



THÈSE

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Délivré par :

Université Toulouse - Jean Jaurès

Présentée et soutenue par :

Amadou Lamine NDIAYE

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Directeur/trice(s) de Thèse :

Helen GOETHALS

Professeur des Universités (Université Toulouse Jean Jaurès)

Jury :

Gilles TEULIE

Professeur des Universités (Université Aix-Marseille)

Didier LASSALE

Professeur des Universités (Université Paris-Est Créteil Val de Marne)

Philip WHYTE

Professeur des Universités (Université François-Rabelais Tours)

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CHARTRE DE L'O.U.A.

ADDIS – ABEBA, Le 25 MAI 1963.

Nous, Chefs d'Etat et de Gouvernement africains réunis à Addis-Abeba, Ethiopie ;
CONVAINCUS que les peuples ont le droit inaliénable de déterminer leur propre destin ;

CONSCIENTS du fait que la liberté, l'égalité, la justice et la dignité sont des objectifs essentiels à la réalisation des aspirations légitimes des peuples africains ;

SACHANT que notre devoir est de mettre les ressources naturelles et humaines de notre continent au service du progrès général de nos peuples dans tous les domaines de l'activité humaine ;

GUIDES par une commune volonté de renforcer la compréhension entre nos peuples et la coopération entre nos Etats, afin de répondre aux aspirations de nos populations vers la consolidation d'une fraternité et d'une solidarité intégrées au sein d'une unité plus vaste qui transcende les divergences ethniques et nationales ;

CONVAINCUS qu'afin de mettre cette ferme détermination au service du progrès humain, il importe de créer et de maintenir des conditions de paix et de sécurité ;

FERMEMENT RESOLUS à sauvegarder et à consolider l'indépendance et la souveraineté durement conquises, ainsi que l'intégrité territoriale de nos Etats, et à combattre le néo-colonialisme sous toutes ses formes ;

VOUES au progrès général de l'Afrique ;

PERSUADES que la Charte des Nations Unies et la Déclaration Universelle des Droits de l'Homme, aux principes desquels nous réaffirmons notre adhésion, offrent une base solide pour une coopération pacifique et fructueuse entre nos Etats ;

DESIREUX de voir tous les Etats africains s'unir, désormais, pour assurer le bien-être de leurs peuples ;

RESOLUS à raffermir les liens entre nos Etats en créant des institutions communes et en les renforçant ;

Sommes convenus de créer : l'Organisation de l'Unité Africaine,

ARTICLE Premier

1. Les Hautes Parties Contractantes constituent, par la présente Charte, une Organisation dénommée Organisation de l'Unité Africaine.

2. Cette Organisation comprend les Etats africains continentaux, Madagascar et les autres îles voisines de l'Afrique.

Objectifs

ARTICLE 2

1. Les objectifs de l'Organisation sont les suivants :
 - a. Renforcer l'unité et la solidarité des Etats africains ;
 - b. Coordonner et intensifier leur coopération et leurs efforts pour offrir de meilleures conditions d'existence aux peuples d'Afrique ;
 - c. Défendre leur souveraineté, leur intégrité territoriale et leur indépendance ;
 - d. Eliminer sous toutes ses formes le colonialisme de l'Afrique ;
 - e. Favoriser la coopération internationale, en tenant dûment compte de la Charte des Nations Unies et de la Déclaration Universelle des Droits de l'Homme ;
2. A ces fins, les Etats membres coordonneront et harmoniseront leurs politiques générales, en particulier dans les domaines suivants :
 - a. politique et diplomatie ;
 - b. économie, transports et communications ;
 - c. éducation et culture ;
 - d. santé, hygiène et nutrition ;
 - e. science et technique ;
 - f. défense et sécurité.

Principes

ARTICLE 3

Les Etats membres, pour atteindre les objectifs énoncés à l'article II, affirment solennellement les principes suivants :

1. Egalité souveraine de tous les Etats membres ;
2. Non-ingérence dans les affaires intérieure des Etats ;
3. Respect de la souveraineté et de l'intégrité territoriale de chaque Etat et de son droit inaliénable à une existence indépendante ;
4. Règlement pacifique des différends, par voie de négociation de médiation, de conciliation ou d'arbitrage ;
5. Condamnation sans réserve de l'assassinat ainsi que des activités subversives exercées par des Etats voisins ou tous autres Etats ;
6. Dévouement sans réserve à la cause de l'émancipation totale des territoires africains non encore indépendants ;
7. Affirmation d'une politique de non-alignement à l'égard de tous les blocs.

Membres

ARTICLE 4

Tout Etat africain indépendant et souverain peut devenir membre de l'Organisation.

Droits et devoirs des Etats membres

ARTICLE 5

Tous les Etats membres jouissent des mêmes droits et ont les mêmes devoirs.

ARTICLE 6

Les Etats membres s'engagent à respecter scrupuleusement les principes énoncés à l'article III de la présente Charte.

Institutions

ARTICLE 7

L'Organisation poursuit les objectifs qu'elle s'est assignée, principalement par l'intermédiaire des institutions ci-après :

1. la Conférence des chefs d'Etat et de Gouvernement ;
2. le Conseil des Ministres ;
3. le Secrétariat général ;
4. la Commission de médiation, de conciliation et d'arbitrage.

La Conférence des chefs d'Etat et de Gouvernement

ARTICLE 8

La Conférence des chefs d'Etat et de Gouvernement est l'organe suprême de l'Organisation. Elle doit, conformément aux dispositions de la présente charte, étudier les questions d'intérêt commun pour l'Afrique, afin de coordonner et d'harmoniser la politique générale de l'Organisation. Elle peut, en outre, procéder à la révision de la structure, des fonctions et des activités de tous les organes et de toutes les institutions spécialisées qui pourraient être créés conformément à la présente Charte.

ARTICLE 9

La Conférence est composée des chefs d'Etat et de Gouvernement, ou de leurs représentants dûment accrédités, et se réunit au moins une fois l'an. Si un Etat le demande, et sous réserve de l'accord des deux tiers des membres, la Conférence se réunit en session extraordinaire.

ARTICLE 10

1. Chaque Etat membre dispose d'une voix.
2. Toutes les décisions sont prises à la majorité des deux tiers des Etats membres de l'Organisation.
3. Toutefois, les décisions de procédure sont prises à la majorité simple des Etats membres de l'Organisation. Il en est de même pour décider si une question est de procédure ou non.
4. Le quorum est constitué par les deux tiers des Etats membres.

ARTICLE 11

La Conférence établit son règlement intérieur.

L e Conseil des Ministres

ARTICLE 12

1. Le Conseil des Ministres est composé des Ministres des Affaires Etrangères, ou de tous autres Ministres désignés par les Gouvernements des Etats membres.
2. Il se réunit au moins deux fois l'an. Lorsqu'un Etat en fait la demande, et sous réserve de l'accord des deux tiers des membres, le Conseil se réunit en session extraordinaire.

ARTICLE 13

1. Le Conseil des Ministres est responsable envers la Conférence des chefs d'Etat et de Gouvernement. Il est chargé de la préparation de cette Conférence.
2. Il connaît de toute question que la Conférence lui renvoie ; il exécute ses décisions. Il met en œuvre la coopération interafricaine selon les directives des chefs d'Etat et de Gouvernement, conformément à l'article II, paragraphe 2, de la présente Charte.

ARTICLE 14

1. Chaque Etat membre dispose d'une voix.
2. Toutes les résolutions sont prises à la majorité simple des membres du Conseil des Ministres.
3. Le quorum est constitué par les deux tiers des membres du Conseil des Ministres.

ARTICLE 15

Le Conseil des Ministres établit son règlement intérieur.

Secrétaire Général

ARTICLE 16

Un Secrétaire général de l'Organisation est désigné par la Conférence des chefs d'Etat et de Gouvernement. Il dirige les services du Secrétariat.

ARTICLE 17

La Conférence des chefs d'Etat et de Gouvernement désigne un ou plusieurs Secrétaires généraux adjoints.

ARTICLE 18

Les fonctions et conditions d'emploi du Secrétaire général, des Secrétaires généraux adjoints et des autres membres du Secrétariat, sont régies par les dispositions de la présente Charte et par le règlement intérieur approuvé par la Conférence des chefs d'Etat et de Gouvernement.

1. Dans l'accomplissement de leurs devoirs, le Secrétaire général et le personnel ne solliciteront ni n'accepteront d'instructions d'aucun gouvernement ni d'aucune autorité extérieure à l'Organisation. Ils s'abstiendront de tout acte incompatible avec leur situation de fonctionnaires internationaux et ne sont responsables qu'envers l'Organisation.
2. Chaque membre de l'Organisation s'engage à respecter le caractère exclusivement international des fonctions du Secrétariat général et du personnel, et à ne pas chercher à les influencer dans l'exécution de leur tâche.

Commission de médiation, de conciliation et d'arbitrage.

ARTICLE 19

Les Etats membres s'engagent à régler leurs différends par des voies pacifiques. A cette fin, ils créent une Commission de médiation, de conciliation et d'arbitrage, dont la composition et les conditions de fonctionnement sont définies par un protocole distinct, approuvé par la Conférence des chefs d'Etat et de Gouvernement. Ce protocole est considéré comme faisant partie intégrante de la présente Charte.

Commissions spécialisées

ARTICLE 20

Sont créées, outre les commissions spécialisées que la Conférence peut juger nécessaires, les commissions suivantes :

1. La Commission économique et sociale,
2. La Commission de l'éducation, de la science, de la culture et de la santé ;
3. La Commission de la défense.

ARTICLE 21

Chacune de ces commissions spécialisées est composée des Ministres compétents, ou de tous autres Ministres ou plénipotentiaires, désignés à cet effet par leur gouvernement.

ARTICLE 22

Chaque commission spécialisée exerce ses fonctions conformément aux dispositions de la présente Charte et d'un règlement intérieur approuvé par le Conseil des Ministres.

Budget

ARTICLE 23

Le budget de l'Organisation, préparé par le Secrétaire général est approuvé par le Conseil des Ministres. Il est alimenté par les contributions des Etats membres, conformément aux références qui ont permis l'établissement du barème des contributions aux Nations Unies. Toutefois, la contribution d'un Etat membre ne pourra excéder vingt pour cent du budget ordinaire annuel de l'Organisation. Les Etats membres s'engagent à payer régulièrement leurs contributions respectives.

Signature et ratification de la Charte

ARTICLE 24

1. La présente Charte est ouverte à la signature de tous les Etats africains, indépendants et souverains. Elle est ratifiée par les Etats signataires conformément à leur procédure constitutionnelle.
2. L'instrument original, rédigé, si possible, dans les langues africaines, ainsi qu'en français et en anglais, tous les textes faisant également foi, est déposé auprès du Gouvernement de l'Ethiopie qui transmet des copies certifiées de ce document à tous les Etats africains indépendants et souverains.
3. Les instruments de ratification sont déposés auprès du Gouvernement de l'Ethiopie, qui notifie le dépôt à tous les Etats signataires.

Entrée en vigueur

ARTICLE 25

La présente Charte entre en vigueur dès réception par le Gouvernement de l'Ethiopie, des instruments de ratification des deux tiers des Etats signataires.

Enregistrement de la Charte

ARTICLE 26

La présente Charte, dûment ratifiée, sera enregistrée au Secrétariat des Nations Unies, par les soins du Gouvernement de l'Ethiopie, conformément à l'article 102 de la Charte des Nations Unies.

Interprétation de la Charte

ARTICLE 27

Toute décision relative à l'interprétation de la présente Charte devra être acquise à la majorité des deux tiers des chefs d'Etat et de Gouvernement des membres de l'Organisation.

Adhésion et admission

ARTICLE 28

1. Toute Etat africain indépendant et souverain peut, en tout temps, notifier au Secrétaire général, son intention d'adhérer à la présente Charte.
2. Le Secrétaire général, saisi de cette notification, en communique copie à tous les membres. L'admission est décidée à la majorité simple des Etats membres. La décision de chaque Etat membre est transmise au Secrétaire général qui communique la décision à l'Etat intéressé, après avoir reçu le nombre de voix requis.

