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T.A.N.U. GUIDELINES ON GUARDING CONSOLIDATING AND ADVANCING THE REVOLUTION OF TANZANIA, AND OF AFRICA

*We have been oppressed a great deal, we have been exploited a great deal
and we have been disregarded a great deal. It is our weakness that has led to
our being oppressed, exploited and disregarded. Now we want a revolution*

(Arusha Declaration)

INTRODUCTION

1. Today our African continent is a hot-bed of the liberation struggle. This struggle is between those who have for centuries been exploiting Africa's natural resources and using the people of this continent as their tools and as their slaves, and the people of Africa who have, after realising their weakness and exploitation, decided to engage in the struggle to liberate themselves.

It is both a bitter and continuing struggle: at times it is a silent one, occasionally it explodes like gun-power, at other times the successes and gains achieved by the people slip away.

This has been the history of Africa since 1960 when many African states obtained flag independence. Since that year many legitimate African governments have been forcefully toppled and new governments established. Recently, sudden changes have been brought about by force in Uganda, where puppet Amin and a group of fellow soldiers have rebelled against the government of the revolutionary U.P.C. led by President Obote.

The majority of the armed forces do not accept the rebellion and many of them, particularly senior officers, have been killed by the puppets. It is obvious that those who hail the rebellion are those who opposed the U.P.C. policy of bringing about unity and socialism and eradicating tribalism and exploitation.

This is why our Party has the duty to spell out the aims of the Tanzanian and the African revolution, and to identify the enemies of this revolution, in order to set out policies and strategies which will enable us to safeguard, consolidate and further our revolution.

2. Revolutions are quick social changes, changes which wrest from the minority the power they exploited for their own benefit (and that of external exploiters)

and put it in the hands of the majority so that they can promote their own well-being. The opposite of a revolution is a counter-revolution: that is, quick and sudden changes which wrest power from the majority and hand it over to the minority with the aim of stopping the progress of the masses.

3. The greatest aim of the African revolution is to liberate the African. This liberation is not sent from heaven, it is achieved by combating exploitation, colonialism and imperialism. Nor is liberation brought by specialists or experts. We who are being humiliated, exploited and oppressed are the experts of this liberation. There is no nation in the world which can teach the Africans how to liberate themselves. The duty of liberating ourselves lies with us, and the necessary expertise will be obtained during the struggle itself.

4. Furthermore, the present situation in Africa shows that there is no people in any African state which has achieved the stage of total liberation. Africa is still a continent of people suffering from the weakness inherent in being exploited and humiliated. That is why revolutionary political parties in independent African countries, such as TANU, are still in fact Liberation Movements.

5. The African revolution, whose aim is the true liberation of the African, is in conflict with policies of exploitation, colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism. The object of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism is to ensure that Africa's wealth is used for the benefit of the capitalists of Europe and America, instead of benefiting the African countries themselves. Therefore, participating in the African revolution is participating in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

6. The imperialist countries which have been exploiting and oppressing Africa for centuries are those in Western Europe, particularly Britain, France, Portugal, Belgium and Spain. These countries are the ones really confronting the African people on the question of liberating Africa. Different attempts to distort the progress of the African revolution stem from the plots of European imperialists who are bent on maintaining and continuing their old exploitation.

7. For Tanzania it must be understood that the imperialist enemies we are confronting are British imperialism, Portuguese colonialism, the racism and apartheid of South Africa and Rhodesia. For historical, geographical and political reasons these imperialists will be ready to attack us whenever they have an opportunity.

8. The Portuguese invasion of the Republic of Guinea is a big lesson for us. Guinea was invaded by the Portuguese imperialists firstly because of its policy of equality and its opposition to exploitation, and secondly because of its genuine stand in supporting the freedom fighters in Guinea Bissau and Africa. For similar reasons the imperialists may attempt to attack Tanzania one day. But Guinea has also taught us that when the people and the army stand solidly together, no imperialist will be able to subvert their independence.

9. The lesson we draw from Uganda is one of treachery and counter-revolution. It shows that, instead of invading the country to overthrow the revolutionary government, imperialism prefers to use local puppets to overthrow the legitimate government and replace it with a government of 'foremen'

or puppets. Such a government will allow the imperialists to exploit national wealth in partnership with the local bourgeoisie.

