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MWALIMU NYERERE'S POLITICAL LEGACY

Extracts from a paper presented to the Conference on "Tanzania After Nyerere" held at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University. A full version with a list of references is being published by Francis Pinter - Editor.

Much has been written on Tanzania's former President, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere and his political thoughts. To the Christians and social democrats he was a liberal; to the revolutionary nationalists he was the embodiment of the African struggle for freedom and national independence; and, in the late 1960's and early 1970's he even won the praise of Marxists. Nyerere thus seems to be everything to everybody. A BBC Television programme once described him as an 'Idealist in Power' and he himself once said that he should have been preaching from the pulpit instead of being President of a Republic.

Any understanding of the transformation of Tanzania in the last 25 years must be preceded by an evaluation of its leader because Nyerere has effectively dominated the Tanzanian political scene for more than 30 years. Despite his absence from the State Presidency he will continue to be a great influence on the country for a long time to come even after he retires as CCM Chairman in 1987.

The Party.

In his "Ujamaa - the Basis of African Socialism" Nyerere dismissed the idea that classes had existed in pre-colonial African societies claiming instead that these societies were living in tranquility and peace and had seen no antagonistic contradictions. He felt that it was possible for Africans, regardless of their social backgrounds to come together in national movements and to retain unity after independence. He failed to see that the different social groups had come together during the colonial period only because each one of them was affected in some adverse way by colonialism. The nationalist movement that emerged during this time was a united front of classes and not a political party in the Marxist sense.

After the attainment of independence Nyerere insisted on the nationalist organisation retaining its old structure. He did not see the need of transforming the nationalist organisation into a political party. There were debates within TANU regarding the need, especially after 1967 when TANU had declared its intention of building socialism, to transform the organisation into a socialistic political party. Nyerere maintained throughout that TANU would remain a mass party open to every Tanzanian who believed in its objectives and principles. He completely rejected the notion of a vanguard party, saying that the structure of such a party would be like that of the Catholic Church, with a Pope, Cardinals, Bishops etc. The Tanzanian ruling party has till today remained unchanged, a mass organisation comprising people of

different social classes and different ideologies. The 1982 Party National Congress voted into the National Executive Committee leading socialists and a few Marxists as well as strong anti-socialists and proponents of capitalism.

Nyerere's theory was that the existence of a multi-party system in a young country could result in political differences which might be exploited by external powers to destabilise the country. He felt that, in the absence of powerful internal economic groups with divergent political programmes, allowing the existence of a multi-party system was a luxury that a new state could not afford. This position was easily accepted at the time because all political organisations that had existed previously had failed during the elections to gain any meaningful number of votes. Nyerere was therefore encouraged in 1963 to put forward the idea of a one-party system.

In its evolution in the last twenty years the ruling party in Tanzania has undergone several changes. The struggle between those who want the Party to continue as a united front and those who want to purify it into a revolutionary vanguard has continued. Nyerere has throughout the period taken the former stand. In 1977 when TANU on the mainland and the Afro-Shirazi Party in Zanzibar merged to form Chama Cha Mapinduzi, a compromise was struck between the two contending forces. In some of its structures, the Party moved from the British Labour party model into one found among the ruling parties of some of the socialist countries.

One of the achievements Nyerere prides himself on is the existence of a single strong party with powers supreme to any other organ of the State, including the National Assembly. But we do not know how the Party will evolve after Nyerere steps down from its chairmanship in 1987. The possibility of a multi-party system existing in Tanzania in the near future is a difficult one to predict. But what is very clear is that with the absence of Nyerere from the Party leadership the two contending forces will fight it out and whoever wins will make sure that the opposing elements are weeded out of the Party. It is the outcome of the struggle within the Party that will decide whether or not Nyerere's progressive policies will survive in the post-Nyerere Tanzania.

National Integration

Tanzania is among the few countries in Africa that has been able to attain real national integration. The reasons given are many. It is true that over 120 ethnic groups exist in Tanzania and that there is not a single one that can claim dominance. The fact that some of the country's leading figures such as Nyerere and Rashidi Kawawa come from small ethnic groups has also contributed to the situation. Swahili is spoken and understood throughout the country. At the time of independence there was no strong national bourgeoisie in the country and the petty bourgeois intellectuals that emerged have not been completely uprooted from their peasant backgrounds.

There were past attempts to disturb the national unity attained. In 1985 there was a strong trend in Zanzibar which almost threatened to break up the Union itself. The Zanzibaris themselves, with the help of Nyerere, were able to overcome this threat and the result was

the forced resignation of the President of Zanzibar.

National integration can therefore be said to be one of the important legacies that Nyerere has bestowed on Tanzania. It is difficult to conceive of any struggle being won along tribal or religious lines. Tanzanians are highly politicised and they identify with each other, not because of common ethnic backgrounds or common religious beliefs but because they share economic or political interests.

Socialism

In 1967 Tanzania declared its intention to build socialism on the basis of self-reliance. This attracted the attention of many. To social-democrats in Europe this heralded the possibility of seeing the realisation of their ideals in an African set-up. Imperialist powers, on the other hand, were afraid that Tanzania would set up an example to the rest of Africa. From 1967 then Tanzania's actions in the domestic and international arenas were judged in accordance with the terms of the Arusha Declaration. Tanzania's close relations with China or its granting of diplomatic status to the German Democratic Republic were seen as tendencies to further integrate Tanzania within the Eastern orbit. But, as Nyerere keeps reiterating, the Arusha Declaration should be viewed as a statement of intent. Neither in 1967 nor now 20 years after has Tanzania become a socialist state.

The Declaration followed discussions within the Tanzanian leadership regarding the development process that the country has been following since 1961. The Declaration should also be seen as the manifestation of a political struggle within the leadership at the time, though the document is attributed to Nyerere, who was able to capture an important movement in Tanzania's history and to understand the feelings of his people and therefore be able to articulate their sentiments effectively. At that time in Tanzania's leadership there was no effective and articulate socialist trend and the one person in the TANU leadership who could be said to be radical, namely Oscar Kambona, turned out later to be the very person opposed to the leadership conditions that went with the Declaration. Nyerere can therefore be said to be the intellectual power behind the Declaration.

The late Walter Rodney, in his article "Ujamaa versus Scientific Socialism" tried to present some elements of the Ujamaa philosophy as being identical with aspects of scientific socialism. One person who disagreed and who, in fact, was always at pains to disassociate the Ujamaa concept from the science of socialism, was Nyerere himself. He maintained that Ujamaa had got its roots in the African traditional society which had no classes. He completely discouraged the notion of class struggle and believed strongly that it was possible to "evolve" into socialism. In fact in many of his foreign policy statements one can see a real attempt to distance himself from a Marxist perspective.

Nyerere's major contribution to the socialist debate in Tanzania has been in putting socialism on the agenda and in allowing different schools of socialist thought, including the Marxist one, to contend. Some of the progressive achievements of the Nyerere era are now under threat, especially with the acceptance of the IMF conditionalities but he will definitely go down in history as the person who raised the

prospect of socialist development in Tanzania.

African Liberation.

Tanzania's position on liberation is well known. Almost all the liberation movements in Africa have enjoyed sanctuary in Tanzania.

Nyerere has always been non-racial in his perspective and this at times got him into conflict with his colleagues. During the days of independence he rejected the position of "Africanists" within TANU who put forward the slogan "Africa for the Africans" meaning Black Africans. This led the "Africanists" to march out of TANU and form the African National Congress. In 1958 at the TANU National Conference in Tabora when some of the leaders strongly opposed TANU's participation in the colonially-proposed tripartite elections, where the voter had to vote for three candidates from the list of Africans, Asians and Europeans, Nyerere stood firm in recommending acceptance of the proposals.

Nyerere has always believed in peaceful means in the struggle to achieve certain political ends. When he was faced with a situation of whether to go into prison or pay a fine, he preferred the latter, not so much because he did not want to make himself a political martyr, but because, in his absence, things might have got out of hand and violence might have erupted.

However, when he is faced with a situation where all peaceful means are closed, Nyerere has never hesitated to advocate violence against an oppressive regime. A few months before Britain handed over power to the Sultan's regime in Zanzibar he appealed to the British Government to reconsider its intention because he felt that if the situation was not rectified to allow the African majority to peacefully take power then violence was inevitable. And in this he was right, because, four weeks after independence, the Sultanate regime was violently overthrown by the opposition parties.

Given this background, one aspect of Nyerere's position has caused some surprise. He has consistently refused to openly support democratic and socialist forces bent on overthrowing a regime in an existing African state even when it was obvious that the regime was being supported by external forces. He always invoked as his defence the OAU position of non-interference in the internal affairs of another state. Thus the opposition groups operating against Mobutu in Zaire, Ahmed Abdallah in the Comoro's or Kenyatta, and now Moi, in Kenya have enjoyed no open support from Nyerere. One hopes that as the struggle intensifies for what Nyerere calls Africa's second liberation that this position will be discarded and that it will be possible for Tanzania to give all possible assistance to those fighting for their second liberation.