Dispositions diverses

ARTICLE 29

Les langues de travail de l'Organisation et de toutes ses institutions sont, si possible, des langues africaines, ainsi que le français et l'anglais.

ARTICLE 30

Le Secrétaire général peut accepter, au nom de l'Organisation, tous dons, donations ou legs faits à l'Organisation, sous réserve de l'approbation du Conseil des Ministres.

ARTICLE 31

Le Conseil des Ministres décide des privilèges et immunités à accorder au personnel du Secrétariat dans les territoires respectifs des Etats membres.

Renonciation à la qualité de membre

ARTICLE 32

Tout Etat qui désire se retirer de l'Organisation en fait notification au Secrétariat général. Une année après ladite notification, soit elle n'est pas retirée, la Charte cesse de s'appliquer à cet Etat, qui, de ce fait, n'appartient plus à l'Organisation.

Amendement et révision

ARTICLE 33

La présente Charte peut être amendée ou révisée si un Etat membre envoie à cet effet une demande écrite au Secrétaire général. La Conférence n'est saisie du projet d'amendement que lorsque tous les Etats membres en ont été dûment avisés, et après un délai d'un an. L'amendement ne prend effet que lorsqu'il est approuvé par les deux tiers au moins des Etats membres.

EN FOI DE QUOI nous, Chefs d'Etat et de Gouvernement africains, avons signé la présente Charte.

Fait à Addis-Abeba, Ethiopie, le 25 mai 1963.

ACTE CONSTITUTIF DE L'UNION AFRICAINE

Nous, Chefs d'Etat et de Gouvernement des Etats membres de l'Organisation de l'Unité Africaine (OUA) ;

1. Le Président de la République d'Afrique du Sud
2. Le Président de la République Algérienne Démocratique et Populaire
3. Le Président de la République d'Angola
4. Le Président de la République du Bénin
5. Le Président de la République du Botswana
6. Le Président du Burkina Faso
7. Le Président de la République du Burundi
8. Le Président de la République du Cameroun
9. Le Président de la République du Cap Vert
10. Le Président de la République Centrafricaine
11. Le Président de la République Fédérale Islamique des Comores
12. Le Président de la République du Congo
13. Le Président de la République de Côte d'Ivoire
14. Le Président de la République de Djibouti
15. Le Président de la République Arabe d'Egypte
16. Le Premier Ministre de la République Fédérale et Démocratique d'Ethiopie
17. Le Président de l'Etat d'Erythrée
18. Le Président de la République Gabonaise
19. Le Président de la République de Gambie
20. Le Président de la République du Ghana
21. Le Président de la République de Guinée
22. Le Président de la République de Guinée Bissau
23. Le Président de la République de Guinée Equatoriale
24. Le Président de la République du Kenya
25. Le Premier Ministre du Royaume du Lesotho
26. Le Président de la République du Libéria
27. Le Guide de la Révolution du 1er septembre de la Grande Jamahiriya Arabe Libyenne Populaire et Socialiste
28. Le Président de la République de Madagascar
29. Le Président de la République du Malawi
30. Le Président de la République du Mali
31. Le Premier Ministre de la République de Maurice

32. Le Président de la République Islamique de Mauritanie
33. Le Président de la République du Mozambique
34. Le Président de la République de Namibie
35. Le Président de la République du Niger
36. Le Président de la République Fédérale du Nigeria
37. Le Président de la République Ougandaise
38. Le Président de la République Rwandaise
39. Le Président de la République Démocratique du Congo
40. Le Président de la République Arabe Sahraouie Démocratique
41. Le Président de la République de Sao Tome & Principe
42. Le Président de la République du Sénégal
43. Le Président de la République des Seychelles
44. Le Président de la République de Sierra Léone
45. Le Président de la République de Somalie
46. Le Président de la République du Soudan
47. Le Roi du Swaziland
48. Le Président de la République Unie de Tanzanie
49. Le Président de la République du Tchad
50. Le Président de la République Togolaise
51. Le Président de la République de Tunisie
52. Le Président de la République de Zambie
53. Le Président de la République du Zimbabwe

Inspirés par les nobles idéaux qui ont guidé les Pères fondateurs de notre Organisation continentale et des générations de panafricanistes dans leur détermination à promouvoir l'unité, la solidarité, la cohésion et la coopération entre les peuples d'Afrique, et entre les Etats africains ;

Considérant les principes et les objectifs énoncés dans la Charte de l'Organisation de l'Unité Africaine et le Traité instituant la Communauté économique africaine ;

Rappelant les luttes héroïques menées par nos peuples et nos pays pour l'indépendance politique, la dignité humaine et l'émancipation économique ;

Considérant que depuis sa création, l'Organisation de l'Unité Africaine a joué un rôle déterminant et précieux dans la libération du continent, l'affirmation d'une identité commune et la réalisation de l'unité de notre continent, et a constitué un cadre unique pour notre action collective en Afrique et dans nos relations avec le reste du monde ;

Résolus à relever les défis multiformes auxquels sont confrontés notre continent et nos peuples, à la lumière des changements sociaux, économiques et politiques qui se produisent dans le monde ;

Convaincus de la nécessité d'accélérer le processus de mise en œuvre du Traité instituant la Communauté économique africaine afin de promouvoir le développement socio -économique de l'Afrique et de faire face de manière plus efficace aux défis de la mondialisation ;

Guidés par notre vision commune d'une Afrique unie et forte, ainsi que par la nécessité d'instaurer un partenariat entre les gouvernements et toutes les composantes de la société civile, en particulier les femmes, les jeunes et le secteur privé, afin de renforcer la solidarité et la cohésion entre nos peuples ;

Conscients du fait que le fléau des conflits en Afrique constitue un obstacle majeur au développement socio -économique du continent, et de la nécessité de promouvoir la paix, la sécurité et la stabilité, comme condition préalable à la mise en œuvre de notre agenda dans le domaine du développement et de l'intégration ;

Résolus à promouvoir et à protéger les droits de l'homme et des peuples, à consolider les institutions et la culture démocratiques, à promouvoir la bonne gouvernance et l'Etat de droit ;

Résolus également à prendre toutes les mesures nécessaires pour renforcer nos institutions communes et à les doter des pouvoirs et des ressources nécessaires afin de leur permettre de remplir efficacement leurs missions ;

Rappelant la Déclaration que nous avons adoptée lors de la quatrième session extraordinaire de notre Conférence à Syrte, en Grande Jamahiriya arabe libyenne populaire socialiste, le 9.9.99, et par laquelle nous avons décidé de créer l'Union africaine, conformément aux objectifs fondamentaux de la Charte de l'Organisation de l'Unité Africaine (OUA) et du Traité instituant la Communauté économique africaine ;

SOMMES CONVENUS DE CE QUI SUIT :

Article Premier

Définitions

Dans le présent Acte constitutif, on entend par :

«Acte », le présent Acte constitutif ;

«AEC », la Communauté économique africaine ;

«Charte », la Charte de l'OUA ;

«Comité », un comité technique spécialisé ;

«Commission », le Secrétariat de l'Union ;

«Conférence », la Conférence des Chefs d'Etat et de Gouvernement de l'Union ;

«Conseil », le Conseil économique, social et culturel de l'Union ;

«Conseil exécutif », le Conseil exécutif des Ministres de l'Union;

«Cour », la Cour de justice de l'Union ;
«Etat membre », un Etat membre de l'Union ;
«OUA », l'Organisation de l'Unité Africaine ;
«Parlement », le Parlement panafricain de l'Union ;
«Union », l'Union africaine créée par le présent Acte constitutif.

Article 2

Institution de l'Union africaine

Il est institué par les présentes une Union africaine conformément aux dispositions du présent Acte.

Article 3

Objectifs

Les objectifs de l'Union sont les suivants :

- (a) réaliser une plus grande unité et solidarité entre les pays africains et entre les peuples d'Afrique ;
- (b) défendre la souveraineté, l'intégrité territoriale et l'indépendance de ses Etats membres ;
- (c) accélérer l'intégration politique et socio-économique du continent ;
- (d) promouvoir et défendre les positions africaines communes sur les questions d'intérêt pour le continent et ses peuples ;
- (e) favoriser la coopération internationale, en tenant dûment compte de la Charte des Nations Unies et de la Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme ;
- (f) promouvoir la paix, la sécurité et la stabilité sur le continent ;
- (g) promouvoir les principes et les institutions démocratiques, la participation populaire et la bonne gouvernance ;
- (h) promouvoir et protéger les droits de l'homme et des peuples conformément à la Charte africaine des droits de l'homme et des peuples et aux autres instruments pertinents relatifs aux droits de l'homme ;
- (i) créer les conditions appropriées permettant au continent de jouer le rôle qui est le sien dans l'économie mondiale et dans les négociations internationales ;
- (j) promouvoir le développement durable aux plans économique, social et culturel, ainsi que l'intégration des économies africaines ;
- (k) promouvoir la coopération et le développement dans tous les domaines de l'activité humaine en vue de relever le niveau de vie des peuples africains ;
- (l) coordonner et harmoniser les politiques entre les Communautés économiques régionales existantes et futures en vue de la réalisation graduelle des objectifs de l'Union;
- (m) accélérer le développement du continent par la promotion de la recherche dans tous les domaines, en particulier en science et en technologie ;

(n) œuvrer de concert avec les partenaires internationaux pertinents en vue de l'éradication des maladies évitables et de la promotion de la santé sur le continent.

Article 4

Principes

L'Union africaine fonctionne conformément aux principes suivants :

- (a) Egalité souveraine et interdépendance de tous les Etats membres de l'Union ;
- (b) Respect des frontières existant au moment de l'accession à l'indépendance ;
- (c) Participation des peuples africains aux activités de l'Union ;
- (d) Mise en place d'une politique de défense commune pour le continent africain;
- (e) Règlement pacifique des conflits entre les Etats membres de l'Union par les moyens appropriés qui peuvent être décidés par la Conférence de l'Union ;
- (f) Interdiction de recourir ou de menacer de recourir à l'usage de la force entre les Etats membres de l'Union ;
- (g) Non-ingérence d'un Etat membre dans les affaires intérieures d'un autre Etat membre ;
- (h) Le droit de l'Union d'intervenir dans un Etat membre sur décision de la Conférence, dans certaines circonstances graves, à savoir : les crimes de guerre, le génocide et les crimes contre l'humanité;
- (i) Coexistence pacifique entre les Etats membres de l'Union et leur droit de vivre dans la paix et la sécurité ;
- (j) Droit des Etats membres de solliciter l'intervention de l'Union pour restaurer la paix et la sécurité ;
- (k) Promotion de l'auto-dépendance collective, dans le cadre de l'Union ;
- (l) Promotion de l'égalité entre les hommes et les femmes ;
- (m) Respect des principes démocratiques, des droits de l'homme, de l'état de droit et de la bonne gouvernance;
- (n) Promotion de la justice sociale pour assurer le développement économique équilibré;
- (o) Respect du caractère sacro -saint de la vie humaine et condamnation et rejet de l'impunité, des assassinats politiques, des actes de terrorisme et des activités subversives;
- (p) Condamnation et rejet des changements anticonstitutionnels de gouvernement.

Article 5

Organes de l'Union

1. Les organes de l'Union sont les suivants :

- (a) La Conférence de l'Union
- (b) Le Conseil exécutif ;
- (c) Le Parlement panafricain ;

- (d) La Cour de justice ;
 - (e) La Commission;
 - (f) Le Comité des représentants permanents ;
 - (g) Les Comités techniques spécialisés;
 - (h) Le Conseil économique, social et culturel;
 - (i) Les institutions financières.
2. La Conférence peut décider de créer d'autres organes.

Article 6

La Conférence

1. La Conférence est composée des Chefs d'Etat et de Gouvernement ou de leurs représentants dûment accrédités.
2. La Conférence est l'organe suprême de l'Union.
3. La Conférence se réunit au moins une fois par an en session ordinaire. A la demande d'un Etat membre et sur approbation des deux tiers des Etats membres, elle se réunit en session extraordinaire.
4. La présidence de la Conférence est assurée pendant un an par un chef d'Etat et de Gouvernement élu, après consultations entre les Etats membres.

