

THE ARUSHA DECLARATION

and

TANU'S POLICY ON SOCIALISM AND SELF-RELIANCE

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TANU'S POLICY ON SOCIALISM AND SELF-RELIANCE

PART ONE

The TANU "Creed"

THE POLICY OF TANU IS TO BUILD A SOCIALIST STATE. THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM ARE LAID DOWN IN THE TANU CONSTITUTION, AND THEY ARE AS FOLLOWS:—

WHEREAS TANU believes:—

- (a) That all human beings are equal;
- (b) That every individual has a right to dignity and respect;
- (c) That every citizen is an integral part of the Nation and has the right to take an equal part in Government at local, regional and national level;
- (d) That every citizen has the right to freedom of expression, of movement, of religious belief and of association within the context of the law;
- (e) That every individual has the right to receive from society protection of his life and of property held according to law;
- (f) That every individual has the right to receive a just return for his labour;
- (g) That all citizens together possess all the natural resources of the country in trust for their descendants;
- (h) That in order to ensure economic justice the State must have effective control over the principal means of production; and
- (i) That it is the responsibility of the State to intervene actively in the economic life of the Nation so as to ensure the well-being of all citizens and so as to prevent the exploitation of one person by another or one group by another, and so as to prevent the accumulation of wealth to an extent which is inconsistent with the existence of a classless society.

Now, THEREFORE, the principal aims and objects of TANU shall be as follows:—

- (a) To consolidate and maintain the independence of this country and the freedom of its people;
- (b) To safeguard the inherent dignity of the individual in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;
- (c) To ensure that this country shall be governed by a democratic socialist government of the people;
- (d) To co-operate with all political parties in Africa engaged in the liberation of all Africa;
- (e) To see that the Government mobilizes all the resources of this country towards the elimination of poverty, ignorance and disease;
- (f) To see that the Government actively assists in the formation and maintenance of co-operative organizations;
- (g) To see that wherever possible the Government itself directly participates in the economic development of this country;
- (h) To see that the Government gives equal opportunity to all men and women irrespective of race, religion or status;
- (i) To see that the Government eradicates all types of exploitation, intimidation, discrimination, bribery and corruption;
- (j) To see that the Government exercises effective control over the principal means of production and pursues policies which facilitate the way to collective ownership of the resources of this country;
- (k) To see that the Government co-operates with other States in Africa in bringing about African Unity;
- (l) To see that the Government works tirelessly towards world peace and security through the United Nations Organization.

PART TWO

THE POLICY OF SOCIALISM

(a) *Absence of Exploitation:*

A true Socialist State is one in which all people are workers and in which neither Capitalism nor Feudalism exist. It does not have two classes of people: a lower class consisting of people who work for their living, and an upper class consisting of those who live on other people's labour. In a true Socialist State no person exploits another, but everybody who is able to work does so and gets a fair income for his labour, and incomes do not differ substantially.

In a true Socialist State it is only the following categories of people who can live on other people's labour: children, the aged, cripples and those for whom the State at any one time cannot provide with employment.

Tanzania is a state of Peasants and Workers, but it is not yet a Socialist State. It still has elements of Capitalism and Feudalism and their temptations. These elements could expand and entrench themselves.

(b) *Major Means of Production to be under the Control of Peasants and Workers:*

The way to build and maintain socialism is to ensure that the major means of production are under the control and ownership of the Peasants and the Workers themselves through their Government and their Co-operatives. It is also necessary to ensure that the ruling party is a Party of Peasants and Workers.

These major means of production are: the land; forests; mineral resources; water; oil and electricity, communications; transport; banks; insurance; import and export trade; wholesale business; the steel, machine-tool, arms, motor-car cement, and fertilizer factories; the textile industry; and any other big industry upon which a large section of the population depend for their living, or which provides essential components for other industries; large plantations, especially those which produce essential raw materials.

Some of these instruments of production are already under the control and ownership of the people's Government.

(c) *Democracy:*

A state is not socialist simply because all, or all the major, means of production are controlled and owned by the Government. It is necessary for the Government to be elected and led by Peasants and Workers. If the racist Governments of Rhodesia and South Africa were to bring the major means of production in these countries under their control and direction, this would entrench Exploitation. It would not bring about Socialism. There cannot be true Socialism without Democracy.

(d) *Socialism is an Ideology:*

Socialism is an Ideology. It can only be implemented by people who firmly believe in its principles and are prepared to put them into practice. A true member of TANU is a socialist, and his compatriots, that is his fellow believers in this political and economic faith, are all those in Africa or elsewhere in the world who fight for the rights of the peasants and workers. The first duty of a TANU member, and especially of a TANU leader, is to live by these principles in his day-to-day life. In particular a TANU Leader should never live on another's labour, neither should he have capitalist or feudalistic tendencies.

The realization of these socialist objectives depends a great deal on the leadership, for as stated above, Socialism is an ideology, and it is difficult for leaders to implement it if they do not believe in it.

PART THREE

THE POLICY OF SELF-RELIANCE

We are at War:

TANU is involved in a war against poverty and oppression in our country; this struggle is aimed at moving the people of Tanzania (and the people of Africa as a whole) from a state of poverty to a state of prosperity.

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. We now intend to bring about a revolution which will ensure that we are never again victims of these things.

A poor Man does not use Money as a Weapon.

But it is obvious that in the past we have chosen the wrong weapon for our struggle, because we chose money as our weapon. We are trying to overcome our economic weakness by using the weapons of the economically strong—weapons which in fact we do not possess. By our thoughts, words and actions it appears as if we have come to the conclusion that without money we cannot bring about the revolution we are aiming at. It is as if we have said, "Money is the basis of development. Without money there can be no development".