The Army

In 1961, at the time of independence, Tanganyika inherited a colonial army led by British officers. There were hardly any senior Tanganyikans. This created a problem the result of which was the army mutiny of 1964. The junior army staff demanded higher pay and Africanisation of the

armed forces. What Nyerere did as a response to the mutiny was something unique in Africa at the time. He dissolved almost the entire army and created a new one. He demanded also that all those joining the armed forces must be members of the Party and introduced political education as part of army training. The result was the high politicisation of the armed forces. Tanzania was able to reap the benefit of that foresight in 1979 when it went to war against Amin's Uganda. The army was not only motivated by the desire to recapture part of Tanzanian territory usurped by Amin, but was also committed to overthrowing him because he was perceived as a dictator and a source of tension in East Africa. It is also inconceivable that the Tanzanian army would have played any positive role in the question of African liberation had it not been for its politicisation. It is also possible that the credit for the stability that Tanzania has enjoyed during Nyerere's Presidency is partly due to this politicised army. In his years in power Nyerere was not without his enemies. There have been conspiracies as revealed in the 1970 and 1985 treason trials. The fact that none of these succeeded supports the thesis that the army considered itself very much part of Nyerere's regime and had nothing to gain in overthrowing him

The State

Nyerere in all his writings has failed to address himself to the State. Tanganyika at the time of independence inherited a colonial State and its institutions. What Nyerere tried to do was to give the State the national colours. But he never considered dismantling the State or how the new forces that emerged at independence could effectively use it. One can venture to say that part of the problem that has resulted in what is said to be the "failure of socialism" is the reluctance on the part of the leadership and Nyerere in particular, to examine the question of the State. It is baffling that it was thought that a colonially inherited State could be a vehicle for socialist transformation. The one person in the Tanzanian leadership who saw the problem was the late Prime Minister, Edward Sokoine, who, in an address to Party cadres in 1983, conceded that the State needed to be overhauled. Unfortunately this was not taken up by the Party or the mass media.

Conclusion

Nyerere's intellectual and other contributions have taken deep root in Tanzanian society. For the foreseeable future any Tanzanian President and Party Chairman will be judged in accordance with yardsticks set up by Nyerere. Whoever goes against the main tenets of Nyerere's legacy is likely to not only meet with popular disapproval but to have problems with the Party. There are also certain moral principles that Nyerere laid down which leaders will long continue to be judged by. Moreover any leader pursuing tribal or religious bigotry would find it difficult to sustain his position. Even when the liberation of South Africa from apartheid is attained it will be difficult to see post-Nyerere Tanzania giving up the struggle for total liberation and real socialism.

Haroub Othman

AID ALLOCATIONS FOR KENYA AND TANZANIA

Mr Christopher Patten, Britain's new Minister for Overseas Development announced, during his March 1987 visits to the two countries, new British aid grants of £50 million to both Kenya and Tanzania. £25 million of Tanzania's allocation had been announced earlier during the IMF negotiations. During the last five years Tanzania received £144.93 million in aid (£30m in 1981, £27m in 1982, £39m in 1983, £30m in 1984 and £17m in 1985). Kenya has received over £200 million during the last six years and has been the largest recipient of British aid in sub-Saharan Africa.

£12 million of the new aid for Tanzania is to be for expenditure over the next few years on development projects to be agreed between the Tanzanian and British Governments. £5 to £6 million will be for the railways and the remainder will be additional programme aid, subject to Tanzania maintaining its agreement with the IMF on the programme of economic reforms.

THE KILOMBERO KILLINGS

The Tanzanian Government has taken several measures as a result of the recommendations of the Presidential Commission investigating the killing of four sugar cane workers last year at Kilombero. Details of the incident were given in Bulletin No 26.

The Ministry of Agriculture has completely restructured the management, created a new post of Deputy General Manager and transferred a number of senior officials of the Kilombero Sugar Company.

The Morogoro Regional Crimes Officer has been sacked for his mishandling of the incident, the Morogoro Regional Commissioner has been moved to Kigoma and the Regional Police Commander has been recalled to Police Headquarters in Dar es Salaam. The Ministry of Agriculture has also directed the Holding Company, the Sugar Development Corporation (SUDECO) to extend a Shs 10 million loan to the sugar company to finance improved housing for sugar cane cutters.

President Mwinyi has also asked the Party to examine weaknesses in the Sugar Company's CCM and JUWATA (Trade Union) branches.

Prime Minister Warioba told the National Assembly during its January session in Dodoma that the Government had received and endorsed the Kilombero probe report. He said that the leader of the police team had taken cover in the vehicle he was in as strikers threw stones at them. This left the rest of the group disorganised and they started firing randomly in the air without proper instructions from their leader.

The probe team, under the chairmanship of Judge Chipeta had said that the CCM and JUWATA branches at the factory knew nothing about the worker's complaints. JUWATA from national to branch levels had not understood and scrutinised the workers complaints. The probe team had also recommended that the Kilombero administration should observe Presidential Directive No 1 of 1970 regarding workers education and participation.

Prime Minister Joseph Warioba said that the police had committed a big mistake and that the incident had embarrassed the Government.

RESEARCH INTO THE PAST

Tanzania has commended the British Institute in East Africa for the good work it has done in promoting research into the country's past and helping educational institutions to build a broader base of knowledge in that direction. At a recent exhibition entitled "500 Years Ago in East Africa" at the National Museum in Dar es Salaam Mr Jackson Makweta, the Tanzanian Minister of Education underscored the usefulness of exhibitions as reflectors of the past which could help the nation plan the future

According to the Museums Director, Dr. Fidel Masao, the period depicted the beginning of state formation in East Africa. "Previous archeological findings have not been of large communities, only two or three people" he said. The exhibition on the ancient irrigation cultivators of Engaruka, Arusha region, showed the earliest evidence of a large settlement community.

Daily News

SUA STUDENTS SUSPENDED

Two hundred and ninety seven of some 500 students at the Sokoine University of Agriculture in Morogoro have been suspended. They refused to stay three in a room in hostels designed for double occupancy. The University administration pointed out that the new requirement was a temporary measure pending completion of an additional hostel. The new hostel, estimated to cost Shs 9.0 million, and to accommodate sixty students should have been completed this year but because of lack of funds construction had to be stopped from July to September last year. It is now expected to be completed in 1988.

Daily News

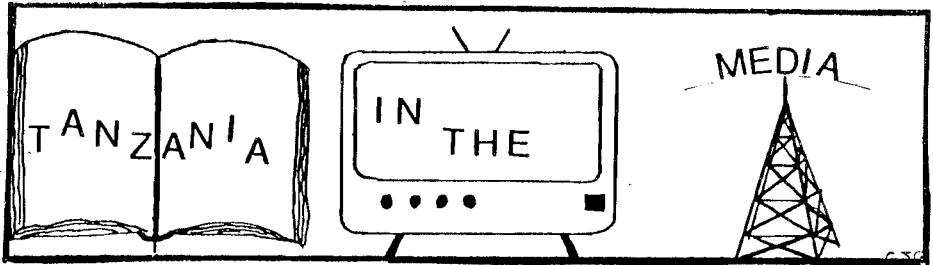
NEW FARMING VENTURE

The French Oil Company TOTAL has bought a 31,000 acre farm in Kinu Valley, Babati from the National Agricultural and Food Corporation (NAFCO). The Company intends to undertake production of essential oil seeds, beans, flowers and coffee for export and sugar cane, rice and barley for local consumption. A ranch is also to be established.

This is only one example of an increasing trend in recent months for major international enterprises to invest in Tanzania's agriculture in support of new Government policies. Britain's Lonrho has also announced recently a substantial investment programme in Tanzanian agriculture.

TANGANYIKA REUNION

Mr Gerry Finch the organiser of the annual gathering known as the Tanganyika Reunion has asked us to indicate that the next reunion will be held at the Royal Commonwealth Society on Friday August 21st at 6.15 p.m. All who attend regularly will be informed in the usual way but any others wishing to participate are invited to get in touch with the organiser at 23, Frobisher Court, Sydenham Rise, London 23. Tel 699 7836.



The comments made in the extracts from the media which follow -- and indeed articles in other sections of the bulletin do not necessarily represent the views of the Britain-Tanzania Society. They are published to illustrate the impressions of various writers on what they have seen and heard about Tanzania.-- Editor

THE CHAIRMAN'S DILEMMA

Africa Events in it's January/February issue referred to what it described as the agonising dilemma facing Chairman of the CCM Julius Nyerere. "It is as excoriating as that of Deng Xiaoping. Not quite though. Deng at least has Chairman Mao to point an accusing finger at. Nyerere hasn't. He is both his own Mao and his own Deng all rolled into one.

What could he say to justify his new pro-IMF stand after years of a gallant, well articulated campaign against the Fund? But shrewd politician that he is, he has not said a word in public on the agreement as yet. He has left it to President Mwinyi to sell it to the country, conservative ministers to implement it, and the disciples of the New Enlightenment of Hayek and Friedman at the Economics Department of the University of Dar es Salaam to rationalise it."

INFORMATICS TECHNOLOGY

In Volume 1 Number 3 of the Oxford University Press publication "Information Technology for Development" 1986, Christopher Wdamagi traced the history and indicated the present status of computers in Tanzania.

The first modern electronic computer (an ICL 1901 magnetic based system) was installed in 1968 at the Ministry of Finance. Since then expansion has been rapid.

Analysts have broadly identified four stages of computer activity development:

- (1) Inception Stage: Very little knowledge and understanding of computer technology.
- (2) Basic Stage: Reasonable understanding in the use and application of computers at the operational level of management.
- (3) Operational Stage: Wide understanding and application of computer technology in most administrative activities at top management level.

(4) Advanced Stage: Extensive managerial dependence on computers for decision making as well as strategic planning.

Tanzania is at stage (3) the operational stage of the computer activity development.

A fair guess at the number of computers in Tanzania in 1976 around 400 units with the following approximate distribution:

Micro computers 64%
 Mini computers 23%
 Mainframe computers 10%
 Other (Terminals etc.) 3%

The table below shows the approximate suppliers market share.