Article 7

Décisions de la Conférence

1. La Conférence prend ses décisions par consensus ou, à défaut, à la majorité des deux tiers des Etats membres de l'Union. Toutefois, les décisions de procédure, y compris pour déterminer si une question est de procédure ou non, sont prises à la majorité simple.
2. Le quorum est constitué des deux tiers des Etats membres de l'Union pour toute session de la Conférence.

Article 8

Règlement intérieur de la Conférence

La Conférence adopte son propre Règlement intérieur.

Article 9

Pouvoirs et attributions de la Conférence

1. Les pouvoirs et attributions de la Conférence sont les suivants :

- (a) Définir les politiques communes de l'Union ;
- (b) Recevoir, examiner et prendre des décisions sur les rapports et les recommandations des autres organes de l'Union et prendre des décisions à ce sujet ;
- (c) Examiner les demandes d'adhésion à l'Union ;
- (d) Créer tout organe de l'Union ;
- (e) Assurer le contrôle de la mise en œuvre des politiques et décisions de l'Union, et veiller à leur application par tous les Etats membres ;
- (f) Adopter le budget de l'Union;
- (g) Donner des directives au Conseil exécutif sur la gestion des conflits, des situations de guerre et autres situations d'urgence ainsi que sur la restauration de la paix;
- (h) Nommer et mettre fin aux fonctions des juges de la Cour de justice ;
- (i) Nommer le Président, le ou les vice-présidents et les Commissaires de la Commission, et déterminer leurs fonctions et leurs mandats.

2. La Conférence peut déléguer certains de ses pouvoirs et attributions à l'un ou l'autre des organes de l'Union.

Article 10

Le Conseil exécutif

1. Le Conseil exécutif est composé des Ministres des Affaires étrangères ou de tous autres ministres ou autorités désignés par les gouvernements des Etats membres.
2. Le Conseil exécutif se réunit en session ordinaire au moins deux fois par an. Il se réunit aussi en session extraordinaire à la demande d'un Etat membre et sous réserve de l'approbation des deux tiers de tous les Etats membres.

Article 11

Décisions du Conseil exécutif

1. Le Conseil exécutif prend ses décisions par consensus ou, à défaut, à la majorité des deux tiers des Etats membres de l'Union. Toutefois, les décisions de procédure, y compris pour déterminer si une question est de procédure ou non, sont prises à la majorité simple.
2. Le quorum est constitué des deux tiers de tous les Etats membres pour toute session du Conseil exécutif.

Article 12

Règlement intérieur du Conseil exécutif

Le Conseil exécutif adopte son propre Règlement intérieur.

Article 13

Attributions du Conseil exécutif

1. Le Conseil exécutif assure la coordination et décide des politiques dans les domaines d'intérêt communs pour les Etats membres, notamment les domaines suivants :

- (a) Commerce extérieur;
- (b) Energie, industrie et ressources minérales ;
- (c) Alimentation, agriculture, ressources animales, élevage et forêts;
- (d) Ressources en eau et irrigation ;
- (e) Protection de l'environnement, action humanitaire et réaction et secours en cas de catastrophe ;
- (f) Transport et communication;
- (g) Assurances ;
- (h) Education, culture et santé et mise en valeur des ressources humaines;
- (i) Science et technologie;
- (j) Nationalité, résidence des ressortissants étrangers et questions d'immigration ;
- (k) Sécurité sociale et élaboration de politiques de protection de la mère et de l'enfant, ainsi que de politiques en faveur des personnes handicapées ;
- (l) Institution d'un système de médailles et de prix africains.

2. Le Conseil exécutif est responsable devant la Conférence. Il se réunit pour examiner les questions dont il est saisi et contrôler la mise en œuvre des politiques arrêtées par la Conférence.

3. Le Conseil exécutif peut déléguer tout ou partie de ses pouvoirs et attributions mentionnés au paragraphe 1 du présent article aux

Comités techniques spécialisés créés aux termes de l'article 14 du présent Acte.

Article 14

Les Comités techniques spécialisés

Création et composition

1. Sont créés les Comités techniques spécialisés suivants qui sont responsables devant le Conseil exécutif:

- (a) Le Comité chargé des questions d'économie rurale et agricoles ;
- (b) Le Comité chargé des affaires monétaires et financières ;
- (c) Le Comité chargé des questions commerciales, douanières et d'immigration ;

(d) Le Comité chargé de l'industrie, de la science et de la technologie, de l'énergie, des ressources naturelles et de l'environnement ;

(e) Le Comité chargé des transports, des communications et du tourisme ;

(f) Le Comité chargé de la santé, du travail et des affaires sociales ;

(g) Le Comité chargé de l'éducation, de la culture et des ressources humaines.

2. La Conférence peut, si elle le juge nécessaire, restructurer les Comités existants ou en créer de nouveaux.

3. Les Comités techniques spécialisés sont composés des ministres ou des hauts fonctionnaires chargés des secteurs relevant de leurs domaines respectifs de compétence.

Article 15

Attributions des Comités techniques spécialisés

Chacun des comités, dans le cadre de sa compétence, a pour mandat de :

(a) préparer des projets et programmes de l'Union et les soumettre au Conseil exécutif ;

(b) assurer le suivi et l'évaluation de la mise en œuvre des décisions prises par les organes de l'Union ;

(c) assurer la coordination et l'harmonisation des projets et programmes de l'Union ;

(d) présenter des rapports et des recommandations au Conseil exécutif, soit de sa propre initiative, soit à la demande du Conseil exécutif, sur l'exécution des dispositions du présent Acte ; et

(e) s'acquitter de toute tâche qui pourrait lui être confiée, en application des dispositions du présent Acte.

Article 16

Réunions

Sous réserve des directives qui peuvent être données par le Conseil exécutif, chaque Comité se réunit aussi souvent que nécessaire et établit son Règlement intérieur qu'il soumet au Conseil exécutif, pour approbation.

Article 17

Le Parlement panafricain

1. En vue d'assurer la pleine participation des peuples africains au développement et à l'intégration économique du continent, il est créé un Parlement panafricain.

2. La composition, les pouvoirs, les attributions et l'organisation du Parlement panafricain sont définis dans un protocole y afférent.

Article 18

Cour de justice

1. Il est créé une Cour de justice de l'Union.
2. Les statuts, la composition et les pouvoirs de la Cour de justice sont définis dans un protocole y afférent.

Article 19

Les institutions financières

L'Union africaine est dotée des institutions financières suivantes, dont les statuts sont définis dans des protocoles y afférents :

- (a) La Banque centrale africaine ;
- (b) Le Fonds monétaire africain ;
- (c) La Banque africaine d'investissement.

Article 20

La Commission

1. Il est créé une Commission qui est le Secrétariat de l'Union.
2. La Commission est composée du Président, du ou des vice- présidents et des commissaires. Ils sont assistés par le personnel nécessaire au bon fonctionnement de la Commission.
3. La structure, les attributions et les règlements de la Commission sont déterminés par la Conférence.

Article 21

Comité des représentants permanents

1. Il est créé, auprès de l'Union, un Comité des représentants permanents. Il est composé de représentants permanents et autres plénipotentiaires des Etats membres.
2. Le Comité des représentants permanents est responsable de la préparation des travaux du Conseil exécutif et agit sur instruction du Conseil. Il peut instituer tout sous-comité ou groupe de travail qu'il juge nécessaire.

Article 22

Le Conseil économique, social et culturel

1. Le Conseil économique, social et culturel est un organe consultatif composé des représentants des différentes couches socio- professionnelles des Etats membres de l'Union.

2. Les attributions, les pouvoirs, la composition et l'organisation du Conseil économique, social et culturel sont déterminés par la Conférence.

Article 23

Imposition de sanctions

1. La Conférence détermine comme suit les sanctions appropriées à imposer à l'encontre de tout Etat membre qui serait en défaut de paiement de ses contributions au budget de l'Union : privation du droit de prendre la parole aux réunions, droit de vote, droit pour les ressortissants de l'Etat membre concerné d'occuper un poste ou une fonction au sein des organes de l'Union, de bénéficier de toute activité ou de l'exécution de tout engagement dans le cadre de l'Union.

2. En outre, tout Etat membre qui ne se conformerait pas aux décisions et politiques de l'Union peut être frappé de sanctions notamment en matière de liens avec les autres Etats membres dans le domaine des transports et communications, et de toute autre mesure déterminée par la Conférence dans les domaines politique et économique.

Article 24

Siège de l'Union

1. Le siège de l'Union est à Addis-Abeba (République fédérale démocratique d'Ethiopie).

2. La Conférence peut, sur recommandation du Conseil exécutif, créer des bureaux ou des représentations de l'Union.

Article 25

Langues de travail

Les langues de travail de l'Union et de toutes ses institutions sont, si possible, les langues africaines ainsi que l'arabe, l'anglais, le français et le portugais.

Article 26

Interprétation

La Cour est saisie de toute question née de l'interprétation ou de l'application du présent Acte. Jusqu'à la mise en place de celle-ci, la question est soumise à la Conférence qui tranche à la majorité des deux tiers.

Article 27

Signature, ratification et adhésion

1. Le présent Acte est ouvert à la signature et à la ratification des Etats membres de l'OUA, conformément à leurs procédures constitutionnelles respectives.

2. Les instruments de ratification sont déposés auprès du Secrétaire général de l'OUA.
3. Tout Etat membre de l'OUA peut adhérer au présent Acte, après son entrée en vigueur, en déposant ses instruments d'adhésion auprès du Président de la Commission.

Article 28

Entrée en vigueur

Le présent Acte entre en vigueur trente (30) jours après le dépôt des instruments de ratification par les deux tiers des Etats membres de l'OUA.

Article 29

Admission comme membre de l'Union

1. Tout Etat africain peut, à tout moment après l'entrée en vigueur du présent Acte, notifier au Président de la Commission son intention d'adhérer au présent Acte et d'être admis comme membre de l'Union.
2. Le Président de la Commission, dès réception d'une telle notification, en communique copies à tous les Etats membres. L'admission est décidée à la majorité simple des Etats membres. La décision de chaque Etat membre est transmise au Président de la Commission qui communique la décision d'admission à l'Etat intéressé, après réception du nombre de voix requis.

Article 30

Suspension

Les Gouvernements qui accèdent au pouvoir par des moyens anticonstitutionnels ne sont pas admis à participer aux activités de l'Union.

Article 31

Cessation de la qualité de membre

1. Tout Etat qui désire se retirer de l'Union en notifie par écrit le Président de la Commission qui en informe les Etats membres. Une année après ladite notification, si celle-ci n'est pas retirée, le présent Acte cesse de s'appliquer à l'Etat concerné qui, de ce fait, cesse d'être membre de l'Union.
2. Pendant la période d'un an visée au paragraphe 1 du présent article, tout Etat membre désireux de se retirer de l'Union doit se conformer aux dispositions du présent Acte et reste tenu de s'acquitter de ses obligations aux termes du présent Acte jusqu'au jour de son retrait.

Article 32

Amendement et révision

1. Tout Etat membre peut soumettre des propositions d'amendement ou de révision du présent Acte.
2. Les propositions d'amendement ou de révision sont soumises au Président de la Commission qui en communique copies aux Etats membres dans les trente (30) jours suivant la date de réception.
3. La Conférence de l'Union, sur avis du Conseil exécutif, examine ces propositions dans un délai d'un an suivant la notification des Etats membres, conformément aux dispositions du paragraphe (2) du présent article.
4. Les amendements ou révisions sont adoptés par la Conférence de l'Union par consensus ou, à défaut, à la majorité des deux tiers, et soumis à la ratification de tous les Etats membres, conformément à leurs procédures constitutionnelles respectives. Les amendements ou révisions entrent en vigueur trente (30) jours après le dépôt, auprès du Président de la Commission exécutive, des instruments de ratification par les deux tiers des Etats membres.