This is what we believe at present. TANU leaders, and Government leaders and officials, all put great emphasis and dependence on money. The people's leaders, and the people themselves, in TANU, NUTA, Parliament, UWT, the Co-operatives, TAPA and in other national institutions think, hope and pray for MONEY. It is as if we had all agreed to speak with one voice, saying: "If we get money we shall develop, without money we cannot develop".

In brief, our Five-Year Development Plan aims at more food, more education and better health; but the weapon we have put emphasis upon is money. It is as if we said: "In the next five years we want to have more food, more education and better health and in order to achieve these things we shall spend £250,000,000". We think and speak as if the most important thing to depend upon is MONEY and anything else we intend to use in our struggle is of minor importance.

When a Member of Parliament says that there is a shortage of water in his constituency and he asks the Government how it intends to deal with the problem, he expects the Government to reply that it is planning to remove the shortage of water in his constituency—WITH MONEY.

When another Member of Parliament asks what the Government is doing about the shortage of roads, schools or hospitals in his constituency, he also expects the Government to tell him that it has specific plans to build roads, schools and hospitals in his constituency—with MONEY.

When a NUTA official asks the Government about its plans to deal with the low wages and poor housing of the workers, he expects the Government to inform him that the minimum wage will be increased and that better houses will be provided for the workers—with MONEY.

When a TAPA official asks the Government what plans it has to give assistance to the many TAPA schools which do not get Government aid, he expects the Government to state that it is ready the following morning to give the required assistance—of MONEY.

When an official of the Co-operative Movement mentions any problem facing the farmer, he expects to hear that the Government will solve the farmer's problems—with MONEY. In short, for every problem facing our Nation, the solution that is in everybody's mind is MONEY.

Each year, each Ministry of Government makes its estimates of expenditure, i.e., the amount of money it will require in the coming year to meet recurrent and development expenses. Only one Minister and his Ministry make estimates of revenue. This is the Minister for Finance. Every Ministry puts forward very good development plans. When the Ministry presents its estimates, it believes that the money is there for the asking but that the Minister for Finance and his Ministry are being obstructive. And regularly each year the Minister for Finance has to tell his fellow Ministers that there is no money. And each year the Ministries complain about the Ministry of Finance when it trims down their estimates.

Similarly, when Members of Parliament and other leaders demand that the Government should carry out a certain development, they believe that there is a lot of money to spend on such projects, but that the Government is the stumbling block. Yet such belief on the part of Ministries, Members of Parliament and other leaders does not alter the stark truth, which is that Government has not money.

When it is said that Government has no money, what does this mean? It means that people of Tanzania have insufficient money. The people pay taxes out of the very little wealth they have; it is from these taxes that the Government meets its recurrent and development

expenditure. When we call on the Government to spend more money on development projects, we are asking the Government to use more money. And if the Government does not have any more, the only way it can do this is to increase its revenue through extra taxation.

If one calls on the Government to spend more, one is in effect calling on the Government to increase taxes. Calling on the Government to spend more without raising taxes is like demanding that the Government should perform miracles; it is equivalent to asking for more milk from a cow while insisting that the cow should not be milked again. But our refusal to admit that calling on the Government to spend more is the same as calling on the Government to raise taxes shows that we fully realize the difficulties of increasing taxes. We realize that the cow has no more milk—that is, that the people find it difficult to pay more taxes. We know that the cow would like to have more milk herself, so that her calves could drink it, or that it would like more milk which could be sold to provide more comfort for itself or its calves. But knowing all the things which could be done with more milk does not alter the fact that the cow has no more milk!

What of External Aid?

One way we employ to try to escape the need for increased taxation for development purposes is to put emphasis on money coming from outside Tanzania. This money from outside falls into three categories:—

(a) *Grants*: This means that another Government gives our Government a sum of money as a free gift for a given development scheme. Sometimes it may be that an Institution in another country gives our Government or an Institution in our country financial help for development programmes.

(b) *Loans*: The greater portion of financial help we expect to get from outside is not in the form of gifts or charity, but in the form of loans. A foreign Government or a foreign institution, such as a Bank, lends our Government money for the purposes of development. Such a loan has repayment conditions attached to it, covering such factors as the time period for which it is available and the rate of interest.

(c) *Private Investment*: The third category of financial help is also greater than the first. This takes the form of investment in our country by individuals or companies from outside. The important condition which such private investors have in mind is that the enterprise into which they put their money should bring them profit and that our Government should permit them to repatriate these profits. They also prefer to invest in a country whose policies they agree with and which will safeguard their economic interests.

These three are the main categories of external finance. There is a great deal of talk on this question of getting money from external sources. Our Government and our leaders and other people keep on thinking about ways of getting money from outside. And when we get the money, or even the promise of it, our newspapers, our radio, and our leaders announce the news so that everybody may know that salvation has been obtained or is on the way. When we get a gift we make an announcement; when we get a loan or a new industry we make an announcement. In the same way, when we are given the promise of a gift, a loan or a new industry, we make an announcement of this promise. Even when we have merely started discussions with a foreign Government or institution for a gift, a loan, or a new industry, we make an announcement—even though we do not know the outcome of the discussions. Why do we do all this? Because we want people to know that we have started discussions which will bring prosperity!

DO NOT LET US DEPEND UPON MONEY FOR DEVELOPMENT

It is stupid to rely on money as the major instrument of development when we know only too well that our country is poor. It is equally stupid, indeed it is even more stupid, for us to imagine that we shall rid ourselves of our poverty through foreign financial assistance rather than our own financial resources. It is stupid for two reasons.

Firstly, we shall not get the money. It is true that there are countries which can, and which would like to help us. But there is no country in the world which is prepared to give us gifts or loans, or establish industries, to the extent that we would be able to achieve all our development targets. There are many needy countries in the world.

And even if all the prosperous nations were willing to help the needy countries, the assistance would still not suffice. But prosperous nations are not willing to give all they could. Even in these prosperous nations, the rich do not willingly give money to the Government to relieve want.

