to give a general answer to those questions. It will reveal much that we can be proud of but also some things which give very little cause for satisfaction and really show only how far we have yet to go, and how much we have to do. For over the past ten years we have made many mistakes and some of these we have hardly begun to correct. It is necessary that we face up to these matters now and realize the kind of effort which is called for. Yet in doing this we must not allow ourselves to be discouraged; for the truth is that we have done a great deal in the past ten years. We have made many changes, we have done a lot of building and we have now created a base from which our nation can advance more quickly and more freely in future.

We certainly did not have a very good base in December, 1961. The independence we celebrated that month was political independence only. It was a vital and very fundamental event, for it gave to this nation the legal right to make its own decisions on all matters. Without that we could make no progress, and we were therefore right to celebrate on 9 December, 1961. But we were also right to recognize that what we had won was the right to begin work—and nothing more.

The fact is that political independence always exists within a framework of a nation's actual strength and its relative position in the world as regards economic, diplomatic and military power. In other words, an independent nation's legal power to make any decision it wishes is in practice restricted by that nation's real capacity. Its legal independence and its real independence may thus be quite different things. And in December, 1961, Tanganyika did not attain economic power—and certainly not economic independence. We gained the political power to decide what to do; we lacked the economic and administrative power which would have given us freedom in those decisions. For it is no use deciding to import more goods than you have foreign currency with which to pay for them, or deciding to provide free books for all children if you have neither the teachers, the buildings nor the money to make a reality of that

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decision. A nation's real freedom depends on its capacity to do things, not on the legal rights conferred by its internationally recognized sovereignty.

AT INDEPENDENCE

Tanganyika achieved independence by a peaceful process, and the new Government was therefore able to take over an existing administrative structure of Central and Local Government. But its Constitution was modelled on that of the United Kingdom and took very little account of the historical, geographical and cultural realities of this country. The structure of its civil service was also modelled on that of the United Kingdom, and was designed for the administration of a nation, not for its development. Further, it was not a local civil service; as late as April, 1960, only 346 of the posts classified as "senior" were filled by Africans. By independence the position had improved somewhat; 1,170 out of 3,282 senior posts were held by citizens of this country.

The economy of the newly independent Tanganyika was also typically colonial. It depended on the production of subsistence foodstuffs and primary commodities for export; almost all the monetary sector had grown in accordance with the needs of foreign countries. Thus, the largest single export was unprocessed sisal, the raw cotton and coffee following behind. (Together the value of these three crops accounted for some 54 per cent of the total domestic product.) The sisal was grown on foreign-owned plantations, although four-fifths of the coffee and virtually all the cotton was the result of peasant production. Some other commercial crops, like cashew nuts and various types of oil seeds, were also grown by peasant farmers as a sideline, and had begun to contribute to the export revenue, while tea, pyrethrum, tobacco and sugar had been introduced to the country but were being produced almost entirely on foreign-owned estates.

The vast majority of the farmers of Tanganyika were, in fact, still just subsistence producers, or were selling the very minimum of their low output in order to pay taxes. Further, the subsistence agriculture was still mostly based on a shifting cultivation pattern, with the units being small and output depending entirely on the vagaries of the weather and the good health of the individual peasant at critical moments during the production process. The net result was a life of poverty and insecurity for the masses of the people, while a small number of foreign companies or private farmers from Europe were obtaining a comfortable life—often at the expense of their exploited workers.

The industrial sector of the Tanganyika economy in December, 1961, was so small as to be hardly worth noticing. Insofar as small factories—such as breweries and cigarette manufacturing plants—did exist, they were alien owned and controlled, just as all the commercial and financial institutions were alien owned and controlled. The only exception to this was the marketing done by the Co-operative Unions, such as the KNCU, the BNCU and VFCU. All other exporting and all importing was done by private businessmen, with hardly a Tanganyikan African among them.

Thus, overall, the wealth produced in Tanganyika at independence provided for its people very little more than subsistence at a low level. Any surplus produced above this was mostly exported to the home territories of the foreign companies or the agricultural estate owner.

For that reason it is not surprising that the social services were at a very low level. The bulk of the health and education services were in fact still being provided through voluntary agencies—religious missions or charities which received subventions from the tax revenues of Tanganyika. This meant that not only was the total provision ludicrously inadequate, but it was also concentrated in areas of Christian mission activity, and the services were often thought to require at least a willingness to be "converted". In some cases this was not true, though the non-Government secondary schools did, as a rule, restrict attendance to members of their own faith.

The same inadequacy was evident in the public services. Indeed, even the infrastructure for economic development did not exist. For example, the trunk road system looked outwards, doing more to connect the periphery of the country with our neighbours than it did to pull the nation into an integrated unit—and the roads were not very good anyway. In 1961 there was a bitumenized road between Dar es Salaam and Morogoro, one between Arusha and Moshi, and another between Korogwe and Tanga. Apart from that, there was little tarmac outside the towns. Many of the other "major" roads became virtually impassable during the rainy season, and only in the few areas where the important cash crops were grown was there anything even pretending to be a feeder road system.

Hidden within this picture of a small and hardly growing economy there was also a major social problem, for the entire political, economic and social structure of the country was based on racial divisions. Not only were most of the major economic activities foreign-owned; their managers, technicians and professionally qualified workers were almost all non-Africans, and the rates of pay in both private and public employment were based on race. Even when he could get such an opportunity, the African worker in the private companies, and in the public service, got less pay for doing the same job than an Asian worker, who himself got less than a European. The racial disparity was, however, seen mostly in the large differentials which existed between the non-skilled labourer, earning perhaps Shs. 50/- a month, and the top officials in Government, earning Shs. 5,000/- a month—with top rewards in private industry being even higher.

The public services provided in the urban areas reflected the same racial bias; the areas where Europeans lived had electricity, water in the houses, and paved roads. In the African areas, such services were—to put it mildly—very much fewer, despite the greater number of people involved. In education, too, there were European schools, Asian schools and African schools, although some of the voluntary agency Asian schools had begun to accept African children. In Dar es Salaam, and in other major towns, there was a European hospital and an African hospital.

This pattern continued in every aspect of life. Thus, although there was not

in Tanganyika the formal and all-pervading colour bar which some neighbouring countries suffered from, the whole society during the colonial period was organized so as to separate people of different races, give privilege to those of European origin, and make the African people feel that they were inferior. By the time of independence TANU had, it is true, asserted the political equality of Africans, with inevitable effect upon social discrimination, but racial consciousness and an underlying sense of inferiority remained to plague the new country. Indeed, traces of this can still be seen today, ten years later.

The Inevitability of Change

A change in all these conditions was clearly necessary, and had been a major purpose of the independence struggle. Change was also inevitable. For not even the accession to political power gave to the people of Tanganyika the possibility of preventing change in their society. This country could not have cut itself off from its neighbours, or from the world at large. Even an attempt at national isolation would have involved change; because the country was already involved, through geography and trade and language, with other parts of the world.

The question before the new nation, therefore, was not whether to change, but what kind of change it would have. The nation had to decide whether this change was to be deliberately chosen and implemented, or was to be merely a side effect of development elsewhere. In other words, one of the first issues which the newly independent people, through their Government, had to settle, was whether to use their acquired decision-making power to initiate, lead and control changes in the society. The alternative was to remain fairly passive while the society absorbed changes initiated from outside, like a sponge absorbing water.

There were other vital questions to be answered, too. For it is not enough to say that a "nation" will decide something. A nation is its people, and they are scattered, in our case, over more than 360,000 square miles of land. Who is it, then, who will use the decision-making power acquired with independence? In whose interests will they use that power, and what will be their objectives and their method?

Looking back over the past ten years, we have to ask ourselves what use the people of Tanzania have made of their independence, how the country has been governed and by whom, and what use has been made of the circumstances which existed in the country in December, 1961. For circumstances can be used as an excuse for inaction, or they can be seized and made to work for the objectives which have been decided upon.

Tanganyika's Advantages

And despite its poverty, Tanganyika did have many advantages which other newly independent countries have envied. Our overall poverty did not hide great inequalities between citizens—hardly any Africans would have been recognized as rich in any other country except Tanganyika. And, although a

handful of members of the Asian community were wealthy, the majority of this community too were either themselves poor or were what in Europe would be called lower middle-class.

Further, the very fact that our country had experienced almost no economic development meant that there were no islands of wealth surrounded by vast areas of misery. The Districts we had come to think of as rich were those like Kilimanjaro, where the people had lifted themselves above misery, and had begun to provide primary school education for their children and had often built themselves reasonable houses to live in. In fact, taken as a whole, the economic differences between citizens of Tanganyika were minor, because so few had been absorbed into the colonial economy or colonial administration. There were a few people who were conscious of the fruits which could be gained from such absorption, but even they had hopes or expectations rather than existing wealth. We did not have a "class" structure in a classical sense; we had a racial economic structure, and a division between expatriates and local people. Our other economic differences between Africans were of marginal importance.

Tanganyika had other advantages, too. Its ten million people consisted of many different tribes—123 African and a few Asian. But almost everywhere Swahili was understood, and the vast majority, at least of the men, could speak it. This common language was of inestimable value, both for the independence struggle and for the unity of the new nation.

Another advantage which the new nation enjoyed was that its nationalist party was fiercely secular and its members came from all religions as well as from town and country alike. Moreover, TANU was an organized mass movement which reached down to almost all the villages and hamlets in the country and every street in the African areas of the towns. In some places it was strong and in others comparatively weak, but everywhere it existed.

All this meant that Tanganyika had very important strength in 1961. Its strength lay in its weakness and in the unity of its people. There were comparatively few citizen vested interests which had to be taken into account in determining policies, and its people were not filled with mutual hostilities or suspicions, but had experienced years of working together for a common purpose. At independence, therefore, these strengths were waiting to be exploited and used for future development, or to be dissipated through quarrels about how to get and use those other kinds of strengths which the new nation lacked.

AFTER INDEPENDENCE

There were undoubtedly some people in Tanganyika who continued to believe that with independence all their problems would disappear. But this was not the feeling of the majority. For many years TANU had campaigned on the slogan *Uhuru na Kazi* ("Freedom and Work"). And, as the independence date approached, TANU leaders had been stressing that "what we have won is the right to work for ourselves, the right to design and build our own future".

The real commitment with independence was thus to "build the nation", and to establish "dignity for all". This involved a commitment to work for economic and social growth; it involved also a commitment to real independence for the nation.

The most immediate task after independence, however, was the assertion of the dignity of all Tanganyikan citizens. It was for this reason that within weeks of independence there was a shock deportation of five Europeans who publicly insulted Africans after the 9th December. Those deportations were intended to have, and did have, a psychological effect on the whole society. They showed that, whatever else we had not achieved when the Tanganyika flag was raised on the flagstaff, we achieved the right to be treated as human beings.

But that was only the beginning. Much more fundamental was ending racial discrimination in the health and education services, in social life, and in wage rates. This was done quickly. By the end of 1962, this work had almost been completed. There was by then a single educational system, hospitals were reorganized to deal with medical problems and not races, private clubs were in the process of being forced to bring their racial exclusiveness to an end, and wages based on race were being rapidly phased out.

Africanisation

At the same time a deliberate policy of "Africanisation" of the public services was being pursued in the full recognition that this was itself discriminatory. For before all citizens could be treated equally, it was necessary to rectify the position in which the nation's civil service was dominated by non-Africans, and to make it reflect in some measure the composition of the society. Therefore, until January, 1964, Africans were appointed and promoted in preference to anyone else, and many of their promotions were very rapid and involved the suspension of normal qualification requirements about experience and education.

This policy inevitably meant that some people were appointed or promoted to posts for which they were unqualified, and some had to be replaced as they proved unequal to the increasing demands made upon them. It is important to realize, however, that even those who were later replaced contributed a great deal in the early days of independence; many of them were the victims of our needs, which refused them the time and opportunities to grow into the jobs they were given. And in fact many of the people who were promoted so rapidly did succeed in their new tasks—some are still doing them today.

The urgency of this Africanisation policy arose out of the need to build up the self-confidence of the people of Tanganyika. Once we had demonstrated—to ourselves and others—that being an African did not have to mean being a junior official, the nation was able to accept that in some fields we can, without shame, hire the skilled people who are needed. This had been done by January, 1964, and we were therefore able to revert to a policy of priority to citizens regardless of their racial origin. This is the policy today. Every citizen has the

right to be considered on his or her merits, regardless of race, religion or sex.

In fact, in regard to our aim of ending discrimination against Africans in Tanganyika, we have been so successful that we have forgotten what we have achieved. Today the humanity and equality of Africans is no longer challenged inside Tanzania by non-Africans. The Africans are, as they always were, a majority in Tanzania. But now they control Tanzania. Therefore, if there are racial problems in this country, it is an African responsibility—just as, in countries like America or the United Kingdom, the so-called colour problem is really a white problem. It is now basically our responsibility to correct the vestiges of our racist inheritance. Thus, for example, it is our fault that some of the forms in our hospitals still ask the "race" of the patient, and it is our responsibility to end this.

Early Constitutional Changes

The second priority task for the new nation was to re-design its political institutions so that they reflected the history, geography and culture of our people, rather than those of our ex-colonial masters. Only when the people really felt involved in the decisions made on their behalf could they feel that the Government making them was theirs in every sense. But it was not only our past which mattered in this connection; our political institutions had to be made appropriate to the development tasks which they would have to fulfil.

There were two vital aspects to the constitutional change which these conditions required. The first was that all Tanganyika citizens must have the right to vote; TANU had been demanding that for years, yet even the independence Parliament had been elected on a restricted franchise. Only after this change had been effected could TANU's commitment to human equality be made a reality in political terms.

The second important and urgent change needed was the ending of the system whereby a foreign Queen was the Head of State, even though her representative in this country was nominated by the Tanganyikan Government. It was not only her "foreignness" which was the problem: the conception of a Head of State who had virtually no power, and a Prime Minister who did have power, was alien to our traditions and confusing to our people.

It was for these reasons that immediately after independence the new government began to work out a Constitution providing for an Executive Presidency and a really representative Parliament, which had to work together to make laws, and both of which were directly responsible to the people. The first Presidential Elections, on a one-man one-vote basis, therefore took place in November, 1962, and the Republic of Tanganyika came into existence exactly one year after independence. From that time onwards it was clear to everyone that this country was being governed under a Constitution worked out by us and in accordance with our needs and aspirations.

It was during 1962, also, that the TANU Constitution was amended. For until that time the first objective of TANU, according to its Constitution, was "to prepare the people of Tanganyika for self-government". That was obviously

outdated! After this revision, TANU for the first time became specifically committed to a socialist philosophy, although what this meant was not defined. Indeed, the change was generally regarded as showing in a vague way our commitment to the principle of human equality and our intention of building a Tanganyika concerned for the welfare of all its citizens.

Economic Developments

Before independence—that is, during the period of responsible self-government—a Three-Year Economic Development Plan had been prepared by the Government, and steps were being taken towards its implementation. This Plan, which was based on a survey of the economy prepared by the World Bank, was really little more than a series of public expenditure projects. It did, however, outline the main priorities as they were seen at that time. These were the development of agriculture and the livestock industry, the improvement and development of communications, and the development of secondary and technical education. Of the total planned expenditure amounting to Shs. 480 million, Shs. 380 million were expected to be obtained from external sources.