Article 33

Arrangements transitoires et dispositions finales

1. Le présent Acte remplace la Charte de l'Organisation de l'Unité Africaine. Toutefois, ladite Charte reste en vigueur pendant une période transitoire n'excédant pas un an ou tout autre délai déterminé par la Conférence, après l'entrée en vigueur du présent Acte, pour permettre à l'OUA/AEC de prendre les mesures appropriées pour le transfert de ses prérogatives, de ses biens, de ses droits et de ses obligations à l'Union et de régler toutes les questions y afférentes.
2. Les dispositions du présent Acte ont également préséance et remplacent les dispositions du Traité d'Abuja instituant la Communauté économique africaine, qui pourraient être contraires au présent Acte.
3. Dès l'entrée en vigueur du présent Acte, toutes les mesures appropriées sont prises pour mettre en œuvre ses dispositions et pour mettre en place les organes prévus par le présent Acte, conformément aux directives ou décisions qui pourraient être adoptées à cet égard par les Etats Parties au présent Acte au cours de la période de transition stipulée ci-dessus.
4. En attendant la mise en place de la Commission, le Secrétariat général de l'OUA est le Secrétariat intérimaire de l'Union.
5. Le présent Acte, établi en quatre (4) exemplaires originaux en arabe, anglais, français et portugais, les quatre (4) textes faisant également foi, est déposé auprès du Secrétaire général et, après son entrée en vigueur, auprès du Président de la Commission, qui en transmet une copie certifiée conforme au Gouvernement de chaque Etat signataire. Le Secrétaire général de l'OUA et le Président de la Commission notifient à tous les Etats signataires, les dates de

dépôt des instruments de ratification et d'adhésion, et l'enregistrent, dès son entrée en vigueur, auprès du Secrétariat général des Nations Unies.

EN FOI DE QUOI, NOUS avons adopté le présent Acte.

Fait à Lomé (Togo), le 11 juillet 2000.

ANNEXE 3

Déclaration de Syrte

Adoptée par l'Organisation de l'Unité africaine

09 septembre 1999

1. Nous, Chefs d'État et de Gouvernement de l'Organisation de l'Unité Africaine (OUA), réunis en la quatrième session extraordinaire de notre Conférence à Syrte, en Grande Jamahiriya Arabe Libyenne Populaire et Socialiste, les 8 et 9 septembre 1999, à l'invitation du Guide de la Révolution El Fatah, le Colonel Muammar Ghaddafi, et conformément à la décision de la Trente-cinquième session ordinaire de notre Sommet, tenue à Alger, Algérie, du 12 au 14 juillet 1999,

2. Avons longuement discuté des voies et moyens de renforcer notre Organisation continentale afin de la rendre plus efficace et de lui permettre de s'adapter aux changements sociaux, politiques et économiques qui se produisent à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur de notre continent.

3. À cet égard, nous nous sommes inspirés des idéaux qui ont guidé les pères fondateurs de notre Organisation et des générations de panafricanistes dans leur détermination à forger l'unité, la solidarité et la cohésion, ainsi que la coopération entre les peuples d'Afrique et entre les États africains.

4. Nous rappelons les luttes héroïques menées par nos peuples et nos pays au cours du dernier siècle du millénaire pour l'indépendance politique, la dignité humaine et l'émancipation économique. Nous sommes fiers des progrès enregistrés sur la voie de la promotion et de la consolidation de l'unité africaine et nous saluons l'héroïsme et les sacrifices de nos peuples, en particulier pendant les luttes de libération.

5. Au moment où nous nous préparons à entrer dans le 21^e siècle et ayant à l'esprit les défis auxquels notre continent et nos peuples sont confrontés, nous soulignons la nécessité impérieuse et l'extrême urgence de raviver les aspirations de nos peuples à une plus grande unité, solidarité et cohésion dans une communauté plus large des peuples, qui transcende les différences culturelles, idéologiques, ethniques et nationales.

6. Pour relever ces défis et faire face de manière efficace aux nouvelles réalités sociales, politiques et économiques en Afrique et dans le monde, nous sommes déterminés à répondre aux aspirations de nos peuples à une plus grande unité, conformément aux objectifs énoncés dans la Charte de l'OUA et dans le Traité instituant la Communauté économique africaine (Traité d'Abuja).

Nous sommes convaincus que notre Organisation continentale doit être revitalisée afin qu'elle puisse jouer un rôle plus actif et continuer à répondre aux besoins de nos peuples et aux exigences de la conjoncture actuelle. Nous sommes également déterminés à éliminer le fléau des conflits qui constitue un obstacle majeur à la mise en œuvre de notre programme de développement et d'intégration.

7. Au cours de nos travaux, nous avons été inspirés par les propositions importantes faites par le Colonel Mouammar Ghaddafi, Guide de la Grande Révolution libyenne El Fatah, et particulièrement, par sa vision d'une Afrique forte et unie capable de relever les défis qui se posent à elle au niveau mondial et d'assumer sa responsabilité de mobiliser les ressources humaines et naturelles du continent afin d'améliorer les conditions de vie de ses peuples.

8. Ayant franchement et longuement discuté de l'approche à adopter quant au renforcement de l'unité de notre continent et de ses peuples à la lumière de ces propositions, et compte tenu de la situation actuelle sur le continent, NOUS DÉCIDONS de :

i) créer une Union africaine, conformément aux objectifs fondamentaux de la Charte de notre Organisation continentale et aux dispositions du Traité instituant la Communauté économique africaine,

ii) accélérer le processus de mise en œuvre du Traité instituant la Communauté économique africaine, en particulier :

(a) abrégé le calendrier d'exécution du Traité d'Abuja,

(b) assurer la création rapide de toutes les institutions prévues dans le Traité d'Abuja, telles que la Banque centrale africaine, l'Union monétaire africaine et la Cour de justice et, en particulier le Parlement panafricain. Nous envisageons de mettre en place le parlement d'ici à l'an 2000, afin d'offrir une plate-forme commune à nos peuples et à leurs organisations communautaires en vue d'assurer leur plus grande participation aux discussions et à la prise des décisions concernant les problèmes et les défis qui se posent à notre continent.

(c) renforcer et consolider les Communautés économiques régionales qui constituent les piliers de la réalisation des objectifs de la Communauté économique africaine, et de l'Union envisagée.

iii) mandater le Conseil des Ministres de prendre les mesures nécessaires pour assurer la mise en œuvre des décisions susmentionnées et, en particulier, d'élaborer l'Acte constitutif de l'Union, en tenant compte de la Charte de l'OUA et du Traité instituant la Communauté économique africaine. Les États membres doivent encourager la participation des parlementaires à ce processus. Le Conseil doit présenter son rapport à la Trente-sixième Session ordinaire de notre Conférence pour lui permettre de prendre les décisions appropriées. Les États membres doivent tout mettre en œuvre pour faire aboutir le processus de ratification avant décembre 2000 afin que l'Acte constitutif puisse être solennellement adopté en l'an 2001 lors d'un Sommet extraordinaire qui sera convoqué à Syrte.

iv) mandater notre Président en exercice, le Président Abdelaziz Bouteflika d'Algérie, et le Président Thabo Mbeki d'Afrique du Sud, de prendre d'urgence contact, en notre nom, avec les créanciers de l'Afrique en vue d'obtenir l'annulation totale de la dette de l'Afrique. Ils coordonneront leurs efforts avec ceux du Groupe de contact de l'OUA sur la dette extérieure de l'Afrique.

v) convoquer une conférence ministérielle africaine sur la sécurité, la stabilité, le développement et la coopération sur le continent, le plus tôt possible.

vi) demander au Secrétaire général de notre Organisation de prendre, en priorité, toutes les mesures nécessaires pour la mise en œuvre des présentes décisions.

Fait à Syrte, en Grande Jamahiriya Arabe Libyenne Populaire et Socialiste le 9. 9. 99

ANNEXE 4/ Cranford Pratt, *The Critical Phase in Tanzania* p. 93.

Tableau : l'emploi dans quelques professions selon un classement par groupe racial, 1962

Profession	Total	African	Asian	European
Architects	11	0	2	9
Civil engineers	84	1	22	61
Mechanical engineers	52	0	6	46
Surveyors	94	1	1	92
Physicians	184	16	60	108
Lawyers	57	2	11	44
Veterinarians	45	9	1	35
Geologists	41	0	0	41
Zoologists	12	1	0	11

Source: Tanganyika, *High Level Manpower Requirements*, tableau no. 10, pp. 33-6

Pratt, *The Critical Phase in Tanzania 1945-1968*, p. 93.

PRINTED FROM THE NATIONALIST, 1967 A TANZANIA NEWSPAPER

SOUND OFF: The growing number of Afro-Americans, overseas Africans, who have elected to return to Africa deserve some consideration at the present historical stage of our common anti-imperialist struggle. The militant struggle of Afro-Americans against the reactionary military-industrialist establishment inside the citadel of imperialism, is internationally linked with the national liberation movement of the people of Africa, Asia and Latin America. It is our struggle.

But the utterances, to say nothing of the activities and groupings, of some of the Afro-Americans now in the country represent amorphous concepts vis-a-vis the revolutionary situation obtaining in the United Republic, and I am afraid it may be necessary for us to mount vigilance in order to be sure of what they exactly represent.

The first thing that we must demand of the Afro-Americans who come here is a certain amount of discipline as is expected of various African anti-imperialist combatants based here. And the Afro-American has an extra burden of responsibility, namely that of disabusing his mind of accumulated false ideas, reactionary tendencies and other concepts, pro-capitalist and anti-socialist, which are in direct conflict with the avowed policies of the people of Tanzania.

Our Tanzania has no room for hang-ups of capitalism--and the Afro-American who set foot on this soil must understand it. The people of this country are not striving for coca-cola values, they are striving for the man's loftiest value--a fuller life for all. I am aware that Afro-Americans come to the United Republic for many reasons and may not arrive here as socialists or loyal supporters of our Party, TANU, but they should be willing to learn, as all true revolutionaries and avoid to take anti-people posture.

I have noted too that there is an even more distinct group of Afro-Americans who are more distinct than the obvious researchers from Ford or Rockefeller foundations. This group is farther afield from our objectives and commitments than the obvious Afro-Americans who work for the United States imperialist government and its counter-revolutionary agencies. This group is none other than the black racists, posing as

ultra militants, who spend their time exercising and instigating people and dividing ranks. I tell them--this is reactionary militancy.

I realize that the 400 years of deprivation exploitation and brutality at the hands of the whiteman in the United States has done its work. There is truth to be seen in free men who have named themselves and are fighting to maintain their identity and the world sees the various forms that the struggle can take.

In the racist heart of the United States we see our brothers and sisters fighting racism and we watch as they are almost engulfed in racism. Today the blackman in the United States knows and understands the difference between "black pride" and "black racism". He knows that only the reactions of imperialism and its forces stand to gain when the struggle is being sabotaged from the rear by his own people.

As men come together from all over the world to defeat the monster of imperialism headed by the United States, I point out to those Afro-Americans peddling racism that the main contradiction is between the United States led imperialism and the toiling masses of the world--therefore, we do not have time to be led astray by something worse than a spy and that is ultra-reactionary militancy.

A FALLEN SOLDIER IN MEMORIAM



IRVING BERNARD DAVIS
September 23, 1937-April 22, 1981

Co-Chairman, Patrice Lumumba Coalition
Executive Director, Pan-African Skills Project

PRINCIPAL SECRETARY

The President has instructed that it will now be the deliberate policy of the Government to recruit Afro-Americans into service in the same way that we are recruiting other people including white Americans.

The President's arguments, among others, are:

- (a) If we recruit other people, including white Americans, we can also recruit Afro-Americans.
- (b) Israel attracts into Israel men and women of Israel origin, why should Africa not recruit men and women of Africa origin?

To implement this policy an organization called the Pan African Skills Project has been established in U.S.A., and a representative who has had discussions with President is now establishing himself in Dar-es-Salaam and is in contact with the Foreign Ministry.

There will be no fan-fare for this project, but as many Afro-Americans as there are willing to come to Tanzania, it will be the deliberate Policy of this Government to encourage them to do so. Men and women of all skills and at all levels will be allowed in, and those who wish to settle down in Tanzania permanently will not be stopped from doing so.

Obviously this project will present some problems of its own but it is hoped that the political, psychological, perhaps professional, technical and economic effects of such a project, if it is successful, will be obvious to all. Close co-operation between this Ministry and DEVPLAN is an absolute necessity; co-operation between this Ministry and all the other Ministries in this matter is also called for to high degree.