Supplier	Product Type	%Micro	%Mini	%Mainframe	% Overall
B.M.L.	Olivetti Computers Apple Computers Agents	55%	--	--	36.8
CCTL	Agents for Wang Computers and Osborne Micros	21.8	14.1	27.3	20.5
ICL	ICL computers	--	31.5	63.6	14.1
NCR	NCR computers	7.0	31.5	--	13.2
IBM agents	IBM computers	7.7	7.0	--	6.8
Others		7.9	15.9	9.1	8.6

(B.M. BML= Business Machines Ltd. CCTL=Computers Corpn. of Tanzania Ltd)

Amongst the latest applications of computer technology are;

- The Fujitsu Fedex 100, installed by the Tanzania Posts and Telecommunications. It is an automatic telex message switching system for the control and routing of all message traffic to, from, and via the Tanzania Telecommunications System.
- The on-line traffic control and passenger reservations system operated by Air Tanzania via a hook-up to the International network based in the USA.
- The weather forecasting system in the department of meteorology.

- The on-line wagon control system developed by Tanzania Railways Corporation as phase one of the larger and more complex Railways Traffic Control System. The wagon control system is due for implementation in the second half of 1986.

THE PRICE OF STABILITY

The 'Independent' in its February 6th issue, under the heading "Tanzania Pays the Price of Stability" wrote that: "One year after stepping down as President of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere has seen the country embarking on a course radically different from the one he steered since leading Tanzania to independence. Some Tanzanians see these changes as a rejection of the high ideals for which Nyerere gained world-wide respect; others are relieved to see curtailment of policies which they believe turned Tanzania into one of the poorest countries in the world.

Even Mr Nyerere's critics, however, do not see the shift in the country's priorities under President Mwinyi as an occasion to blame the former President for the dire state of the country's economy.

Mr Nyerere is regarded by many Tanzanians as a man who managed to establish a degree of political stability in his country that contrasts sharply with the chaos and unrest that reigns in some of its neighbours.

However this unity does not appear to have produced many economic benefits. The poverty of Tanzania is startling.

But if poverty and debt are the legacy of Mr. Nyerere's socialist experiment, few blame him for it. Twenty five years after independence he is still seen as the Mwalimu or teacher.

MALAIKA

"Malaika" is one of the most famous songs to come out of East Africa. The Kenyan, Fadhilli Williams claims to be the author of the legendary lyrics. But, as 'New African' in its January 1987 issue pointed out, a Tanzanian, Adam Salim, now claims to be the original lyricist. He claims that his "inspiration" came from 60 year old Halima Marwa. Salim said that a passionate love affair with Halima had ended dismally when he discovered that she was his uncle's daughter and kinship laws forbade marriage with close relatives. Later, a wealthy Indian proposed to and married Halima. Heartbroken, Salim found solace in composing the now historic lines of the song.

Halima confirmed that the story was very much part of her past and recalled that Salim had composed it between 1945 and 1946. If this is true, how did Fadhilli Williams come to claim authorship?

Adam Salim explained that he once led a band in Nairobi and here he met Williams. "Williams was only a kid at the time; he joined my band briefly to play the mandolin. At this time we were already playing Malaika in dance halls and bars" he said. Salim, who worked as a motorcycle mechanic during the day, said he had made a recording of the song with the now defunct Columbia East African Music Ltd. "I was paid a flat fee of Shs 60. There was no copyright."

Some time later, an accident at the workshop left him with deep burns and he had to spend three years in a Nairobi hospital. On his

return home to Moshi his musical career was at an end and he worked at the Kilombero Sugar Factory until his retirement last January.

Adam Salim, now 70 years old, says that he bears Williams no grudges. He has however, charged Halima's grandson, Hanif Aloo, to legally represent him in a late bid to claim the copyright from Williams.

So, two decades later, the elusive Malaika is still being ardently pursued by her suitors.

THE ZANZIBARIS OF DURBAN

'Africa Events', in its December 1986 issue revealed that it had located (to its surprise) some Zanzibaris in Durban. Where had they come from? Apparently they are descended from slaves of Makua origin who had been liberated by the British navy along the East African coast. They initially disembarked in Zanzibar. During their time with the Swahili and Arab Muslims they had adopted the religion of Islam. Through an arrangement between the British Consul General at Zanzibar and the Lieut. Governor of Natal they had then been sent to Natal rather than being resettled within the domains of the Sultan of Zanzibar where it was thought they might be recaptured by other slave traders. The real reason however seems to have been the serious labour shortage on the new plantations in Natal. The documents show that the liberated slaves were intended for these plantations, partially to replace the programme of indentured labour from India which had been set up in 1860 but had run into problems.

Being under contract of indenture under the Protector of Indian Immigrants the new arrivals quickly discovered fellow Muslims among the Indians who had arrive before them. Their contracts were similar but differed in details. Thus their free accommodation, food rations and income were the same. Neither group was able to chose its employer. But whereas the Indians were restricted by the pass system, the Zanzibaris were free to go wherever they wanted. The contracts for the Indians were for five years; the Zanzibaris three. Gross injustices were perpetrated against both groups. It was therefore natural that these people who often worked together, developed an affinity for one another.

As their contracts expired and they were able to settle down where they wanted their background and contact with Swahili society proved important. In Swahili society the village is the focal point as is religious allegiance. These two aspects combined to develop in the Zanzibaris a strong sense of community, which led them to establish a separate community at Kingsrest on the Bluff south of Durban. Here they concentrated on market gardening or accepted employment as domestic servants.

The manner of their original arrival from the domains of a Sultan considered "Asiatic", their identification with the indenture system and their close association with Indians, but above all their Islamic faith, distinguished them from the local Bantu.

The first Zanzibari families moved to Chatsworth (where the majority of Indians were resettled) at the end of 1962.

Today the Zanzibaris form a clearly definable group at Chatsworth with their own Mosque, their own religious leaders. Their faith and

practice is coloured by their background. They retain many of their Makua practices, particularly those relating to rites of passage. At the same time their "Zanzibari" identity is discernible in their dress, language and law. Whereas the Indian Muslims follow the Hanafi school of law, the Zanzibaris are Shafi'i. The most obvious form of their identity is seen in the retention of the distinctive Zanzibari kanzu, kofia, kimau and kanga. Perhaps more important still is their claim and ability to speak and understand good standard Swahili.

COLOUR FILMS

'Business Traveller' continues its series of articles on costs of goods in different parts of the globe. Concerning the price of a roll of film it wrote: "Tanzania seems to have it in for business travellers. It has already figured prominently at the very head of previous lists comparing the costs of taxi rides and whisky around the world. Now it adds another scalp to its collection. Anyone who has decided to invest in ammunition for his trusty sure shot in Dodoma or Kilwa Kivinje (an undeniably picturesque part of the world) at the time of the survey, would have found himself paying close to \$1 per shot for the privilege in film costs alone.

In fact however, such is the weakness of most major African currencies including the Tanzanian shilling, that film and other costs have probably dropped between then and now".

At the time of the survey the cost of a roll of film was estimated to be seven times the British price.

THE PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

(The second part of the article begun in Bulletin No. 26)

The Parliament of the United Republic is unicameral. It is composed of the National Assembly and the President of the United Republic. The President is not a member of the National Assembly but he assents to all Bills passed by the Assembly before they become Acts of Parliament.

The National Assembly's role is to supervise Government in the implementation of Party policies through legislation. It is also responsible for passing the annual budget of the Government. The National Assembly, or its committees, can question Government Ministries on all matters under their jurisdiction. The present composition of the National Assembly is as follows:

- Constituency Members (Mainland 119, Zanzibar 50)	169
- National Members chosen by Parliament	15
- Regional Commissioners ex-officio (20 Mainland, 5 Zanzibar)	25
- Members elected by the House of Representatives of Zanzibar	5
- Members nominated by the President (5 from Zanzibar)	15
- Women Members (special seats for women; 5 from Zanzibar)	15

Total 244

A candidate for election as a Constituency Member of Parliament must have the following qualifications:

- he must be a citizen of Tanzania not less than 21 years of age;
- he must be a Member of the CCM and must abide by the provisions of the Party Constitution;
- he is disqualified if he is:
 - under a declaration of allegiance to some other country than the United Republic;
 - under any law in Tanzania adjudged to be of unsound mind;
 - under sentence of death or a sentence of imprisonment exceeding six months;
 - detained under the Preventive Detention Act of 1962 for a period exceeding six months; or,
 - an undischarged bankrupt having been adjudged or declared bankrupt under any written law.

In order to be validly nominated at a primary nomination to stand as a candidate for a constituency a person must be nominated in writing by not less than twenty five voters registered in a polling district within the constituency for which he is a candidate. Any number of candidates can be nominated in a constituency provided that they are all Party members and fulfil other qualifications required by law. By 4 p.m. on a day assigned by the Electoral Commission as nomination day all forms must be submitted to the returning officers.

As soon as practicable after the primary nomination a special meeting of the District Party Conference is convened. This Conference is itself composed of elected Party members. The main purpose of the District Party Conference is to cast preferential votes. The Returning Officer presents each candidate to the Conference by reading his particulars from the nomination papers filed by each candidate. Each candidate must be given a fair and equal opportunity to answer questions put to him by the members of the District Conference.

Having discussed the merits and suitability of each candidate, the Conference Members then proceed to vote by secret ballot for the candidate they think is most suitable. To ensure that each candidate is given a fair opportunity, the Electoral Commission is represented at each District Conference by three supervisory delegates, who are required to report to the Commission their opinion of the Conference.

The preferential votes are counted and the results are declared. Then the Returning Officer certifies the number of preferential votes accorded to each candidate and forthwith sends such certificates together with the nomination papers of the candidates to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the Party. The NEC considers the nomination papers of the candidates, the certificates accorded them at the meeting of the District Conference, the minutes or record of the proceedings of such Conference and any report of the supervisory delegates. Finally the NEC nominates two candidates to contest the election.