In fact, although implementation of the Plan went ahead during the succeeding years, it was rapidly outdated. There was a general expansion of education, greater expenditure on agricultural advice services, and improvements in road and other communications. Yet as the new nation got into its stride, dissatisfaction grew up about the proposed rate of growth, and there was a new consciousness of the need for wider public participation in development. In 1962, therefore, a political call was made for “self-help schemes”, and all over the country people began to build village schools, dispensaries, roads, and so on, on their own initiative. Unfortunately, the work was unplanned and uncoordinated, and it was soon found that more classrooms were being built than there were teachers to work in them, more dispensaries than there were drugs to use in them, and that many roads led only to a river or stream for which no bridge could be provided. Nonetheless, this experience did show that the people were anxious to help themselves, and required only leadership and technical assistance. And despite all the problems and disappointments which were experienced, new services—estimated to be worth some Shs. 60 million—were provided by the people’s own efforts during those first one or two years after independence.

Other developments took place during this period which were, in fact, socialist developments, although once again they suffered from an enthusiasm which was not tempered by planning and coordination. Thus, there was a very rapid expansion of the Co-operative Movement in the country, but at the same time a slackening of the standards of organization required before a co-operative society was registered. As a result, groups which were too small to be economically viable were recognized as co-operative societies, and even given local monopolies in marketing—at the expense of the peasants. Also, the lack of supervision meant that dishonest persons found it only too easy to steal from the new societies.

Dissatisfaction with this state of affairs mounted to such an extent that the

whole Co-operative Movement was in danger of being discredited, and in January, 1966, a Presidential Commission was set up to examine the situation and to make recommendations for its rapid rectification. The Report was published the same year, and Government accepted its major recommendations. After the consequent reorganization, the Co-operative Movement has been able to develop while giving increasing and ever-improving services to its members and to the nation as a whole.

Also beginning in 1962 was the gradual redirection of Government expenditure in favour of the poorer areas and the poorer people. And this was combined with a shift in taxation so that it bore more heavily on those who could afford to pay. Thus, it was in these early post-independence years that the hated Poll Tax was abolished and replaced by the Personal Tax system, under which people with less than a certain income paid nothing.

Land nationalization was also effected in 1962, although it passed almost unnoticed! It meant that freehold ownership of land was abolished and development clauses imposed on all leasehold ownership rights. By this Act of Parliament, and without any fanfare, Tanganyika achieved a basic socialist objective which more aggressive socialist parties elsewhere in the world had almost given up advocating because of its difficulty! This was one of many respects in which Tanganyika’s lack of development enabled us to jump straight from a basically traditional economic organization to a socialist economic organization, without going through long agonies resulting from private ownership of a basic resource.

Another foundation for socialist growth which was laid in these early years was the establishment of the Tanganyika Development Corporation in July, 1962. This was given the task of building up an industrial base for the nation. But 2½ years later it, together with the Tanganyika Agricultural Corporation, was absorbed into the National Development Corporation, and given the more definitely socialist task of building up public enterprise. The new N.D.C. was, however, allowed to go into minority partnership with private concerns, as and when this seemed appropriate for the purpose of maximising total investment. And, in practice, emphasis was given to the latter aspect of its responsibilities until 1967.

TANU also moved into the development field during these early years, setting up the *Mwananchi* Development Corporation and initiating a wide variety of economic activities. Two things however were gradually realized: that TANU was not equipped for this kind of work; and that in any case it was undesirable for TANU as such to engage in this kind of development activity. Most of the activities and projects of the *Mwananchi* Development Corporation were therefore eventually taken over by the National Development Corporation.

Reform of the Trade Union Movement, to make it appropriate for the conditions of Tanzania, was also begun soon after independence, as the Tanganyika Federation of Labour was strengthened in relation to the separate unions. Later, a further reorganization resulted in the TFL being replaced by the National Union of Tanganyika Workers, in which the separate unions became merely sections. Thus, the industrial side of the Labour Movement was

gradually prepared for its role in a socialist economy even before much other progress had been made in that direction.

There was one field in which very little change took place during the first two years of independence—and the country paid a heavy price. For although the Police Force did succeed in becoming much more the servant than the master of the citizens, and although considerable progress was made towards the Africanisation of the Police Officer Corps, similar developments did not take place in the Army. Some changes in the Army were, of course, inevitable—it could no longer be the King's African Rifles after Tanganyika became a Republic! Some officer training was also begun. But in general the Tanganyika Army was as cut off from the society, and the developments of the new society, in January 1964, as it had been in December 1961. The mutiny which then took place, and which endangered the whole country, made radical action necessary. The old Army was therefore disbanded and a new one created from members of the National Service. These lessons of the past were thoroughly learnt, and from its beginnings the new Army was organized so as to instil among all its members a commitment to the nation and the national policies of development.

The One-Party Democracy

While all this activity was going on, TANU was falling into the background. Its nation-wide organization was hardly being used, because both the Party and the nation as a whole were unsure of the role TANU could play while the state constitution provided for competing political organizations. For the fact that there was no other political organization consisting of more than a handful of people did not alter the constitutional theory that the State and the Party had to be kept separate.

By following this theory, however, the nation was wasting one of the few resources it had—a mass organization which the people trusted, and through which they could both express their views and co-operate with the projects being executed through the state machinery. In 1963, therefore, TANU called for the establishment of a democratic one-party state. The implementation of this was postponed while the hope of an early East African Federation was being pursued, but finally a Presidential Commission was set up at the beginning of 1964. The Commission was directed to investigate the people's wishes and to make recommendations on how a Democratic One-Party State could best be achieved. The Members appointed travelled in groups all over the country, consulting with the people about the different alternatives which international experience had suggested, and gaining ideas of what the new constitution was expected to be like. The Presidential Commission reported early in 1965 and its recommendations were, in large measure, accepted by both the Party and the Government.

In September, 1965, therefore, Tanzania's first Parliamentary Election on the basis of adult suffrage was held under the new One-Party Constitution. This allowed the people to choose between two TANU approved candidates; it meant that opportunists or incompetent people could no longer hide behind the

Party banner because of past services, and it meant, too, that the people could choose which of two TANU candidates they thought would best express their wishes and their ideas in the coming five years. Many individuals who had served the nation and the Party well in the past were electorally defeated in this process; for the people were for the first time able to express their views about an individual's future capacity for service without fear of weakening the national progress.

The Union

Perhaps the most important long-term development in these early years, however, was the Union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar, which took place in April 1964. This followed the premature negotiations for an East African Federation, which lasted from June 1963 to early 1964, and the revolution which took place in Zanzibar in January 1964.

TANU and the Afro-Shirazi Party had long had close and cordial relations. The overthrow of the Sultan and a Government which achieved power through gerrymandered elections enabled this Party co-operation to be transformed into what it was hoped would be the first steps towards greater East African unity.

From the beginning, the Union has been the subject of much international misunderstanding, and it has attracted a considerable amount of criticism from outside. And there have been many problems. A Union between two free nations can never be without difficulties. The policies of two sovereign states with a very different recent history had to be merged into one. The international trade arrangements, and very different tariff structures, had to be unified, and so on. A system also had to be worked out which would give fair expression in a single system to two countries of very different size and population. Despite all this, the Union was created and it has survived seven years which were difficult for Tanzania and for the whole of Africa. For the first time in African history, two nations submerged their sovereignty into one, and progress towards unity in Africa was shown to be a matter of political will on the part of the people and their leaders.

SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT

During 1966 there was a gradual realisation that, although some economic progress was being made, and although we were still talking in terms of a socialist objective, the nation was in fact drifting without any sense of direction. A lack of co-ordination between our different objectives and policies was resulting in confusion; some of our people were getting disheartened; and there was a widespread tendency to look to others for our salvation instead of concentrating on our own efforts and resources.

The effect was already visible. In particular, there was an increase in the amount of economic inequality between citizens, and this was leading towards

attitudes of social inequality. The growth in economic differences was inevitable as the Africanisation policy was pursued in the public services and urged upon private enterprise. But the problem was not simply that a small number of educated individuals were getting great responsibilities and being paid comparatively highly for them. The real problem was that these same people were able to get access to credit facilities and technical advice, and that some of them were therefore venturing into other income-earning activities.

This kind of thing did not go unnoticed by the mass of the people, and they resented it. For they could not get loans from the banks to build houses for renting, or to start a bus service, or to employ labourers on a large farm. A small number of people were thus pre-empting the capital and technical resources of the nation, and were using them for their own profit. The country was beginning to develop an economic and social elite whose prime concern was profit for themselves and their families, and not the needs of the majority for better basic living standards. We were beginning to see the development of true class system.

At the same time, the urban areas were growing rapidly and most of the emphasis of Government activity was on their obvious need for better public services. There was even a tendency towards prestige building, especially in Dar es Salaam. And even the Party was becoming less effective in its leadership of the masses, because individuals were seeking office in it in the hope of thereby bettering their own economic position. The general interest in greater welfare was being used as a catch-phrase rather than being pursued as a policy.

The Arusha Declaration

In October, 1966, prompted by the shock of University students' resistance to a period of compulsory National Service, all Ministers, and senior and middle-grade civil servants, accepted a wage cut amounting, in some cases, to 15 per cent. But this action did not deal with the basic problem, which was that we had determined our national objective in such general terms that it was not guiding us to where we wanted to go. Therefore, although we had made good progress in some respects, on balance we were drifting away from our basic socialist goals of human equality, human dignity, and government by the whole people.

In January 1967, at a conference in Arusha, the National Executive of TANU faced up to this problem, and its conclusions were published as *The Arusha Declaration* of 5 February. The Declaration defined what socialism means in the context of Tanzania, it set out qualifications which had to be fulfilled by all in leadership positions in politics and public service, and it demanded a much more serious commitment to self-reliance in our development.

This policy was accepted by a special TANU National Conference as were, in due course, the more detailed policy pronouncements, *Education for Self-Reliance, Socialism and Rural Development*, and *Freedom and Development*. With these four papers, the Party gave a clear statement of its commit-

ment to socialism, and what it means for Tanzania; and it indicated some policy implications of this commitment. The policies were accepted with acclaim by the nation as a whole.

The importance of the *Arusha Declaration* is difficult to overestimate. It provided a guideline to the people, the Government and the Party, to which all future policy decisions could be compared. After it there has been no excuse for decisions which, although good in certain respects, would divert our development from its purpose of serving the whole people.

Of course, the *Arusha Declaration* would have been meaningless if it had not been followed by actions. It was. In the week following the publication of the Declaration, key sectors of the economy were taken into public hands, with compensation paid to previous owners. Banks, insurance, and food processing factories were the first to be taken over. Eight of the larger import/export and wholesale businesses were also nationalised, and formed the nucleus of the State Trading Corporation; this was later to become the nation's main organization for external and wholesale trade. In addition to this, the Government took a controlling share in such major manufacturing industries as existed—which was a very short list—and announced that it would shortly secure a controlling share of the sisal industry.

By these actions the Government fulfilled its obligations under the *Arusha Declaration*, Part 2 (B). For almost all the other industries existing in Tanzania were already publicly owned or controlled before the *Arusha Declaration*. Thus, no action was required as regards land, forests, mineral resources, electricity, telecommunications and railways, because all were already in Government hands or under Government control.

This sudden expansion of public ownership was achieved and followed through with remarkably little dislocation of the economy. Even in relation to the banks, where the previous owners withdrew all the expatriate senior staff, the difficulties of reorganization were over in a matter of weeks and international exchange (the only aspect of their business which had suffered from any delays) was being conducted normally. Most other take-overs were effected without major problems to the consumers.

The total effect of this series of measures cannot, of course, be seen for many years. But already the nation has saved large amounts of foreign exchange and, much more important, been able to implement its own decisions in relation to the economy in a manner which would have been impossible otherwise. For by the nationalisations Tanzanians became able to decide positively, as well as negatively, what would happen as regards the economy of their country.

There are, of course, other implications of this. Internally, we can no longer blame the actions, or lack of actions, of others for our economic failures. Of course, we cannot remain unaffected by what happens in the world markets, but in 1967 it became our responsibility to take actions which maximise the advantage to us, or minimise the disadvantage to us, of the world economic situation as it changes from week to week or day to day. We have thus, through the nationalisation measures, gradually extended our economic independence, even though we remain subject in many respects to events over which we have

no control. The sense of service, the initiative, and the business acumen of Tanzanians is now the crucial factor in our development.

An equally important result of the *Arusha Declaration*, however, has been a new consciousness that the development of a nation means the development of its people, rather than the erection of imposing buildings or impressive roads. Of course, in a country like Tanzania, dispersing your effort to benefit the masses of the people, who live throughout our 360,000 square miles, means that the results of much of the work are not very visible. It is still easier to point to the industrial and business developments which have taken place since the *Arusha Declaration* than it is to display developments in the rural areas. Indeed, more money has in fact been spent on such urban developments than has been put into the rural areas in this post-Arusha period. Despite much change we have not yet succeeded in making our practice keep up with the change in consciousness.

Even as regards the ujamaa village policy, progress is difficult to quantify in any meaningful sense. We can say that something approaching 8 per cent of our population are now living in what they call ujamaa villages. But in many of these villages, only the first steps towards "living together and working together for the good of all" have in fact been taken. And few of them as yet give any sign of the kind of life which this form of organization will in time make possible. Only by knowing a particular area before an ujamaa village was established, and revisiting later, can the progress really be seen. But in fact it is there. The members are a little better off; there are more water supplies, schools, and so on. And, most important of all, the peasants are beginning to control their own lives, and are less at the mercy of weather, wild animals, ignorance, stock thieves; and unscrupulous leaders.

The TANU Guidelines

But although great advances have been made since 1967 in many respects, there is one field in which experience has shown that more emphasis is required. We have gradually realized that public ownership of enterprises is not enough. These enterprises may be—and in most cases in Tanzania have been—managed well, and with the intention of serving the interests of the Tanzania people. But they are still being managed for the people, and only by them in the sense that the decisions are taken by Tanzanians appointed by, and responsible to, an elected Government. Consequently, the people who are not in management positions in the public corporations still do not feel that these corporations are theirs. Even the workers in the organizations frequently feel that they are working for "them", and not for themselves.

This means that there is a need to develop new methods of public participation in the planning operations and management of the public corporations. Much more effective public supervision of the implementation of parastatal policies is also needed. We have, in fact, to change the attitude that only "experts" can make decisions in economic matters, and that "experts" can be identified by their formal educational qualifications. We have, instead, to help

the people make the decisions for themselves. Those with technical knowledge of any kind have to develop the ability, and be willing to explain the facts and the problems to the people, so that the latter may make decisions which are not only theirs, but which are also practicable and forward-looking. In other words, we have to get to a position where the public can make suggestions to management, as well as receive suggestions from management, and where in both cases the people are equipped to make judgments which are in their own long-term interest.