Money can only be extracted from the rich through taxation. Even then tax revenue is not enough. However heavily we taxed the citizens of Tanzania and aliens living here, the resulting revenue would not be enough to meet the costs of our development programme. Neither is there any Government in the world which can tax the prosperous or rich nations in order to help the poor nations. Even if there was such a government, the revenue would not be enough to do all that is needed. But in fact there is no world Government. Such money as the rich nations offer to poor nations is given voluntarily, either through their goodness or for their own benefit. For all these reasons it is impossible for us to get enough money for development from overseas.

GIFTS AND LOANS WILL ENDANGER OUR INDEPENDENCE

Secondly, even if it were possible for us to get enough money for our needs from external sources, is this what we really want? Independence means self-reliance. Independence cannot be real if a Nation depends upon gifts and loans from another for its development. Even if there was a Nation, or Nations, prepared to give us all the money we need for our development, it would be improper for us to accept such assistance without asking ourselves how this would affect our independence and our very survival as a nation. Gifts which start off or stimulate our own efforts are useful gifts. But gifts which weaken our own efforts should not be accepted without asking ourselves a number of questions.

The same applies to loans. It is true that loans are better than "free" gifts. A loan is intended to increase our efforts or make those efforts more fruitful. One condition of a loan is that you show how you are going to repay it. This means you have to show that you intend to use the loan profitably and will therefore be able to repay it.

But even loans have their limitations. You have to give consideration to the ability to repay. When we borrow money from other countries it is the Tanzanian who pays it back. And as we have already stated, Tanzanians are poor people. To burden the people with big loans, the repayment of which will be beyond their means, is not to help them but to make them suffer. It is even worse when the loans they are asked to repay have not benefited the majority of the people but have only benefited a small minority.

How about the enterprises of foreign investors? It is true we need these enterprises. We have even passed an Act of Parliament protecting foreign investments in this country. Our aim is to make foreign investors feel that Tanzania is a good place in which to invest because investments would be safe and profitable, and the profits can be taken out of the country without difficulty. We expect to get money through this method. But we cannot get enough. And even if we were able to convince foreign investors and foreign firms to undertake all the projects and programmes of economic development that we need, is that what we actually want to happen?

Had we been able to attract investors from America and Europe to come and start all the industries and all the projects of economic development that we need in this country, could we have done so without questioning ourselves? Would we have agreed to leave the economy of our country in the hands of foreigners who would take the profits back to their countries? Supposing they did not insist on taking their profits away, but decided to reinvest them in Tanzania. Would we accept this situation without asking ourselves what disadvantages it would have for our Nation? How can we build the Socialism we are talking about under such circumstances?

How can we depend upon gifts, loans and investments from foreign countries and foreign companies without endangering our independence? The English people have a proverb which says: "He who pays the piper calls the tune". How can we depend upon foreign Governments and Companies for the major part of our development

without giving to those Government and countries a great part of our freedom to act as we please? The truth is that we cannot.

Let us therefore always remember the following. We have made a mistake to choose money, something which we do not have, to be our major instrument of development. We are mistaken when we imagine that we shall get money from foreign countries, firstly, because to say the truth we cannot get enough money for our development and, secondly, because even if we could get it such complete dependence on outside help would have endangered our independence and the other policies of our country.

WE HAVE PUT TOO MUCH EMPHASIS ON INDUSTRIES

Because of our emphasis on money, we have made another big mistake. We have put too much emphasis in industries. Just as we have said "Without Money there can be no development", we also seem to say "Industries are the basis of development, without industries there is no development". This is true. The day when we have lots of money we shall be able to say we are a developed country. We shall be able to say: "When we began our development plans we did not have enough money and this situation made it difficult for us to develop as fast as we wanted. Today we are developed and we have enough money". That is to say, our money has been brought by development. Similarly, the day we become industrialized, we shall be able to say we are developed. Development would have enabled us to have industries. The mistake we are making is to think that development begins with industries. It is a mistake because we do not have the means to establish many modern industries in our country. We do not have either the necessary finances or the technical know-how. It is not enough to say that we shall borrow the finances and the technicians from other countries to come and start the industries. The answer to this is the same one we gave earlier, that we cannot get enough money and borrow enough technicians to start all the industries we need. And even if we could get the necessary assistance, dependence on it could interfere with our policy on Socialism. The policy of inviting a chain of capitalists to come and establish industries in our country might succeed

in giving us all the industries we need, but it would also succeed in preventing the establishment of socialism unless we believe that without first building capitalism, we cannot build Socialism.

LET US BE CONCERNED ABOUT THE PEASANT FARMER

Our emphasis on money and industries has made us concentrate on urban development. We recognize that we do not have enough money to bring the kind of development to each village which would benefit everybody. We also know that we cannot establish an industry in each village and through this means effect a rise in the real incomes of the people. For these reasons we spend most of our money in the urban areas and our industries are established in the towns.

Yet the greater part of this money that we spend in the towns comes from loans. Whether it is used to build schools, hospitals, houses or factories, etc., it still has to be repaid. But it is obvious that it cannot be repaid just out of money obtained from urban and industrial development. To repay the loans we have to use foreign currency which is obtained from the sale of our exports. But we do not now sell our industrial products in foreign markets, and indeed it is likely to be a long time before our industries produce for export. The main aim of our new industries is "import substitution"—that is, to produce things which up to now we have had to import from foreign countries.

It is therefore obvious that the foreign currency we shall use to pay back the loans used in the development of the urban areas will not come from the towns or the industries. Where then shall we get it from? We shall get it from the villages and from agriculture. What does this mean? It means that the people who benefit directly from development which is brought about by borrowed money are not the ones who will repay the loans. The largest proportion of the loans will be spent in, or for, the urban areas, but the largest proportion of the repayment will be made through the efforts of the farmers.