After the names of the candidates are known, the Electoral Commission fixes the date of the campaign, which is conducted under the auspices of the Party. Candidates are not allowed to organise their own

campaigns, nor are they allowed to spend money to win votes. The Political Committee of the District Conference arranges the programme for the campaign, which must be overseen by three Supervisory delegates. As at the District Conference, the Supervisory Delegates must see that the Election Manifesto is strictly adhered to by the candidates and that both candidates are given a fair and equal opportunity to address the electorate. They also have to report any anomalies to the District Political Committee of the Party and, if the anomalies persist, they must report immediately to the Electoral Commission, which is empowered to take any steps it deems fit to rectify the anomaly.

Voting is not compulsory. The voting procedure is as follows. Each voter has to go in person to the polling station at which he is registered. He has to identify himself that he is the voter he claims to be by presenting his registration card. The Presiding Officer verifies the identity of the voter by checking the particulars in his register. On being satisfied about the identity of the voter the Presiding Officer presses a stamp on the back of a ballot paper and folds it. He hands it over to the voter, who proceeds alone to the screened compartment, where he casts his vote and puts the ballot paper into the ballot box. At the close of the poll the Presiding Officer, his assistant and the polling agent seal the ballot box and padlock it. It is then escorted to the Returning Officer. The Presiding Officer must also prepare a ballot paper account showing the number of ballot papers used, those unused or spoilt, and the latter are then put in different packets, sealed and presented to the Returning Officer.

The Returning Officer is responsible for the counting of votes and the safe custody of all election documents for six months, after which period they must be destroyed unless there is an order from the High Court pending an election petition.

National Members of Parliament are elected by the National Assembly itself from among candidates nominated by mass organisations and approved by the National Executive Committee of the Party. The five mass organisations are the Trade Union (JUWATA), Youth Organisation (VIJANA), Women's Organisation (UWT), Cooperative Union (WASHIRIKA) and the Parents' Association (TAPA). Each organisation nominates six candidates. The National Assembly elects fifteen Members out of the thirty candidates nominated by the five mass organisations.

Women Members for the special reserved seats are also elected by the National Assembly after their names have been approved by the NEC. Prior to that all women candidates whether Members of the Women's Organisation or not, submit their nomination forms to the UWT. In nominating them the UWT has to give equal consideration to candidates from both parts of the United Republic. The NEC will have to approve thirty candidates, fifteen from each side of the United Republic. To ensure that the islands are represented the constitution stipulates that at least five women members must come from Zanzibar. Women are also free to contest seats in other categories of Member, for example, as Constituency Members, National Members etc. The Parliament of 1980 - 85 had a total of 26 Women Members, of whom one was a Cabinet Minister, two were Ministers of State and one was a Regional Commissioner.

At the first sitting of the Assembly in a new Parliament the members elect a Speaker. He may be elected from within the House, or from

without. A Speaker who is not a Member of Parliament must have the necessary qualifications to become a Member of Parliament. The present Speaker is not a Member of Parliament. The Deputy Speaker must, however, be a Member of Parliament.

The first sitting of the House after a general election is summoned by the President. Subsequent meetings are summoned by the Assembly on a date mentioned in a motion moved by a Minister and decided without amendment on the last day of the sitting of the Assembly. The National Assembly meets four times a year for about ninety days. The longest session is the budget session which meets for about fifty days. The proceedings of the Assembly are conducted in Kiswahili or English. All Members, however, use Kiswahili when debating in the House, but most of the Bills are published in English.

The National Assembly has ten standing committees as follows:

- the Steering Committee;
- the Constitutional Affairs and Legislation Committee;
- the Finance and Economic Committee;
- the Political Affairs Committee;
- the Public Accounts Committee;
- the Parastatals Organisation Committee;
- the Social Services Committee;
- the Standing Orders Committee;
- the Foreign Affairs Committee; and,
- the General Purposes Committee.

Every Bill is published in the Official Gazette in two issues at an interval of not less than seven days. The first publication of a Bill must be at least twenty one days before the Bill is introduced in the House. Very urgent Bills may be introduced without fulfilling the twenty one day rule provided they are supported by a certificate of urgency signed by the President and laid on the table by a Government Minister. After a Bill has been published and before it is debated in the House, it is referred to the appropriate Standing Committee. After the Chairman of the Standing Committee has reported to the Speaker that the Committee has concluded its consideration of a Bill referred to it, the first reading of the Bill is entered on the Order Paper on such day as the Minister in charge of the Bill may appoint. The first reading is confined to the general merits and principles of the Bill. It is at this stage that Members consider whether to support or oppose the Bill. The debate on the second reading of the Bill is confined to amendments if any. The procedure is the same for both Government and Private Members' Bills, except that before a Private Member's Bill is published in the Official Gazette its objects and reasons must be approved by the House itself. When a Bill has been read a second time, a printed copy is presented to the President by the Speaker for the President's assent or other order.

Chief A.S. Mkwawa

THE RISK ELEMENT IN POLITICS

Jan van Donge and Athumani J. Liviga writing in the April 1986 issue of the Oxford University Press publication "Parliamentary Affairs" gave some facts and figures arising from research they have been conducting into the recent history of the Tanzanian Parliament and the CCM Party. They covered the period 1965 to 1980.

For example, an analysis of the four elections for M.P.'s (1965, 1970, 1975 and 1980) revealed that 45% of all candidates stood once only and lost their election battle; 78% of the successful candidates served only one term; 41% of all M.P.'s stood for re-election but half of them lost the second time; and, only 22% sat in more than one Parliament. An exceptional eight people were members of all four Parliaments.

Parliamentary elections have also proved risky for front bench members. Some Cabinet Ministers have a long record of representing their constituencies (four of the eight who won four times are long serving Ministers) but one or more Ministers lost their seats in every election. There is thus no hard core of safe seats for political heavy weights as in the British system. The grass roots exert a strong influence in Tanzania.

SUCCESS RATE OF CANDIDATES 1965-1980

Number of Times Winning/Losing	Number of candidates
Win once	190
Lose once	267
Win once; Lose once	53
Win once; Lose twice	6
Win twice	39
Win twice; Lose once	9
Win twice; Lose twice	2
Lose twice	6
Win three times	10
Win three times; Lose once	4
Win four times	8
Lose three times	2

Looking at Party as distinct from Parliamentary elections the story is rather different. The 1982 elections confirmed those already in power. This was also the case in the elections for district and regional Party chairmen as well the Party National Executive Committee (NEC). The latter was dominated by professional politicians who make their living working for the Party while M.P.'s hardly played a role. Of the 130 NEC members elected only five were constituency M.P.'s but 11 had held the position in the past. Only in the elections for regional chairmen can a relationship be seen between a parliamentary

career and a Party career. Almost half of the 25 regional chairmen elected in 1982 had at sometime been parliamentary candidates. Only one combined the two posts at the same time. At the district level this relationship was not evident at all. Fifteen of the 112 district Party chairmen had been parliamentary candidates; none of them was at the time in parliament and nine among them had never won.

A comparison of success in the 1980 parliamentary elections with success in the 1982 NEC elections is instructive. 25 of the 164 NEC candidates from the mainland had also stood as well in the 1980 parliamentary elections. Some of them won in both, some lost in both but ten who lost in the parliamentary elections became members of the NEC in 1982. If a politician fails in a parliamentary career that does not mean an end to a Party career.

In the case of the national M.P.'s there is a much lower rate of turnover than in the case of constituency M.P.'s. Politics loses its risky character. 25 of the 40 national M.P.'s stood for (indirect) re-election in 1980 and 19 of them won. People who lose in their constituencies sometimes try to come back as national M.P.'s. Twelve of those who contested such seats in 1980 had been directly elected M.P.'s before. This was no guarantee for success however as six of them lost in the indirect elections as well. It may be necessary, according to the authors, to be well connected at the top because the national M.P.'s tend to belong to the political establishment. Fifteen of the 40 national M.P.'s elected after the 1980 elections were Cabinet Ministers, managing directors of parastatal organisations or NEC members.

The authors of the article conclude that parliamentary elections are of an exceptional nature in the Tanzanian system. Although in general there is much security of office in Tanzania this does not apply to ordinary M.P.'s. Cabinet Ministers belong, the authors say, to the world of security. If people who belong to that world lose an election they tend to be appointed as M.P.'s and are included in the Cabinet. In every Cabinet there has been a substantial number of appointed M.P.'s. A ministerial career can be, say the authors, independent of favour with the electorate.

A QUEEN'S SCARF

Two documentaries recently shown on television about kopjies and the part they play in the lives of wild creatures on the plains of East Africa remind me of one special kopje which I visited in 1947. It is situated in front of what was, at that time, the headquarters of the Tsetse Research Department at Old Shinyanga and is the last resting place of some remarkable men including C.F.M. Swynnerton, C.M.G., Director of Tsetse Research and B.D. Burt, Botanist, who were killed in a flying accident at Singida in 1938. Also Captain V.A.C. Findlay, Field Officer, who was killed by a rhinoceros whilst on duty in 1946.

One other grave in this unique little cemetery is of a person who was not a member of the Tsetse Department but died at old Shinyanga in

1940. His tombstone is inscribed "Major A.H. Du Frayer, Q.S., O.B.E." It is the oddness of this Q.S. decoration which prompts me to set out the story, such as I have been able to glean it, from press cuttings given to me by Mrs. G. Harrison whose husband worked in the Teetse Department for many years.

Major Du Frayer was born in Australia in 1871 and joined the New South Wales Mounted Rifles as a trooper and fought in the Boer War.

Shortly before her death Queen Victoria knitted four brown scarves, with V.R.I. embroidered in red in one corner, and these were sent to Lord Roberts in South Africa to be awarded to soldiers who had joined the forces as rankers and had first been recommended for the Victoria Cross for an outstanding act of bravery.