It was with these things in mind that the *TANU Guidelines* were drawn up in February, 1971. In fact, just as there had been some tentative moves in the right direction before the *Arusha Declaration* was adopted, moves towards greater workers' control had already begun before TANU published its Guidelines. But the Guidelines call for much more than that. They also remind us that our Party is still a Party committed to the fight for freedom—freedom for Tanzania and for the whole of Africa. Therefore the Guidelines put a great deal of emphasis on the building of our country and the defending of it. The Guidelines call for a leadership which is of the people in economic as well as political matters. They call for new attitudes and practices in order to facilitate public participation in all decision-making.

Not very much progress has been made in these matters up to now. We are still not organized for *leadership*, only for persuading people to accept what experts and political leaders believe "is good for them". But we should not be discouraged by slow progress. In many ways the *TANU Guidelines* call for a more difficult change than the *Arusha Declaration* did. In fulfilment of the *Arusha Declaration*, concrete steps could be taken—a change of ownership or the relinquishing of private profit-making activities. The *TANU Guidelines* call for an understanding, both by management and by the people at large, of the real meaning of socialist and democratic activities. It will take time for the all-pervading implications of this to be realised.

There is, however, one danger in our present position. It is that decision-making will be slowed down as people in positions of authority realise that the old practices are being rejected but fail to understand how else to proceed. This we must not allow to happen. The *TANU Guidelines* call for public decision-making, following public discussion of the issues involved. They do not call for a stop to decision-making, and must not be allowed to be used as an excuse for a refusal to accept responsibility. Just as Standard Bank branches continued to operate on the old basis after nationalisation while the reorganization was being worked out, so the old practices of decision-making must continue while new methods of public involvement are being prepared and implemented. Our country cannot afford to stop its activities in order to prepare for the next stage of its progress.

WHAT WE HAVE ACHIEVED—GENERAL PROGRESS

What is it then that we have achieved during the last ten years? A full report

is impossible. What follows is intended to be a general survey of the things we have succeeded in doing as a nation since Tanganyikan independence.

Definition of the Goal

The first thing we have achieved is a definition of what we understand by socialism, and an acceptance of a national commitment to build a socialist society. Because of this, our progress is now towards a definite and understood goal. We know where we are going, and the general route which has to be taken.

A general understanding of the *Arusha Declaration* is the key to our success; and this is beginning to be achieved. The document is being increasingly read, studied and understood; it is now an important element in the education of both children and adults. This is a vital advance, for it is with the *Arusha Declaration* that all our proposals must be compared. If they are consistent with it, then they will help us to progress along the right lines; if they are inconsistent with it, then whatever their other advantages they are not right for Tanzania. The more this kind of comparison can be made at grass-roots level, the greater will be our progress. This is what is beginning to happen; the people are questioning proposals in the light of the *Arusha Declaration*.

And in fact the spirit underlying the *Arusha Declaration* already permeates a good deal of our national life. Our people receive good service at rates of pay which are very low in comparison with those prevailing in many other developing societies. Further, although the battle against corruption is not won—for continued vigilance is always necessary—we have in large measure avoided this disgrace. And on top of this is the increasing rate of ujamaa village development in the rural areas and its first signs in the urban areas.

Thus, on the spread of understanding about our goals and the way to reach them, and on the widespread commitment of our people to socialist progress, the people of Tanzania can congratulate themselves. But this must not lead us to complacency, for there are very many problems remaining—some of which we have hardly begun to think about.

For example, we have not universally accepted the need for the self-discipline which is necessary if we are to get rid of the discipline of fear or of possible starvation. In our factories we have begun to talk about workers' participation and control, but have we even begun to educate the workers in their responsibilities to the rest of the nation? Sometimes it would appear not, for in recent months there have been too many cases of workers putting down their tools because of complaints about individual managers, or because they want a larger share of the returns from a profitable industry regardless of the fact that it is owned by the nation and its profits go to general good. And while demanding that they themselves should not be dismissed without proper investigation and without warnings, some of our workers do not seem always to be willing to concede similar rights to the people they accuse; instead they make the whole nation suffer over their disputes.

Again, what sanctions are appropriate for those who destroy, or waste, or

misuse, public property? Under capitalism, the sanction for such actions against the employer is the sack, and fear of the "Boss" was a motivating force for everyone in industry, from the foreman to the General Manager. But we are fighting against this kind of fear of the "Boss". So how can we, and should we, ensure that public property is carefully looked after and efficiently used? For the fact is that if one kind of discipline is not replaced by another kind, we shall not achieve socialism—only mob rule and a speedy end to all our ambitions for national progress and greater wellbeing for all our people.

These, and many similar problems have still to be worked out. But they are urgent, for we cannot build socialism simply by rejecting the ideas and practices of capitalism. Nor do people become angels the moment the nation has decided to turn towards socialism. On the contrary, the fact that we were all brought up under colonialism and capitalism means that we have many attitudes and habits of personal acquisitiveness which we are carrying into the new society. And we cannot just wait for socialist education to rectify such practices. For people learn by what is happening in the society around them, not just from books or speeches! Thus we have to find some method of ensuring that people act like socialists towards their work responsibilities, and towards public property, even if they—and the society—have not yet become socialist!

The Organization

The appropriate organization for socialist advance is also a matter which we have to keep under constant review, always watching to see that in each field it helps us to move in the direction we want to go. It may be that such a review is again necessary, especially with the aim of greater decentralization. Yet this does not mean that there has been any lack of progress since independence; it can mean that we have outgrown the changes we first made.

Thus, after its initial hesitations, TANU has been reactivated and democratised. It has become more effective with the development of the ten-cell system. The nation has developed a system of administration which is, on the whole, appropriate to our needs, and which gives the people a real opportunity to express their wishes. In particular, our One-Party system has enabled a strong and unified Central Government to remain responsive to the will of the people, at the same time as allowing it to give the lead which is necessary if Tanzania is to make progress towards its goals and is to be respected in the world at large. We have begun to tread the long and difficult road towards workers' democracy in public industry, and have begun the process of building local self-government at ujamaa village level.

The economy of the country has also been reorganized to meet our purposes. All the major industrial and commercial institutions of the country are now under public ownership or control, so that it is no longer possible for external forces to determine the size or shape of our economic growth. This is true not only at national level; District Development Corporations are now being established and some have already begun new productive enterprises of local importance. At the other end of the spectrum, the Railways, Harbours, Posts and

Telecommunications, and the Airline, are jointly owned by the three East African Governments; they are thus able to serve the peoples of all three territories on a more economic and rational basis than would be possible without this international co-operation.

Further, co-operative marketing of our crops, and some of the goods manufactured in small units, has been very greatly expanded; and the Co-operative Movement is now paying increasing attention to co-operative production, as well as to co-operative savings and credit societies. The new (and as yet few) "multi-purpose co-operatives" are in fact the sign of the future. They will be based on the ujamaa villages, so that the members will receive the benefits of co-operation in all their productive and commercial activities.

Finally, through the publicly owned financial institutions, including the new Industrial Development and Rural Development Banks, we have organized ourselves for the financing of an expanded productive capacity.

Administratively, too, the Government is much more appropriately organized for development now than it was in 1961. The early development of the system of Regional and Area Commissioners has helped to ensure that national decisions are implemented throughout the country, and also that the special needs of particular areas can be brought to the attention of the Government and TANU without difficulty. The establishment of the Regional Development Funds and the Regional Development Committees has also assisted us towards our ambition of enabling the people of a particular area to determine their own local priorities and implement their own decisions.

At a national level, the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Development Planning, and Ministry of Regional Administration and Rural Development, between them ensure ever-increasing co-ordination of our development efforts, and their proper direction towards the development of people rather than of things. The other Ministries have also been allocated responsibilities in a manner which is intended to enable us to think developmentally, and to execute our national policies.

The War against Poverty

What progress, then, have we made in the war against poverty? In one sense the answer can only be found in the lives of the people, in their health, their education, their clothing, and their housing. But there is much more to this question than that; a useful answer also requires that we look at all the manifold things which have been done to build up the economy of the country and provide for future growth. For a farmer who has cleared, ploughed and planted a large acreage may, before the harvest, appear as poor as a man who has not done so—indeed, he may seem poorer because he has spent money on the equipment and the seeds he has used. Yet the real position of the two men is very different. Not only will the former be very much richer after the harvest; he will also have laid the groundwork for future growth. The farmer who has done nothing more than subsistence planting, on the other hand, will be as badly off in the second year as he is in the first.

Thus, there are two aspects to this question which cannot be separated. After ten years we have to ask ourselves how much, if at all, the life of the people has improved, and we also have to consider what groundwork we have laid which will lead to a continuing improvement in the future.

Another difficulty in answering this question as regards a nation is that we can only report figures, and these must be totals or averages for the whole country. They can therefore only give an *overall* indication of our position and our preparations for the future; they can rarely reflect the reality in a particular area.

Finally, it must be borne in mind that, when an individual in Tanzania is considering his wealth now as compared with ten years ago, he is usually thinking of the money in his pocket at the end of the month, and what it will buy. But that is not a true comparison of his relative wellbeing when there has been a big increase in the proportion of the nation's wealth which is spent on community activities like health, education, roads, water supplies, and so on. For in reality every man has two pockets; one holds the money which he is free to spend on his private needs at his own will; the other holds his share of the public services. Thus, even if there has been no change over ten years in the amount a man has to spend on food, clothes, shelter and recreation each month, his standard of living may have improved. This will have happened if, at the end of the period, but not at the beginning, he can go to a hospital or dispensary, or his children can go to school, or he himself to adult classes, or he can travel to work or get goods brought to him more safely, comfortably and cheaply, and so on. All these things are an improvement in his condition of life—and are more vital to it than extra consumer goods like watches, carpets, or cars.

All this means that, although figures hide a great deal about a nation's development, they also reveal things which are often ignored when an individual is considering his comparative position at two periods. It is in this context that we have to consider Tanzania's progress since 1961.

That there has been a great improvement in the general health and welfare of the people is without question. A very large number of our people look healthier and feel healthier; their dress is better; a very much larger proportion wear shoes now than ever did before. This is, as yet, especially true in the towns, but there are also a very large number of people in the rural areas who have good dresses now even if they are too sensible to wear them for work, who have shoes, who can go to a clinic or dispensary for their illnesses, and who have a little money in their pockets. Not nearly as many of our children sit quietly in the apathy of malnutrition as was the case ten years ago—mostly they are active, and stand a much better chance of living to adulthood than they used to do.

Figures to illustrate these matters are difficult to give because of the inadequacy of our statistics. Yet it would appear from an analysis of the census figures of 1957 and 1967 that the average life expectancy at birth has gone up from something like 37 or 38 years to something like 41 years. It would also appear from the same source that infant mortality was between 200 and 250

per thousand live births in 1957, and is now between 160 and 165 per thousand live births. Maternal mortality figures have also greatly decreased. Considering only the mothers who give birth in hospitals and maternity clinics (because other figures are less reliable), 47 mothers died in 1961 out of every 10,000 who gave birth, whereas now the figure is 27 per 10,000.

Even although these figures must be treated with caution, they show so great a change that we can be sure of the big improvement which has taken place. For infant and maternal mortality rates are universally accepted as a good general indication of the health of the adult women in a population, and therefore by inference of the children and men. Life expectancy figures have a similar function of revealing a general level of health. In our case, of course, they do not only show a little improvement on the past; they also show how far we have to go. For in Europe a baby born alive will, on average, live to about 70 years of age not 41!

Public Revenue and Expenditure

These improvements in health are among the many things which have become possible because of an increase in the total wealth produced by the nation, the better distribution of that wealth among the inhabitants, and the greater concentration on community expenditures rather than individual expenditures.

Our total wealth has certainly gone up, although really comparable figures are rather difficult to give. Thus, it was estimated—though without much precision—that at the time of independence the national income per head (that is, the total wealth produced in the country divided by the total population) was something like Shs. 380/- per year. Since that time, a new and more reliable basis for such calculations has been worked out and, on that basis, plus the fact that the population in 1961 was larger than we thought, a better figure for 1961 is probably between Shs. 460/- and Shs. 490/-. Certainly that is the figure we must think of when comparing with the present position, where the national income per head is calculated to be approximately Shs. 670/- a year. This 40 per cent increase, however, is after allowance has been made for a much larger Tanzanian population—which appears to be increasing at something like 2.8 per cent every year! In other words, the total production of wealth has increased by very much more than 40 per cent; indeed even in constant prices it has increased by something like 60 per cent but our output now has to be divided between 13 million people instead of between 10.2 million.

That looks quite good; but we should not forget that we aimed at a higher performance than this. In fact since 1967 the average annual growth for the production of goods and services has been between 4 and 4½ per cent in constant prices; this is about ½ lower than the growth targets of both the First and the Second Five-Year Plans.

This does not merely mean a disappointment in our hopes about the individual standard of living for Tanzanians; such a failure has important implica-

tions for our whole progress. For expenditure on new development is often committed in the expectation that revenue from a higher national income will enable the nation to raise the money required; or schools are built in the belief that tax revenues will increase by a certain amount and thus enable the recurrent costs to be met. When we achieve a one-third lower increase in the national income than we were anticipating, this means that work on certain projects could have to stop half way, or something else may have to be foregone in order to use the school we have built, and so on. Failing to meet a target is thus a very serious matter, as it causes a lack of balance in our economy, means that we may get involved in commitments that we cannot meet, and also disappoints people as they fail to receive services or improvements in their living standard which they had been led to expect.

But how have we distributed and used the wealth we have produced? In fact we have made great efforts to distribute our wealth more fairly between citizens, and we have nothing to be ashamed of in the amount we have taken from our private consumption pockets in order to use it for community needs.

Thus, between 1 July, 1961, and 30 June, 1971, we have spent something like Shs. 3,400 million on what is classified as "Development Expenditure", and Shs. 2,300 million of this came from our internal resources—either by taxes or by internal borrowing. This figure includes a transfer over the period from Government revenues to the parastatal sector of Shs. 590 million, which has been spent on the expansion of our productive investments.

Thus, only 33 per cent of our total government development expenditure in the past ten years has come from outside in the form of loans or grants. This shows the degree to which we are relying first on our own resources and only looking outside when it is absolutely necessary, and when we are sure that we shall be able to repay on the due date. In fact, our "self-reliance" in this respect has increased since the *Arusha Declaration*. In the last four financial years, an average of nearly 74 per cent of our total development expenditure has come from internal resources, as against an average of 56 per cent over the previous six years.

At present, our total government indebtedness is Shs. 2,441 million, of which 42 per cent is owed to people and institutions within Tanzania. It is possible, however, that in the future we may be able to allow ourselves to borrow from abroad a higher proportion of the money we spend on development. This is, of course, assuming that we can raise loans on acceptable terms and without political strings attached to them—conditions which we will always insist upon in the future, as in the past. But if we are able to do this, our development programme will be able to proceed faster than otherwise, for finance is now a limiting factor for us.