This fact should always be borne in mind, for there are various forms of exploitation. We must not forget that people who live in towns can possibly become the exploiters

of those who live in the rural areas. All our big hospitals are in towns and they benefit only a small section of the people of Tanzania. Yet if we have built them with loans from outside Tanzania, it is the overseas sale of the peasants' produce which provides the foreign exchange for repayment. Those who do not get the benefit of the hospitals thus carry the major responsibility for paying for them. Tarmac roads, too, are mostly found in towns and are of especial value to the motor-car owners. Yet if we have built those roads with loans, it is again the farmer who produces the goods which will pay for them. What is more, the foreign exchange with which the car was bought also came from the sale of the farmer's produce. Again, electric lights, water pipes, hotels and other aspects of modern development are mostly found in towns. Most of them have been built with loans, and most of them do not benefit the farmer directly, although they will be paid for by the foreign exchange earned by the sale of his produce. We should always bear this in mind.

Although when we talk of exploitation we usually think of capitalists, we should not forget that there are many fish in the sea. They eat each other. The large ones eat the small ones, and the small ones eat those who are even smaller. There are two possible ways of dividing the people in our country. We can put the capitalists and feudalists on one side, and the peasants and workers on the other. But we can also divide the people into urban dwellers on one side, and those who live in the rural areas on the other. If we are not careful we might get to the position where the real exploitation in Tanzania is that of the town dwellers exploiting the peasants.

THE PEOPLE AND AGRICULTURE

The development of a country is brought about by people, not by money. Money, and the wealth it represents, is the result and not the basis of development. The four pre-requisites of development are different; they are (i) People; (ii) Land; (iii) Good Policies; (iv) Good Leadership. Our country has more than ten million people and its area is more than 362,000 square miles.

AGRICULTURE IS THE BASIS OF DEVELOPMENT

A great part of Tanzania's land is fertile and gets sufficient rains. Our country can produce various crops for home consumption and for export.

We can produce food crops (which can be exported if we produce in large quantities) such as maize, rice, wheat, beans, groundnuts, etc. And we can produce such cash crops as sisal, cotton, coffee, tobacco, pyrethrum, tea, etc. Our land is also good for grazing cattle, goats, sheep, and for raising chickens, etc.; we can get plenty of fish from our rivers, lakes, and from the sea. All of our farmers are in areas which can produce two or three or even more of the food and cash crops enumerated above and each farmer could increase his production so as to get more food or more money. And because the main aim of development is to get more food, and more money for our other needs, our purpose must be to increase production of these agricultural crops. This is in fact the only road through which we can develop our country—in other words, only by increasing our production of these things can we get more food and more money for every Tanzanian.

THE CONDITIONS OF DEVELOPMENT

(a) *Hard Work:*

Everybody wants development; but not everybody understands and accepts the basic requirements for development. The biggest requirement is hard work. Let us go to the villages and talk to our people and see whether or not it is possible for them to work harder.

In towns, for example, the average paid worker works seven-and-a-half or eight hours a day for six or six-and-a-half days a week. This is about 45 hours a week, excluding two or three weeks' leave every year. This means that an urban worker works for 45 hours a week in 48 to 50 weeks a year.

For a country like ours these are really quite short working hours. In other countries, even those which are more developed than we are, people work for more than 45 hours a week. It is not normal for a young country to

start with such a short working week. The normal thing is to begin with long working hours and decrease them as the country becomes more and more prosperous. By starting with such short working hours and asking for even shorter hours, we are in fact imitating the more developed countries. And we shall regret this imitation. Nevertheless, wage-earners do work for 45 hours per week and their annual vacation does not exceed four weeks.

It would be appropriate to ask our farmers, especially the men, how many hours a week and how many weeks a year they work. Many do not even work for half as many hours as the wage-earner does. The truth is that in the villages the women work very hard. At times they work for 12 or 14 hours a day. They even work on Sundays and public holidays. Women who live in the villages work harder than anybody else in Tanzania. But the men who live in villages (and some of the women in towns) are on leave for half of their life. The energies of the millions of men in the villages and thousands of women in the towns which are at present wasted in gossip, dancing and drinking, are a great treasure which could contribute more towards the development of our country than anything we could get from rich nations.

We would be doing something very beneficial to our country if we went to the villages and told our people that they hold this treasure and that it is up to them to use it for their own benefit and the benefit of our whole Nation.

(b) *Intelligence:*

The second condition of development is the use of INTELLIGENCE. Unintelligent hard work would not bring the same good results as the two combined. Using a big hoe instead of a small one; using a plough pulled by oxen instead of an ordinary hoe; the use of fertilizers; the use of insecticides; knowing the right crop for a particular season or soil; choosing good seeds for planting; knowing the right time for planting, weeding, etc.; all these things show the use of knowledge and intelligence. And all of them combined with hard work to produce more and better results.

The money and time we spend on passing on this knowledge to the peasants are better spent and bring more benefits to our country than the money and the great amount of time we spend on other things which we call development.

These facts are well-known to all of us. The parts of our Five-Year Development Plan which are on target, or where the target has been exceeded, are those parts which depend solely upon the people's own hard work. The production of cotton, coffee, cashewnuts, tobacco and pyrethrum has increased tremendously for the past three years. But these are things which are produced by hard work and the good leadership of the people, not by the use of great amounts of money.

Furthermore the people, through their own hard work and with a little help and leadership, have finished many development projects in the villages. They have built schools, dispensaries, community centres, and roads; they have dug wells, water-channels, animal dips, small dams, and completed various other development projects. Had they waited for money, they would not now have the use of these things.

HARD WORK IS THE ROOT OF DEVELOPMENT

Some Plan projects which depend on money are going on well, but there are many which have stopped and others which might never be fulfilled because of lack of money. Yet still we talk about money and our search for money increases and takes nearly all our energies. We should not lessen our efforts to get the money we really need, but it would be more appropriate for us to spend time in the villages showing the people how to bring about development through their own efforts, rather than going on so many long and expensive journeys abroad in search of development money. This is the real way to bring development to everybody in the country.

