

# BACKGROUND TO FIVE-YEAR PLANS

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This (the national democratic state) represents that form of the state which is most appropriate in the colonial and semi-colonial countries following their revolution. Such a state is democratic because it exists under the joint dictatorship of several anti-imperialist classes, that is, the vast majority of the people. United by the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, such a state is able to meet and solve all the complicated questions of economic and social reform, of industrial development and of raising the living standards of the people. . . . The tasks before such a state call for increasingly non-capitalist and socialist measures; the state will take new and considerable initiatives in all branches of production and exchange, it will introduce more and more co-operative forms of enterprise redistribute the land of the colonial elements and give the peasantry a new and fuller place in society. In other words, the revolution pursues paths which gradually but decisively reduce the elements of exploitation in society, thus ensuring not only maximum economic growth, but willing participation of the entire people in all the tasks of economic and social reconstruction.—P. TLALE in THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST, No. 19.

TANZANIA HAS MANY serious obstacles to overcome on its path of development. For centuries it has been ravaged by conquerors—first the Arab slave traders and ivory-hunters, operating from their base in Zanzibar; then the murderous German imperialists whose genocidal rule lasted from 1886 until the period of the first world war; and finally the British ‘trustees’ (Tanganyika was mandated to Britain by the League of Nations) whose rule was marginally less savage than that of the Germans, but whose economic exploitation was more intensive and efficient.

It is not surprising therefore that Tanzania is abysmally poor—the Tanzanian income per head is only £19 6s. 0d. a year. The economy is overwhelmingly dependent on the export of sisal (approximately £22 million in 1964) and cotton (£11 million) which together account for more of *Tanganyika’s* export earnings than all other exports taken together. These crops, like nearly all commodities produced in the formerly imperialist-ruled countries are marketed in London, Paris and New York at prices controlled by the big imperialist cartels, who do their best to push prices down and increase their own profits. Agricultural exports are therefore a shaky basis on which to plan for development.

The Tanzanian government's solution to the problem of poverty is a series of three Five-Year Plans covering the period 1964 to 1980, by which it is hoped to raise the income per head of the Tanzanian people from £19 6s. to £45—about the same as the present yearly income per head in the United Arab Republic.

The first Five-Year Plan, which is already in operation, calls for capital expenditure of £246 million. It is worth looking at what the Plan is trying to achieve, and how it proposes to pay for the development envisaged.

The Plan will start the rise of the people's income towards the £45 goal—by 1970, the planners hope, the figure will have risen from £19 to £29. The plan also envisages continued and accelerated progress in training manpower—by 1980, it is hoped, Tanzania will be entirely self-sufficient in manpower requirements. Health services are to be expanded, with the aim of raising the life-expectancy of Tanzanians from the present figure of thirty-five years, to fifty years. Agriculture is to become better-organized and more efficient, mainly by the use of better farming methods and the supply of more mechanical agricultural tools, and by the encouragement of peasant co-operatives and Government land settlements. At the same time, industry is to be expanded. Factories will be set up to produce consumer goods, many of which are at present imported but which can easily be manufactured in Tanzania.

### **DANGEROUS WEAKNESS**

Of particular importance is the setting up of three sisal-spinning factories in Tanzania, breaking the vicious imperialist-imposed pattern of being used as a store-house of valuable raw materials, which are taken away at low prices by the monopolies, processed, and then sold back to the source country, and sold elsewhere, at exorbitant prices. But the sisal-processing factories are being backed by British and Dutch investment. Only a small amount of the necessary capital comes from local sources, and most of the local money is from private investors. This one example exposes the flaw in the Five-Year Plan—a flaw which may prove fatal for the Tanzanian government's hopes for the future.

Of the £246 million required to implement the plan, no less than £128.5 million, or more than half, is to come from outside sources. This is a dangerous situation—it means that for the next five years, Tanzania will be heavily dependent on loans and investment from other countries. The more money that is supplied by the Western powers, the greater the danger to Tanzania's independence. Linked

with the peril of too great a reliance on imperialist assistance, is the fact that nearly 40 per cent of the entire expenditure envisaged in the plan will be spent in the private sector of the economy.

It is difficult to reconcile this unhealthy emphasis on the private sector with the progress along the path of non-capitalist development which has already been made. All over Tanzania, the people have formed themselves into 'village development committees', working on communal development projects, on roads, schools, clinics, and housing. In 1964, President Nyerere announced recently, the masses by their own voluntary action carried out projects worth over £1 million. For a country as poor and backward as Tanzania, this is truly a magnificent achievement. But the village development committees, which are to be integrated into the Five-Year Plan, do not possess the resources necessary to make a sufficiently large contribution to national progress which will reduce Tanzania's dependence on western 'aid'. What is needed is carefully planned, vigorous and well co-ordinated action by the central government to channel the enthusiasm and struggle of the people towards the achievement of a state of national democracy.