Yet in truth development expenditure and recurrent expenditure cannot really be separated. For example, running a school is included in the latter category; but its major purpose is the development of our future citizens and their greater capacity for skilled work—in other words, education is part of development as well as being valuable for itself. The two things are very intimately linked in another way, too; it is a waste to spend development capital

on building a hospital if you are not prepared to set aside recurrent revenue every year to provide a medical attendant and the drugs which are prescribed. Thus, the rise in our recurrent expenditure from Shs. 494 million in 1961/62 to something like Shs. 1,634 million in 1970/71, is a reflection of many things. It reflects the greater public services which are available to our people now as a result of past development efforts; it reflects continuing development expenditure of a certain kind; and it also reflects a continuing commitment to emphasising the provision of basic public needs rather than more and more individual consumer goods. Looking around the world, the experience of other countries (including the richest) suggests that in this we are on the right path for the future health, happiness and well-being of our people and their society.

There is one other aspect of our revenue-raising activities which is important to the kind of society we are creating. Our taxation policy has become much more progressive—that is, a much greater proportion of the public revenue comes from those with larger incomes than those with smaller incomes, both because of the direct taxation rates and because the indirect taxes are much heavier on luxury goods than on essentials. Thus, for example, income tax and personal tax currently account together for Shs. 415 million, and sales tax for another Shs. 217 million, as against a total of Shs. 120 million in 1961, and all these taxes fall on the wealthier sections of the community.

It may be easier to understand what this means when we consider that a Minister in the Tanzania Government receives an annual income of Shs. 48,000/- plus a free house. If he is married with three children he will pay Shs. 9,304/80 in Personal Tax and Income Taxes. A Principal Secretary earning Shs. 48,600/- (with no free house) who is also married with three children will pay Personal Tax and Income Taxes of Shs. 9,352/-. A man earning the Government minimum wage in Dar es Salaam, that is 2,160/- a year, will pay a total of Shs. 30/- a year in direct taxes. But that is only the beginning; all the “durable consumer goods”, such as a car, a refrigerator, etc., which the man on the high income is likely to want to buy are also very heavily taxed. Thus, for example, the cheapest car on sale in Dar es Salaam, which has a list price of Shs. 9,000/-, carries a “Registration Tax” of Shs. 3,150/-, while a popular larger car which has a list price of Shs. 26,500/- carries “Registration Tax” of Shs. 10,600/-.

The take-over by Government of many of the services which were previously the responsibility of the local authorities also has the effect of spreading the burden of public consumption from the poorer to the richer people and areas. And the fact that revenue from Excise Duty is now becoming increasingly important in relation to Customs Duty is an indication of a different kind: it shows how our economy is changing in structure towards greater self-reliance.

But we have only just started along this road, and it is important that we continue a lot further along it. For we are still laying the foundation for our future growth as much as we are producing for our present enjoyment.

This is not to say that our conditions have failed to improve already. They have done so—a great deal.

Health

One of the problems in evaluating progress in the health of a nation (apart from the figures already given) is that statistics normally refer to sickness and the provision of services for sickness! Indeed, the truth is that the best way to measure the improvement—or lack of it—in the health of the people of Tanzania over the last ten years, is to walk around and look at them! But there is one thing at least which is certain: the consumption of protein foodstuffs such as milk, fish, eggs, and even meat, has increased more than the population has increased. This is bound to have a good effect on national health in the course of time.

It is also true that the incidence of some of the major communicable diseases has been reduced. Whereas there were 3,027 cases of smallpox notified in 1961, and about the same number every year until 1967, a rapid decrease followed until there were only 32 cases reported in 1970, and none at all between January and August 1971. This change began with the commencement of the smallpox vaccination campaign which got under way in 1968 with the help of WHO, and which has now led to an estimated 60 per cent of the population being protected against this disease. Polio cases also appear to be greatly reduced in number, and although similar progress cannot be recorded in the other major diseases, it does appear that at the very least we have held our ground in respect to them. This is itself an achievement when one considers the experience of some other African countries. Also, the strengthened basic health services mean that the suffering caused by many illnesses, and the severity of them, has been much reduced. Thus, for example, anti-malaria drugs and simple medical care for this disease are now within easy reach of almost everyone; death is less common from it, and the length of time during which a sufferer is incapacitated has, in general, been reduced.

For there has been an increase in the medical services available, and the position will improve still further in the future because of the continuing expansion of staff training. The Dar es Salaam Medical School, which was started in 1963, and became part of the University in 1968, now has an intake of between 30 and 40 students a year. This will be increased to 100 in the next few years, and the School will become a comprehensive faculty of the health sciences. Training still takes place elsewhere as well and, whereas in December, 1961, there were 403 registered doctors and 22 licensed doctors working in Tanganyika, in December, 1970, there were 489 registered doctors and 100 licensed doctors. In addition, there are 83 Chinese doctors working in the rural areas. It is also interesting to note that, whereas in 1961 only 12 of the registered doctors were Tanganyikans, in 1970 the comparable figure was 123.

The expansion in the numbers of Medical Assistants and Rural Medical Aids being trained is also notable. In 1961 there were 4 schools training these two groups of health workers, with a total output of 74 a year, whereas in 1971 there are 9 such schools with a total output of 270. And whereas there were 14 schools for nurses in 1961, with an annual output of 235, there are now 22

schools with a combined output of 422—with some of these being trained to a higher standard than ever before.

In addition to this, the organization of the health service has been rationalized, expanded, and directed more to serving the needs of the rural areas. One example of this is the integration of Government and non-Government medical services, so that available facilities are used to the maximum advantage. Thus, 11 voluntary agency hospitals have been provided with Government funds to function as District hospitals—and some of these have been completely handed over to Government. Also, suitable Voluntary Agency dispensaries now receive Government finance to act as rural health centres, and Government has taken increased financial and other responsibility for the running of Local Authority Health Services where this was necessary to ensure reliable, good service to the people of the area.

In figures, there will be 122 hospitals in mainland Tanzania by the end of 1971, as against 98 ten years ago; 90 rural health centres as against 22; and 1,400 rural dispensaries as against 975 at independence. Further, training in simple First-Aid is now being given to selected members of ujamaa villages so that they can man "health posts" which are being established on an experimental basis in some villages. It is as yet too early to assess the results of this important new development.

Quite spectacular progress has been made in the field of mother and child care. It is estimated that more than 60 per cent of the pregnant women now get ante-natal care, as against some 30 per cent in 1961, and about 30 per cent of children are now born in various health institutions as against 11 per cent at independence. The importance of this arises from the fact that a confinement in a clinic is less likely to result in the baby's death than if it takes place outside.

Much remains to be done for the health of our people, and it is essential that the money we allocate to this service should be spent to the maximum advantage. For although it is true that the Health Budget has increased from less than Shs. 5/- to about Shs. 10/- per person per year, this is still a very small amount. Yet an increase could only be made by reducing some other expenditure, or by increasing taxes—neither of which we can easily do.

There are, however, two methods by which we can increase the effectiveness of the money we allocate for health. The first of these is to put greater emphasis on preventive medicine. Given our general state of health, we often have to cure before we prevent. Nevertheless it is cheaper, as well as better, to prevent illnesses than to cure them; and this can often be done by greater health education, by better hygiene, and by sensible prophylactic medicine for people at special risk. Tentative steps in this direction have been taken, with more emphasis being given to preventive medicine in the training programmes. But it is necessary that we should act more positively and with a greater sense of urgency in this matter.

All members of the medical profession should see it as an important part of their task to teach their patients, and the people in their locality, how to remain or become healthy. And every TANU leader should make it his or her busi-

ness to learn how he can help. For cleanliness in our streets, and in our yards, does not need special training courses; a declaration of war upon flies should not need a debate at a TANU Conference. Nor is it good enough to grumble about bad municipal refuse collection; to a large extent each area could become "self-reliant" in this matter. Yet through such means as this we could make great headway towards better health without more money.

The second step is equally important. We have to "think Tanzanian" in relation to health as in other things. It is no use our laying down such high standards of building, sanitation and equipment for our rural health centres, etc., that we can only afford to build one or two a year instead of the hundreds which are needed. What is important to our people is that they should have services available; they don't need palaces. It doesn't matter if these services are available in a mud hut, provided that this hut is kept scrupulously clean, that light and air can get through it, that it has clean water available, and some means of sterilising thermometers and other instruments. And an improved local type building, whitewashed inside every few months, and thoroughly scrubbed every day, with a simple water tank and filter, and a gas or paraffin heater, etc., can be provided quite cheaply. Indeed, in many cases the members of an ujamaa village could do such building and maintenance themselves if they had a minimum of guidance. The same principles apply to all other rural medical services; all the time we must be concerned to see how cheaply we can provide the basic facilities and not how beautiful they look to visiting Presidents or tourists.

Even in towns the same attitude must be adopted. We now have some wonderful hospitals, with elaborate equipment. But do we realize how much these buildings and this equipment costs to maintain? In future we must think ten times before we undertake such recurring expenditures; for in health as in other things we must concentrate first on the basic necessities. We cannot afford to provide facilities for a few people to get advanced treatment for special heart diseases while the masses of our people are not able to get treatment for the common diseases which make their lives a misery. That is a hard doctrine, but it is a question of priorities. To plan is to choose!

Education

In a socialist country universal primary education would be provided free for all children, and post-primary education would be readily available to all who could benefit from it, however old they may be. Such conditions do not exist in Tanzania; we are only working towards socialism and are far from having achieved that objective.

The poverty of Tanzania does not allow for the kind of expenditure which would be necessary for such universal services, however much we would like them. Priorities have had to be worked out and strictly adhered to. Certainly these priorities have changed as our circumstances changed and as we became more aware of our national requirements. But one thing has remained fairly constant. That is the decision that the limited resources at our command must

be used first to prepare citizens of this country for the competent execution of the jobs which the community wants done. Post-primary education in particular is thus provided in accordance with the manpower plan forecasts; although we are working towards universal primary education, we cannot make available at public expense "education for education's sake" beyond that level.

Yet for our country education is a necessity. Hence, something like 20 per cent of Government recurrent expenditure is devoted to this service, and has been for years. Whereas in 1960/61 we allocated Shs. 50 million to recurrent costs and a further Shs. 8 million to development, the respective figures for the current year are Shs. 310 million and Shs. 60 million.

The problem is that, even with this great emphasis on education, we cannot do a fraction of what we would like to do. We have decided that an early objective must be universal literacy; we want to provide for all our citizens the basic tool with which they can become more efficient in their daily work, and which they can use to improve their own education.

At independence, however, we inherited a society which was basically illiterate, and where the number of people with even secondary school education was very small indeed. Thus, for example, in 1961 there was a total of only 11,832 children in the secondary schools in Tanganyika, and only 176 of these were in the Sixth Form! This meant that, in order to provide for efficient Africanisation of our administration and our economy as quickly as possible, the new Government was forced to give first priority to the expansion of post-primary education. We did this to such good effect that in 1971 we had 31,662 children in secondary schools, of whom 1,488 are in Form VI.

The University College of Dar es Salaam was opened with 14 law students a few months before independence—it began that year as a result of decisions made in the period of "responsible self-government". But in 1961, altogether, there were only 194 Tanganyika students at the University Colleges of East Africa and 1,312 studying overseas, either at university level or below. The figures were very different by 1971—with 2,028 students at the Universities of East Africa and 1,347 studying overseas, some of these in post-graduate studies. It must also be remembered that these figures reflect a steady growth over the whole period; our country is now receiving the services of many young men and women who have received their Fifth and Sixth Form, and their University education, all since independence. The establishment of the University of Dar es Salaam has also meant that the subjects available to our students, and the content of their courses, are becoming ever more relevant to the needs of this country.

The same thing is true of primary schools. There has been a big expansion in numbers—from 3,100 to 4,705 primary schools, and from 486,000 primary school pupils in 1961 to 848,000 in 1971. Further, a much larger proportion of the children now do the full primary school course, for in 1961 most pupils left school after four years; thus, in 1961, 11,700 children completed the primary school course, whereas this year 70,000 are expected to do so.

Yet these achievements must not blind us to the terrible fact that almost the

same proportion of our children now as in 1961 fail to find a place in primary school. We have provided primary school places for only about 52 per cent of the children of primary school age—that is how far we are from our objective of universal primary school education! And it is absurd to think that passing resolutions at TANU Conferences, or asking questions in Parliament, can solve this problem. There is no short and simple answer to it. Yet it would be criminal if we allowed our failure to be enveloped in a cloud of self-congratulation about what we have achieved in education. Those children without school places must remain as a real challenge to us for the future.

It is not, however, only numbers which matter in education. The type of education given in our schools is equally important. This was recognized when we adopted the policy of "Education for Self-Reliance" in 1967, and since then we have been trying to change the content of the education provided by our education system. We are trying to ensure that lower levels do not direct their attention solely to preparing their pupils for secondary school or university, but that at each level attention is concentrated on the needs of the majority. For we have recognized that, for the foreseeable future, the majority of our primary school pupils will not go to secondary school, and the majority of our secondary school pupils will not go to university. In Tanzania they will leave full-time learning and become workers (not necessarily wage earners) in our villages and towns.

We have made quite good progress in this endeavour so far, but our task is far from complete. Not all the syllabi have yet been changed in accordance with the new policy; not every teacher has yet received the necessary re-training and reorientation. We must try to do more on this, because wrong education could cause difficulties for the nation as well as for the individual in the future. But it is no use being impatient; replacing most of the books used is an expensive business, and in any case, they have first to be planned, written, and printed. It is no use replacing one set of bad books by another.

The policy of Education for Self-Reliance has, however, further implications, as it says that all schools "must be economic communities as well as social and educational communities". And it asks, "Is it impossible for secondary schools at least to become reasonably self-sufficient communities, where the teaching and supervisory skills are imported from outside but where other tasks are either done by the community or paid for by its productive efforts?"

Virtually every school now has a farm or a workshop attached to it, and visitors see the children putting various degrees of effort into the work when a teacher is not nearby. It is also true that some schools have produced quite good crops, and have developed a pride in their production. But it is a much rarer school where the pupils are involved in the planning of the farm, the keeping of records, and the allocation of its returns to different purposes—in other words, where it is theirs and they are able to go forward on a co-operative basis. And still more rare is the school where the productive unit is regarded as an integral part of the life of the school.

The fact is that we have a very long way to go before our educational policy is properly understood and properly applied. Schools are places of learning—

we do not want to change this. A school should not become either a factory or a shamba. But working in a school factory or shamba should become a normal part of the process of learning and living. This is what we have not yet grasped; we do not accept in practice that school pupils have to live, and work as they live, as well as learn, and that learning and living are parts of a single process. We are still trying to graft "working" on to "learning", as if the former is an "extra" being added to education just for the good of our souls. Living, learning, and working cannot be separated.

Our failure to implement fully this policy of education for the young is, however, nothing as compared with the extent of our failure in the field of education for adults. As early as 1962 we recognized in words that national progress could not wait until school children had been educated and had grown up to take their places as active citizens. And we said then that this meant that education for adults was essential.

Yet despite the words, very little practical emphasis was given to adult education by Government until recently. It was talked about by politicians, but it was really done only by voluntary agencies and as a sideline by some Government field workers! This position has begun to change. During the last 18 months an organized and concerted adult education campaign has been under way, with the active and irreplaceable support of school teachers throughout the country. Further, the Ministry of Education has appointed Adult Education Officers in each District, and is providing free to each student literacy text-books which were specially prepared to interest and educate adults about the nation's objectives, while they are acquiring the literacy tool.