None of this means that from now on we will not need money or that we will not start industries or embark upon development projects which require money. Furthermore, we are not saying that we will not accept, or even that we shall not look for, money from other countries for our development. This is NOT what we are saying. We

will continue to use money; and each year we will use more money for the various development projects than we used the previous year because this will be one of the signs of our development.

What we are saying, however, is that from now on we shall know what is the foundation and what is the fruit of development. Between MONEY and PEOPLE it is obvious that the people and their HARD WORK are the foundation of development, and money is one of the fruits of that hard work.

From now on we shall stand upright and walk forward on our feet rather than look at this problem upside down. Industries will come and money will come but their foundation is THE PEOPLE and their HARD WORK, especially in AGRICULTURE. This is the meaning of self-reliance. Our emphasis should therefore be on:—

- (a) The Land and Agriculture,
- (b) The People,
- (c) The Policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance, and
- (d) Good Leadership.

(a) *The Land:*

Because of the economy of Tanzania depends and will continue to depend on agriculture and animal husbandry, Tanzanians can live well without depending on help from outside if they use their land properly. Land is the basis of human life and all Tanzanians should use it as a valuable investment for future development. Because the land belongs to the Nation, the Government has to see to it that it is used for the benefit of the whole nation and not for the benefit of one individual or just a few people.

It is the responsibility of TANU to see that the country produces enough food, enough cash crops for export. It is the responsibility of the Government and the Co-operative Societies to see to it that our people get the necessary tools, training and leadership in modern methods of agriculture.

(b) *The People:*

In order properly to implement the policy of self-reliance, the people have to be taught the meaning of self-reliance and its practice. They must become self-sufficient in food, serviceable clothes and good housing.

In our country work should be something to be proud of, and laziness, drunkenness and idleness should be things to be ashamed of. 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. The people should always be ready to defend their Nation when they are called upon to do so.

(c) *Good Policies:*

The principles of our policy of self-reliance go hand in hand with our policy on Socialism. In order to prevent exploitation it is necessary for everybody to work and to live on his own labour. And in order to distribute the national wealth fairly, it is necessary for everybody to work to the maximum of his ability. Nobody should go and stay for a long time with his relative, doing no work, because in doing so he will be exploiting his relative. Likewise, nobody should be allowed to loiter in towns or villages without doing work which would enable him to be self-reliant without exploiting his relatives.

TANU believes that everybody who loves his Nation has a duty to serve it by co-operating with his fellows in building the country for the benefit of all the people of Tanzania. In order to maintain our independence and our people's freedom we ought to be self-reliant in every possible way and avoid depending upon other countries for assistance. If every individual is self-reliant the ten-house cell will be self-reliant; if all the cells are self-reliant the whole ward will be self-reliant; and if the wards are self-reliant the District will be self-reliant. If the Districts are self-reliant, then the Region is self-reliant, and if the Regions are self-reliant, then the whole Nation is self-reliant and this is our aim.

(d) *Good Leadership:*

TANU realizes the importance of good leadership. The problem is that we have not prepared proper plans for the training of leaders. The Party Headquarters is now called upon to prepare specific plans for the training of leaders from the national level down to the leaders of the ten-house cells, so that all may understand our political and economic policies. Leaders must be a good example to the rest of the people through their actions and in their own lives.

PART FOUR

TANU MEMBERSHIP

Since the founding of the Party greater emphasis has been put on having as large a membership as possible. This was justified during the struggle for independence. Now, however, the National Executive Committee feels that the time has come for emphasis to shift away from more size of membership on to the quality of the membership. Greater consideration must be given to a member's commitment to the beliefs and objectives of the Party, and its policy of Socialism.

The Membership Clause in the TANU Constitution must be closely observed. Where it is thought unlikely that an applicant really accepts the beliefs, aims and objects of the Party, he should be denied membership. Above all it should always be remembered that TANU is a Party of Peasants and Workers.

PART FIVE

THE ARUSHA RESOLUTION

Therefore, the National Executive Committee, meeting in the Community Centre at Arusha from 26.1.67 to 29.1.67, resolves:—

A. THE LEADERSHIP

1. Every TANU and Government leader must be either a Peasant or a Worker, and should in no way be associated with the practices of Capitalism or Feudalism.
2. No TANU or Government leader should hold shares in any Company.
3. No TANU or Government leader should hold Directorships in any privately-owned enterprises.
4. No TANU or Government leader should receive two or more salaries.
5. No TANU or Government leader should own houses which he rents to others.

6. For the purposes of this Resolution the term "leader" should comprise the following: Members of the TANU National Executive Committee; Ministers, Members of Parliament, Senior Officials of Organizations affiliated to TANU, Senior Officials of Para-Statal Organizations, all those appointed or elected under any clause of the TANU Constitution, Councillors, and Civil Servants in high and middle cadres. (In this context "leader" means a man, or a man and his wife; a woman, or a woman and her husband).

B. THE GOVERNMENT AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS

1. Congratulates the Government for the steps it has taken so far in the implementation of the policy of Socialism.
2. Calls upon the Government to take further steps in the implementation of our policy of Socialism as described in Part Two of this document without waiting for a Presidential Commission on Socialism.
3. Calls upon the Government to put emphasis, when preparing its development plans, on the ability of this country to implement the plans rather than depending on foreign loans and grants as has been done in the current Five-Year Development Plan. The National Executive Committee also resolves that the Plan should be amended so as to make it fit in with the policy of self-reliance.
4. Calls upon the Government to take action designed to ensure that the incomes of workers in the private sector are not very different from the incomes of workers in the public sector.
5. Calls upon the Government to put great emphasis on actions which will raise the standard of living of the peasants, and the rural community.
6. Calls upon NUTA, the Co-operatives, TAPA, UWT, TYL, and other Government institutions to take steps to implement the policy of Socialism and Self-reliance.

