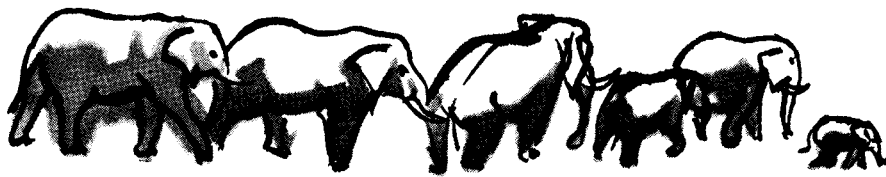




By Fernando Krahn



Paving Tanzania's Way With Good Intentions

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THE MORE sophisticated citizens of Tanzania think that the Garden of Eden may have been in their country: fossil discoveries by Dr. L. S. B. Leakey in the dusty Olduvai Gorge indicate that the first man may have emerged somewhere in the eight hundred miles of game-filled territory running from Mount Kilimanjaro to the Ruvuma River. Some of Tanzania's politicians also believe that this East African state can become the continent's political Eden, in which a new African emerges in a new society based "on love, sharing, and work," as President Julius Nyerere puts it.

Just about everybody in Tanzania accepts Nyerere's opinion that the way to this happy state is through something locally known as Ujamaa, or "familyhood," but more recognizable to westerners as socialism. Last February, the Catholic and socialist Nyerere announced from the foot of Mount Arusha, the Tanzanian Sinai, that the great trek to a more perfect socialism had begun in earnest. Shortly afterward, his government nationalized the banks as further evidence. Then in June, as the Middle East crisis flared, Nyerere felt compelled, in spite of some reason for gratitude to Israel, to announce his support for the Arab world against the "imperialists." Once again, as they have done at intervals in the past few years since independence came to this part of Africa, western observers wondered just what or whose brand of socialism would prevail in the country and, perhaps, in all East Africa.

It is easy to see in Nyerere's

latest gesture in international affairs a further drift to the East. There is already the pattern of the one-party state; the brusque treatment of the United States, Britain, and West Germany; the exchange of visits with Communist China; the increasing friendship with Nasser; and the Arusha Declaration.

Students of the African scene are sharply divided about the mixture of common sense, socialist prescription, and lofty humanism contained in the twenty pages of the declaration. To some, not exclusively those inclined to socialist solutions, the declaration appears to offer the most fundamental policy so far designed to tackle the problems of any emerging African country. To others it represents the optimism of a scoutmaster in a socialist world where Boy Scouts do not prevail. Even the local Soviet representatives are said to be dubious of such a headlong rush into theoretical Marxism. The local Chinese, however, are described as pleased, and certainly the declaration says a number of things of which Mao Tse-tung himself would approve. Examples: "In a true Socialist State no person exploits another . . ." and "The way in which to build and maintain socialism is to ensure that the major means of production are under control and ownership of the Peasants and Workers themselves through their Government and their Co-operatives."

Reliance on Self-Reliance

However divided the reaction to it, the Arusha Declaration has a message for the ten million Tanzanians

and for the leaders and inhabitants of all newly independent Africa. It calls upon the state and citizens not to wait for foreign aid or investments but to rely upon their own efforts to bring about development. There is a warning against the belief that new industries would change the whole economy.

Tanzania came into existence in 1964 with a development plan whereby the expenditure of nearly \$700 million, a large part drawn from external aid and investment, was to double the annual per capita income to \$126. The declaration admits that such hopes were misguided: "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."

Nyerere remarks of this part of his policy: "African countries are coming to rely upon much aid being forthcoming, and I don't think they are justified in such hopes. Many of the developed countries are becoming 'disillusioned' and 'disenchanted' about developing countries, so I suspect that aid may fall off even more. But even if every developed country gave two per cent of its revenue in aid, which is double the figure suggested, I would still say to my people here, 'Thank God for all this money, but basically development is up to us and what we do here.'" He hopes that this spirit will reach into every house and hut in Tanzania's thousands of agricultural villages lying between the bushy shores of Lake Tanganyika and the straggling palm groves along the Indian Ocean, in which live more than ninety per cent of the country's people.

Even more arresting than Nyerere's call for self-help is his proposal to combat bribery and corruption, the bane of most African states' development efforts. His proposal is simple and, one is asked to believe, practical. The economic and political spheres are to be completely separate; nobody who wants to make money can be a politician, and no politician may devote himself to making money. "Every TANU [Tanzanian African National Union] and Government leader must be either a Peasant or a Worker, and should in no way be associated with