

TANGANYIKA ON THE EVE

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TOWNSHIPS, trading centres and villages throughout Tanganyika are taking on a Festival at Farnbridge atmosphere in preparation for the December independence celebrations. African huts, Asian dukas and European homes will be decorated with bunting and with leaves in traditional style. T.A.N.U. and national flags—the two are very similar—will fly from every pole.

Large-scale celebrations in Dar es Salaam, the capital, have been dubbed “the junkettings” by the local press. From the tombola of royal personages who represent the Queen on these occasions, Tanganyika has drawn a winner in the Duke of Edinburgh.

There will be balls and ngomas, parades and processions, a state banquet and numerous tea-parties, colonial-inherited pomp and spontaneous African exuberance. The government has taken over the ‘uhuru’ trade fair for which the local impressario thought he had the contract, but no doubt all that will be sorted out in time.

A brand new stadium is being constructed for the celebrations, and on the eve of independence there is to be a searchlight tattoo. In the fireworks display there will be a montage of the national flag, the legend ‘UHURU 1961’, and a portrait of the Prime Minister, Julius Nyerere.

The spirit of non-racialism, for which the territory has a vast reputation, will be symbolised as the garlanded Prime Minister drives in an open vehicle through the streets, joyfully grasping the hands of his brown and white cabinet colleagues.

Forgotten for a day by the leaders, the civil servants and administrators, will be the thought that rarely has a country so economically backward achieved its independence. Certainly none so backward has emerged from colonialism enjoying so much confidence in the world around and such great expectations from its own people.

Just for 24 hours the disquieting aspects of contemporary Tanganyika will be forgotten. At a recent press conference Nyerere pointed out that one out of six children born in Tanganyika during the first year of independence would not

reach the age of six, through lack of medical facilities and proper diet.

When the leaders return to their desks after independence, such matters will be urgently before them. Uhuru for Tanganyika will coincide with one of the greatest famines East Africa has ever suffered.

The area is dependent upon seasonal monsoon rains. For the second year in succession both the long and the short rains have failed. Tanganyika, whose agriculture is not only backward by world standards but also by those of East Africa, is likely to be the country hardest hit.

Even taking a long-term view, unaffected by sudden crisis, last year's World Bank mission saw no immediate answer for Tanganyika's pitiful economy, almost entirely dependent upon agriculture. Traditional farming methods, geared to subsistence, sustain a very low level of productivity. Existing programmes, making uphill progress, were incapable of rapid improvement, the mission found.

Low peasant productivity not only means that there is little hope of improving living standards and increasing exports. It is also self-perpetuating, because there can be no reasonable return upon any capital invested. Even worse, the continuance of traditional farming methods is causing a cumulative deterioration in the soil and availability of water.

Although there are a number of under-populated areas in the country, their exploitation, by means of resettlement, could only be achieved at a high expenditure on roads, water supplies, buildings and in bush and fly clearing. Unregulated settlement, on the other hand, will lead to an acceleration in the process of soil deterioration.

Ignoring times of general drought, like 1961-62, little more than one third of the country has reasonable rainfall from year to year.

Sixty per cent. of the country is infested with tsetse fly. Measures to eliminate the fly, or to control the diseases it carries, can only be justified if high productivity is achieved. In addition, much of the land 'under the fly' is intrinsically of low potential.

As a result of the low farming standards, the diet of many citizens is deficient, short of protein, calcium and certain vitamins.

Over most of Tanganyika, customary tenure is still the rule. Except in a few of the most advanced areas, such as Chaggaland,

on the slopes of Kilimanjaro, no attempt has been made to introduce new ideas. Consolidation must come; but when it does, all the difficulties and the dislocations will be blamed upon the people's own government.

In almost every sphere other than constitutional progress, Tanganyika lags behind its East African neighbours. Its health facilities are far inferior. Just one aspect serves to typify this. In Kenya there is one doctor for every 8,431 people; in Tanganyika there is only one for every 16,776.

For many years Tanganyika will be lacking an indigenous élite. Even if one takes the School Certificate level as the criterion, the annual output is only some 500 a year.

Fewer than half of the children in the country receive any formal schooling at all. Only one in twelve has more than the basic four years education. Even with a proposed acceleration, for which the government hopes to find funds, only 2,000 children will sit for their School Certificate in 1964.

The World Bank mission commented: "The number of African children receiving more than the beginnings of formal education is clearly inadequate, especially in view of Tanganyika's progress towards political independence."

This is even more pressing if one remembers the government's declared aim of recruiting the civil service entirely from citizens of the territory as early as possible. The frustration of this aim will bring difficulties for many years to come, both for Nyerere and the governing Tanganyika African National Union.