The people must learn from the events in Uganda and those in Guinea that, although imperialism is still strong, its ability to topple a revolutionary government greatly depends on the possibility of getting domestic counter-revolutionary puppets to help in thwarting the revolution.

10. We Tanzanians value our national independence because it is from that point that our liberation, and our aspirations for a liberation struggle in conjunction with other African people, begin. For this reason, we have the duty to take all necessary steps to enable us to guard our independence in order to further our revolution and thus make Tanzania a true example of the African revolution.

POLITICS

The Party

11. The responsibility of the Party is to lead the masses, and their various institutions, in the effort to safeguard national independence and to advance the liberation of the African. The duty of a socialist party is to guide all activities of the masses. The Government, parastatals, national organisations, etc., are instruments for implementing the Party's policies. Our short history of independence reveals problems that may arise when a Party does not guide its instruments. The time has now come for the Party to take the reins and lead all the people's activities.

12. The first task of the leadership is to spell out the national goal. This is understood and the Party has already fulfilled this duty. Our aim is to build socialism in Tanzania. But to attain this objective the Party must offer policies and guidelines concerning different aspects of the people's activities. The Party has already given guidelines on socialism in rural areas, education for self-reliance, etc. There is still the need to clarify the Party's policies on other matters, such as housing, workers, money and loan policies, etc.

13. But the charting of objectives and policies does not by itself constitute good leadership. Leadership also means organising the people. It is the Party which decides on the structure of government, various institutions, the army, etc. In addition, the Party should provide guidelines on work methods and attitudes, and decision-making.

The truth is that we have not only inherited a colonial governmental structure but also adopted colonial working habits and leadership methods. For example, we have inherited in the government, industries and other institutions the habit in which one man gives the orders and the rest just obey them. If you do not involve the people in work plans, the result is to make them feel a national institution is not theirs, and consequently workers adopt the habits of hired employees. The Party has a duty to emphasise its leadership on this issue.

14. In addition to organising the people, leadership involves supervising the implementation of the Party's policy. Ways must be found to ensure that

the Party actively supervises the activities and the running of its implementing agencies. Leadership also entails reviewing the results of implementation. It is the Party's duty to ensure that it assesses the effects of the policy implementation undertaken by its agencies. This is the only way to establish whether people participate in devising solutions to their problems in offices, institutions, the army, villages, industries, etc.

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

There must be a deliberate effort to build equality between the leaders and those they lead. For a Tanzanian leader it must be forbidden to be arrogant, extravagant, contemptuous and oppressive. The Tanzanian leader has to be a person who respects people, scorns ostentation and who is not a tyrant. He should epitomise heroism, bravery, and be a champion of justice and equality.

Similarly, the Party has the responsibility to fight the vindictiveness of some of its agents. Such actions do not promote Socialism but drive a wedge between the Party and the Government on the one side and the people on the other.

16. There are presently some leaders who do not fulfil these conditions. They disregard and cleverly avoid the leadership code. The time has come for the Party to supervise the conduct and the bearing of the leaders.

Foreign Policy

17. Our foreign policy is one of non-alignment. We are ready to co-operate in a friendly manner with any country that wishes us well, be it from the East or West. The second important aspect of our foreign policy is to strengthen relations with, and co-operate in supporting, genuine liberation movements in Africa. We have said earlier that our own Party is still a Liberation Movement

At the moment in Africa the liberation movements are in the vanguard of the struggle against colonialism and imperialism. By strengthening our co-operation, in the knowledge that their war is our war, we shall double our strength in bringing about the total liberation of Africa. The Party must take the necessary steps to establish this revolutionary relationship with revolutionary movements of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Similarly it is our duty to establish fraternal and revolutionary relations with those American citizens fighting for justice and human equality.

18. In addition, we have the obligation to strengthen co-operation and solidarity with revolutionary African countries because all of us are in the same boat and our destination is one. With unity and co-operation, our enemies will not be able to destroy us one by one as is now their habit.

19. At the United Nations and other international organisations, there is need to stress co-operation with all friendly, socialist revolutionary countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Uganda and the E.A.C.