A problem of particular interest is the one of adjustment to attitudes both for our guests and for ourselves; and because this is a sensitive area and past experience in placing and settling down Afro-Americans in Tanzania has shown it to be particularly delicate, the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, with the help and aid of the Principal Secretary and other related staff will be personally responsible for implementing this project until it becomes obviously no longer necessary to do so.

The machinery for processing the recruitment of suitable personnel is a matter of discussion in general, between the Minister and his Staff, and in particular, between this Ministry and the receiving Ministry.

I hope to be able to pursue this matter a little further in the next two weeks when I am in the United States of America, so that the project can be implemented without much further delay.

7/5/70

S. Mando
Minister of State for Foreign Affairs

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF BLACK CHURCHMEN

Dar-es-Salaam, August 22 - 28, 1971

RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA:
The Concept of Self-Reliance and Ujamaa Villages

Discussion Paper

by

N. J. MARO

I. I must begin with definition of terms and I am afraid this exercise will be somewhat lengthy. But I suppose the essence of the whole paper is to define applied Ujamaa any way. .

Rural Development is a broad subject. By and large, a common assumption in a discussion of rural development and Ujamaa is that such a discussion presumes a secular context, and to a good many the claim of the Church to a role in rural development is complementary to the main agents of rural development. It is rightly so, because the principal executive agency of rural development is the state and its parastatal organs. However, in keeping with the theme of this Conference - THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH AS A MEDIUM OF SOCIAL CHANGE - it is necessary at some point in this paper to relate the functional role of the Church in rural development and the wider concern of bringing about radical social change in our developing society. I hesitate to say it will be possible for me to speak adequately on the relevance of this paper to the solidarity which exists between us black people on both sides of the Atlantic as represented here.

I did not choose the title of this paper, at least not the exact wording of it, but on second thought, I like some of its patterns, if not the understanding of certain things we commonly speak about in "shorthand" language. I am referring to that part of the title "Rural Development in Africa". On the face of it, this title is meaning I should speak on rural development in Africa as though the African continent were a homogeneous geographical, cultural and political entity. I know none of us who are gathered here holds that view, and in fact, that is not the point I am trying to put across. I simply want to clarify one of those misnomers. This particular one used to be fairly common among our brothers and friends on the other side of the Atlantic. Not so long ago, I used to be asked: "Do you do this

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or that in Africa?" The immediate question in response was invariably "Which part of Africa?" The point I was then concerned about was the apparent gaps about Africa in the minds of some of those friends. Happily, we all know this has changed a lot with the revolutionary momentum of the past decade, particularly among those American citizens with whom we in Africa share one thing in common, that is, experience under colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The need to discern African's complexities and diversities almost to the point of refinement is all the more relevant and applicable to the subject of this paper and, in fact, the entire business of this Conference. This need to understand is desirable not in order to create an artificial or mental balkanization of continent - an offence which the colonialists committed and are still committing in practice today. The recognition of the diversities is fundamental to our understanding the true meaning of African Socialism and related concepts. For one thing is certain: we who are gathered here are not a random collection of people. We are all to some extent leaders and we have an obligation to be infinitely more knowledgeable than the layman on the street.

This leads me now to discuss, still by way of definition, the somewhat nebulous concept of African Socialism. Again it is common to refer to African Socialism as though the concept were tailor-made for the entire continent. African Socialism was probably uniform for the entire continent in pre-colonial days, but it is no longer so in post-colonial Africa. African Socialism then had to do with the family or clan, village or tribe at the most. Socialism in post-independent Africa has a larger scope beyond the tribe, to the nation-state or even between one or more nation-states.

All the same, some African politicians refer to Socialism or African Socialism today as though it were the same thing as was in the days of our forefathers. To some extent they are referring to the indigenous concept of African Socialism in the sense that African Socialism in the primal sense is the root of the modern African varieties of Socialism. President Kaunda defines Socialism in terms of his philosophy of Humanism as being man-centred. Thus he defines development in the context of humanism, as the development of the physical and social well-being of the man. This man-centredness is the one common strand in the varieties of definitions of African Socialism. Tanzania's Ujamaa relates to the family, the community; the essential component of the family or community is man. Our endeavours are to develop men, not things.

Beyond this point of definitions, in the actual implementation of Socialism, it appears that is where there are as many versions of Socialism as there are countries which profess Socialism. Here I am not by any means inviting this Conference

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to a "witch-hunting" exercise as to who is practicing the right or wrong brand of Socialism. To do so would bear no relevance to our Conference.

Perhaps the important thing is not that Africa should have the same understanding of Socialism, because it appears to be impossible at the moment anyway. Rather what really matters is each country's (which professes Socialism) commitment in practice to that Socialist ideology which is man-centred, and which is likely to liberate Africa from political and economic servitude. The word requiring emphasis here is commitment, because that is where the crux of the matter lies. For we all know that on both sides of the Atlantic, champions of the liberation cause of the oppressed people have come and gone for a century. But in 1971 we are still discussing liberation! President Milton Obote addressing an international Student Conference at Kakerere two years ago stated the point I am trying to put across here to the effect that many leaders spoke eloquently in exaltation of Socialism, but when their pronouncements were measured against actual performance, we find many at the bottom of the heap.

Performance is the only index of that commitment to liberation. We must bear in mind the colonialists and neo-colonialists the world over are committed and determined to stay on top. They maintain their hold on us violently or potentially so. I am reminded of a World Council of Churches Conference where the subject of racism was discussed. In an impassioned speech, one eminent black Church leader exalted the contribution of the Black power movement in the U.S. He observed that it was when the racists were confronted with their own medicine - violence, that is - that they woke up for the first time to the fact that the black man means business when he asserts his right of equality.

For us, the, when we talk about development, whether it be in Tanzania's Ujamaa Villages or in the ghettos of New York, the question of identifying the problem no longer arises; the identification needed is the commitment required of us to seek the necessary solutions, and the means to achieve the same.

Finally, there is one word of caution. Mwalimu Nyerere has warned that we do not become Socialists by merely declaring ourselves so, regardless of the brand or degree of our Socialism. And here I should point out that there are many of us who profess Socialism and actually believe we are. It is one thing to profess an ideology, and quite another thing to put it into practice. I gather the words Ujamaa and Uhuru have almost become household words among the militants in the U.S. The road to Socialism, I dare say, is a very difficult one for us here in Africa, and may be more so for those who live in the U.S. The entrenchment of capitalism presents formidable odds. The danger may well be that Socialism might be the successful weapon to wrench an equitable share of the economic prosperity, but the beneficiaries might remain capitalists in other respects.

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I warned earlier that these definitions would be lengthy. Perhaps it was not desirable, but for me it was desirable to establish the socialist base on which our endeavours in rural development owe their foundation. Needless to say, at the end of this presentation, it will transpire, if it hasn't already, that this paper was geared more to the participants from the U.S., although I have no illusions that some of you are more versed with Tanzania's ideology and the political writings of Mwalimu Nyerere than some of us Tanzanians.

II. Now let me turn to the substantive subject of this presentation, namely Rural Development. I propose to limit myself to the Tanzanian approach, which for our purpose you may call it a model, if you like. To be sure, the very title of this presentation specifically refers this discussion to Tanzania.

By rural development, we in Tanzania are not in the strict sense saying that our development endeavours are directed exclusively to the rural sector. The truth is that in the structure of the economy we inherited from the colonial past, there was a great imbalance in the development between the rural and urban areas in favour of the latter. A disproportionate distribution of the nation's wealth benefited the urban man at the expense of the peasant. Being an agricultural country, it is always the peasants whose labour realizes the lion's share of the country's foreign exchange. These same earnings go in to pay for the importation of all the varieties of hardware and luxury goods whose benefits are largely the endowment of the urban man as is manifestly clear to all of us meeting here in this setting of this capital city.

Under colonialism the quality of life and the outlook of the urban man was the ideal image or symbol of development. True the peasant was not completely disregarded, but what came to his way in the way of development was crumbs out of yet another set of crumbs which the so-called "urban native" got.

Unfortunately on the dawn of independence, we inherited from the colonialists, the same attitude and assumption of what development meant for Tanzanians. We gauged our progress in terms of what can be seen of a town or city standing located in the middle of poverty-stricken population immediately adjacent to the township boundary. I remember how I reacted when some of my American hosts would ask me: "Do you wear clothes, or shoes or do you eat meat in Africa, or do you drink beer in Africa?" If my questioner were a factory worker or labourer, my reaction to any of the questions was sympathetic and understanding. I would even go out of my way to explain politely. But if the questioner was a person with at least high school education, I simply marvelled at his 'incredible' ignorance. I judged our development by what

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I understood and perhaps believed were the essential ingredients of development. In other words, the degree of development was measured by the apparent (relative) degree of affluence and tastes, for example, buildings, clothings, cars, electrification, cinema halls and so forth. These represent the variety of physical appearance a foreign visitor observes if his visit were restricted to the main towns or major trading centres. But alas, I was only preoccupied with what is applicable to 5% of the entire peasant population. The other 95% or more rural peasant did not feature in the mind. This is significant because I believe majority of those who were a product of colonial education had this mentality, may be because we were taught those were the values to aspire for. What is even more absurd is that none of those things we seemed to cherish - business, factories, big buildings - were owned by our own people. They were all in the hands of foreign capitalists. Our own people dwelt in the poor quarters of the towns. (For the purpose of clarity, rural development in the context of this presentation implicitly includes urban development too).

The point I am labouring here is that the meaning of development can be grossly misrepresented. The colonial assumptions about development for the colonized was entirely wrong. In this connection, I am not even saying that rural development excludes urban development. On the contrary, rural development is inclusive of both. It is only a question of emphasis and choosing which of the two predominates.

At this point, I should state that so far as the question of defining development is concerned, it applies to all of us from both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. Perhaps I will also be assisted by this Conference to learn how you define development for the oppressed brothers in the United States, an otherwise highly developed environment. This question is also important in establishing our solidarity; our cause is the same, but for our brothers in the U.S., I believe there is a whole set of variables. To name only two: As oppressed people, they are minority, while the African peasant is in the overwhelming majority. Political and Economic questions may be more dominant to different degrees. Here in Tanzania we have the political power. Our struggle in the context of this Conference is how to retain that power, and to consolidate it through development. Our brothers in the U.S. are struggling to wrench more of it from white oppressors.

In the Arusha Declaration, thanks to Mwalimu Nyerere and TANU (the Party), we here in Tanzania have redefined the meaning and goals for our development, marking a radical departure from the foundations we inherited from the colonial past. The Arusha Declaration makes three points clear which are relevant to rural development:-

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- (1) It has laid down the basis and rationale placing the means of production firmly in the hands of the people.
- (2) It directs that the nation's resources go in to develop the people.
- (3) All the same, money is not the instrument of development for a poor country. The people and their hard work are the fundamental means of development.

So much then for the theoretical foundations for rural development. Now let us turn our attention to the practical implementation or rural development programmes. To give the correct interpretation and emphasis consistent with the Arusha Declaration, what used to be known as community development was renamed rural development. However, now that I have mentioned the more familiar expression for professional workers, i.e. community development, that should not lead us to see rural development in the narrow context of the conventional social worker or even my own occupation. Rural development embodies a variety of development concerns of the people, namely social, economic, cultural and political.

It goes without saying that Tanzania, as with most African countries, is an agricultural country. Therefore the economic base is agriculture. Hence in the economic field our prime concern is to raise and improve agricultural production and marketing. This is in the domain of agriculture, and let me for the time being leave the subject at that.

The social, cultural and political aspects are extremely important dimensions of rural development. There cannot be any real development of the people without the political will. The political will does not come to people of its own free will. Therefore political education is an integral part of the development and learning process. Through political education the man is educated about his social, economic and political rights as well as his obligations as part of his corporate membership in the community. Our experience here in Tanzania is that proper political education creates in the man national consciousness (not narrow nationalism) and motivates him to play his part, be it in carrying out a self-help or in drawing up economic plans for the village.