It is as yet too early to say whether the six Districts which were challenged to eradicate illiteracy before the end of 1971 will in fact succeed in reaching this objective. But efforts are going on in those areas and elsewhere, so that in the first half of 1971 something like 560,000 people in the country were attending literacy classes, and another 280,000 were attending other, more advanced, classes. One further lesson learnt from the experience of the past is also being applied now: it is no use teaching someone to read and write and then leaving them without anything to read! Post-literacy books and magazines are being prepared and distributed by the Ministry of Education, and this work will be expanded.

In addition to this "mass education", a great deal of other education activity is now going on in Tanzania. For all the public enterprises are engaged in various worker training schemes; and seminars are constantly being held for Government employees, for TANU workers, for voluntary social workers, or for other different kinds of groups. Some of these seminars have as their major purpose the improvement of job skills: but a very large number of them are directed also towards spreading an understanding of our socialist objectives and what that particular group can do to further them.

Yet although this effort is now being made, we have not, as a nation, grasped that just as working is a part of education, so learning is a necessary part of working. A factory or a shamba is a place of work; we neither want to change this, nor could we do so. But learning must become an integral part of

working; and people must learn as and where they work. At present education at the work places is regarded as an "extra", whether it be thought of as an imposition or as a special treat! We still do not think of working and education as being necessarily connected together.

But they are connected unless a worker is to become simply an appendage to a machine—endlessly tightening nuts or endlessly copy typing. And for a Tanzanian to be regarded in this way simply as a "unit of production" would be quite contrary to everything we are trying to do. It would be to treat people as an instrument of development instead of as the masters of development.

It is therefore essential that work places become places of education as well as of work. Classes must be organized there for literacy, skills, politics and anything else in which a group of workers are interested. Of course this education cannot replace work; but it can and must supplement it, and be part of the working day.

These classes must become an integral part of the factory life—so normal a thing that it is their absence which is noticed, not their presence! An occasional "course" is not enough: Workers' Councils, Workers' Committees, the Management, or the TANU or NUTA Branch could take the initiative in this matter, then discussing with the management and the workers as a whole, how, when and what class should be organized. It does not matter who starts them going; the important thing is that they should start and be kept in being. At the moment we have, as a new thing, many literacy classes in different factories in Dar es Salaam. But this is not enough. We must go very much further than that.

If we are to make real progress in "adult education" it is essential that we should stop trying to divide up life into sections, one of which is for educational and another, longer, one of which is for work—with occasional time off for "courses". In a country dedicated to change we must accept that education and working are both parts of living and should continue from birth until we die. Then we may begin to deserve the praise that was given to Tanzania by the man who said that our policy is "revolution by education". At the moment, and despite our undoubted achievements, such praise refers more to what we say than to what we do.

WHAT WE HAVE ACHIEVED—THE ECONOMIC SECTORS

Agriculture

All that we have done in the social and public service sectors, and indeed all other economic expansion, has depended on agriculture. That was, and remains, the basis of our economy. Unless we had expanded output in this field, virtually no other progress would have been possible. Similarly, if we had done nothing about socialization in the rural areas, then the effect and the longevity of our other socialist measures would have been very greatly reduced. Fortunately, agricultural production has expanded, and we have begun to move towards socialism in the rural areas.

The output of all major, and many of our minor, crops (except sisal) has increased very greatly. Once again, it is only possible to compare the position in 1961 as against 1970, because it is dangerous to count on expectations about output when the weather can have such a devastating effect on the final result. That factor must also be remembered when comparing these two years: 1961 was quite a bad year from a weather point of view, while 1970 was not.

Bearing that in mind, it is still very much worth looking at the increases in certain crops. Using metric tons as the unit of measurement (equivalent to 2,205 lbs.), our cotton production went up from approximately 30,000 to approximately 79,000 tons, coffee from 20,000 to 55,000; and pyrethrum flowers from 1,300 to 3,800. It is worth noting, also, that the processing of this latter crop is now done in Tanzania, whereas previously all the flowers had to be sent to Kenya for extraction to be done. Sugar production went up from 29,000 tons to almost 90,000; cashew from 28,000 to 118,000; and sunflower seeds from 6,000 to 13,000. It is because of these increases that the other expansion of our economy was able to take place. Yet it would be idle to pretend that we have done anything like enough, or that we have really made much progress in modernising our agriculture.

For the truth is that these increases have been achieved more by increased acreage than by any other single factor. It is believed that in 1964 something like 29 million acres were being cultivated, and that the figure in 1970 was nearer 39 million but, because there has been no agricultural census, these are only the roughest of estimates.

It would be wrong to say that there has been no improvement in the methods of husbandry practised in Tanzania or that there has not been any introduction of modern ranching methods for livestock. Yet unfortunately it would be more true to say that than to imply that a revolution in method has taken place in our rural areas. No such revolution has been effected. Our cotton is grown very much as it was grown ten years ago. Better seeds are used because of the work done at the Ukiriguru Research Station, and this has helped a lot. But only about 5 per cent of our cotton farmers are using fertilizers; even the number of oxen ploughs used in the cotton areas is very small indeed. A visitor to a cotton farm in Sukumaland or elsewhere, returning after an absence of ten years, will probably see nothing new in method or in tools. He will still hear the same message being broadcast—plant early, uproot and burn the plants after harvest, etc.—and he will see that these messages are still necessary because otherwise the work does not get done!

The same thing is true of all our old crops; the methods are those of the past. Indeed the situation is even worse as regards foodstuffs, because our colonial governors used to concentrate all their attention on cash crops and we have followed their example by not bothering about the methods used for the production of food.

Only in regard to the new cash crops have we farmed at all well, for in relation to these the peasants are taught and supervised from the beginning. Tobacco and tea are the most important examples of this, and as a result our tea is now recognized as being of high quality in a competitive market, and our

tobacco production has increased from 2,700 metric tons in 1961 to 21,400 metric tons in 1970. And it is in these crops—especially the latter—that the use of fertilizers has really expanded. It is therefore even more disgraceful when one considers that whereas Tanzania used 7,000 tons of fertilizers in 1961 we used only 23,000 tons in 1970. If we had really been carrying through an agricultural revolution in Tanzania during that period, the expansion in the amount of fertilizer used would have been nearer 30 times than 3 times!

The use of better tools has also extended very slowly indeed. At one time we imported a lot of tractors and put them under the control of Co-operative Societies which used them to plough for their members. But this soon proved to be uneconomical, because the use of the tractors was not properly organized and they spent more time moving on the roads or waiting for repairs than they did actually at work in the fields. Now tractors are used mostly on state farms with just a few being owned by the more advanced ujamaa villages.

The small expansion of tractor use is, however, of much less importance to us than the slow progress we have made in spreading the use of animal-drawn implements. It ought by now to be a common sight in our countryside to see ujamaa village members, or even individual peasants, doing their ploughing and harrowing, etc., with such tools. But in most areas all that we see are people with backs bent under the hot sun, breaking the land with heavy hoes just as their ancestors have done for centuries. We must move faster in this matter. It is true that in the last few years 21 ox training centres have been established: but when one considers the size of our country and the number of our people it is obvious that this number is ludicrously small. Even last year only about 12,000 ox-ploughs were sold in Tanzania—2,300 of which were locally made.

We have, it is true, extended the training of agricultural field officers both for arable farming and for the veterinary sector. Whereas in 1961 there were 3 Ministry of Agriculture Training Institutes, by 1971 there had been added to these 4 Centres for the training of Field Assistants, 17 Farmers' Training Centres (which take members of ujamaa villages for special courses), an Agricultural Faculty of the University, and several centres for specialised training in such things as farm management, agro-mechanics, land planning, and so on.

Once again however, the content of such courses is as important as the fact that they are taking place, and changes have recently been introduced which should make these more useful. For greater emphasis is now being given, especially at the more advanced levels, to the economics of farming, in the hope that the people trained will be able to help our ujamaa village members to organize their crops and their time to better effect. But the technical knowledge about different types of crops, and about what will grow where and how, remains as important as ever. And we must do much more, for although the expansion of training courses is good, we have not reached the stage where a peasant can easily get new information—or pass on the information he gains through experience. The growth in ujamaa villages will, however, make it easier for us to apply the lessons learned at these training courses, because

agricultural field workers can reach a larger number of people at one time—and be reached by them.

There is one other thing we must also learn. For we still appear to think that the only person who can teach anyone anything about agriculture is a man who has certain certificates or certain formal educational qualifications. This is just not true. Such things can help provided the course leading to the certificate is practical and directed towards the needs of our countryside. But learning is not a matter of getting certificates; and in agriculture especially, we must accept that fact quickly, and make arrangements to learn from anyone who is a good farmer.

What all this means is that the considerable increases in agricultural production which our nation has recorded are due mostly to the sweat of the peasants. Yet, although we must be dissatisfied with the amount we have done to help them improve their methods, it would be wrong to say the extended activities of the Ministry of Agriculture have had no effect. They have helped. The expansion of services has just not been great enough or dynamic enough. It is worth mentioning at this point, however, that most of these extra activities of the Ministry—for example, the wages of the Field Officers and Assistants, the running of the Farmers' Training Centres, and so on—are classified in the national accounts as "Recurrent Expenditure" not "Development Expenditure". Yet this kind of work is basic to development. It is not much use the nation spending money on making ox-ploughs available if the farmers do not know how to use them; it is no use urging the farmers to apply fertiliser if they have no way of learning how and when to do so. Agricultural expenditure is, and ought to be, "Development Expenditure", however it appears in the national accounts.

Although it does not yet show very much in the production figures, the organization of production in our rural areas is also beginning to change. With the establishment of a few publicly-owned, and usually mechanised, large farms, and the rapid growth of ujamaa villages, our rural areas are beginning to move towards a socialist pattern. Unfortunately, it is not at present possible to give figures of the proportions of the total output which come from the different types of farms—though certainly up to now peasant agriculture is still responsible for the bulk of most crops.

This must change. If we are to become a socialist society the greatest part of our agricultural production must result from co-operative or publicly-owned farms. So far we have established the machinery for State Farms and ranches, but we cannot claim to be giving them the attention and care that they need if they are to succeed. In at least one case, indeed, State Farms are at present getting a lower yield per acre than the nearby peasants, despite the amount of machinery, etc., which they have! Yet if capitalist farmers can make profits out of large units, it is obvious that properly conducted State Farms should be able to make a great contribution to our national output, and also to help their neighbours with services and advice.

At present the Production Division of the Ministry of Agriculture runs some farms, a few of which are doing reasonably well, but not all. The National

Agricultural and Food Corporation is also active in this field, with ranches and some arable farms in the process of formation or—in a few cases—expansion after they were taken over from N.D.C. when NAFCO was established in 1969. So far, rice, wheat, sugar, tea, limes and maize are among the crops being grown on these publicly owned farms, and Dairy Farming is being introduced. Yet although it would be absurd to forget that there is always a time period between establishing a new farm and getting maximum production from it, we should not be satisfied with our progress. We must keep the public farm sector under constant review.

But the real socialisation of the rural areas depends upon the spread and the success of ujamaa villages. For these are, or will be, the co-operative farms which are under the direct control of the producers, who will themselves decide what to grow, how much, and so on. Further, these are not just economic units; an ujamaa village is, or will become, an economic, a social and a political unit. Its people will not only produce their crops together, so that they talk of "our shamba" and "our output"; they will also run their own affairs, supervise their own schools, organize the improvement in their own living conditions, and become a community for all purposes.

It is much too early to discuss the success or failure of this rural socialist policy. For although a few such units did exist previously, it was only in September, 1967, that the development of ujamaa villages became official TANU and Government policy, and therefore only after that date that there was official help and encouragement given to them. Further, all such villages must be established voluntarily, and the members must themselves decide at any one time how much they are willing to do co-operatively, and how much they want to continue on an individual basis. For an ujamaa village can only come into being in its full sense when it has the wholehearted support and commitment of the people involved; it will inevitably, therefore, come into being by stages.

Thus, although there were in June, 1971, thought to be something like 2,700 ujamaa villages in existence, with a total population in the region of 840,000 people, most show more of a commitment to a future of ujamaa than the practice of it. In some cases, the people have only just come together to live in a village; in such circumstances they usually continue with their individual farming practices for a year or so. Co-operative farming is usually started, and expanded, quite slowly. In other cases (particularly in Iringa Region), the people have begun to work together on a co-operative farm before moving into a village.

In fact, among these 2,700 ujamaa villages there can be found almost every stage of development, from one or two of the older ones where all farming is done co-operatively, through those where cash crops are farmed co-operatively, to those where only a few acres are farmed together, with the proceeds being used for village needs. Sometimes people describe themselves as living in an ujamaa village, when in fact they are doing nothing at all together. This is usually because it is their first year of living as a community and all the

members are concentrating on ensuring that they have some sort of shelter and food for the coming season.

There is nothing wrong with this method of development; on the contrary, it is probably the best way for our nation to proceed. For we have no blueprint which tells us all the answers to questions about how such villages should be run and should operate. Indeed, different types of land, different climate, different peoples and different crops mean that there should not be a single model; because an ujamaa village will only succeed when it takes all these things into account in its organization and practice. By our present method we shall learn as we go along, and learn from each other. Indeed, this is already happening as members of newer villages visit those which are older or more advanced, and study what is being done and how.

Yet already a number of interesting things can be seen. For example, whereas at one time it was the general practice for an ujamaa village to be started on completely new land, with members leaving their old homes, an increasing number of villages are now being created by the transformation of existing communities—Mwanza Region is a good example of this trend. It is also clear that the rate at which ujamaa villages are being established is increasing. Between early 1970 and July, 1970, the number increased from about 800 to about 1,200; in the next 6 months an extra 500 were started, and in the following 6 months an extra 700. And, of course, none of these figures include the recent mass movement of people of Dodoma Region into ujamaa villages—a movement which represents the biggest challenge and the biggest opportunity for the ujamaa village policy, because of the particularly difficult nature of the land and climate in this Region.

There is, in other words, good reason to believe that we are making progress in the execution of our policy for socialism in the rural areas. Certainly Government has done, and will continue to do, everything possible to help and encourage this development. Priority is given to ujamaa villages in the allocation of new schools or classrooms, dispensaries, clinics, water supplies, advisory services, etc. Everything now depends upon the leadership which is given to the people—a leadership which must mean doing, not just saying—and our determination to learn as we go along from our own experience and from each other.

Industry

If our nation is to develop, however, we cannot continue to have an exclusively agricultural economy. It is encouraging, therefore, that the expansion of manufacturing and processing since independence has been very great. A large proportion of our simple consumer goods, which used to be imported in 1961, are now made within Tanzania, and the number and variety is increasing every month. Thus, for example, we now produce almost all our own textiles; we make our own matches, blankets, cycle and motor car tyres, household and plastic products, furniture, shoes, steel wire, bags, foodstuffs of all kinds, and so on. We produce our own cement, refine our own oil, assemble

Jorries, and make simple agricultural implements. In by no means all of these things are we the only supplier of our market, but none of them did we do in 1961. Then we had just begun to make our own cigarettes and beer, manufacture plastic shoes, and mill our own flour—and very little else besides.