The presence of whites in occupation of high civil service posts will be a constant source of irritation for many. The fact that most of them will be expatriates, on different salary scales, will exacerbate the situation.

Nyerere has already declared that he is prepared to sacrifice standards in order to accelerate 'localisation'; but this policy has very clear drawbacks, and to pursue it too energetically could be disastrous. He has been under attack on this very point recently. He immediately turned on his critics and angrily declared he was having difficulty enough keeping the expatriates who were so necessary for the country's progress, without having to face attacks of this kind.

His outburst received support from the Minister for Agriculture, who said the three-year plan was in danger through shortage of qualified staff.

"I am perturbed by the loss of so many of our senior staff,"

he said. "In order to deal with the three-year plan the Ministry will need every good expatriate officer they can persuade to remain."

In line with the general pattern of ideological development in Africa, T.A.N.U. has tended towards socialism, and its leaders have always looked upon free universal education as a speedy objective.

Now they have found any crash programme impracticable for Tanganyika. The Prime Minister has gone so far as to warn local councils against the idea. Even if local taxes were greatly increased, there are just not the resources in buildings and teachers to speed such a programme to success.

On the other hand, even where facilities for primary education are provided on a free or highly subsidised basis, enrolment and attendance are often low. Seventy-six primary schools in Southern Province have been threatened with the withdrawal of grants-in-aid for this reason. Nearly one quarter of the places in the Province's primary schools are vacant.

In the field of external relations as well, the high ideals of opposition are being modified by practical needs.

Tanganyika has largely escaped the tribalism which bedevils politics in Kenya and Uganda, and there were many who hoped that this spirit might be exported to the rest of the proposed East African Federation. The banning of specific Kenya tribes from entering the Northern Province of Tanganyika without permits, however, is being attacked as that very fostering of tribalism for which a divide-and-rule colonial government might have been rightly criticised.

Although the proposed Federation would be of considerable economic advantage to Tanganyika, it would bring the territory's own relatively tranquil politics into direct contact with the dynamic, often disruptive politics of the other countries. No doubt some of the personal, tribal and ideological tensions would spread to Tanganyika. They already have.

T.A.N.U.'s own intrusion into Zanzibar's June election was a major political blunder of the organisation's leadership. T.A.N.U. is widely accused of having given considerable financial help to the Afro-Shirazi Party; certainly the leader of its women's wing, Bibi Titi Mohamed, openly spoke in support of the A.S.P. on election platforms in Zanzibar itself.

This action has hardened feeling within the governing Zanzibar Nationalist Party against Federation. Apart from reasons of

propriety, one would have thought that T.A.N.U. had more in common with Ali Muhsin's modern and radical inter-racial party than with the somewhat parochial African nationalism of the A.S.P.

One issue on which the government may find a conflict between past undertakings and present needs is the boycott of South African goods.

All countries of Central and Eastern Africa have strong economic ties with the Republic. Several of Tanganyika's leading companies are subsidiaries or associates of those to the South, and much of the territory's business activity is geared to decisions made in the Republic. A boycott may cause such dislocation that the firms will cease operating in the territory altogether.

It will be a long time before the mining machinery Tanganyika needs will be manufactured anywhere in Africa other than in the Republic. If ships and aircraft calling at South Africa are banned from Tanganyika, they will merely leave Tanganyika off their routes. The government is itself a joint owner with the South African financier, Harry Oppenheimer, of Williamson Diamonds. The company is Tanganyika's largest non-agricultural money-earner. Oppenheimer has recently extended his interests in the territory.

Until now Tanganyika has been able to avoid committing itself to any of the particular blocs which divide the continent. Other independent States will be watching carefully to see which way Tanganyika goes upon its achievement of independence. Most of the indications are that the territory will interpret non-alignment—on the world map—in terms which incline it towards the West rather than to the East.

The stresses which the Cold War has already brought to much of Africa are unlikely to bypass Tanganyika. Not only will the country be confronted with the difficulties of dealing with the world powers. It is bound to become embroiled in the purely African quarrels which are associated with the wider conflicts.

Tied up with this issue is that of trade union affiliation. T.A.N.U.'s industrial wing, the Tanganyika Federation of Labour, supports the All Africa Trade Union Federation demand that affiliates should cut their ties with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

In this it is not in line with most of the other 'moderate',

less anti-Western countries of Africa. Significantly, it is out of step with the Kenya Federation of Labour, whose General Secretary, Tom Mboya, is a Vice-President of the I.C.F.T.U. He led the opposition to the disaffiliation proposal at the Casablanca conference, urging that the A.A.T.U.F. should leave its members free to make their own choice on the matter.