C. MEMBERSHIP

Members should get thorough teaching on Party ideology so that they may understand it, and they should always be reminded of the importance of living up to its principles.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP IN TANZANIA

By PRESIDENT MWALIMU JULIUS K. NYERERE

In the past Tanzania has said it is committed to building socialism, but we have not made clear what we mean by this. We have called for private investment in industrial and agricultural activities, but at the same time we have spoken frequently of our determination to control our own economy. We established the National Development Corporation and called it our instrument for socialist development; we gave certain trade monopolies to Cosata and Intrata. But we never laid down our criteria for the division between public and private enterprise. Instead we talked in general terms about the advantages of each—often according to whether the factory we were opening was public or private! We frequently said that we wanted and needed a combination of State and Private Enterprise but we left it to individuals to judge whether a particular undertaking should be placed in one category or the other. Even when we published the Five-Year Development Plan in 1964, we failed to clarify the position. Indeed, by the heavy reliance on foreign aid and private investment envisaged in that Plan, we implied that it did not matter to us, and that public enterprise would fill the gaps left by private investors.

The purpose of Part Two (b) of the Arusha Declaration was to settle this question, and to make clear the areas where public ownership and control are required, and the areas where private investment is, and will be, welcomed.

Inevitably, however, the first result of such a Declaration was to heighten uncertainty. This was especially true in the minds of those who had already invested in economic undertakings which were referred to in the Document, or which might be covered by its general references to "big factories". Until they knew their position it was quite obvious that they would not consider any possibility of expansion, and might even consider the desirability of running down their activities. Neither of these things could be in the interests of the Tanzania people, and it was therefore obvious to the Government that immediate action was required to bring uncertainty to an end, so that both private investors and the public at large knew exactly where they stood.

In the space of the past week the Government of the United Republic has therefore taken the decisions necessary to clear up any uncertainties left by the Arusha Declaration. We have put the economy into the position where positive decisions for growth can be made with confidence. The decision-making has now been concluded, and the announcements made.

Since the 5th February we have nationalised all Banks operating in the United Republic (except for the Co-operative Bank which continues on its present basis). We have taken into public ownership the following firms which are engaged in the processing of foods normally purchased from or through the National Agricultural Products Board:—

Tanzania Millers; Chande Industries; Pure Food Products Ltd.; G. R. Jivraj; Noormohamed Jessa; Kyela Sattar Mills (Mbeya); Associated Traders Ltd. (Mwanza); and Rajwani Mills (Dodoma).

We have also nationalised the National Insurance Corporation Ltd. in which Government previously had a majority shareholding. As from 11th February all new life insurance business in Tanzania will be handled by this Corporation. Existing life insurance policies will, however, continue to be valid and the interests of policy-holders will be protected. Other types of insurance business will also be handled exclusively by the N.I.C. as from a date in the future which will be announced when the Minister presents the enabling Bill to Parliament next week. Then, to form the nucleus of the State Trading Corporation which will be the authorized body for External and Wholesale Trade, we have nationalised the following firms:—

Smith Mackenzie & Co. Ltd.; Dalgety (East Africa) Ltd.; International Trading & Credit Co. of Tanganyika; Co-operative Supply Association of Tanganyika Ltd.; A. Baumann & Co. (Tanganyika) Ltd.; Twentsche Overseas Trading Co. Ltd.; African Mercantile Co. (Overseas) Ltd.; Wigglesworth & Co. (Africa) Ltd.

In all these cases we have stated quite clearly and categorically that we shall pay full and fair compensation for the assets acquired, and that we shall honour all existing commitments—with especial reference to commitments to employees. In some cases discussions about these matters have already begun; in the other cases they will be initiated in the very near future.

This list is the complete list of the firms we intend to nationalise in accordance with the Arusha Declaration. Firms which are not included in that list will not be taken into exclusive public ownership.

There is, however, a further list of private firms operating in Tanzania in which the Government intends to hold a controlling share. During the past week this list has also been drawn up, and the firms notified or discussions started. In these cases we shall not be discussing nationalisation; we shall be discussing with those concerned the best means by which Government can secure majority shareholding. In some cases this can be effected through Government participation in economically justified expansion plans; in other cases different methods will have to be followed. But in all cases our purpose will be to avoid dislocation of economic production.

The firms affected by this list are as follows:—

Beer Breweries: Kilimanjaro Brewery and Tanzania Brewery; British American Tobacco; Bata Shoe Company; Tanganyika Metal Box; Tanganyika Extract Company; Tanganyika Portland Cement.

There is only one industry in which the Government intends to take a controlling interest and in relation to which action has not yet been completed. We have informed the Sisal Growers Association of our intention to secure a controlling share in the Sisal Industry, but the individual firms with whom discussions will take place have not yet been notified. The names of these firms will be announced within the coming week.

All firms not included in the above list, except for Sisal Estates, may now rest assured that Government does not desire to obtain majority participation in their enterprises. They are free to continue in full private ownership, or with existing minority Government or Co-operative ownership.

With these two lists the Government has fulfilled its obligations under the Arusha Declaration, Part Two (b)—that is the part referring to public ownership and control. All the other industries existing in Tanzania, and to which reference was made, were owned before the Arusha Meeting. For example, Land, Forests, Mineral Resources, Water, Electricity, Posts, Telecommunications, Radio, Railways, and so on, are in Government hands or Government control. In addition, there are 21 existing firms of various kinds which are already fully Government-owned and run under the supervision of the National Development Corporation, and 17 in which N.D.C. hold 50 per cent of the shares or more.