20. We value the political and economic benefits derived from the co-

operation that exists among the partner states of the East African Community. Therefore, the present situation created by the puppet Amin in subverting the legitimate Government of U.P.C. greatly disturbs us, because it has given rise to difficulties in co-operation and in running the activities of the Community.

If the situation continues as it is it may make the progress and the activities of the Community extremely difficult to maintain, and will weaken East African co-operation. The Party supports the Government's stand on Uganda and the East African Community. Although it is for the people of Uganda to decide on matters relating to Uganda's liberation, it is the duty of the Tanzanian people to support the efforts of their Ugandan brothers to liberate themselves.

DEFENCE AND SECURITY

And for the defence of our nation, it is necessary for us to be on guard against internal stooges who could be used by external enemies who aim to destroy us.

(Arusha Declaration)

21. The basis of Tanzania's development is the people themselves—every Tanzanian—in particular each patriot and each socialist. Tanzania's defence and security depend on Tanzanians themselves—every Tanzanian, in particular each patriot, each socialist.

22. Had our Party been forced to wage a liberation war, every TANU member would have been a soldier, either in the army or wherever he was. A TANU member would have been a soldier and a soldier a TANU member. It is not only the Party which would have been a Liberation Movement, but the army also would have been a Liberation Army—fist and shield of the Liberation Movement.

23. Our Party was not forced to fight a liberation war. It was a Liberation Movement without a Liberation Army. But since 1964 we have been building the Tanzania People's Defence Forces. And just as TANU is still a Liberation Movement, the Tanzania People's Defence Force is the Liberation Army of the people of Tanzania.

TANU's relations with T.P.D.F. should be those of a People's Party and a People's Army. It is up to TANU to ensure that the people's army is the army for both the liberation and the defence of the people. It is TANU's responsibility to ensure that the army's main task in peacetime is to enable the people to safeguard their independence and their policy of socialism and self-reliance.

24. The National Executive Committee stresses the implementation of the Arusha Declaration and particularly the need to arouse political consciousness so that every Tanzanian understands our national environment and the importance of safeguarding the security and the lives of the people, and of safeguarding our policies, our independence, our economy and our culture.

25. Political education must make the people aware of our national enemies

and the strategies they employ to subvert our policies, our independence, our economy and our culture. To enable the people to confront the enemy, it is necessary to make them aware of the enemy's strength in all spheres, such as their army, their commercial enterprise, their life and habits, and the way these conflict with our convictions and aspirations.

26. In order that they be able to oppose our enemies, the people must know that it is they who are the nation's shield. This means that defence and security matters must be replaced in the hands of the people themselves. We do not have the means to establish large permanent armies to guard the whole country. Our army must be the people's army, used in teaching the people how to defend themselves in their localities and to enable them to report on matters of national security. Therefore it is imperative to start training a militia for the whole country. Since the militia will spread through the country, in co-operation with the regular army, they will have the duty to defend our territorial borders, our air space and to expose traitors and enemies, all in co-operation with our regular Army.

The Party leads the Army

27. The registration of the militia and the army must be scrutinised very carefully, and supervised by the Party. Ensuring co-operation between the army and the militia, and providing for political education to both, must be a prime responsibility of the Party. The Party must establish a sub-committee of the Central Committee to look into defence and security.

ECONOMICS AND PROGRESS

The development of a country is brought about by people.

(Arusha Declaration)

Progress of the People

28. For a people who have been slaves or have been oppressed, exploited and humiliated by colonialism or capitalism, 'development' means 'liberation'. Any action that gives them more control of their own affairs is an action for development, even if it does not offer them better health or more bread. Any action that reduces their say in determining their own affairs or running their own lives is not development and retards them even if the action brings them a little better health and a little more bread.

To us development means both the elimination of oppression, exploitation, enslavement and humiliation, and the promotion of our independence and human dignity. Therefore, in considering the development of our nation and in preparing development plans, our main emphasis at all times should be the development of people and not of things. If development is to benefit the people, the people must participate in considering, planning and implementing their development plans.