We are in the midst of a revolution. It was Aristotle, I believe, who once pointed out that there were three classes of people: the wealthy capitalists, the middle-class who were neither at the top nor at the bottom, and the proletariat.

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He went on to postulate that revolutions are likely to be brought about by the middle class, because they understand their lot, and think they can get to the top. But the proletariat class was so low and badly off that they did not know how badly off they were, so that one could not dream they could bring about a revolution. The majority of our peasants belong to the proletariat class, and the only way to make the revolution their own is to educate them. Nor can a realistic revolution be brought about unless they are made participants of the struggle. We in Tanzania have made a start in that direction. A paper on Black Education in the U.S. will be read at this Conference. That is indicative that we have both come to the realization of the need for education.

III. Let us examine the concept of Ujamaa Villages. The majority of Tanzania's peasants are scattered. You can observe this fact at any time you fly across the country. It is very difficult in such mode of scattered existence to bring social services - education, medical, water supply - especially with very limited resources at the country's command, and still less to carry out extension services in agriculture, community development, etc.

The simple rationale of introducing Ujamaa Villages is to enable peasants to live in fairly closely-knit and planned communities. That way it is easier and more economic to bring them the varieties of social and extension services. One shallow water well or bore-hole situated in the village or a water supply pipe-line can serve the one village conveniently. Thousands of man-hours are wasted by women trekking several miles to collect a few litres of water. Children do not have to trek ten miles a day to and from school. One health nurse or community development worker can be situated so as to serve one or more villages.

The Arusha Declaration has clearly stated that money is not the means of Development for a poor country. It is the peoples' hard work. It is, however, not meant here that money is not necessary. What is meant is that little sums of available funds can be allocated for relatively small projects. The people initiate the projects and government can supplement their efforts with needed financial assistance to pay for a needed project, component that the peasants can afford, e.g. a few bags of cement, transport, roofing timber, iron sheets and the like.

Ujamaa villages are so called precisely because they are Ujamaa Communities. Like a family, they pool their resources and manpower together to carry out their day to day work. They share in cultivating the land, they share in planning their work and drawing up economic programmes. They also divide the proceeds each according to his labour. The more progressive Ujamaa villages

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divide, say the crops each according to his needs. But each must work. Ideally, the aged and disabled are taken care of by the community.

The concept of Village democracy is an essential factor. Villagers set up their form of government, and each participates fully in the government of the village, under a constitution drawn up by themselves. The Government in turn provides the technical services, such as economic advisers, agriculturists and the like.

In fact, Ujamaa Villages are also economic units. The development of an Ujamaa Village is revolutionary, and the ultimate goal is that they will become fully fledged cooperatives. Then they will acquire registration as associations. By then they will have become economically viable, and with registration they will be credit-worthy and may contract loans from financial houses. This stage is necessary because creditors need guarantees. It is, of course, an obvious fact that the matter of credit is solely the business of a creditor and borrower. Here Government does not come in. So when an Ujamaa Village reaches the registration stage, that is also the full flowering stage of self-reliance for that village.

The blue-print of Ujamaa Villages makes a great deal of sense. Government is committed to assist Ujamaa Villages come to the flowering stage. Certainly it does not mean that those peasants who have not joined Ujamaa Villages are being neglected. It is a question of who gets the priority with limited resources. It is common knowledge that a financial donor's principle is to naturally give priority to any well-planned, well-conceived project or programmes, and the Tanzania Government is no exception to this principle, although in this context I am not suggesting or likening the Tanzania Government to a benevolent donor. This principle is an economic reality of allocating limited resources. An Ujamaa village has the organization and hence the potential to present a more attractive plan technically than the traditional Tanzania village.

These, then, are the essential features of Ujamaa Village. The most practical way to understand Ujamaa Villages is to live and work in one. But one must be prepared to work.

IV. What is the role of the Church as a medium for social change? The subject of service or diakonia in the Church has been subject of many studies, theologization and research. I do not propose to engage in those studies here. Let us start at one point we all know, namely the Church in Tanzania has been engaged in social service from the time Christianity was first planted here in Tanzania. The Church has made a sizeable contribution to education, medical work etc. This, of course, has been traditional function of the Missions. If the Church's role until now has been

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traditional, the question is, has her presence contributed in any significant way to Tanzania's social change, or Africa for that matter? It does not require a social scientist to prove that the Church has contributed some impact on Tanzania's social change.

Are we or are we not questioning the role of the Church as a medium for social change? I take the middle course, and assume, as Churchmen, we are searching for the truth. In that case it is healthy attitude.

Tanzania, as do most African countries, is going through a revolutionary social change. I believe the Church is part of this revolutionary change, because a revolution in the true sense of the word does not leave a stone unturned. As a former career worker of the Church, I was, and still am keenly aware of the Church's place in this revolution. I can testify that the Church accepts the revolutionary change. She is convinced about the necessity to seek social justice, and nothing short of revolution will bring about the desired ends.

I think it is only right to acknowledge that position of the Church - and here I am speaking of the African Church. The Church's teachings on social justice are eloquently clear. First of all, the scriptures. There has been studies after studies since early times of Christianity enunciating on the Church's responsibility to the people of God. In recent years the Papal Encyclical on the Development of the Peoples has elicited much discussion throughout Christendom, and new revolutionary stands taken. Here in Tanzania, Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches have initiated studies or discussions, or both and subsequently took specific stands following the Arusha Declaration.

But it must also honestly be pointed out that the Church is normally passive. This may be partly attributed to tradition, and partly due to apparent anti-clericalism by some militants within the revolutionary movement. The passiveness of the Church has sometimes earned her the suspicion by some of the militants.

While the scriptures and the teachings are very clear, and revolutionary, the African Church has not been able to exert the lead. I sometimes say privately, how consistent of the Church if the Arusha Declaration had been authored by the Church. This is not a mere expression of sentiment, but there is so much the Church has said in the past consistent with the Arusha Declaration.

Some present day "prophets" have warned that the African Church will lose out if she does not exercise her apostolic role while she has a chance, essentially because the Church is trailing the momentum of the revolution. In this connection, the strides the Black Churchmen are playing in the U.S. is a welcome demonstration.

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In practical terms, the African Church, apart from financial resources available largely from her supporting "parent" Mission(s) abroad, could pioneer in more aggressive engagement in all spheres of national activity. I should not be understood to suggest proselytization - there are rules for proselytization in this country - but a disinterested but passionate engagement in the cause of progress and development. The Church should now search for revolutionary ways to allocate its resources, both financial and manpower in keeping with the trends and emphasis of development.

There are still sizeable amounts of money coming through the Church to the development of the nation. But most such funds are too tied to the traditional ways - maintaining the hospitals, schools and the like. Quite often the Mission "bosses" are the ones who are unwilling to take on a pioneering spirit, and say 50% of our annual grants will be undesignated and may go to support specific projects and programmes of Ujamaa Villages or rural training service - at the discretion of the local Church. Increasingly, foreign missionaries are not finding general assignments, apart from certain specialist or expert jobs. Time has now come for foreign mission to support the services of indigenous Tanzanians. In other respects, the Church is being urged to move out of its institutionalism and become more itinerant, as did the Nazarene Lord of the Church. Many more practical examples can be enumerated.

In closing, I want to say this Conference between African Church Leaders is first of its kind. I do not want to presume or foretell what new relationships will be forged from the Dar-es-Salaam Conference. I think that is why we are looking ahead to the recommendations of this Conference, as well as what can be carried forward out of personal contacts and ties established here. However, in the context of the role of the Church as a medium for social change, a resolve should go forth from here: That the African Church should examine and seek ways of being more relevant to her present environment. As for the guests, when you return home, continue your endeavours to seek social change, notably in the existing structures at home, and including the Mission societies and boards - those to whom our mutual friend Canon Burgess Carr has referred to as the Mission "Colonial Offices". Your Pan African Skills Project is your practical demonstration with our solidarity, and a break-through in the age-old systematic exclusion of Black Americans from Service in Africa by both the Government and Church establishments. However, let me caution you: The PAS Project must continually seek relevance and new meanings as it seeks to serve Africa. Otherwise any good thing has the potential to become static and ultimately to destroy itself. We can learn much from history.

Thank You



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PAS PROJECT STAFF

M. Amani
I. Davis
Olu Hassan-Ali
G. C. Horne
Patrice Wagner

New York Headquarters

475 Riverside Drive
Room 576
New York, New York 10027
Phone 212-870-2297

International Office

P.O. Box 3475
Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania
Phone - 50213

I would like more information about PAS including an application. My resume is enclosed.

I would like to make a contribution to this worthwhile project.

Please reply to:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

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THE PAN AFRICAN SKILLS PROJECT

The Pan African Skills Project began operation in January, 1970. In the three years of our existence, PAS has recruited hundreds of Afro-Americans with technical and nation-building skills for committed service to the development of Africa and has placed a number of these Brothers and Sisters in actual employment situations in the East-African nation of Tanzania.

It is important to understand the rationale behind the existence of PAS and its relationship to the development and advancement of an independent, strong, and self-reliant Africa.

The decade of the 1960's generated the fervent struggles for national independence waged throughout colonial Africa and it spawned the accompanying interest and solidarity of Afro-Americans with these struggles. But at the onset of these newly-won political freedoms, the newly emergent nations found themselves tied to the same patterns of economic dominance and exploitation at the hands of Western colonial powers that had characterized their earlier relationships. In short, flag independence had been won by African nations, but economic self-determination and self-reliance were not yet assured.

It is here that the role of Afro-Americans is critical in the development of that self-reliance: Black people in America constitute not only the second largest group of African people in the world, but we possess scientific and technical skills in far greater abundance than the developing nations that do not have the facilities to train skilled personnel for their economic needs. We have learned much from our four centuries of struggle inside the richest and most powerful nation in the world, and while we do not pretend to be capable of determining Africa's path of development, we feel that the contribution and sharing of these skills can help African people throughout the world to consolidate and intensify our common struggle against capitalist and imperialist domination.

PAS, though is not to be classified as a service for Black expatriates or servants of American foreign policy or interests. We have witnessed the intense efforts of the United States government to use Blacks in America as the new tool for the introduction of capitalism and class

contradictions to the motherland. Black expatriates come to Africa to seek their fortunes and then leave, taking considerable sums of badly-needed funds with them. Moreover, they frequently do not accomplish what they are paid to do. Pan African Skills workers, on the other hand, are hired for local African salaries and are not subsidized by anyone. Since we feel that knowledge must be passed on and not hoarded by anyone, we seek not mere employment but the opportunity to pass on vitally needed nation-building skills to our African Brothers and Sisters.

What is PAS? How does it recruit?

Quite simply, the Pan African Skills Project is a recruitment agency. Our objective has been clear from the beginning; to actively recruit those Afro-Americans who have knowledge, technical skills, and the commitment needed to assist in the building of truly independent African nations. We feel that the ultimate self-determination and self-reliance of Black people throughout the world should be the end for which we struggle, and that the economic independence of Africa is the first step toward that end.

Pan African Skills recruitment efforts are organized and implemented by volunteer regional recruitment officers throughout the United States and a full-time Chief Recruitment Officer who works from PAS headquarters in New York. It is their job to publicize the Project in their respective areas and solicit the applications of interested and qualified people.

Applicants are asked to submit the following documents to the Pan African Skills Project office in New York:

- 1.) Five (5) copies of a current resume
- 2.) Five (5) copies of two (2) letters of recommendation from former employers
- 3.) Three (3) recent passport photographs
- 4.) Five (5) copies of undergraduate and graduate transcripts
- 5.) Five (5) copies of any license, diploma, or qualifying certificate

After all these documents are received in good order by the New York office, and after the documents have been examined to ascertain the applicant's skill and ideological commitment, he is given an official employment form from the appropriate African government (For employment with the Tanzanian government, an additional personal identification form is given). After all these documents and forms are completed by the applicant and sent to the PAS office, they are forwarded to the appropriate African government agencies for processing. Upon acceptance, a contract is written and presented to the Pan African Skills Project office for the applicant's letter of acceptance and certificate of health. The three-day orientation session and group departure is then arranged by the New York office.

Who does PAS recruit?