Mboya is also General Secretary of the Kenya African National Union, which has close ties with T.A.N.U. and which is likely to be Kenya's governing party after independence.

It is within the T.F.L. that the greatest threat to T.A.N.U.'s monolithic unity has arisen. Five of the country's leading trade unions, representing an overwhelming majority of unionised labour, have revolted against the Federation leadership.

That leadership has the strongest informal ties with T.A.N.U. The former Executive President of the T.F.L., Rashidi Kawawa, is now in the Cabinet and an extremely close associate of Nyerere's. The government's announcement that only affiliates of the T.F.L. will be recognised as bargaining authorities may prevent the formation of a breakaway group; but if the situation is not delicately handled, Nyerere could find himself with a relatively well-organised, powerful and sophisticated opposition.

One of the greatest problems that beset any emergent African country is tribalism, which has so often been assiduously cultivated by the colonial powers. Many of Ghana's troubles can be traced to this source. In Nigeria the divisions which were fostered by the British policy of indirect rule, have been solved by the expedient of Federation. When Kenya becomes independent, tribalism will replace racialism as the greatest impediment to progress.

Tanganyika has been largely spared this problem, because the country has been fortunate enough to have 120 tribes within its borders instead of a few large ones. It is also a stroke of luck that Nyerere himself comes from one of the smallest tribes.

It was thought that there was a potential threat to T.A.N.U.'s authority from the vigorous and progressive Chagga, who are famous for their coffee co-operatives. They elected the controversial and independent-minded Tom Marealle as *Mangi Mkuu*—Senior Chief for life—and he did not see eye to eye with T.A.N.U. A referendum was held to abolish the life post and replace it with a President elected for a set term. Simon Eliufoo, a strong supporter of T.A.N.U., was elected President and works in close co-operation with the government.

The backward and unambitious Masai, however, beloved of administrative officers for their picturesque and unspoilt ways, are going to present a problem to the independence government. The failure of the British administration to stimulate progress among them means that this task too has been left to popular government.

In spite of Tanganyika's widely advertised non-racialism, there are many who do no more than pay lip service to the ideal. Most commercial companies have their headquarters in Nairobi, and constant postings mean a steady influx of Kenya-indoctrinated Europeans into the country.

It is easy for the British-educated Fabians in the Cabinet to ignore race. For the ordinary African, who only comes into contact with the European when the bwana shouts "boy, boy", it is more difficult. Even a leader of Nyerere's stature cannot cure overnight the prejudices of a lifetime or the wounds of eighty years of white colonialism.

Many Asians seem utterly beyond hope. Nothing looks like removing from them the communal prejudices of class, caste and sect which they have brought with them from the Indian sub-continent. They are still fighting their ancient and modern battles. Partition is a rancorous living issue. Although most of the Asian groups have thrown up individual liberal leaders, the antagonism between their various communities does not promise a smooth integration into African society.

It may be that the Europeans will settle down more easily than the Asians in an African-dominated society, albeit with a bad grace and putting up last-ditch battles. Having submitted to the disappearance of their own racial schools, they are fighting to end the co-educational system before integration accelerates.

Non-racialism is one of many issues upon which Nyerere is under fire from more than one side. The closer he stands by his non-racial principles, the more he is likely to be criticised by many of his fellow-Africans. Leaders in Dar es Salaam are already criticised for 'gallyvanting' with Europeans and Asians. There may be muttering after independence when men like Derek Bryceson and Amir Jamal, talented and valuable though they are admitted to be, are maintained in the Cabinet.

These are just the sort of complaints that a frankly Africanist party like the Congress will exploit to its own advantage. The Tanganyika African National Congress was formed when

Mtemvu broke away from T.A.N.U. at the time of its sweeping victory in the '58-'59 election.

The A.N.C. has sought without success to find a major issue or a substantial body of disaffection upon which to establish itself. Because of Nyerere's attachment to the West, the Congress has expediently looked towards the East for support and is reported to have received some aid from communist sources.

Perhaps it is for this reason that the government seeks to impose unnecessarily repressive measures upon the Congress. The A.N.C. youth wing has been refused registration on the grounds that it may become subversive, although colonial experience has shown that the most obvious way to drive an organisation to underground extremism is to ban it. The A.N.C. claims that it has recently been making some advance and draws the obvious conclusion from the ban which has been placed upon its holding of public meetings.

The announcement of the ban was tactlessly made at a T.A.N.U. party rally by the Home Affairs Minister, George Kahama. Later, in his Ministerial capacity, he issued an explanatory statement.