The scarves were broad woollen to be worn under the shoulder straps of the uniform, across the chest and buckled on the right hip. By order of King Edward VII the holders of the award were to be distinguished by the affix Q.S.; further, all troops were required to present arms and salute the scarf or its equivalent, a gold star medal, later sent by the King for more convenient occasions.

Du Frayer gained his award for rescuing a wounded comrade and carrying him on his horse to safety under heavy fire.

The scarf was presented to Du Frayer in Australia, after the War, by the Duke of Cornwall (later to be King George V) to whose personal staff Du Frayer was attached.

At the outbreak of war in 1914 Du Frayer joined up as a Captain in the Machine Gun Brigade and later served in Tanganyika where he commanded a battery of ten maxims and captured two German patrols.

After a spell in the then Nyasaland Du Frayer eventually retired to Shinyanga and died there in 1940 aged 70. He had been mentioned four times in despatches and had been awarded the O.B.E. in 1919.

So the Queen's Scarf must be one of the most remarkable decorations ever awarded to a soldier for meritorious conduct in the field of war; remarkable also for the personal, almost sacred associations with which the object is surrounded and for its extreme rarity, as it can never be repeated.

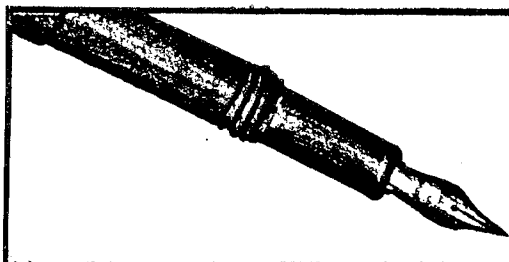
The Du Frayer Scarf was handed down to his son, Alec Du Frayer, who showed it to my son-in-law at Arusha in 1960.

J.T. Purvis

BRITON PLANS CAMEL REARING IN TANZANIA

Mr Brian J. Hartley (79), a renowned authority on one humped camels (*Camelus dromedarius*) plans to start camel rearing in northern Tanzania. He arrived recently in Longido, Arusha with some camels and has formed a company "The Tanganyika Camel Company" under which he plans to establish a breeding ground. According to Mr. Hartley's son Kim Hartley, the main objective is to influence the Maasai to use the animal.

Mr Kim Hartley said that his father had already introduced the camel to Wasamburu in Kenya.



Letters.

Send letters to:
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Bulletin of Tanzanian Affairs,
14B, Westbourne Grove Terrace,
London W2 5SD.

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THE SUKUMALAND DEVELOPMENT SCHEME

I am writing to you concerning the Oxford Colonial Archives Project (OCAP). A number of reports have been prepared under this project on activities in pre-Independence Tanzania of which probably the most important is on the Sukumaland Development Scheme (1947-57) with which I was closely involved as a member of the scheme team and as a contributor to the data on which the OCAP report is based. Whilst the report covers adequately the background, history, objectives and operation of the Sukumaland Development Scheme it is weak in those sections dealing with the results of the scheme and the reasons for its demise some three years before the completion of its allotted 10-year life. It ended in 1954.

Unfortunately I was not able to visit Sukumaland during my two later visits to Tanzania, but I did meet a number of people from Sukumaland from whom I culled some information and concepts of what life is like in Sukumaland today.

If the OCAP report is to be any use to future students and researchers, I feel that it should include an analysis of the scheme's successes and failures (both short and long term) including the reasons for its early termination. It would appear that OCAP was not able to tap the memories of those most able to throw light on the end of the scheme nor has it been possible to obtain reports from people who are familiar with rural affairs in Sukumaland post-independence, by which the results of the scheme might be measured.

I would be interested to know whether any of your readers are in a position to help with any of these problems. Whether, for instance, readers could offer their views or do any research which would show how many of the objectives and teachings of the scheme were/are still in operation/use in 1967, 1977 and 1987 and why (or why not!)

Clarification on these points would not, in my view, be entirely academic. I believe that the proper analysis of the medium and long term effects of development schemes could be used to advantage on a wide scale. This is said with some feeling as I have been engaged in the planning of agricultural/rural development in many developing countries round the world since 1970 without once being able to learn the results of my work, good or bad.

J.O. Woistenholme,
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Stockton-on Tees,
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Tel: (0642) 678504.

THE FRIENDS OF RUAHA SOCIETY

I have just come back from a safari which ended up in the Ruaha National Park where I stayed at Fox's Camp. I had earlier talked to the Regional Commissioner in Iringa who asked if Her Majesty's Government could help in developing the Park or with rehabilitating and improving the roads to it. They need some Shs 6.0 million to erect an available Bailey Bridge over the Ruaha River. The Regional Commissioner wishes to develop tourism in the area. I explained that this did not fit into our present set of priorities and that he should try to persuade the Government of Tanzania to raise the matter with potential donors.

I had much the same conversation in Mufindi with Geoff Fox, whose family has put so much effort and investment into opening up and protecting the Park. He is a leading member of the Friends of Ruaha Society and is trying to canvas support from all quarters.

I should be most grateful if you would give the appeal publicity amongst friends of Tanzania in Britain.

C.H. Imray,
British High Commissioner,
Dar es Salaam

An attachment to the High Commissioner's letter contains information about the Friends of Ruaha Society. The Society has been formed recently to help the Park Warden and his staff face the uphill task of protecting this part of the World's heritage.

The Ruaha National Park at 13,000 sq. km., is second only to Serengeti in size but, together with its adjacent game reserves and controlled areas is among the largest in the world. But the pressure from poachers and others is increasing. Having decimated the surrounding areas the poachers have been moving into the park in increasing numbers. They use automatic weapons and start fires so that every year the Park is reduced to ashes. The Park staff are doing an extraordinary job. There are about 45 Rangers - about one for every 325 sq. kms. The poachers they face are superior in numbers and better armed. Ruaha is literally fighting for survival.

Several new landrovers are needed. Rangers need water bottles, binoculars, tents, radio communication etc. As a primary target for 1987 the Friends of Ruaha aim to provide the finance necessary for at least one new Landrover suitably fitted for anti-poaching work.

Readers able to help are asked to send cheques to The Friends of Ruaha Society, P.O. Box 60, Mufindi - Editor.

SELOUS ELEPHANTS FACE EXTINCTION.

The elephant population in the 56,000 sq. km. Selous Game reserve has been reduced by half within the last ten years because of poaching, an official of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, said in Dar es Salaam recently. According to an aerial survey and ground count conducted in October 1986 the elephant population has been reduced from 110,000 in 1977 to just over 55,000 last year. The count also showed 11,390 elephant carcasses at the time of the census.

Meanwhile the rhino situation in Selous is even worse. The census

showed that the rhinoceros population had gone down from about 400 in 1977 to about 50 last year.

The rhinoceros, one of the most endangered species in the world is being hunted for its horn which is sold at Shs 100,000 per kilo in the Middle and Far East to make daggers or as an aphrodisiac.

If this disastrous situation continues, the official warned, we will reach a situation where the animals will not be able to breed because they will be so far apart.

Daily News

CELEBRATIONS AND REFLECTIONS

Tanzania has been celebrating. A Shs 1.2 million Heroes Monument has been unveiled in Dodoma. The Tanzanian flag has been hoisted by youths on the top of Mount Kilimanjaro. Other groups of young people have been walking and cycling from all over Tanzania to Dodoma to join in the celebrations. Potholes have been filled in on roads; buildings have been painted. There was music and dancing.

But there has also been a great deal of reflection. The occasion? The 20th Anniversary of the Arusha Declaration and the tenth Anniversary of the CCM Party.

It is a cliché to say that Tanzania is at a crossroads but everything seems to indicate that that is just where Tanzania is. And one of the most encouraging things about Tanzania today is the degree of freedom with which everyone joins in the discussion about the best direction for Tanzania in the future.

The Achievements

The celebrations, or, more correctly, the reflections began in December 1986 when, as reported in Bulletin No 26, President Mwinyi opened an International Conference on the Arusha Declaration in Arusha. He made a pragmatic speech, as is his custom, and began by saying that Tanzanians always knew that building socialism in a society with inherited capitalist and feudalistic tendencies would be a long process. "It is for this reason" he said, "that no time frame was established for the implementation of the Arusha Declaration. It is not surprising therefore," he said, "that today, almost twenty years after the adoption of the Declaration, Tanzania is neither socialist nor self-reliant."

He went on "but the process of building socialism and self-reliance has begun. It is also a fact that the foundation for further progress towards our cherished goal has already been firmly laid down. Remarkable and positive change has taken place in Tanzania since the adoption of the Arusha Declaration.

The most fundamental principle of our socialist policy is equality among all citizens...equality means equal access to basic social services. It also means equality in decision making on matters of interest and importance to society. It means, above all, equality

in personal incomes.

The results of our efforts to give reality to the principle of human equality are most visible in the field of education. By providing free education Tanzania has made remarkable achievements in the struggle against one of our enemies, ignorance. At the time of independence in 1961 only 486,000 children went to primary school. Today 3.7 million go. In 1961 only 11,832 pupils were enrolled in public secondary schools. In 1984 40,617 were enrolled. At independence we had one University College with only 14 students. Today we have two full universities - Dar es Salaam with 3,970 students and the Sokoine University with approaching 500 students.

Great achievements have also been made in the field of health. By providing free medical services, the Government has ensured that no Tanzanian dies of disease because of lack of money to pay for medical care.

The number of hospitals has increased from 98 at Independence to 149 today. The number of dispensaries has increased from 978 to more than 2,600. At the time of Independence there were only 12 Tanzanian doctors for a population of more than ten million people. The equivalent of one doctor for over 830,000 people. Now there are about 800 doctors which is equivalent to one doctor for 26,000 people.