The list of firms whose ownership has been affected by the Arusha Declaration is thus a very small one. It is small because, in the words of Norman Manley, "You can't nationalise nothing". The potential of Tanzania is still undeveloped; our real task is to develop it. For this we need hard and intelligent work, and some capital. We have the people who are willing to work hard. We have, or will hire from abroad, the administrators, managers, and technicians that we need. And the capital we shall obtain largely from our own efforts—from re-investing income which we earn from our existing industries—and this means from the products of our agriculture.

Does this imply that Tanzania is no longer interested in receiving capital aid from abroad, or in receiving private investment—either foreign or local? It should be obvious that it does not mean that. We have firmly rejected the proposition that without foreign aid we cannot develop. We shall not depend upon overseas aid to the extent of bending our political, economic, or social policies in the hope of getting it. But we shall try to get it in order that we may hasten our economic progress, and that it may act as a catalyst to our own effort. Similarly with private enterprise; we have rejected the domination of private enterprise; but we shall continue to welcome private investment in all those areas not reserved for Government in the Arusha Declaration.

What does this mean in practice? It means that a potential investor will know that there are certain industries or commercial activities which are reserved for Government. Obviously he will realize that the sectors where we nationalised firms already operating are included in that category. But in addition, of the industries listed in the Arusha Declaration but which do not yet exist, Arms are included in this classification. No private investor will be allowed to participate in the industry which manufactures weapons of death.

Secondly, the private investor will know that there is a category of industry and commerce in which Government will insist on having a majority share. This will cover all those economic activities listed in the Arusha Declaration which are not included above. The only one which does not yet exist in any form is the motor car industry, but of course anyone interested in—for example—establishing another textile mill would realize that they come in this category because those which already existed were converted from majority private ownership to majority Government ownership.

Thirdly, however, the potential investor will know that in all other fields his investment will be welcomed and he will receive full co-operation from the Government and People in establishing a factory. He may do this without any Government or Co-operative participation if he wishes. Industries not listed in the Arusha Declaration are open to complete private ownership, and investors are only obliged to abide by the normal law of the land regarding employment conditions, etc.

But it may be that a potential private investor—whether foreign or local—desires Government participation in his undertaking. This we have often found to be the case in the past. In such a case he would approach Government in the normal manner—through N.D.C.—and his request will be given very favourable consideration. If we can co-operate, even on a minority basis, we shall be willing to do so.

There is one further point which it would be useful to clarify. The Arusha Declaration and the subsequent Government action has related to ownership, and this is not always the same thing as management. But policy has to be implemented. This is done by management and staff together, and taking an industry under Government ownership or control does not eliminate the need for skilled work and astute commercial expertise. We shall be asking the existing managers to continue in their present work just as they might do if their firms had changed ownership between two private groups, for we do not as yet have sufficient skilled and experienced people of our own. It is our hope that they will agree to do this, for although we cannot offer a life-career to non-Tanzanians we shall be concerned to act fairly towards those who help us through our present needs. This policy is not new, and will not seem strange to our people. Six years after independence we still have expatriates working in the Civil Service and other Government enterprises; firms which are already under Government ownership or control have expatriates in those senior positions for which no Tanzanian is qualified. It is important that all those affected should realize that Government intends to act honestly and fairly towards them, and that it hopes that they will do the same towards the people of the United Republic.

In summary, the actions and announcements of the past seven days amount to this. Tanzania has defined the economic implications of her socialist policies, and in doing so has specified the areas of Public and the areas of Private enterprise. In the divisions the key positions of the economy have been secured for the nation in the same way as, during a war, an army occupies the sites which dominate the countryside. Our war is a war against poverty, and for the freedom and self-government of our people. In this fight we can now welcome the enterprise of private investors without reservations, because we no longer have any cause to fear the effect of their activities on our social purpose.

It is my hope that the people of this country, including private investors, will take advantage of the situation created by the removal of past uncertainties, and that our nation will now go forward, through hard work, to the brighter future which we can create.

(Published in the "Sunday News" of 12th February, 1967)

SOCIALISM IS NOT RACIALISM

By PRESIDENT MWALIMU JULIUS K. NYERERE

The Arusha Declaration and the actions relating to public ownership which we took last week were all concerned with ensuring that we can build Socialism in our country. The nationalisation and the taking of a controlling interest in many firms were a necessary part of our determination to organize our society in such a way that our efforts benefit all our people and that there is no exploitation of one man by another.

Yet these actions do not in themselves create socialism. They are necessary to it, but as the Arusha Declaration states, they could also be the basis for fascism—in other words, for the oppressive extreme of capitalism. For the words with which I began my pamphlet “Ujamaa” in 1962 remain valid; socialism is an attitude of mind. The basis of socialism is a belief in the oneness of man and the common historical destiny of mankind. Its basis, in other words, is human equality.

Acceptance of this principle is absolutely fundamental to socialism. The justification of socialism is Man; not the State, not the flag. Socialism is not for the benefit of black men, nor brown men, nor white men, nor yellow men. The purpose of socialism is the service of man, regardless of colour, size, shape, skill, ability, or anything else. And the economic institutions of socialism, such as those we are now creating in accordance with the Arusha Declaration, are intended to serve man in our society. Where the majority of the people in a particular society are black, then most of those who benefit from socialism there will be black. But it has nothing to do with their blackness; only with their humanity.

Some years ago I made the point that fascism and racialism can go together, but socialism and racialism are incompatible. The reason is easy to see. Fascism is the highest and most ruthless form of the exploitation of man by man; it is made possible by deliberate efforts to divide mankind and set one group of men against another group.

In Nazi Germany the majority were incited to join in hostile actions against the Jews—who were a minority religious and ethnic group living among them. “I hate Jews” became the basis of life for supporters of the Nazi Government.

But the man or woman who hates “Jews”, or “Asians”, or “Europeans”, or even “West Europeans and Americans” is not a Socialist. He is trying to divide mankind into groups and is judging men according to the skin colour and shape they were given by God. Or he is dividing men according to national boundaries. In either case he is denying the equality and brotherhood of man.