The importance of this change is difficult to over-emphasise. For it is not just a question of national pride; this industrial development has an effect on the whole economy. It creates employment for Tanzanians and is a source of training for them as they work; the money which is spent on these goods circulates within the country—the worker buys food, clothes and other things from his wages thus providing still more employment and stimulating further activity. At the same time we are saving foreign exchange.

In 1961 we had to sell overseas the products of our farmers, even to buy clothes made out of the cotton we had grown; to buy such simple things as matches, we had first to find a foreign purchaser for our cash crops. Now we can save the foreign exchange which our farmers earn, and spend it on complicated goods needed for development.

Inevitably we have had some difficulty with certain of our new Tanzania-made products as regards quality and price. These are not small matters, for it is a waste of effort and money to make matches which do not light, or textiles which do not wear well. Nor is it very helpful to a poor peasant if he is forced to pay much more for a Tanzania-made product than he would have had to pay for a comparable imported one. It is vital that great attention should be paid to these questions by the workers in our new industries; their job is to produce good, hard-wearing and functional products even though they may be simple at this stage.

Yet it would be absurd to pretend that this can always be done immediately. The community must accept that either in price or design—or both—Tanzanian products may not be quite as good as the imported things when they first come on to the market. A householder who is learning to make his own chairs from wood off his own farm is unlikely to produce a very nice chair at his first attempt. But if his wife refuses to use it because of its imperfections, she will either have to go without a chair altogether, or she will have to give up buying a new cooker because some of the money for it has been spent on buying more beautiful chairs. Tanzania, as a nation, has the same kind of choice.

And this situation will change. The householder is likely to make a better chair at his second attempt, because of greater confidence in the use of his tools, because he will have studied the faults in his first effort, and examined those made by more skilled persons. Similarly, our Tanzania factories will improve as they learn from experience. Indeed, that has already happened with some products. Our matches now work; the cloth from our textile mills is of better quality and more to the taste of our people than when it was first produced; and so on.

On price, too, there may be a differential, with Tanzania prices being higher than those for comparable goods from developed countries. Sometimes, and in relation to certain products, this can also be corrected in time; but that will not always be so. For sometimes this difference will arise because the develop-

ed countries are able to produce in much larger quantities and can therefore use methods of mass production which our market does not justify, or which demand elaborate machines for which we do not have the foreign exchange. But the basic question is the same; if we insist on purchasing such goods from abroad, rather than paying a few extra cents for small items, or extra shillings for large items, then we shall be unable to spend our foreign exchange on things which we are quite unable to produce for ourselves. We should remember, however, that some local products have been cheaper from the beginning. We have got so used to paying 15 cents for a box of matches that we forget the price of 20 or 25 cents we used to pay for imported ones!

But there is another important thing about our industrial production now. By far the greater part of it is produced in factories and workshops which we, as a nation, own completely, or in which we own the majority of the shares. This is not true of all goods; we have not excluded all private manufacturing activity in Tanzania. But it is true of the most important goods. And our instrument for this public ownership in manufacturing industries and mining is the National Development Corporation.

National Development Corporation

After its formation in January 1965, the National Development Corporation was reorganized in 1969 when the whole parastatal sector of the economy was rationalized. Several of its subsidiaries were then transferred to other parastatal corporations. Yet even so, the NDC's total investments in mid-1971 were valued at Shs. 330 million, as against Shs. 24 million at its inception.

The NDC, which is responsible for public investment, initiation, and management in the manufacturing, processing and mining industries (and which is involved in procurement and distribution within these fields) is thus the largest single parastatal organization. It has 22 operational subsidiary companies in which it has total or majority control, 5 companies in which it owns 50 per cent of the shares, and 6 others in which it owns a quarter or more of the shares. In addition, the NDC owns or controls a number of other companies and projects which are still being developed. Its interests therefore cover a very wide field; they include such things as the Williamsons Diamond Mine, a steel rolling mill, factories producing textiles, shoes, school supplies, meerscham pipes, blankets and books. And its units vary in size from the Friendship Textile Mill, which employs more than 3,000 people, to the National Small Industries Corporation, which directly employs only 21 people, but which organizes and provides facilities for a large number of small craftsmen working on a cottage industry basis.

This variation reflects the many different purposes of NDC investment. For its task is not only to organize the production of high quality goods at reasonable prices, and to save imports, or earn foreign exchange by exports. It also has the task of increasing wage employment and of diversifying economic activity in the rural areas. Thus, the NDC companies are occasionally very capital intensive, like the steel rolling mill, or the fertilizer factory which has

an investment of Shs. 162 million but employs only 800 workers. And sometimes they are labour intensive, like the National Cashew Company which deals with the hand decorticating of nuts in some ujamaa villages of Coast and Mtwara Regions. This will eventually employ about 3,500 workers, but the total capital investment will be only Shs. 3.5 million.

Thus, the NDC cannot look only at profitability when considering whether to initiate or maintain an enterprise. It has to consider the development of Tanzania as a whole.

However, the NDC as a Corporation, and in the course of time its individual companies, has to earn a surplus which can be invested in future development. So far, and after balancing out losses in new companies or those with special marketing difficulties, this has happened every year, although the total surplus has never been anything like enough to meet the new investment projects of the Corporation. It is essential that we should make extra efforts in this connection, for we cannot rest at our present position, and past investments must make a real contribution to the financing of new investments. Only thus will we build our industrial sector on the basis of self-reliance.

Yet their surplus is not the only contribution which NDC Companies make to national funds. They pay taxes like any other company, and these now total something like Shs. 175 million every year. This is an important contribution to our public revenues.

The Distributive Sector

As regards the distributive and foreign trade sectors of the economy—as in so many others—the new nation inherited a structure which was mostly foreign owned, and which was very fragmented. Even by 1968 there were still some 400 private importers, 400 private wholesalers, and about 3,600 private sub-wholesalers, operating on the mainland of Tanzania—and this was after the nationalization of the major import/export firms. Yet Government has not only intended to control importing through a system of licences, and thus safeguard our foreign exchange position. It decided also to take importing, exporting and wholesaling into public hands so as to ensure that they operate solely for the benefit of the consumers, and with the minimum of fuss. We are making progress towards this.

Although some of the different parastatal corporations and companies have been given responsibility for the sale and distribution of their own manufactures, the bulk of this task has been given to the State Trading Corporation—and a difficult task it is. Tens of thousands of different items have to be kept available after having been procured, locally if possible or otherwise from the cheapest and most reliable foreign sources. At the same time the internal distribution structure has had to be reorganized to avoid waste and exploitation while ensuring that an adequate service to the customer is maintained. In addition, the STC is the Government institution most responsible for the rationalization of brand purchasing and the maximum use of such overseas credits as are available to us on good terms.

In these circumstances, and after less than five years of existence, it is hardly surprising that the STC has experienced more problems than any of the other public enterprises. For it has been expanding its activities throughout; at no time have we given the STC time to consolidate its existing operations before instructing it to undertake new tasks. A leisurely progress towards socialization has been impossible, because the necessity to rationalize the whole distribution system, and the need to reduce the period of business uncertainty have all required quick action. Positive public control of all foreign trade and wholesale distribution agencies had to be secured before full advantage could be taken of our other economic advances.

Yet despite its difficulties, the STC has not been running at a loss; on the contrary, after making provision for something like Shs. 20 million Income Tax over the period, it has earned a net surplus in the region of Shs. 27 million—all of which has been, or is being, reinvested in training or other improved facilities.

And the socialization has proceeded. In this year, 1971, we have reached a position where by far the greater part of our wholesale distribution is in public hands, and parastatal organizations have a monopoly in all the most important commodities. Thus, STC alone handles over 40,000 group products, and its turnover has increased from Shs. 353 million in its first full year of operation (1967/68) to something more than Shs. 630 million in 1970/71—an almost 80 per cent increase in four years.

Before becoming too proud of this, however, we must remember that this increase is the result of our deliberate policy, not because of any virtues of STC! In particular, we have to recognize that this Corporation is not yet geared for "service" in the sense of making things easy for the consumer or retailer. We hear many complaints that the STC office closes at set times, regardless of the fact that customers' buses arrive later; in both town and country goods "run out" although they are in plentiful supply; and everywhere there is a lack of helpfulness. Thus, for example, certain customary brands of goods may no longer be available, yet customers are only occasionally offered the alternative local or other product with some encouragement to try it; usually they are just told that what they want is not available—so they go off dissatisfied and still not knowing that their needs could be met. Then we grumble about people's conservatism!

There are other problems also, such as those of ensuring regularity of supply to shops, and of co-ordinating imports and local production, which the STC has not yet overcome. But in urging all the workers of this Corporation to make further efforts, we must remember that the STC is a young organization. While being aware of its deficiencies we must help it forward with constructive criticism, and not fall into the trap of doing our enemies' task for them by destructive attacks.

Looking now at foreign trade we can see a similar advance towards socialist organization. In 1961 virtually all imports were handled by private firms. In 1970 the STC was dealing with something like 42 per cent of the total imports (though about one-fifth of these were still being imported by private firms

under licence); Government, the smaller parastatals and the East African Community, together, were importing more than 50 per cent of the total, the N.D.C. was responsible for another 5 per cent; and only 3 per cent or 4 per cent was still being handled by private firms.

Public ownership and control also dominates our exporting system now. Most of the collection, grading, packing and storage of agricultural commodities is done by the co-operative movement, with overseas buyers coming in at auction or other central sales points. And even here, the STC, on behalf of the nation, is now becoming active; while organizations like the Sisal Marketing Board, and the various NDC firms, also sell direct in many cases. Altogether something like 60 per cent of our exporting is now done entirely by public enterprises, and most of the remaining 40 per cent is bought by foreign agents from the Marketing Boards or other public institutions.

Thus, it is fair to say that the nation is basically succeeding in obtaining control and ownership of the wholesale, import and export trade in accordance with the *Arusha Declaration*. What remains is to increase our efficiency of operation, and our drive and initiative in finding good export markets.

Foreign Trade

From all that has already been said, it will be obvious that our economy is changing in type. It is no longer entirely geared to the export market; increasingly it is being organized to produce the goods which Tanzanians require.

This is not only true as regards manufactured goods, but also in agriculture. Sugar consumption has increased, and the sugar is now produced here; we produce wheat which our people eat to an increasing extent, and so on. And different areas are beginning to concentrate on the crops which they can best produce, so that an internal market is developing. Thus, for example, maize is transported from the Iringa area to Arusha or Sukumaland, while Iringa Region gets wheat from Mbeya or Arusha.

Of course, this development is only possible because of the improved communications and transportation system. When one Region of our country has a drought now, we can usually supply it from another Region which is in surplus, or from stocks; it is no longer necessary automatically to look to other countries for help and to use the transport system from our ports to the afflicted area. All this means that our real independence has been increased by a growth of an internal market; we can mostly help ourselves in times of difficulty, and we can use our own resources to increase our well-being when conditions are good.

But none of this reduces the importance of exports to our national development. There are many manufactured goods which we do not produce for ourselves, some of which we are not likely to produce for a long time. And only by exporting shall we be able to get the foreign currency to pay for these necessary imports. Indeed, the more we export, the more we will be able to spend on development goods and other essentials.

Exports have, in fact, increased considerably—by 73 per cent in money

terms between 1961 and 1970, going up from about Shs. 973 million in 1961 to Shs. 1,689 million in 1970. It must be remembered, too, that this increase in value hides a great fall in the world price of some of our most important export crops (for example, sisal), while the prices we obtain for others have not gone up anything like as much as the prices of the kind of goods we import. The "terms of trade" have moved against us since independence.

These figures hide a considerable change in the direction of trade. Thus, for example, in 1970 we sold goods to the value of Shs. 115 million to China and the East European countries, whereas in 1961 the total value of our exports to those areas was Shs. 9,000/-!

The totals also conceal the first signs of a change in the type of our exports. To countries other than our East African Community partner states, we sold processed and manufactured goods to the value of approximately Shs. 181 million in 1970, in addition to the oil which had been imported and refined here before being sold to Zambia, Burundi and Zaire, and which had a total export value of about Shs. 111 million. In 1961 comparable goods to the value only of Shs. 68 million were sold. A similar development has taken place in our exports to Tanzania's partners in the East African Community. Not only has the total increased; we sold them manufactured and processed goods to the value of Shs. 64 million in 1970, whereas in 1961 the figure had been about Shs. 15 million.

Despite these changes, our most important exports are still primary products, with coffee, cotton and sisal—now in that order—being the most important in 1970. But even among primary commodities there were changes. Cashew nuts had become very important by the end of the period—increasing in exported value from Shs. 36 million in 1961 to Shs. 115 million in 1970 (which represented an increase in quantity from nearly 40,000 tons to well over 77,000 tons). Tea had also risen in importance, as had tobacco, although oil seeds and nuts, and meat exports, had declined—the latter at least partly because of greater consumption at home without a comparable increase in sales on the market.

This diversification in the market for our exports, and some change in their type, is matched by similar changes as regards our imports. Thus, for example, whereas in 1961 consumer goods accounted for something like 45 per cent of our imports, they only accounted for 9 per cent in 1970. That is a tremendously important change and reflects the new kind of economy we are building up. But although the value of imported consumer goods had gone down from approximately Shs. 455 million to Shs. 160 million, this does not mean that our total imports have gone down. On the contrary, they have increased from a total value of Shs. 794 million in 1961 to Shs. 1,939 million in 1970. What that change does mean, however, is that our importation of capital goods—the kind we use for development projects—has gone up from Shs. 308 million to Shs. 996 million—that is, from being 31 per cent of our imports to being 53 per cent of their total value. The importation of intermediate goods has also increased by about 300 per cent; these are the kind of goods on which further work will be done in this country—such as crude oil, industrial chemicals, and vehicle parts which will be assembled by Mtava in Dar es Salaam.

Our imports also now come from many countries with which we had very little or no trade in 1961. Thus, for example, our total imports from China in 1970 were valued at Shs. 265 million, as against nothing in 1961; most of this increase is, of course, accounted for by the Tanzam railway or the consumer credit connected with it. But our imports from countries like the United States of America, and from the European Economic Community members, have also gone up by a very large amount. Even the imports from our traditional suppliers—the United Kingdom and other Commonwealth countries—have increased, although not so fast as those from other parts of the world.

Generally, it can be said that Tanzania's participation in international trade is now organized for Tanzania's benefit. This does not mean that we are satisfied with the prices we get for our exports, or have to pay for our imports! But we can, and do, search out the best markets in which to sell or buy; and we can, and do, engage in hard negotiating on our own behalf.

Banking

Both internal and external markets, however, require currency and credit. And at independence Tanganyika had no currency of its own. It used the East African shilling, which was issued by the East African Currency Board. Neither did the country have a Central or Government Bank; both central and local government used one of the private commercial banks for all their transactions.

Such a situation was obviously unsatisfactory for an independent nation, but action was delayed in the hope that an East African Federation could be established. But when it became obvious that this was not going to happen quickly, the Bank of Tanzania was established as the Government Bank. This bank was nationalised in 1967, the nation was able to secure complete control in 1966. By this means Tanzania was able, for the first time, to accumulate and manage its own foreign currency reserves. Then when the commercial banks were nationalized in 1967, the nation was able to secure complete control of its own currency and credit; and marshal all its financial resources for its developmental and social objectives.