The achievements made in the field of health are clearly reflected in the quality of life. For example, infant mortality rate has fallen from 225 babies for every 1,000 children born to 137. People live longer. Life expectancy is now 51 years. This is still low compared to more advanced societies but at independence it was only 35.

The improvement in health services has been greatly enhanced by the provision of clean water to an increasing number of people, particularly in the rural areas. In 1961 only about 11% had access to clean water. Today it is estimated that over ten million people or just under 50% of the population have access to clean water within 400 meters of their homes.

The policy of socialism has enabled us to prevent the growth of gross inequalities in incomes between Tanzanians. For example, in 1962 the ratio of urban personal income after tax was estimated to be 18.8 to 1. In 1966 the ratio was 15.7 to 1. In 1984 the ratio was 4.9 to 1. This progress towards equality in personal incomes has been made possible through deliberate fiscal, monetary and income policies. These policies have helped us to prevent the growth of a class society".

The Debate

The debate began at the International Conference and continued in the press and in public forums from then until the celebrations began early in February 1987. It will continue in the future as the Central Committee of the the NEC began planning a further workshop on the Arusha Declaration while the celebrations were still underway.

The debate was not confined to Tanzania. Haroub Othman, writing in 'The Observer' looked at what he described as the "unfulfilled promise" of the Arusha Declaration. "One of its major weaknesses was its failure to provide an analysis of the Tanzanian class system; the struggle for independence and democracy and that for socialism was not

addressed" he wrote. After listing some of the remarkable achievements of Tanzania especially in the social services he pointed to some of the serious policy errors that had been made, particularly in the economic sphere. "Agricultural investment has been abysmally low; less than 15%; state farms have consequently ground to a halt while the peasant farmer struggles to fend for himself, his only contact with the Government being through the various taxation mechanisms necessary to prop up bureaucracies in marketing boards.

Agricultural production is not just stagnant; it is showing a downward curve. Tanzania now has to depend on food aid, of necessity with political strings. The performance in industry has not been much better - most industries are working at about 30% capacity if they are not shut down. Indiscipline, inefficiency and corruption have become the norm.

This sad economic state has led to the virtual death of one of the Arusha Declaration's main pillars - the Leadership Code. This sets out the code of conduct for public leaders. It essentially sought to limit the accumulation of wealth by such leaders. But the galloping inflation and the low salaries have made a total mockery of the Code.

What about the Party? Ah, the man in the street will tell you, the Party is supreme. It is also specified in the Declaration as the tool for building socialism. But the grass root branches are weak - no meetings, no membership dues, no ideological classes. Consequently the Party has to be heavily subsidised by the Government. From Shs 11,124,417 in 1973/74 (39.3% of the Party's total budget) to Shs 384,014,700 in 1984/85 (92.5% of the Party's budget). The question is supreme to whom?"

'Africa Now' in the cover story of its February 1987 issue focussed on implementation of the villagisation policy. "While the villagisation

THE ARUSHA DECLARATION

Date: February 5, 1967

Place: Arusha, Tanzania

Basic elements: - The TANU Creed;
- The Policy of Socialism;
- The Policy of Self-Reliance;
- TANU Membership;
- The Leadership Code.

Described at the time as: A textbook model of Third World development; one of the most coherent and constructive documents to have emerged in Africa so far - Los Angeles Times.

Actions which followed and are associated with it:
Nationalisation of the "commanding heights" of the economy - the Banks, insurance companies and much of estate agriculture.

policy was undoubtedly good, it was the manner with which Party and Government officials went about implementing it that exposed it to

grave criticism from which it was to suffer for years to come. It was clear that the people who were handpicked to spearhead the implementation of the programme knew very little or absolutely nothing about what they were being asked to undertake, treating it more as a military style operation than as a project that might take a lifetime to accomplish.....The failure of the overall supervising authority to discover in time what had gone wrong and to institute remedial measures was another factor which led to unfortunate results. Indeed, it was not until the second part of the decade that calls for 'de-urbanisation' of the ujamaa villages, so as to allow more room for agricultural undertakings, began to be voiced. But the damage had already been done".

The article went on on the subject of the Leadership Code. "A committee was set up for the Code's enforcement and to investigate alleged violations of it. But, over a period, it is apparent that the committee has failed in its purpose and lacks both the eyes with which to see the violations of the Code and the teeth with which to punish the miscreants".

The Tanzanian News Agency (Shihata) in one of a series of articles during the celebrations took a strongly positive position:

"The Declaration is a great document, a towering masterpiece to have emerged in Africa; it is almost a revelation. It drew acclaim from all over the world and amassed a wealth of prestige and respect for Tanzania - then and now, only a poor Third World African nation. To belittle the spirit of the document, therefore, is to despise oneself; to demand its removal is to betray the Tanzanian masses who agonised with it through its formation. To dislike it indicates a moral turpitude of self-aggrandisement and self centredness in the true spirit of the bourgeois mentality".

At a rather lower level of rhetoric, Shihata produced a number of articles on specific aspects of the Declaration and its aftermath. For example, on the subject of the banks it wrote "the banks, most of which were foreign owned, withdrew skilled and experienced personnel in the vain hope of disrupting their operations and making the country's financial transactions come to a standstill. But, far from wrecking the banks and slowing down economic development, the banks operated more efficiently, expanding their activities and realised more profits. The National Bank of Commerce is today giving better service to the people of Tanzania than the private banks did. The Bank now has 150 branches in the whole country compared to 41 at the time of nationalisation. In 1984/85 it declared a dividend of Shs 40 million".

Daily News staff writer Halima Shariff also pointed to one of the more positive elements. "Tanzania today is more self-reliant in terms of indigenous experts manning various sectors of production and adopting her own development policies". But, in a well balanced article he thought it appropriate to mention also the recent report of the Auditor General. The report had said that the Government had suffered a Shs 52,688 million loss in cash and stores in 1984/85 in 18 ministries and departments and in 14 regions. People had been apathetic about prompt accounting. He went on to welcome the Shs 120 billion Economic Recovery Programme launched in June 1986 and the allocation of between 30 and 40 per cent of annual development budgets to

agriculture. He went on "we need to be more action oriented and do what we have to do today, not tomorrow"

The Socialist

Some cutting comments came from a reader of the Daily News who signed himself "Socialist" - "As I understand it, socialism is an attitude of mind; it cannot be acquired by one's ability to propound Marxist and Leninist philosophies alone. It could be acquired by a person who believes in justice and liberty - one who hates poverty, oppression and war. Any person who has a belief in that should count himself a socialist. I believe that socialists are made from their beliefs and nothing more.

Most of the people in our country, though of such beliefs, are scared out of socialism because of what those persons who call themselves Socialist are doing. Look around you, you may not fail to spot a person who exploits and oppresses his fellow human beings. One wonders as to whether they truly understand what they talk about when they call themselves socialists.

It is high time the socialists, if there are any, put their own houses in order to attract other members to their fold. It is my contention that a mere lecturing of a person for three months and then give him a card does not make him a socialist.

The Arusha Declaration is said to be a blueprint of socialist construction in Tanzania. Are we more socialist now than we were in 1967? Have the anti-socialist attitudes we had then changed? Are we not now more capitalist minded than we were in 1967? Look at our youths. What are they doing? Look at our firms. How are they managed? Look at our workers. Look at our peasants. Look at our offices. And, finally, look at our Party.

Since we have said that socialism is an attitude of mind, it is not difficult for any person who understands socialism and who is honest with himself to judge the extent of our success in building socialism in this country since 1967"

Self - Reliance.

Meanwhile back in this country, the article by Haroub Othman in the "Guardian", referred to above, had brought a response from one of its readers. Christine Lawrence in a letter to the Editor referred to part of his article in which he had said that the forthcoming Party Congress in October would be the last hope for socialists in Tanzania. She went on to write that: Socialist in his sense seems to imply a limited concept allied to a Western/Marxist stereotype of a socialist state. Whatever comes out of the next Party Congress will be a Tanzanian variety of socialism, and this is as it should be.

Self-reliance is certainly not dead. As you know, the majority of people in Tanzania live in rural areas. In spite of great difficulties over the years, they have continued to be self-reliant. These are the people who elect the Government, upon whom the economy depends and for whom the Party must speak most loudly.

As regards the "agreesive policy of seeking aid" what can a poor

country do except stand on its own feet and shout? They certainly stood out a long time against the IMF terms and in so doing gave encouragement to other nations in similar dire straits. To say that this policy is not self-reliant is quite mistaken.

Haroub Othman rightly points out that there have been some achievements in the years since the Arusha Declaration. If the time has now come to revise the Arusha Declaration, should we not regard this as a sign of growth and development?"

The Guardian printed this letter under the heading "Stand up for Self - Reliance." And that is exactly what Mwalimu Nyerere did in his speech at the climax of the celebrations on 5th February 1987 in Dodoma. The speech occupies 32 pages; in the extracts which follow we have tried to give the main gist of the first part of this important speech. The remainder will be covered in issue No. 28.

David Brewin

ADDRESS BY MWALIMU JULIUS K. NYERERE

Mr. President, Wanachama wa CCM, Wananchi,

We have a double celebration today. 20 years of the Arusha Declaration. And 10 years since Chama cha Mapinduzi came into existence.

It is a celebration. And on both counts it deserves to be. Despite all our problems, of perhaps because of our problems, we have a right to rejoice because we have reached this anniversary and enjoy peace and quiet.

Chama Cha Mapinduzi

For twelve years we had a One Party State with two parties. On February 5th 1977 we put that right. Chama Cha Mapinduzi was born. That event marked a very important step forward for Tanzania. It reduced the opportunity for dangerous intrigue against the independence and unity of our nation. Few people in the world have noticed the great success of that move. For it is only when you fail that the rest of the world comments. Yet CCM has already proved its worth. When enemies of our unity tried to divide us, Chama Cha Mapinduzi was able quickly and in unity to clean up the political atmosphere where it had got soiled.