Without an acceptance of human equality there can be no socialism. This is true however "socialist" the institutions may be. Thus it was that when Nazi Germany organized the Krupp group of industries no socialist could rejoice; for it simply meant that the fascist state was more highly organized than ever. Nor do socialists welcome the news that South Africa has established an oil trading and refining company in which the State owns a controlling interest. We know that this simply makes that fascist state more efficient in its oppression and more able to defend itself against attack.

We in Tanzania have to hold fast to this lesson, especially now as we advance on the socialist road. For it is true that because of our colonial history the vast majority of the capitalist organizations in this country are owned and run by Asians or by Western Europeans. Twenty years ago we could have said all the capitalists in this country were from those areas; we cannot say this now. For the truth is that capitalism and capitalist attitudes have nothing whatsoever to do with the race or national origin of those who believe in them or practise them. Indeed, nobody who was at Arusha needs any more proof that the temptations of capitalism ignore colour boundaries. Even leaders of TANU were getting deeply involved in the practices of capitalism and landlordism. A few had started talking of "my Company". And very many others would have done so if they could; they were capitalists by desire even when they could not be so in practice. Hence the resolution on leadership. Hence the difficulties we must expect in enforcing this resolution.

Socialism has nothing to do with race, nor with country of origin. In fact any intelligent man, whether he is a socialist or not, realizes that there are socialists in capitalist countries—and from capitalist countries. Very often such socialists come to work in newly independent and avowedly socialist countries like Tanzania, because they are frustrated in their capitalist homeland. Neither is any intelligent man blind to the fact that there are frustrated capitalists in the communist countries—just as there will in time be frustrated capitalists in Tanzania. It may even be that some of those frustrated capitalists from Eastern countries come to work with us.

Neither is it sensible for a socialist to talk as if all capitalists are devils. It is one thing to dislike the capitalist system, and to try and frustrate people's capitalist desires. But it would be as stupid for us to assume that capitalists have horns as it is for people in Western Europe to assume that we in Tanzania have become devils.

In fact the leaders in the capitalist countries have now begun to realize that communists are human beings like themselves—that they are not devils. One day they will realize that this includes the Chinese communists! It would be very absurd if we react to the stupidity they are growing out of, and become equally stupid ourselves in the opposite direction! We have to recognize in our words and our actions that capitalists are human beings as much as socialists. They may be wrong; indeed by dedicating ourselves to socialism we are saying that they are. But our task is to make it impossible for capitalism to dominate us. Our task is not to persecute capitalists or make dignified life impossible for those who would be capitalists if they could.

In truth it is necessary for socialists to think about issues—about policies—and about how our institutions can serve the people of our society. To try and divide up the people working for our nation into groups of “good” and “bad” according to their skin colour, or their national origin, or their tribal origin, is to sabotage the work we have just embarked upon. We should decide whether a person is efficient in a particular job, whether he is honest, and whether he is carrying out his task loyally. But those of us who call ourselves scientific socialists must be scientific and objective in our thinking and in making such judgements. We must think about Men, and an individual man, not about “Asians”, “Europeans”, “Americans”, and so on.

Certainly socialism in Tanzania will be built by Tanzanians. And certainly we are working for the time when all those in our Government employment will be Tanzanians—though they will not all be black Tanzanians. But is it absurd for anyone to suggest that because we now have non-Tanzanians working for Government—or in the newly nationalised industries—that we do not control our own affairs. Only those who are lacking in self-confidence, or who are trying to hide their own shortcomings, could say this now. For all the evidence is against them. We obtained our independence although we were governed by colonialists. We became a Republic although there were many expatriates working here—at that time even in high positions. We effected the Union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar although many Government servants on the mainland came from countries which did not like the Zanzibar Revolution. We have accepted the Arusha Declaration, and in the space of one week have nationalised, or taken control of all the large capitalist firms and institutions which could have dominated our economy. In all these activities we have used all the Government servants concerned. And all—Tanzanians and non-Tanzanians alike—are carrying out our decisions loyally, and are working very hard indeed.

The Arusha Declaration talks of Men, and their beliefs. It talks of socialism and capitalism, of socialists and capitalists. It does not talk about racial groups or nationalities. On the contrary, it says that all those who stand for the interests of the workers and peasants, anywhere in the world, are our friends. This means that we must judge the character and ability of each individual, not put each person into a pre-arranged category of race or national origin and judge them accordingly. Certainly no one can be a socialist unless he at least tries to do this. For if the actions taken under the Arusha Declaration are to mean anything to our people, then we must accept this basic oneness of man. What matters now is that we should succeed in the work we have undertaken. The colour or origin of the man who is working to that end does not matter in the very least. And each one of us must fight, in himself, the racist habits of thought which were part of our inheritance from colonialism.

It is not an easy thing to overcome such habits. But we have always known that it is necessary, and that racialism is evil. We fought our independence campaign on that basis. And the equality of man is the

first item in the TANU Creed. For in our constitution we say "TANU believes (a) That all human beings are equal; (b) That every individual has a right to dignity and respect".

If we are to succeed in building a socialist state in this country it is essential that every citizen, and especially every TANU leader, should live up to that doctrine. Let us always remember two things. We have dedicated ourselves to build a socialist society in Tanzania. And, Socialism and Racialism are incompatible.

(Published in the "Nationalist" of 14th February, 1967)

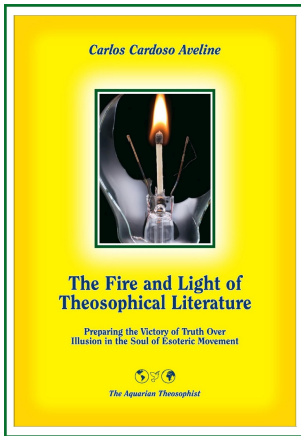
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