The duty of our Party is not to urge the people to implement plans which have been decided upon by a few experts and leaders. The duty of our Party is to ensure that the leaders and experts implement the plans that have been agreed upon by the people themselves. When the people's decision requires information which is only available to the leaders and the experts, it will be the duty of leaders and experts to make such information available to the people. But it is not correct for leaders and experts to usurp the people's right to decide on an issue just because they have the expertise.

29. In order that the people shall be enthusiastic in the defence of their country, it is of first importance for the TANU Government to place a lot of emphasis on improving their conditions.

The inherited economic structure which has kept many people out of the economic main stream must be replaced immediately by programmes designed to boost the development expenditure and to spread investment to all districts. The Regional Development Fund has helped to arouse economic activities and has thus brought visible benefits to the people. It will be beneficial to increase allocations to the fund and to give this expenditure special priority when appropriating Government finances. The Party must stress the participation of the people in the various nation-building projects.

Savings

30. It is also the Party's duty to educate the people on the importance of saving through national institutions such as the Savings Bank and the National Bank of Commerce, instead of just hoarding their money.

National Economy

31. In consolidating the people's development, there is now a need to build and promote the internal economy. Although this was touched upon in the Second Five-Year Development Plan, its implementation has not been stressed, and therefore results have not been seen. The things that are produced in this country must also be protected from unnecessary foreign competition.

Foreign Trade

32. In our external trade, we must avoid using our foreign reserves in buying items that do not help our economy. The Government and its Corporations must be an example—a thing that is not now being done. Our importing agencies must be given guidelines appropriate to our policy of socialism and self-reliance, and the guidelines must be adhered to. It is the duty of every Tanzanian, and particularly a leader, to remember that shortage of foreign exchange weakens our economy and endangers our national independence.

Parastatal Institutions

33. The conduct and activities of the parastatals must be looked into to ensure that they help further our policy of socialism and self-reliance. The activities of the parastatals should be a source of satisfaction and not discontent. The Party must ensure that the parastatals do not spend money extravagantly

on items which do not contribute to the development of the national economy as a whole.

Surpluses

34. The Government must supervise and guide the expenditure of surpluses accruing from the economic activities of the parastatals.

35 'We have been oppressed a great deal, we have been exploited a great deal and we have been disregarded a great deal. It is our weakness that has led to our being oppressed, exploited and disregarded. Now we want a revolution—a revolution which brings to an end our weakness, so that we are never again exploited oppressed, or humiliated.'

COMMENTARY ON MWONGOZO WA TANU, 1971

BISMARCK U. MWANSASU*

INTRODUCTION

In February 1967, the National Executive Committee of the Tanganyika National Union (TANU) issued the Arusha Declaration outlining the country's path to socialist development. In February 1971, the National Executive of TANU issued a comprehensive, thirty-five paragraph document, *Mwongozo wa TANU, 1971*.¹ Is there any significance in these documents being issued in February? Besides the coincidence of the months there is a very significant connection. If the Arusha Declaration initiated the country's movement to socialism, *Mwongozo* reviews the progress in terms of pinpointing the obstacles and provides guidelines for overcoming such obstacles and carrying on the struggle.

One of the novel features of *Mwongozo* is its perspective. The problems of Tanzania are discussed within a very wide framework, within the context of the problems and challenges of the contemporary African situation. The interpretations of these problems and challenges presented in *Mwongozo* are very significant—a point which can easily be lost sight of when one reads this document from the perspectives of the 1970's. To appreciate the significant contribution of *Mwongozo* in clarifying the nature and character of the dominant issues and problems in the contemporary African situation, a review of some of the conflicting images of these issues and problems in the early 1960's will be presented, so the aim of this review is to provide a useful background for discussing *Mwongozo*.

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1. This document was initially issued in Kiswahili alone. The Government paper, *The Standard* carried out its own translation into English which was published on 22 February 1971. Subsequently, the Party has issued the English version of this document entitled *T.A.N.U. Guidelines*. The main problem with the English version is that it does not, I feel, convey the feelings, expression and mood of the message that the document wants to put across. This weakness is a general problem of all translated works because as Dr. Okot lamented with reference to his *Song of Lawino*, translation had 'clipped a bit, of the eagle's wings and rendered the sharp edges of the warriors' sword rusty and blunt'. The Kiswahili word *Mwongozo* is used to refer to the document throughout this paper.