"I am only contemplating the banning of meetings by the A.N.C., not the banning of the party," he said lamely. The offence of which Congress speakers had been guilty was to have "disregarded the conventions of public speaking." A further reason for the ban was that "it is government policy not to permit activities which might damage Tanganyika abroad."

Has the government considered that the ban itself might come within this category?

It is frequently held that a national movement, a congress, is the quickest and surest way of removing a colonial régime. This view is held by Nyerere, and in Tanganyika it has certainly shown results. Unfortunately, while its tactical advantages in the struggle have been carefully worked out, the problems of preserving the newly-won freedoms with such a system do not appear to have been given equivalent thought.

Nyerere's view is that the one party system should be preserved for some time into the post-uhuru period. He believes the criterion of a democratic State to be that any opposition is legally entitled to organise and to contest elections. This only remains true, however, for as long as the government does not make use of the many weapons available to it to harry or to oppress potential opposition.

Perhaps the government is correct when it refuses to hold a general election before independence, on the grounds that the country would go to great expense only to produce another legislature in which T.A.N.U. occupies every seat. But the existence of only one party will stultify the development of ideas. To obtain advancement in a one-party system, it is expedient to conform to the views of the established leadership. Outlets for radical proposals are not available in a system which sets a premium upon conformity.

Moreover, T.A.N.U. has already shown an unnecessarily heavy hand in its demands for party discipline.

The Finance Minister, Sir Ernest Vasey, rebuked Members of the National Assembly for using the language of opposition, when there were no Opposition Members in the House. They should not say the government was inefficient or that it did not care.

"The duty of the government is to think for and of all", he said.

His thoughts were echoed by the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture, Mr. Kasambala, who baldly told Members after criticism of official action: "The people's government knows best."

In some cases it appears that Ministers are wondering whether, after all, the colonial government knew best. In Tanganyika the British used the system of indirect rule as a means of providing cheap local government. Existing forms of chieftainship were adapted to meet the needs of the administrators; and where chiefs did not traditionally exist, they were created.

T.A.N.U. has been more successful than most nationalist organisations in carrying the chiefs with it in its political battles. Nevertheless they remain possible sources of discontent.

The democratised local authorities which are rapidly replacing the chiefs provide an unhappy example of how nationalist hopes may be disappointed by experience.

The Minister for Local Government, Job Lusinde, recently told the members of Chunwa District Council: "Your efforts to develop your district and even your spirit of community development have all disappeared. Your work is so inefficient you have failed even to inform me how much rate you have collected."

Even worse, he said of local government generally: "The process of democratisation, although very necessary, brings

problems, and in most of the newly elected councils things have not gone well. New councillors are inexperienced and waste their time in fruitless discussions of matters which have nothing to do with improving the lot of the people they represent.”

Allegations are made in Tanganyika that T.A.N.U.'s strength is leading to corruption and favouritism among minor officials.

Congress members complain that before obtaining a job in many government departments, applicants have to show their party cards, and that the same applies to those seeking jobs in private businesses also. It is difficult, however, to imagine that Nyerere would countenance even a whisper of irregularity among those close to him.

There are those who will consider the publication of such allegations and criticisms as needless and harmful. Of course, such people would say, Tanganyika has short-comings and failures; but it is malice and not sympathy to draw attention to them on the eve of the territory's independence.

This is not so. One does Tanganyika nothing but harm by pretending that it has no problems at all, that its government makes no mistakes, that its future may be faced with equanimity. Those very spectators who greet the new State with such unqualified admiration and expectancy are likely to be foremost in transmuting any disappointment into an equally unqualified censure and assault.

The real problems of leaders like Nyerere begin now, when for the first time they will enjoy complete control over their country. One belittles them by pretending that they are unaware of the difficulties they face, and insults them by assuming that they would regard an analysis of their problems as gratuitous and harmful. Those who watch the new Tanganyika on the eve of its emergence as an independent country cannot but have misgivings about the ease with which the outside world expects Tanganyika to develop itself. What is required is precisely the antithesis of this mood—a recognition that the government of Tanganyika has very far to go before accomplishing its objectives, and that it will need all the help that it can get from a sympathetic and knowledgeable world. Tanganyika is rich only in the character, the talents, the energy and the courage of its leaders. As long as they continue to exhibit these qualities, whatever the inevitable shortcomings their administration may reveal, as long as they will devote to the administration of independence

the same qualities that they revealed in their resistance to colonial rule, so long will they provide Tanganyika with its richest natural resource. For what the government of Tanganyika needs above all else today is understanding. The world—by recognising the mistakes that it makes, together with its very real advances—can help it to accomplish that vision of a free and just society to which Julius Nyerere and so many of his colleagues have devoted their lives.