As mentioned earlier, PAS is a recruitment service that seeks Afro-Americans with scientific, technical, and trade skills for work in the progressive nations on the African continent. We seek individuals who are unalterably opposed to racism, capitalism, and imperialism and have correct attitudes about socialism and its relevance to the liberation and development of Africa.

The following is a partial listing of the categories of skilled personnel needed at this time:

- Agronomists
- Soil Scientists
- Hydrologists
- Engineers
- Teachers (science & math)
- Nurses
- Medical Doctors
- X-Ray and Medical Technologists
- Architects
- Mining Engineers
- City and Regional Planners
- Economists
- Geologists
- Surveyors
- Foresters

We warmly welcome Brothers and Sisters with these and similar skills to the Pan African Skills Project.

Where does PAS operate?

The Pan African Skills Project currently operates in cooperation with the government of the United Republic of Tanzania, a nation whose commitment to Pan African liberation and social development has been the vanguard of all of East Africa and, in many ways, the entire continent. PAS is also currently developing relationships with Zambia and Somalia; we have received a number of requests by Afro-Americans for service in Zambia already, and we hope to begin actual recruitment operations with both countries in the very near future.

Who sponsors PAS?

The Pan African Skills Project is an independent service staffed by and committed to Black people. *We wish to emphasize that we are not now, nor have we ever been, nor will we ever be, affiliated with the United States Government or any of its agencies.* PAS receives its operational budget from independent church groups and from the contributions of concerned and committed Afro-American Brothers and Sisters who see the significance and success of our work.

CATEGORIES OF JOBS

Candidates are required in the following categories:

1. Professional workers with at least *two years experience*
2. Skilled workers
3. Agriculture
4. Teachers and University Lecturers especially in science subjects and mathematics

Medical Doctors, Accountants, Dentists, Pharmacists, Civil Engineers, Electrical Engineers, Mechanical Engineers, Water Engineers, Veterinarians, Surveyors, Architects, Fishery Experts, Teachers of Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Zoology and Mathematics are in demand.

CONDITIONS OF SERVICE

SALARY

Salaries are determined by the Government depending on the post to be filled. Officers will be paid salary plus pay addition as at present.

LENGTH OF TOUR

A tour of not less than 24 months residential service.

LEAVE

Leave at the rate of 3 days per month at the end of tour of service.

CASUAL LEAVE

Casual leave is at the rate of 16 days per tour to be taken during the contract period and if not taken will be forfeited.

PASSAGES

Passages will be by air for the officer, wife and all dependent children under the age of 21 years from the airport, if any, in the state or province, etc., which is his home and Africa.

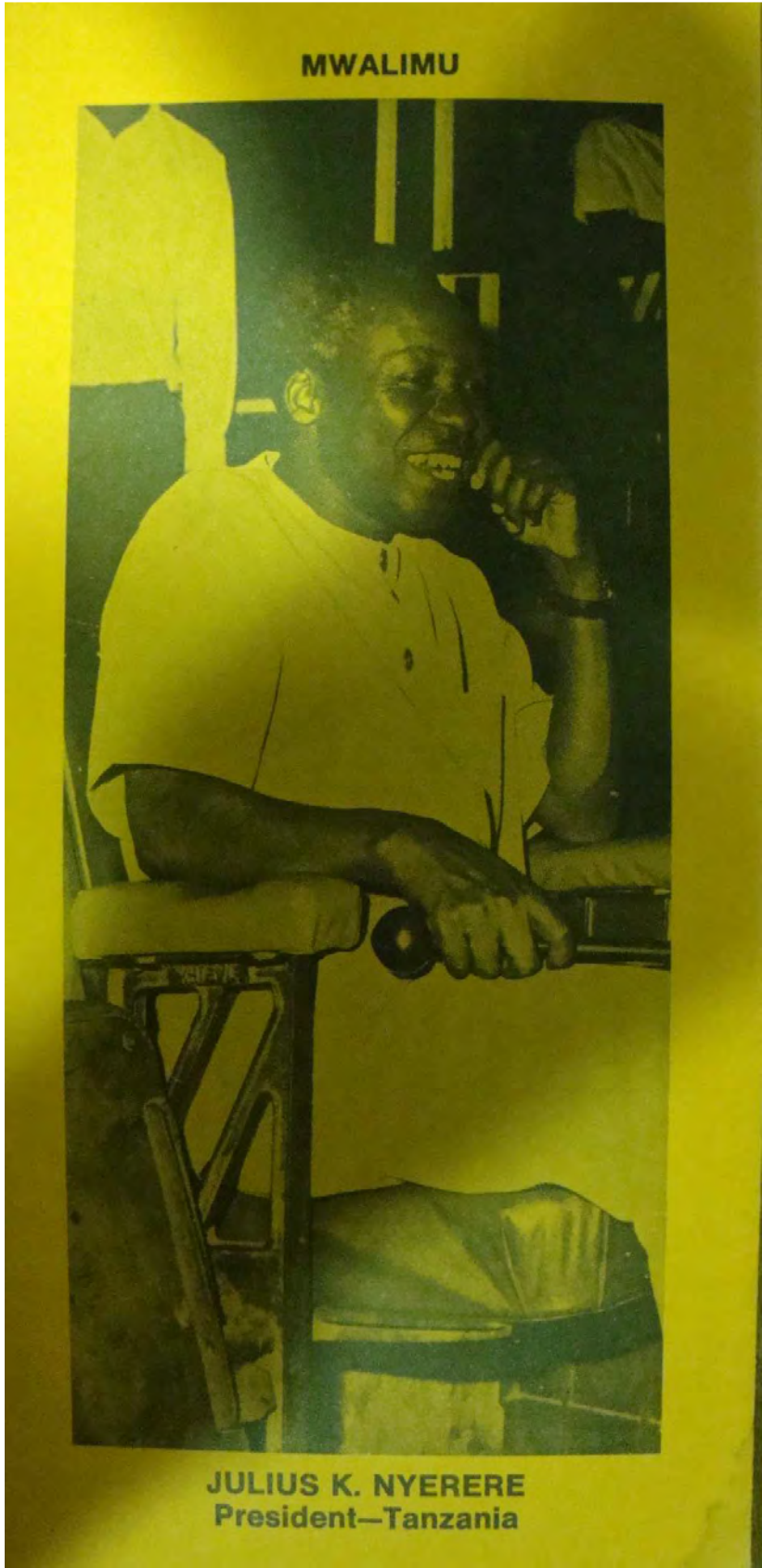
BAGGAGE

In respect of journeys on first appointments and completion of contracts where officers are not returning for further service a baggage allowance of 50 kilos unaccompanied by air or 80 cu. ft. by sea will be granted. In cases of journeys on leave, the excess baggage allowance will be 25 kilos as unaccompanied air baggage by air or 40 cu. ft. unaccompanied baggage by sea.

HOUSING

The Officer would be treated as entitled to housing. This means that the Government undertakes to accommodate him but should make it clear that it is not possible to provide a quarter to an officer immediately on his arrival owing to the acute shortage of quarters. On arrival in Africa he may have to live in a hotel while awaiting accommodation.

ANNEXE 10-7/ Irving B. Davis Papers/ Pan African Skills Project Collection SCM 98-33 BOX 1 (1)
Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York.



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DAVENPORT COLLEGE
YALE UNIVERSITY

November 6, 1970

Dear Mr. Davis,

I am presently a sophomore at Yale University. Next year I hope to go to East Africa under the auspices of the Five-Year B.A. Program of Yale.

The aim of the program is for me to live and work in an area whose culture is markedly different from that of the United States. Yale will provide me with travel expenses, help me arrange my visa, and give me any necessary training before I leave. However it is my responsibility to secure a job in the country to which I go. It has been suggested to me that I write to you concerning job openings.

I would be available to work from summer 1971 to summer 1972. I am presently receiving language training in Swahili. I've had some experience in teaching lower school mathematics and would be able to teach math, physics, or chemistry through the high school level. I've also had some technical training in drafting and machine shop work, and am part-time employed as a printer on a letterpress. In addition I could receive training, for example in public health, before I leave the States. My salary could be minimal, as long as it covered my living expenses.

If you wish to know anything more about me or the program, I'd be glad to send you a resume and any other information you might want.

I'd greatly appreciate it if you would write me of any suggestions you might have on where I could secure a job in Tanzania.

Thanks very much for considering this letter.

Sincerely yours,

Robert Luff

INDEX

INQUIRES - 1970

<u>NAME</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>PROFESSION/Field</u>	<u>DATE</u>
Loretta Waters ✓ 1	Michigan	Education	March-1970
Myril Lovell ✓ 2	Wash. D.C.	Education	March 1970
Thomas Tomillion ✓ 3	Wash. D.C.	Education	March 1970
Fannie Webb ✓ 4	Ohio	Sociology	March 1970
Robert Butler ✗ 5	Illinois	Sociology	April 1970
Ronald Doswell ✓ 6	Wash. D.C.	Sociology	April 1970
Henry Jackson ✓ 7	Wash. D.C.	Education	
Frank Wheeler ✓ 8	Tennessee	Industry	
Lillian Dove ✓ 9	N. Y.	Nursing	
Mary Lewis ✓ 10	Massachusetts	Nursing	
Irene Darby ✓ 11	N. Jersey	Nursing	
Emma Evans ✓ 12	Ohio	Nursing	
Dwain Price ✓ 13	Ohio	Nursing	
Josephine Robinson ✓ 14	Ohio	Seamstress	
Linda Lucas ✓ 15	California	Medical	April 1970
+ Mary Ashley ✓ 16	California	Public Health	May 1970
Lloyd Weaver ✓ 17	New York	Journalism	
Richard Wiggins ✓ 18	New York	Radio Engineer	
Abel Jones ✓ 19	New York	TV-Radio Producer	
Ronald Boyce ✗ 20	New York	Communications	August 1970
Osbourne Brown ✓ 21	New York	Communications	
David Reed ✓ 22	Ohio	Mechanical Engineer	
Samuel Dove ✓ 23	New York	Communications	

ANNEXE 12-2/ Irving B. Davis Papers/ Pan African Skills Project Collection SCM 98-33 BOX 1 (1)
Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York.

NAME	STATE	PROFESSION/FIELD
1. Ashley, Mary	California	Public Health
2. Bridgewater, Francis	New Jersey	Commercial Art
3. Boyce, Donald	New York	Communications
4. Brown , Darlene	Ohio	Editor
5. Brown, Donald	Ohio	Mechanical Engineer
6. Brown, Osbourne	New York	Communications
7. Butler, Robert	Illinois	Sociology
8. Carter, John	Ohio	Welder
9. Darby, Irene	New Jersey	Nursing
10. Dorzier, Clarice	Illinois	Legal Secretary
11. Doswell, RONALD	Washington D.C.	Sociology
12. DOVE, Lillian	New York	Nursing
13. DOVE, Samuel	New York	Communications
14. EVANS, Emma	Ohio	Nursing
15. FENNER, CAROLYN	New Jersey	Airline Ticket Agent
16. Gomillion, Thomas	Washington D.C.	Education
17. Hodge, LINDA	New York	Printer
18. HUDSON, VIVIAN	New Jersey	Airline Ticket Agent
19. JACKSON, Henry	Washington, D.C.	Education
20. Jones, Abel	New York	TV-RADIO Producer
21. Jones, LEONARD	New York	Accountant
22. Kimborough, Alden	Washington D.C.	Education
23. Lovell, Myril	Washington D.C.	Education
24. LEWIS, MARY ^{LINDA LUCAS}	Massachusetts	Nursing
25. Nelson, Lawrence	Ohio	Bricklayer
26. Price, Gwen	Ohio	Nursing
27. REED, DAVID	Ohio	Mechanical Engineer
28. RENICK, Lorene	Michigan	Secretary
29. Rhodes, Danielle	New Jersey	Education
30. Roberts, James	Ohio	Welder
31. Robinson, Josephine	Ohio	Seamstress