It is regrettable that such elements are far from being sufficiently stressed in the Five-Year plan, and one finds it hard to avoid the conclusion that to some extent the drafters were influenced by pressures from the imperialist countries.

### **IMPERIALIST DESIGNS**

President Nyerere has repeatedly declared that he will accept aid from anywhere as long as it has no strings attached. But, over the last few years, the powers that wish to re-colonize Africa have become more subtle in their methods. There are no explicit strings attached to Western aid any more, at least not until it has already been accepted. Then it becomes clear that aid may be withdrawn if the recipient country does anything to offend the imperialist power; or the aid is administered by the imperialists themselves in such a way as to undermine the country's chosen path of development—American aid in particular is invariably directed at strengthening the capitalist sector of the economy, and weakening the socialist sector. Thus the aid which Tanzania will get from the West under the Five-Year Plan is a deliberate attempt to wean Tanzania away from socialism, and back into the imperialist camp.

Imperialist designs on Tanzanian independence have been exposed for all to see. In December last year, an American plot to overthrow the Tanzanian government and crush the revolutionary

movements using Tanzania as a base, was uncovered by Tanzanian security authorities. In January this year, two U.S. 'diplomats' were expelled from Zanzibar and Dar es Salaam for subversive activities. Ever since the popular revolution in Zanzibar, the U.S. imperialists have been feverishly organizing counter-revolutionary activities, while the British give aid and comfort to the deposed Sultan, who now lives in luxury in London on money provided by the British. In Tanganyika, the President himself has remarked that American 'Peace Corps' teachers are assiduously spreading anti-government propaganda among Tanzania's students.

However, imperialist designs to purchase with dollars, pounds or West Deutschmarks the freedom and independence which the people of Tanzania have so dearly won are likely to founder on the hard rock of African patriotism which the people, the government and President Nyerere himself have courageously and consistently displayed.

Tanzania's hardy spirit of independence is enabling this small country to play an increasingly important part in African and world affairs.

Fighters for liberation from apartheid South Africa, and other parts of Africa oppressed by colonialism, will never forget the brotherhood and aid they have received and are receiving from the government and the people of Tanzania.

Neither has Nyerere succumbed to the bullying tactics of the Bonn government, which is trying to reclaim its former colony. In February of this year, the Tanzanian President announced that, because of the friendly relations which the German Democratic Republic enjoyed with Zanzibar, a Consulate-General of the G.D.R. would be opened in Dar es Salaam. At once the Bonn government, invoking the so-called 'Hallstein Doctrine', announced that its military aid to Tanzania would be stopped. The Bonn militarists hoped that Tanzania would be bullied into submission, and meekly surrender its sovereignty to the interests of West German revanchism. Two days later, however, their schemes for domination were dashed when Nyerere announced, on February 28th, that *all* West German aid was being rejected forthwith.

Western commentators have expressed horror and dismay at Tanzania's establishment of friendly relations with socialist countries, and the signing of agreements with socialist nations has been greeted with cant about 'Red domination' and the 'Yellow Peril' overrunning Tanzania. But Tanzania has not been deterred from following a path of strict non-alignment and from holding a progressive attitude towards important international questions.

This was most clearly shown at the recent Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference, when the Tanzanian President alone among all the Commonwealth leaders refused to be taken in by Harold Wilson's attempt to pull the wool over the eyes of the people of the world, with his farcical 'peace mission' on Vietnam. Similarly, Nyerere repudiated the 'joint communique' on a solution to the Rhodesian question, and successfully exposed the British Government's shameful attempts to worm out of its responsibilities, in spite of the feverish attempts of Wilson's propagandists to pretend that the Conference had reached unanimity when it had not done so.

It is this sturdy independence of President Nyerere and his colleagues which inspires one with confidence that the imperialist powers will not succeed in their efforts to force Tanzania to abandon its progressive policies on all-African and international problems.

'We shall not sell the freedom we have won,' said President Nyerere, and there is no reason to doubt he meant every word of it. But imperialism is going all out to secure by economic penetration and dependence concessions it could never gain by force or bribery. Against this danger the utmost vigilance and clearness of direction are called for. Fifteen years is a long time; plans can be modified and amplified in the light of experience. Historical experience is likely to show Tanzania's leaders that far more radical transformations to revolutionize the character of the economy and curb the development of capitalism are required if the country is to consolidate its independence, raise living standards and play its rightful role in the building of the New Africa.