But we still have a lot of work to do.

When CCM was formed, we all said that we hoped it would take the good points of both TANU and ASP and forget the bad. In some things that has happened. But it has not always happened.

At some time since then CCM has got lax. We allowed our record of unity to make us big headed and lazy. Many of our Branches and Cells do not hold meetings in accordance with the constitution. That means that democracy within the Party was weakened. How can members control their Party and help decide its policy when they don't meet. And when meetings are held, they are not meetings for discussion, but just to listen to speeches and take orders from leaders. In these conditions it is hard for our leaders to learn what the people think. This too

means that our democracy has been weakened.

But at District, Regional and National level, meetings have always been held regularly. And at all Party Committee meetings we have the very good practice of discussing everything openly and frankly. Also four other things have ensured that the peoples problems have always been brought to the attention of the national Party and the Government.

First, our people are politically conscious - resulting from long term political education. Secondly, we have a Parliament and Revolutionary Council where the troubles of the people are discussed openly and without fear. Thirdly, we have a good number of Party members and leaders who have remained very active, And, fourthly, we have a Government and Party press which has drawn attention to faults and problems as well as successes.

As a result, our democracy has been maintained. And to strengthen that democracy further, the Party has begun to correct its faults. District, Branch and Cell elected leaders are now more concerned to call meetings; for if meetings are not held they have to explain why. The improvement is not universal yet; and the system of checking up does not operate everywhere yet. But it will.

I am less confident of progress in the second area. I do not know whether real discussion does now take place when Party meetings are held. Nor am I sure that, if any discussion does take place at Branch meetings, it includes a consideration of what they can do to solve a local problem. And if this does happen I am doubtful about how often the meeting makes plans, and then acts to overcome the difficulty - by local effort.

Our Party is very good at mobilising people for a rally, a mass meeting like this one or the reception of an honoured guest. We are not so good at organising the people for voluntary work to solve their own problems.

And when a big celebration is to take place, it is very easy for the Party to decide to put a cess on something which is produced or sold locally. This is a mistake. First it is not the job of the Party to put a cess on goods; this is the responsibility of the Government. And, secondly, the ease of acting in that way encourages laziness in the Party.

Party elections take place this year. The possibility of losing their jobs always wakes people up! An election also gives Party members a chance to get rid of leaders who have failed them or to re-elect those who have tried to carry out their responsibilities. Just now there is a great deal of activity in the country! In pointing that out I am not campaigning - for anyone!. I am just saying that CCM is here to stay.

When the Party celebrates its 20th anniversary I believe it will be stronger, more socialist, and still more firmly rooted among the people.

The Arusha Declaration

Today we are also celebrating 20 years of the Arusha Declaration. It was one of the good things taken over by the CCM from one of its

constituent parties!

The Arusha Declaration defines the ideology of the Party. It is our basic statement of purposes and principles; it is the foundation of all Party and Government decisions.

In the course of time every basic document deserves review to see whether it still applies to changed conditions. The American Constitution is over 200 years old and still valid; but it has been amended 26 times. So it is not surprising that some people whisper that the Arusha Declaration needs revision.

Even I agree that it does. One obvious example is the need for a new edition with the word CCM instead of the word TANU - throughout! Apart from things like that, let us look at it again.

The Creed

Part One sets out the Creed - the ideology of the Party:

That all human beings are equal;

That every individual has a right to dignity and respect;

That every citizen is an integral part of the nation and has the right to take an equal part in Government.....and so on. All the nine principles are of this kind. So who wants to change them? There may be a few individuals who do, but they are certainly not the Peasants and Workers of Tanzania. There is nothing to amend - unless we want to improve the style and the punctuation!

Policy of Socialism

Part 2 of the Arusha Declaration defines what socialism is. It is important to understand this Part very thoroughly, for all sorts of things get called socialism these days!

This Part 2 has four sections. The first explains exploitation, and says that exploitation of man by man is incompatible with socialism. And it concludes: "Tanzania is a nation of peasants and workers, but it is not yet a socialist society. It still contains elements of feudalism and capitalism - with their temptations. These feudalistic and capitalistic features of our society could spread and entrench themselves "

That was said 20 years ago, but it is still true. It is not easy to root out the foundations of capitalism and feudalism from any society. And when a country is in serious economic difficulties - as we are - the capitalists use the problem as a means of trying to get it to abandon its socialist ambition. They try to persuade the people as a whole, and the chicken-hearted socialists, to abandon the path which has brought them to where they are now. They tell them that if they would use a different and non-socialist path they would be more prosperous, and they would not experience any difficulties. Converting our people away from socialism is the objective of the capitalists and exploiters all over the world, as well as of their followers in Tanzania. Yet I do not believe the capitalists will succeed.

Secondly, the Arusha Declaration says that to root out exploitation the major means of production and exchange must be "controlled and owned by the peasants through the machinery of their Government and

their cooperatives".

But the Declaration does not go into detail about what should be owned by the nation, what by local authorities, what by cooperatives. Nor does the Declaration say what sections can be controlled by means other than public ownership. It says land must be publicly owned; but it does not say "the 100 acre shamba owned by one person must be nationalised; the 99 acre shamba owned by a different person must not be nationalised". It leaves the Government, under the general guidance of the Party, and in the light of circumstances at any one time, to do what is necessary to implement the principle of public ownership and control.

So when a new problem comes up, we again discuss and decide what should be publicly owned, and what economic activities of the nation can be controlled by other means - whether by licencing, by taxation or something else.

Tanzania has already completed the task of taking the major means of production and exchange into public ownership. This is a vitally important achievement in any country, especially in a Third World country, which is trying to build socialism.

We criticise the efficiency of some of the Parastatals which run these enterprises on our behalf. And we reorganise them from time to time - sometimes even allowing some minor units to go back to private ownership. But we do not revise the principles of public ownership and control. There are those who would like us to do so but they are not socialists. Public ownership and control is an essential element in socialism.

The third section of this part of the Arusha Declaration emphasises that "true socialism cannot exist without democracy also existing in the society". How can that be denied? Socialism is based on the principle of human equality and dignity. Every person must be able to take part in their government.

It is true that real progress towards socialism is difficult if the capitalists succeed in using democracy to confuse the mass of the people about the meanings and implications of socialism. They then vote for non-socialists. But you certainly cannot build socialism, or maintain it, unless it is understood, and rests on the will of the people and the support of the people. You cannot force people to be free or to be socialists!

The final section of this part of the Arusha Declaration says that socialism is more than organisations or slogans. It is an ideology and a belief - an attitude of mind. "A socialist society can only be built by those who believe in, and who themselves practice, the principles of socialism".

Our experience shows the need for socialist commitment by leaders - which includes all Party members. Our socialist progress has been hindered by some dishonest, selfish, Party leaders and members who support socialism with their mouths but not with their actions. Such people bring discredit on the CCM and on the doctrine of socialism.

Self-Reliance

Part 3 of the Arusha Declaration deals with Self-Reliance. It starts

by saying "TANU is involved in a war against poverty and oppression in our country; this struggle is aimed at moving the people of Tanzania from a state of poverty to a state of prosperity." You don't need me to tell you we have not won that war! After a very good start we have experienced many setbacks.

The next section is headed "A poor man does not use money as a weapon." We said that in 1967 because very many people were constantly demanding that the Government give them money in order to bring development. But today we still talk in the same way. We still seem to think that the money is there and the trouble is the Minister of Finance.

We still talk as if without money there can be no development of any kind. Ask why the office is dirty - "no money." Why the streets are full of rubbish - "no money". Usually these days there is the additional excuse - "there is no foreign exchange". Or "Hali ya hewa ni mbaya" (conditions are bad).

Yet we know that the amount of money a country has is a sign of how developed it is. America is a developed country; its national income is equivalent to 15,390 U.S. Dollars for every citizen. Tanzania is not developed. Our national income is equivalent to 210 U.S. Dollars for every citizen. Thus it is obvious that it would be very stupid indeed for us in Tanzania to try to imitate these wealthy people either in our every day lives or in our plans for economic development.

But we can still develop ourselves on the basis of self-reliance. Our development strategy has to be based on what we can do for ourselves.

That is what the Arusha Declaration said 20 years ago. And now we know it to be true- from experience.

Of course there are some things you cannot do without money. So we are grateful for the aid we have received from friendly countries and people....But the aid is given to help our own efforts, not to put us to sleep....Now however, some people don't think of doing anything for themselves. A village school is needed - we ask for aid; a maize mill - we ask for aid. And if we ask why these things have not been built they say we have not yet got a donor!

That approach was always contrary to the Arusha Declaration. Now it is absurd also.

Often now Government is told "we will lend you money if you abandon your socialist policies". That is what the Arusha Declaration said would happen. It is obvious that if we depend on money for our development when we don't have any money, we shall become slaves of those who do have it. The proverb says: the rich govern the poor, and he who borrows is the slave of he who lends. The Arusha Declaration says: to govern yourself is to be self-reliant. All the governments of Tanzania have refused to agree to political conditions for aid or loans. That is true of President Mwinyi's Government as it was for mine.

But it is obvious that we have to remain vigilant. The IMF is not a friend of Tanzania. It is an institution used by the imperialist countries which govern it to control the economy of a poor country and destabilise the governments of countries they do not like. The price of

freedom is eternal vigilance. So let us be vigilant! If you agree to give them a goat they will demand a camel.