Nationalization of the private banks was not, of course, without difficulty. Seven banks had been operating in this country, and all had been using different systems of management and accounting. (The Co-operative Bank was brought in at a much later stage.) The first task of the National Bank of Commerce was therefore to set up a single Head Office, and to ensure that a single system of operations was effective and practicable throughout all the branches and the sub-branches. The second step was the rationalization of banking services, so that duplication in those towns where the different private banks had been competing was reduced to a single effective branch. New branches or sub-branches could then be opened in areas which had previously been denied such a service. Both of these steps were taken quickly and with great success.

Since these first tasks were completed, the Bank has begun to pay special

attention to the rural areas, including some of the less urbanized towns, such as Maswa, Geita, Mto-wa-Mbu, Masasi, Mafia, Sumbawanga and Makambaku. In some places new branches or sub-branches have been opened; in other areas mobile services are now being provided, and these will be used as a gauge for the future expansion of the branch system.

One of the big problems which the National Bank of Commerce had at the outset was the small number of people with the training and experience which equipped them for management positions, and also the very restricted training schemes for bank employees—indeed, these existed only in the very largest of the private banks. This problem has, of course, been intensified by the expansion of the NBC's activities. What it means in this vital sector of the economy can be gauged by the fact that the Bank's work force at the end of December, 1967, consisted of 1,211 senior and middle level people, plus junior service personnel—and 344 of these were non-citizens. At the end of June, 1971, the comparable figure was 2,151—which includes 247 non-citizens. Thus, there has been nearly 80 per cent expansion in the number of senior employees, but a reduction in the proportion of non-citizen staff from 28.6 per cent to 11 per cent.

All this, and the continuing improvement in the standard of service, has been achieved by a thorough-going and extensive system of training. Indeed, 117 different in-service courses had been given by 30 June, 1971, involving over 1,600 participants. In addition, 60 staff have been sent abroad for specialised training for periods ranging from 3 months to 2 years. Tanzania's own Institute of Banking and Insurance will open early in 1972.

It is worthy of note that since nationalisation the Bank has earned a surplus of Shs. 139 million—which has more than paid the compensation due to the previous owners, and all the rest of which is now invested within Tanzania, whereas previously most of it would have been sent abroad.

Insurance

Insurance is another field in which public ownership has brought immediate and great benefits to the economy of Tanzania, as well as benefiting large numbers of its people through the greater availability of services.

Originally set up in competition with private insurance companies (all of which were foreign owned), the National Insurance Corporation took a monopoly of life insurance business in February, 1967, and that of all other insurance in January, 1968. Since then, great efforts have been made to expand insurance facilities to those sections of the population which were previously denied them.

In this connection, individual life insurance has been greatly expanded, and the Corporation has also initiated group insurance plans, under which many groups of workers have already achieved a degree of personal monetary security. The NIC is now considering plans to extend group insurance benefits to members of ujamaa villages, co-operative societies and marketing boards, thus taking the benefits of insurance to people who live deep in the rural areas. At

the same time as doing this, the Corporation has been expanding its General, Commercial and Industrial Risk insurance to keep pace with the expanding economy.

While providing these services, often at a cheaper rate than before nationalisation, the National Insurance Corporation has managed to accumulate a surplus of some Shs. 82 million during its first three years of operation. This is quite apart from its reserve funds! It is worth reminding ourselves that, if this business had not been taken into public ownership, all these funds would have accrued to foreign insurance firms and would have been invested abroad. Instead, the funds have been invested in Government Stocks, in real property, and in the share capital of the other parastatal organizations.

This work has been done despite very great staff problems. Immediately after nationalisation, the Corporation had about 60 employees; these formed the nucleus with which all insurance business had to be taken over and expanded. There are now 580 employees of the Insurance Corporation, of whom only 8 are expatriates. The work of training has thus been, and remains, a matter of very high priority for the Insurance Corporation. As it proceeds, faster, better and wider service will be possible. The groundwork has been laid.

Water

There are three other basic economic and public services to which some reference must be made in any report about Tanzania. These are water, electricity, and road, railway and harbour development. The first of these is water, because one of the major problems of rural development in most parts of Tanzania is the dearth or irregularity of water supplies. Although a water point does not have a spectacular appearance, it can often be more important for the progress of the people in the area than an imposing building, or a factory, put somewhere else; progress in this matter is thus an indication of the seriousness of Tanzania's development efforts.

On that basis Tanzania has nothing to be ashamed of—although nothing to be complacent about either. In 1961, Shs. 2.4 million was spent on rural water supply works by the Central Government, with Local Authorities contributing perhaps another Shs. 600,000/-. In 1971, by which time Government had taken over full financial responsibility for both development and maintenance, something like Shs. 22 million will be spent. In practical terms this means about 100 new major Government rural water supply projects in 1971, as against 20 in 1961, and the rate of expansion is at present being greatly increased in accordance with the 20-year rural water supply programme which has been worked out.

In fact, it has been estimated that, whereas 300,000 people in the rural areas were served with water supplies in 1961, the comparable figure for 1971 is 1,400,000. Although this still leaves the vast majority of the people in the rural areas without such a service, it is an indication of our progress, as well as the distance we still have to go. It must be realized, too, that these figures do not include simple well-digging, which has also been greatly expanded, and in which

many voluntary organizations are helping. Thus, the Community Development Trust Fund alone has provided the materials for 1,050 wells, with the people of the villages concerned doing all the labour without pay. (Self-help is an important part of most small rural water developments.) It is also relevant that, whereas before independence the consumer had to pay up to 5 cents a debe for the water he collected from a standpoint, that charge has now been lifted. Both in towns and villages, water is provided free unless it is laid on into a house.

In the urban areas there has also been a great expansion of water supply, particularly in Dar es Salaam. The supply capacity in the capital was 3 million gallons per day in 1961; it is 9 million gallons now, and is expected to be 11 million gallons a day by the end of 1971 or early in 1972. This three-fold expansion has been made necessary by the growth in the population and by the industrial development in the city, and it is for the same reason that preparations are being made for still further expansion in the coming years.

Electricity

In 1961 TANESCO was operating in 14 towns; by the end of 1971 it will be operating in 22. Eight extra towns with electricity is not great progress in ten years. But that figure does not give any idea of the real expansion of electricity supplies; this can be better gauged when it is considered that, whereas about 144 million kilowatt hours were sold in 1961, something like 380 million kilowatt hours will be sold in 1971. This great increase is mostly a reflection of the nation's industrial development, although increased public and private consumer demand has taken place.

Of course, a lot of this extra demand has come from the growth of Dar es Salaam, but it is no longer possible to isolate that as the only factor. For the Central and North coastal area, including Morogoro and Tanga, is now linked by transmission lines. This system is served by a hydro-electric station at Hale, as well as a diesel station at Ubungo—where further expansion work has already started. Arusha and Moshi will also be linked up to this system; at the moment they are served from the generation at the Nyumba ya Mungu Dam, which was also built after independence, and which it is expected will be integrated into the enlarged system. But other areas such as Mwanza have also experienced a great expansion in electricity consumption—in this case the sales have increased from 4 million kilowatt hours to 25 million kilowatt hours over the last ten years.

Roads and Railways

As in all figures, comparisons of the road situation at different periods depend upon classification! Certainly it is sometimes difficult to decide what in Tanzania should be called a "road"—a reasonable answer depends upon the vehicle which is being considered and the time of year! An example of this difficulty can be illustrated by the fact that an official British publication at

the time of independence gave the road mileage of Tanganyika as "20,464 excluding village roads". But that was certainly not a figure for what are called "classified roads", i.e. all-weather roads of some reasonable standard. Using a definition of that kind, there were in December, 1961, 660 miles of "bituminized major roads", 310 miles of "engineered gravel major roads", and 8,026 miles of "other main earth roads"—a total of 8,996 miles! Comparable figures for mid-1971 are 1,550 miles, 595 miles, and 8,405 miles—a total of 10,550 miles, to which should be added the 5,880 miles of "regional roads" which have been taken over from District Councils in order to effect improvements in standard and maintenance.

In fact, of course, anyone who has driven in our country in 1961 and 1971 does not need figures to tell him of the improvements. Almost any journey ten years ago was an "expedition", where you arrived on time if you were lucky. This is no longer true. All our major towns are now connected with reasonable roads—the East African safari has to find different routes than it used previously in order to maintain its reputation for being over very difficult surfaces!

There is a first-class bituminized road from Dar es Salaam to the Kenya border; the road from Dar es Salaam to Zambia can no longer be called a "hell run" by any stretch of the imagination, despite the large amount of traffic on it since 1965, and it will be completely bitumenized in the near future. The road to Rwanda is also now of a good standard—although unfortunately the bridge across the Kagera River, which is being built by Rwanda, is not yet completed. And, perhaps even more important, Tanzania is now united by its road system, even though we have taken these energetic steps to improve our road links with our neighbours in order to promote inter-African trade.

On railway development there is no need for very much to be said. The Ruvu-Mnyusi link was completed after independence, but had been decided upon before. Its importance is that it links all the railways in Tanzania with the rest of the East African system in Kenya and Uganda. It is true that the short railway from Mtwara has had to be dismantled—indeed, some of its equipment was used in this Mnyusi link. But it had been running at a heavy loss for many years because it was built by the British to support the groundnut scheme in the South. When that scheme collapsed, there was too little traffic to make this railway worthwhile.

The really big development, however, is the railway which is now being built to link Tanzania and East Africa to the Zambian rail system. This enormous undertaking is now well under way. By the end of 1971, if all goes well, the first 502 kilometres (out of a total of 1,900) will be completed and will become operational—thus providing a much easier means of transporting the equipment needed for the more difficult terrain along the line.

And that is not all the work which has been done so far; the communications system of the railway is expected to be completed on the Tanzania side by the end of September, and four or five stations on the first section will be in operation at the same time. Work has also started on the very many bridges and tunnels which are needed on the next stretch of the line. Our brothers in

Zambia and ourselves have good reason to be pleased with the progress made, thanks to the incredibly hard work of our Chinese friends and of the Tanzanian and Zambian workers on this project.

This immense project has added to the pressure on the harbour and port of Dar es Salaam, which is in any case now handling a great deal of Zambian traffic, as well as most of the increased Tanzanian overseas trade. In fact, the port has been working for years at a rate in excess of its theoretical capacity, despite an increase in the number of its deep-water berths from 3 to 6. The completion of two more deep-water berths within the next six months will help the great efforts which have been made to avoid delays in ship turn-round. And plans are in hand for further expansion before the Tanzam railway is completed.

Mtwara port has also been used for some of the Zambian traffic, and Tanga port—which at present has excess capacity—is expected to become increasingly busy as the fertiliser plant, the steel rolling mill, and other factories in the North, reach full output.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND SECURITY

It is, of course, difficult to talk in terms of “progress” in relation to foreign affairs. It is quite easy to say that we now have a Permanent Mission to the United Nations and 17 Heads of Mission stationed abroad—some of whom cover several countries. But the purpose of Foreign Affairs is not simply to place Ambassadors and High Commissioners in other countries! All that this number of Missions does is to indicate our involvement in the world at large, and the extent to which Tanzania is now able to have direct relations with foreign governments.

On that score there is no doubt about the great change which has taken place since independence, when our contact with other countries, and indeed our knowledge of them, was confined almost entirely to Britain, America, and one or two of the other larger Western countries. Now our relationship cuts right across all the Cold War barriers and is particularly strong with some of the other non-aligned nations.

In fact it is fair to say that Tanzania has been playing a very full part in the spread and the development of the concept of non-alignment, and that we have also participated actively in many international conferences designed to secure united action by the poor nations of the world in the defence of their own interests. We have often given a lead in such conferences, as well as taking a clear stand on all issues at the United Nations relating to human equality, colonialism, and Third World progress. In the process, we have earned hostility from some countries. What is much more important, however, is that we have earned the respect of all. No-one thinks that Tanzania is their puppet, and the occasional allegation that we are the puppet of a third nation is the product of the accuser's chagrin that we have refused to be his nation's stooge.

In fact we are now almost universally accepted as being a non-aligned

nation, anxious to be friendly with all who respect our integrity, and who accept the principles of human equality. Thus we have, during these past ten years, moved from our colonial position as a member of the Western Bloc to the position where we are really independent in international affairs. Our job now is to maintain this position despite all the pressures which will continue to be exerted upon us from different directions.

There is one thing, however, on which we have never pretended to be non-aligned. That is, on matters relating to the liberation of Africa. In this we have been active and we shall continue to be active. Yet we cannot pretend that the last ten years has done more than see the battle joined.

In the Portuguese territories of Africa, the people have now taken up their weapons and are fighting for their freedom. Tanzania is proud to give support to these freedom fighters—diplomatically, morally, and by allowing them to receive their supplies through our territory when necessary. We look forward to the day when we are celebrating their independence with them. That may yet be a long time ahead, for the forces against them, and against us, are very powerful. But we know they will never give up the fight, and they may rest assured that this country will never draw back either.

In Rhodesia the situation is now, in many respects, worse than it was ten years ago. The minority regime has declared itself independent and has pursued the nationalist movement with great ruthlessness and with considerable success. For despite great heroism by individuals and groups, the liberation forces of Zimbabwe are unfortunately split, and spend a lot of time and energy quarrelling among themselves. Yet it is also clear that the rebel Rhodesian regime feels very insecure. It is for this reason that it depends so heavily on support from the apartheid government of South Africa, and it is for this reason that it continues to search for what is called a “settlement” with the United Kingdom. One thing is certain: neither Tanzania, nor the O.A.U., nor the people of Zimbabwe will recognize any “settlement” until the majority of the people of that country have secured control of their own destiny.

In South Africa the nationalist forces continue to exist despite the most ruthless and cruel oppression which can be imagined. Time and again one is forced towards the belief that organized opposition to apartheid has been completely smashed. But then one sees a new sign that this is not true; that, on the contrary, there are some heroic people still living and working in that country for the day when the principles of human equality will be the policy of a democratic South African government. We salute these heroes, and all those who suffer in the torture chambers and prisons of South Africa.

The other major objective which we announced at independence was progress towards African Unity. Some progress there has been—though very much less than we hoped for. Yet it may be that our ambitions at that time were unrealistic in the sense that they expected progress too quickly. Africa is very far from united; even in the struggle against colonialism and racialism, it now appears that different States are adopting different policies.

Yet all is not lost. The Organization of African Unity, formed in 1963, does still exist, and most African governments at the very least take note of its

decisions and feel the necessity to twist and turn in the pretence that they are observing OAU resolutions, even when most blatantly ignoring them. The name of the OAU is taken in vain by its members as often as it is respected. But the fact that no African nation is willing to leave the Organization, or ignore it, is a sign that, however weak it is, the OAU has a worthwhile function. We shall continue to work for its greater effectiveness.

In more Regional matters, there has been greater progress. It is not necessary to refer again to the Union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar. But the establishment of the East African Community, despite all its current difficulties, is still an example to the rest of Africa of what must be done. Tanzania was disappointed in the failure of the negotiations for an East African Federation, but this ambition remains; all that has changed is that a different route towards it has had to be adopted.