(Mwalimu Nyerere went on to emphasise the vital importance of agriculture in Tanzania's economy and the need to concentrate effort on the peasant farmer rather than on large scale farming. He spoke briefly about Party membership - again the Arusha Declaration did not need changing - and then spoke at some length on the Leadership Code. He had no objection to leaders making a little extra money in their spare time but said that the Code must be maintained in its essentials. "If some leaders break the Code what should we do? Abandon the Code? Religious leaders try to reform those of their followers who sin. If reform does not take place, the sinners are expelled from the Mosque or Church. CCM is not a religious Party but we have the ideology and rules of socialists. When we enter the Party all of us promise to adopt this ideology and follow these practices. And if we break that promise the Party has the right to try to get us to reform. If it does not succeed it has the right to expel us". We hope to publish further extracts in our next issue - Editor

FIVE WOMEN IN NEW CABINET

The Honourable Anne Makinda, Minister of State in the Office of the Prime Minister and First Vice President was clearly delighted to be the first to pass on the news to the Bulletin, during her recent visit to Britain, that President Mwinyi now had five women in his Cabinet. She suggested that in publishing the news of the Government reshuffle, which took place on March 23rd 1987, we should make quite clear in our heading that Tanzanian women had taken a further big step forward.

The changes were brought about as the result of the failure of the Minister of Trade and Industry (Mr. Basil Mramba) to win his disputed election case.

Amongst the principal changes were the following. Firstly, a new Ministry has been created to be responsible solely for Water. The Minister is Mr. Pius Ngw'andu. Mr. Paul Bomani, Minister of Agriculture and Livestock Development became Minister of Labour and Manpower Development. The former Minister of Labour, Mr Daudi Mwakawago became Minister of Trade and Industries. The Minister of Education, Mr. Jackson Makweta became Minister of Agriculture and Livestock Development and his post was taken by Professor Kighoma Ali Malima. Mrs Gertrude Mongela took over the additional responsibility for Lands to add to her existing portfolio in the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism.

A further change was a lightening of the load on the President's Office. We now remains with only one Minister of State - Mrs Anna Abdalla. The Minister of Finance, Economic Affairs and Planning now has two Ministers of State - Messrs Damas Mbogoro and Simai Pandu Mohamedi. Similarly, the Minister of Communications and Works now has a second Deputy Minister (J.J. Gachocha). Mrs Amina Salum Ali took over a new post in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with responsibility for International Cooperation. Mrs Fatma Said Ali remains Minister for Community Development, Culture, Youth and Sports.

MUSIC - RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN TANZANIA

Zanzibar has launched a National Arts and Music Council (BASAMU) according to the Daily News. It is designed to help the Ministry of Information, Culture and Sports to revive, preserve and promote music, art and other forms of entertainment.

Meanwhile, on the mainland, Mr John Mngandu, Lecturer in Music and Theatre at the University of Dar es Salaam, told the Bulletin recently that there has been an encouraging increase of interest in choir singing. Previously, he said, choirs had been largely confined to churches and schools. Nowadays however many parastatals, the Police, the TPDF and other organisations have their own choirs, employing a mixture of Tanzanian and Western musical elements with Western harmony.

The Music Conservatoire of Tanzania held a very well attended (200 people) concert on January 30th in Dar es Salaam. Mrs L.E. Crole-Rees, the Principal Tutor and Manager, told the Bulletin that the Conservatoire had been founded originally in 1966 and in 1986 had provided individual instruction to over 150 different pupils. Subjects studied included Beginners Music, Clarinet, Flute, Guitar, Piano, Recorder, Violin and the Theory and History of Music.

The Conservatoire has also published an illustrated booklet entitled "Traditional Musical Instruments of Tanzania". The Conservatoire is also in the process of producing a more comprehensive booklet with sections on Idiophones (percussion instruments eg: Reed box rattles from Kayamba, Membraphones (drums), Aerophones (wind instruments eg: Filimbi- flutes and Liland-dry gourds), Chordophones (stringed instruments eg: Zeze-fiddles) and Enanga (a zither from Mwanza region).

The Conservatoire, which operates from two small rooms on Sokoine (formerly City) Drive has difficulty in obtaining books on music and certain specific types of sheet music. Any music lover able to help is invited to write to Mrs Crole-Rees at P.O. Box 1397, Dar es Salaam.

David Brewin

RICE, CLOVES AND CROP DIVERSIFICATION IN ZANZIBAR

(Based on an interview Zanzibar's Minister of Agriculture and Livestock gave to the Bulletin in January 1987 - Editor)

In Zanzibar, the main staple food is rice. There are also maize, cassava and bananas. Because of its importance and the fact that we have to pay very heavily for the 50,000 tons we have to import, the Government is putting great emphasis on rice growing. One project, which has been going on for ten years (five years was spent on research), aims ultimately to irrigate 5000 hectares. So far we have developed some 600. The UNDP/FAO and World Food Programme have been helping us and it is apparent that with help, our farmers could produce two or three times the amount of rice they are producing now.

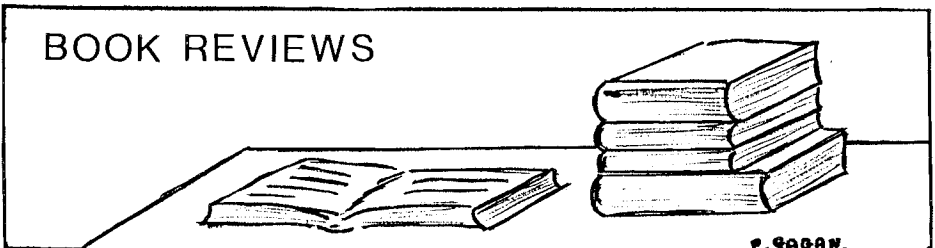
In cassava and bananas we are self-sufficient.

In the cash crop area Zanzibar has a monocrop agricultural system depending on cloves. And prices have gone down severely. At one time we were selling cloves at \$9,900 a ton. Today we get only \$3,500 to \$4,000. Mr. D.L. Heydon from Britain's Tropical Development Research Institute (TDRI) produced a very useful report for us (Clove Producer Price Policy. April-May 1986) in which he recommended us to raise the producer price. In doing so we would encourage farmers to collect the full harvest each year.

We accepted the recommendation and first grade cloves are now being bought from farmers at Shs 72 per kilo compared with Shs 25 last year. We have already seen beneficial results. Fields are being kept much cleaner. We hope to be able to review the the price each year in accordance with the rise in production costs and in world market prices.

Because we are walking on this one leg however, we risk falling down. We are therefore trying to diversify. We hope to develop spices such as vanilla, black pepper, chillies, and cardamom as cash crops. We are undertaking research but are not sure whether these new crops will be economic. We are also therefore making efforts to further develop other cash crops including citrus and other fruits.

Hon. Soud Yussuf Mgeni



William Ostberg, THE KONDOA TRANSFORMATION: COMING TO GRIPS WITH SOIL EROSION IN CENTRAL TANZANIA. Research Report no. 76, Scandinavian Institute of Agricultural Studies, Uppsala, Sweden. 99p.

The problems of land degradation and conservation have been brought into the international limelight by the recent famines in the semi-arid regions of Africa. It is a matter of concern that there appears to be so little to show for the amount of effort that has gone into soil conservation. This is often because the ideas and the techniques involved have not been taken up, or have even been actively opposed by the local farming population. It is thus very encouraging to read of a programme that has been successful because it has won the support of the farmers.

Kondoa became notorious in Tanzania for its extreme examples of soil erosion. Spectacular gullies scarred the hillsides, while broad sand rivers spilled over the agricultural land of the plains. The present

soil conservation project, known as HADO (Hifadhi ya Ardhi Dodoma) began in 1973, but the transformation of the landscape dates from 1979 when cattle were excluded from the most severely eroded land; since then the vegetation has recovered rapidly, soil erosion has been greatly reduced, and formerly devastated land is being turned into productive farmland.

The author undertook a socio-economic study of the Kondoa eroded area during February and March 1985, and this report relates his findings to the history of the area and of the project. His analysis of the historical background takes us back to the 19th Century, and the demands placed on the countryside by the caravan trade. Since then the cultivated land area has increased with the growing population, and in particular, the "expansionist" agriculture of the dominant Rangi people. But perhaps the most serious problem has been the livestock that traditionally have been allowed to graze freely over all the land. Attempts at soil conservation during Colonial times led to the adoption of improved cultivation methods and rotational grazing schemes, but attempts at reducing the livestock population failed.

The HADO Project started on conventional lines. Land which was to be rehabilitated was closed to grazing. Then contour banks and check dams were built, and trees and grass were planted. Machines were used initially, but these were soon replaced by hand labour. By 1979 the project management realised that this job would take a hundred years, and it was expensive. The major benefit of all the work had been in fact the increased vegetation cover once the livestock was excluded. Therefore, why not exclude livestock from the whole eroded area for a limited period?

This was done. It succeeded despite the reluctance of the local people to part with their livestock, and there were confrontations; in one incident a HADO worker was killed. Other operations were also opposed. Plantations were sited on eroded land that had been cultivated previously; resentful farmers have burnt some of them. Gradually, however, people have come to see the advantages of the measures. Cultivators find that they can plant more land, some of which was formerly reserved for grazing, and with the improved vegetation cover and reduced runoff the lowlands have been restored to productivity. The plantations are becoming more popular as poles can be bought cheaply and firewood is free.

Now the project is considering how livestock can be re-introduced to the area without undoing all the progress that has been achieved. If this can be done there will be lessons in the HADO Project for soil conservation in many parts of Africa.

The report is well structured and easy to read. Sadly, it lacks a summary, though one can be obtained separately. As so much literature on development problems is not published by commercial publishers, it is important that work such as this is presented in a form which can be entered into the specialist databases that now cover the subject - a summary would therefore be invaluable.

A. J. B. Mitchell

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