Finally, Tanzania has been an active member in what is called the Good Neighbours Conference of East and Central African States. In fact, our relations with our neighbours have not always been good; we have continuing problems with Malawi because of her Government's friendship towards South Africa, Rhodesia, and the Portuguese; and, since January this year, the *coup d'état* in Uganda has brought bilateral co-operation to a standstill. But these are temporary setbacks. In general, Tanzania takes an active part in all efforts to further co-operation and unity on this continent. We shall continue to do so.

None of this means that we have broken, or that we wish to break, old associations and friendships. It is true that our relations with Britain have been through many periods of difficulty as we have reacted to what we consider to be Britain's unfriendly actions in relation to African affairs, or as Britain has reacted to our opposition to colonialism. Tanzania has paid a heavy price in terms of economic aid for her stand on some of these matters; but neither in relation to Britain nor any other country have we ever wavered in our pursuit of the policies we believe to be right because of our desire to develop our country at maximum speed. This is beginning to be understood in the world—and increases the respect with which our country is regarded.

Despite these difficulties with Britain, however, Tanzania has been able to maintain its membership of the Commonwealth and, through that institution, to rally much support for the principles we espouse, as well as to make new contacts and new friendships. Of particular importance in this connection has been the friendship which has grown up between Tanzania and Canada—a friendship which is based on mutual respect and a mutual understanding of the importance of working for racial equality in the modern world.

Our natural ties with India have also been enhanced by our common membership of the Commonwealth. Links with Guyana and with other West Indian nations, as well as united action on many matters, have been facilitated by our Commonwealth membership, and it has also given us new contacts with the small Pacific island nations, like Fiji and Western Samoa. In general, therefore, the Commonwealth has proved valuable to Tanzania, and our country has been able to play a full part in it. We hope that future circumstances will permit us to continue as members.

In addition, Tanzania's friendship with other small nations of the world has been built up. Of particular importance has been the great mutual understanding which has developed between the Scandinavian countries and ourselves. In recent years friendship with the small nations of Eastern Europe has also developed. Indeed, the list of our friends would be much too long to write down. They vary from Malta, with a population of approximately 320,000, to the People's Republic of China, with a population of something like 700 million people. With this latter country, indeed, our relations have become particularly important, because of China's size and its willingness to help our peaceful revolution on the one hand and, on the other, our ability and willingness to help China break out from the isolation in which other nations were endeavouring to confine her.

National Security

At independence Tanganyika inherited a very small Army of about 2,000 men, still equipped with 1914 War rifles. While it is no part of Tanzania's ambition—nor within her capacity—to become a military power, the threats to Tanzania's security from the colonialist and racialist countries of the South have made reorganization and expansion essential. Since independence, therefore, the numbers in the Armed Forces have been increased, their weaponry has been modernized, and an Air Wing and a Naval Wing have been created or are being created.

More important, the Armed Forces of Tanzania are now an integral part of the society, and their loyalty has been proved time and time again since the reorganization in 1964.

Even so, it is not possible for Tanzania to maintain a standing army large or powerful enough to defend the wide borders of this country without the full and active co-operation of the population. Work is just beginning, therefore, in the formation of a Militia Force—a force of workers and peasants who will be trained to take up their rifles if occasion demands. In full co-operation with, and under the leadership of the Party and the TPDF, we intend that the militia shall make the occupation of our land so expensive to an enemy that he will finally give up any such attempt.

Many of the militia men will in fact have had some military training during their membership of the National Service. This was first established in 1963 and now has camps all over the country where young men and women receive training in practical skills, as well as in the use of rifles, machine guns, etc.

The National Service is, in fact, basically not a military force at all; its job is to make a contribution to the development of our economy, at the same time as it provides education in politics and skills for its members, and inculcates a sense of discipline which they will carry into their post-Service life. It therefore runs farms, builds roads, and does many other productive activities in the country as these are needed. In particular, the National Service has proved its worth in emergency situations. Examples of this have been their work in connection with the resettlement of refugees from the Rufiji flooding, their help

in gathering bumper harvests in different parts of the country, and currently their participation in the Dodoma Region ujamaa village preparations.

The National Service was at first an entirely voluntary organization, but since 1966 all young men and women who receive senior secondary school or post-secondary school education spend two years in the National Service. A large part of the service of these members is, however, spent in doing the jobs for which they have been trained.

The Police Service has also been expanded and modernised since independence, though it is still a very small Service in relation to the population of Tanzania. More important in this case than expanding numbers, however, is the change in the attitudes of the Police, and to the Police, which has taken place since it became the people's own Service and not a creature of the colonial government.

Finally, in this connection, mention must be made of the Prison Service. We still have prisons in Tanzania because, unfortunately, we still have crime. But, despite the pressure on it, the Prison Service has won an international reputation for its enlightened methods and for the training which it gives to those who have been convicted. The Service rightly sees its major task to be preparing the convicted persons for an honest life as full and responsible citizens of our country.

CONCLUSION

Without any question at all, the people of this country have justified the statement I made in Bagamoyo in December, 1961. We have achieved much more for the development of our country in the last ten years than was done in the previous forty years.

We have achieved more in material terms. Our country looks very different now, and is very different now, from what it was in 1961. In physical terms this shows up most in our capital city. At that time driving in from the new Airport you saw all the factories which existed; now the airport road has many more factories and workshops, yet the real industrial area has spread behind those buildings and along the Morogoro Road. We even surprise ourselves when the things we produce in this country are displayed every year at the Saba Saba Fair. Nor is this kind of development restricted to Dar es Salaam. Arusha and Moshi and Mwanza and Morogoro have all, to a less extent, shared in this progress, with most other towns also looking different now from what they did ten years ago.

But it is not only as regards business and commercial building that our towns have changed. In Dar es Salaam there are large estates of modern low- and medium-cost housing; smaller estates exist in other towns. There are many more schools, hospitals, better roads, better lighting, and better water supplies.

In the vast rural areas the changes are less evident because they are inevitably smaller and more scattered. Yet they exist. There are new stores, new water supplies, new clinics, new roads—and whole new farms and villages.

More important even than this is the progress we have made in nation-building—that is, in developing the people of this country. Hundreds of thousands of adults are literate now who were not literate in 1961. Hundreds of thousands of people now take an active part in their own Village Government, their District Government, and indirectly in their National Government. The people are more self-confident; not only is the future theirs to determine, but they know it is theirs to determine.

We have achieved a very great deal in ten years.

Change Brings Problems

We have tackled many problems, and we have solved some. But we cannot be satisfied. In particular it is now obvious that despite our efforts in recent years, we have not in practice yet got our priorities right. We talk about rural development and about concentrating on the essentials of life, but we have not really succeeded in reorienting our actions for that purpose. We should look again at this, remembering that our object is to make sure that every Tanzanian has available first water, then a school for his children, and then a dispensary for simple medical treatment. Only after that should we spend money on unrelated things, except defence and security—which, unfortunately, must always be maintained. Every other expenditure should be questioned in that context; how does it help us to reach those objectives?

Yet in the process of tackling past problems and solving some of them, we have created many new ones which also have to be dealt with. For change always brings problems, both for the individual and for the society. Indeed, the kind of problems a nation is faced with is an indication of the level of development it has reached.

Some of the problems of change can be avoided by careful planning, and where this is possible, efforts have been made—not always with success—to do so. But some problems reflect an almost inevitable lack of balance in development.

Thus, for example, a young man or woman with a full primary school education in 1961 regarded himself, and was regarded by others, as being educated. He expected wage employment—probably in an office. But now, with 70,000 students graduating from Standard VII this year, and an increasing number every year in the future, none of this is true. Not only is there insufficient wage employment to absorb all these people; they are needed in the ujamaa villages and on the farms of our country. Nor do they have much formal education in comparison with the thousands who now graduate from secondary school every year. Yet the expectation of these young people, and of their parents, has not changed to keep up with this development. Many still feel disappointed at what they regard as a failure to get wage employment. The attitudes have not kept pace with the real changes.

Many other examples could be given. Thus, despite the great care which has been taken over foreign exchange ever since the nation introduced its own currency in 1966, we are now running into the foreign exchange problems

which come with development. Yet this is only to say that our capacity to develop has now caught up with our resources; for many years the limiting factor on our progress was men, not money. And because of our conscious efforts in relation to foreign exchange, we have been able to avoid foreign indebtedness of such a nature as to endanger our independence of action. We are able to implement and enforce the priorities which we have democratically decided upon.

In our case, too, there are the special problems of socialist growth as distinct from economic growth without a social purpose. One of these problems is that the process of socialization costs money and time—both of which are thus taken from physical development activities. For not only do you have to pay compensation for the enterprises which are taken into public control; the re-organization, and training of people in new attitudes, and in new skills, all take money as well as time. And the very fact that the socialist institution is different, and usually much larger than the private undertakings it replaces, means that the people who are given responsibility to run it on behalf of the nation have to gain experience—and inevitably they make mistakes in the process.

These costs must be recognized for they are inevitable. But they are also very much worthwhile. Without paying them, we shall never succeed in our purposes; we shall never build the kind of nation we want. Again we can illustrate this point by an analogy: a man who has inherited a tumbledown cottage has to live in even worse conditions while he is rebuilding it and making a decent house for himself. In the same way, Tanzania has to accept the existence of problems which are created by the very fact of trying to convert the colonialist and semi-colonialist economy we inherited into a nationalist and socialist economy.

We have to encourage initiative in business, commerce and agriculture, without the vision of great individual wealth for the person or group concerned. We have not yet solved this problem.

Further, while ensuring public control of our economy and public direction of our development, we have to overcome tendencies towards bureaucracy. In other words, we now have the problem of how to liberate the citizen, not only from private exploitation, but also from the frustrations which arise from organized officialdom and inefficiency. And all the solutions to these problems have to be found while we are deliberately reshaping the Tanzanian society towards the pattern we have worked out, and in a world which is at least half hostile to the whole process.

Our problems now are those of combining organization for the common benefit with freedom to develop democratically at all levels. There is no simple solution to any of them, and certainly not one solution which can be quickly applied to them all. There is no short cut. We have to work out these problems as we deal with them.

In a sense our position is similar to that of a nation at war—for indeed we are at war, only with poverty. A commander-in-chief has to keep overall control of the war in face of conflicting demands for the resources which are available. But he will never lead his forces to victory if no-one on any front

does anything without consulting him, or if he rejects all their suggestions, or lets their ideas get bogged down in "proper channels".

And military planning is easier than national planning, for all members of the armed forces are subject to rigid discipline; within their own ranks all that is important is that they should understand what is being done and why, so that their morale remains high. This is not true of a nation at war with poverty. For the participants in this—that is, all the citizens—must have freedom and increased well-being even while they are participating in the struggle. Indeed, as far as we are concerned, the people's freedom to determine their own priorities, to organize themselves, and their own advance in welfare, is an important part of our objective. It cannot be postponed to some future time. The people's active and continued voluntary participation in the struggle is an important part of our objective because only through this participation will the people develop. And to us, the development of the nation means the development of people.

Let us Celebrate

As I said on the 7th of July this year, our Party has passed through two stages of work. The first was that in which we demanded *Uhuru* after becoming conscious of the indignity of being ruled by others. This stage took seven years.

The second stage is that which we have just completed; it was that of questioning ourselves, defining, and agreeing on the kind of nation we want to build. Now we have agreed that we want to build a nation with true independence, not one which has only "flag independence". We have agreed that we shall decide our own affairs in accordance with our own wishes and for our own benefit. We shall never agree to be puppets, tools or stooges of other people or of any other nation. This has been decided and understood by us and the world understands what we have said.

But we have also agreed that this freedom from external interference is not enough by itself. We shall refuse to allow Tanzania to be a tool or stooge of any nation; but we have also decided that no Tanzanian should be used for the benefit of another Tanzanian. We have agreed that we shall build a nation on the basis of equality, and have rejected the idea of having within our nation a class of masters and a class of servants. Further we have understood that the masters we have rejected are not only the colonial masters, and the slavery we have rejected is not just that of being used by people of other nations. Rather we have rejected the very idea of masters and slaves, even if the one who wants to become the master and have others as his slaves is a fellow Tanzanian of ours. When we said we have been oppressed long enough, exploited long enough and disregarded long enough, we were not talking only about other nations but also about any Tanzanian who was accustomed to, or hoped to, oppress, exploit, or humiliate his fellow Tanzanians. In other words, we decided that we would build a nation based on equality and brotherhood—a socialist nation.

Thus during the second stage we decided that we wanted to build a nation

which was truly independent and truly socialist. Now our Party is entering into its third stage: and this is the stage of actually building and defending that kind of country. It is a stage of building with determination, and defending with determination, a free and socialist nation.

We shall celebrate on 9 December, 1971. And our nation has, and will have, something worth celebrating. But just as the celebration on 9 December 1961 was only a beginning, so will be the celebration this year. It is the beginning of our third phase. We have achieved our *Uhuru*; we have defined and accepted the kind of Tanzania we want to build and live in; now we must seriously build and protect such a Tanzania. And there is no true freedom and socialism without Freedom and Work—UHURU NA KAZI.

Tanzania: The Progress of a Decade

A critical review of President Julius Nyerere's report: Tanzania Ten Years After Independence

CLAUDE AKE*

What degree of progress has Tanzania achieved over its decade of independence? To answer this question one must first deal with a preliminary question. Progress to what? or better still, progress in regard to what? As the introduction to the report makes quite clear, progress in Tanzania is conceived largely in conventional developmental terms, particularly the elimination of "poverty, ignorance and disease". In a speech delivered in Bagamoyo in 1961, President Nyerere had claimed that the people of independent Tanzania would achieve more development in ten years that the colonial regime did in forty. This claim may have seemed like a typical politician's boast. As a matter of fact it was modest and realistic. It was realistic because Tanzania's colonizers did very little for Tanzania's development; they came to Africa to do well, not to do good. Like all capitalists they were interested merely in maximising their profit, not in social welfare or industrialization. They could concentrate on draining the colony of its resources rather than taking interest in social welfare because the colonized were too weak militarily and politically to apply the necessary pressure that would have led to a more enlightened policy; they could avoid making substantial investments because their economic interest consisted mainly in procuring primary products.

The colonizers' bent for exploitation was reinforced by their racism with its associated attitudes of contempt and hatred and discrimination, leaving them no humanist inhibition about appropriating all they could and reducing their victims to utter wretchedness. And interestingly enough, this wretchedness of its victims was not just a by-product of capitalist greed but a major aim of colonial policy. The point is that colonialism can only justify its inhumanity to its victims by denying them humanity, by oppressing them so thoroughly that they begin to live like animals, to lose all dignity, all sense of personal worth and to accept without question the superiority of their masters. Thus degraded, the victims of colonialism become more like what they would be to deserve the total assault on their dignity which is colonization. The degradation and wretchedness of the colonized is the source of the legitimacy of colonial rule and colonial economic policy is a major instrument for producing this degradation and wretchedness. That is why colonial economic policy could never be enlightened. One could not expect the colonial state to be interested in social welfare, in laying the foundations for industrialization, in eradicating ignorance, poverty and disease. If it did so, it would contradict itself fundamentally.

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