ANNEXE 12-3/ Irving B. Davis Papers/ Pan African Skills Project Collection SCM 98-33 BOX 1 (1)
Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>PROFESSION/FIELD</u>	<u>DATE</u>
1. Shley, Mary	California	Public Health	
2. Bridgewater, Francis	New Jersey	Commercial Art	
3. Boyce, Donald	New York	Communications	
4. Brown , Darlene	Ohio	Editor	
5. Brown, Donald	Ohio	Mechanical Engineer	
6. Brown, Osbourne	New York	Communications	
7. Butler, Robert	Illinois	Sociology	
8. Carter, John	Ohio	Welder	
9. Darby, Irene	New Jersey	Nursing	
10. Dorzier, Clarice	Illinois	Legal Secretary	
11. Doswell, RONALD	Washington D.C.	Sociology	
12. DOVE, Lillian	New York	Nursing	
13. DOVE, Samuel	New York	Communications	
14. EVANS, Emma	Ohio	Nursing	
15. FENNER, Carolyn	New Jersey	Airline Ticket Agent	
16. Gomillion, Thomas	Washington D.C.	Education	
17. Hodge, LINDA	New York	Printer	
18. Hudson, VIVIAN	New Jersey	Airline Ticket Agent	
19. JACKSON, Henry	Washington, D.C.	Education	
20. Jones, Abel	New York	TV-RADIO Producer	
21. JONES, LENOARD	New York	Accountant	
22. Kimborough, Alden	Washington D.C.	Education	
23. Lovell, Myril	Washington D.C.	Education	
24. Lewis, MARY ^{Lucas}	Massachusetts	Nursing	
25. Nelson, Lawrence	Ohio	Bricklayer	
26. Price, Gwen	Ohio	Nursing	
27. REED, DAVID	Ohio	Mechanical Engineer	
28. RENICK, Lotene	Michigan	Secretary	
29. Rhodes, Danielle	New Jersey	Education	
30. Roberts, James	Ohio	Welder	
31. Robinson, Josephine	Ohio	Seamstress	

APPENDIX-1

INQUIRES - 1970

<u>NAME</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>PROFESSION/FIELD</u>	<u>DATE</u>
cut Laretta Waters ✓ 1	Michigan	Education	March-1970
Myril Lovell ✓ 2	Wash. D.C.	Education	March 1970
Thomas Tomillion ✓ 3	Wash. D.C.	Education	March 1970
Fannie Webb ✓ 4	Ohio	Sociology	March 1970
Robert Butler ✗ 5	Illinois	Sociology	April 1970
Ronald Doswell ✓ 6	Wash. D.C.	Sociology	April 1970
Henry Jackson ✓ 7	Wash. D.C.	Education	
Frank Wharden ✓ 8	Tennessee	Industry	
mi Lillian Dove 9	N.Y.	Nursing	
Mary Lewis ✓ 10	Massachusetts	Nursing	
Irene Darley ✓ 11	N. Jersey	Nursing	
Emma Evans ✓ 12	Ohio	Nursing	
Queen Price ✓ 13	Ohio	Nursing	
Josephine Robinson ✓ 14	Ohio	Seamstress	
Lida Lucas ✓ 15	California	Medical	April 1970
+ Mary Ashley ✓ 16	California	Public Health	May 1970
Lloyd Weaver ✓ 17	New York	Journalism	
Richard Wiggins ✓ 18	New York	Radio Engineer	
Abel Jones ✓ 19	New York	TV-Radio Producer	
Ronald Boyce ✗ 20	New York	Communications	August 1970
ma Osborne Brown ✓ 21	New York	Communications	
David Reed ✓ 22	Ohio	Mechanical Engineer	
Samuel Dove ✓ 23	New York	Communications	

ANNEXE 12-5/ Irving B. Davis Papers/ Pan African Skills Project Collection SCM 98-33 BOX 1 (1)
Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York.

NAME	STATE	PROFESSION/FIELD		
1. Richard Riley	Georgia	Business Administrator	X	June 1972 ✓
2. Oezie Henderson	Michigan	Medical Doctor	X	August 1971
3. Jean Davis	New York	Nursing Officer	X	May 1971
4. K. Wendell Tullis	Georgia	Structural Engineering	X	June 1971
5. Mrs. Beatrice Weiss	Wisconsin	Histologist	X	June 1971
6. William Franklin	California	Highway Engineer	X	Jan 1971
7. Joe Brooks	California	—	X	May 1971
8. Emily Campanella	Massachusetts	Math Teacher	X	May 1972 ✓
9. Ronald Gibson	Virginia	Sociology	X	May 1972 ✓
10. Sylvester Reese	New York	Math Teacher	X	April 1972 ✓
11. Marilyn Holifield	Mass	student	X	Dec. 1971
12. Mrs Mrs Walter Smith	Michigan	—	X	Dec. 1971
13. Charlotte Brown	ILLINOIS	PHD Foreign Langs.	X	Dec. 1971
14. Monique Balden	New York	African Studies	X	April 1972 ✓
15. George Baker	Ill.	student	X	March 1972 ✓
16. Mae Ogletree	Mich	Home Economics	X	July 1971

ANNEXE 12-6/ Irving B. Davis Papers/ Pan African Skills Project Collection SCM 98-33 BOX 1 (1)
Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York.

NAME	STATE			
17) William Sanders	S ✓ Michigan	Teacher (education)	X	August, 1971
18) Diane Wayne	W ✓ New York	Home Economics	X	Aug. 1971
19) James Warrett	G ✓ Michigan	Accounting	X	Sept. 1971
20) Gerald Benjamin	B ✓ Wash D.C. ✓	Heavy Equipment Operator	X	Oct. 1971
21) Thomas Countee	C ✓ Massachusetts ✓	Comptroller	X	April 1971
22) James Dilday	D ✓ Massachusetts	Student	X	Oct. 1971
23) Elizabeth Hale	H ✓ Conn.	Ed. Adm.	X	March 1971
24) Mr Kenneth Hale	H ✓ Conn.	Anthropologists	X	March 1971
25) Rosa Black	B ✓ Virginia	Architecture	X	Sept. 1971
26) Cleatrice Campbell	C ✓ Ill.	Sociology	X	March 1971
27) MADISON CARTER	C Florida	—	X	June 1972
28) Theolia Carter	C Florida	—	X	June 1972
29) Diane Felton	F New York	—	X	Jun 1972
30) Bob Johnson Roberson	R Pilot Calif.	Pilot	X	May 1972
31) Carol Curry	C New York	Sociology	X	May 1972
32) Jeff Nishi	N New York	Architecture	X	June 1972

(1-77)

ANNEXE 12-7/ Irving B. Davis Papers/ Pan African Skills Project Collection SCM 98-33 BOX 1 (1)
Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York.

LISTING OF CANDIDATES
PAN-AFRICAN SKILLS PROJECT ORIENTATION
Stony Point, New York
February 11, 1971

NAME	POSITION IN TANZANIA	CITY AND STATE
1. Adisa Douglas	School Teacher	New York, New York
2. Earnest Danner	Bio-chemist	Montclair, New Jersey
3. Zenobia Danner	Insurance Specialist (NDC)	Montclair, New Jersey
4. Madilene Danner*		
5. Millie Dixon	Nursing Tutor	South Bend, Indiana
6. Kimberly Dixon*		
7. Donna Snellings	Math Teacher	New York, New York
8. Richard Wiggins	Electronics Technician and Television	White Plains, New York
9. Marian Wiggins	Seamstress and Dressmaker	White Plains, New York
10. Bob Abbot	Mechanic	Harvey, Illinois
11. Rose Abbot	Tax Officer	Harvey, Illinois
12. Rosalind Abbot*		

*Children

ANNEXE 12-8/ Irving B. Davis Papers/ Pan African Skills Project Collection SCM 98-33 BOX 1 (1)
Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York.

LISTING OF CANDIDATES
PAN-AFRICAN SKILLS PROJECT ORIENTATION
Stony Point, New York
February 11, 1971

NAME	POSITION IN TANZANIA	CITY AND STATE
1. Adisa Douglas	School Teacher	New York, New York
2. Earnest Danner	Bio-chemist	Montclair, New Jersey
3. Zenobia Danner	Insurance Specialist (NDC)	Montclair, New Jersey
4. Madilene Danner*		
5. Millie Dixon	Nursing Tutor	South Bend, Indiana
6. Kimberly Dixon*		
7. Donna Snellings	Math Teacher	New York, New York
8. Richard Wiggins	Electronics Technician and Television	White Plains, New York
9. Marian Wiggins	Seamstress and Dressmaker	White Plains, New York
10. Bob Abbot	Mechanic	Harvey, Illinois
11. Rose Abbot	Tax Officer	Harvey, Illinois
12. Rosalind Abbot*		

*Children

<u>CATAGORY</u>		
<u>1. PEOPLE COMMITTED</u>	<u>2. PEOPLE INTERESTED AND PROBABLES</u>	<u>3. GOOD PROSPECTS</u>
Miss D.J.M. - Veterinarian	Mr. I.W. - Engineer	Mr. A.B. - Doctor
Miss I.D. - Nurse & Tech.	Mr. F.I. - Engineer	Miss A.C. - Speech & Drama
Miss B.J.M. - Journalist & Educator	Mr. C.C. - Audio-visual	Miss A.F. - Nurse
Miss J.D. - Secretary	Mrs. B.C. - Journalist	Mr. F.W. - Educator
Miss C.D. - Legal Secretary	Mr. R.B. - Sociologist	Mr. J.J.C. - Machinist
Miss S.G. - Educator	Mr. W.L.S. - Electronic Engineer	Plus about thirty-five or more people of various skills, with whom we've already touched base with in one manner or the other.
Miss M.L. - Educator	Mrs. A.S. - Key punch Orp.	
Mr. W.L. - Electrician	Mr. A.J. - Doctor	
Mrs. B.L. - Key punch Orp.	Mrs. K.J. - Lawyer	
	Mr. R.C. - Audio-visual	
	Mrs. A.C. - Educator	
	Mr. C.C. - Educator	
	Mrs. K.C. - Cook & Child Care Spec.	
	Mr. G.R. - Political Sci.	

Note: Husband*Wife Teams are connected by : [

ENGINEERS

She has been called the sleeping giant. She is the richest continent on the earth in terms of natural resources. For centuries, her resources, both natural and human, have served the Western world. Cheap labor and raw materials from the African continent have served to transform the vast wilderness that was North America and Europe into industrial giants. The development of the West was accomplished at the expense of our motherland. Africa, consistently colonized and neo-colonized, was left ravaged and under-developed, a sleeping giant.

But now, the sleeping giant is awakening. She possesses the potential to build new nations - nations devoid of exploitation, racism, poverty and ignorance. The task that lies ahead is monumental and time is of the essence. The contribution of time, skills and energy towards the liberation and

development of our ancestral homeland must become a major priority and responsibility of African people all over the world. Afro-Americans, instrumental in the building of this nation, have acquired technological and nation-building skills vital to the development of Africa. Afro-Americans who are electrical, mechanical or chemical engineers, metallurgists, geologists, surveyors, etc. can make an important contribution to the development of Africa. New forms of industry and modern production techniques are necessary if Africa is to grow and thrive. You can contribute to the development of something positive and lasting.

SOME TYPICAL JOB REQUESTS

NEEDED: Mechanical engineers to inspect and advise mechanical maintenance procedures in government workshops, pumping stations and hospitals.

NEEDED: Geologists to carry out geophysical surveys for the selection of drilling sites for water supply holes.

HOW TO APPLY:
Send Resume

CONTACT:
Pan African Skills
Project
475 Riverside Drive
Room 576
New York, New York
10027
Phone 212-870-2297

Engineers

MEDICINE

The infant mortality rate for African nations is among the highest in the world. Because many rural areas do not have adequate medical facilities and personnel, many African people will die needlessly from diseases for which there are treatments and/or cures. There are some African countries where you cannot find one orthopedic surgeon, one pediatrician, one eye, ear, nose and throat specialist in the entire country.

The training of much needed medical technicians and the establishment of adequate clinical and hospital facilities for rural residents have become a major priority in the development plans of progressive African nations. The skills of persons in the medical field are badly needed not only in a working capacity, but also in a teaching-training capacity. The contribution of

time, skills and energy towards the development of our ancestral homeland must become a major priority and responsibility of African people all over the world. Afro-Americans, instrumental in the building of this nation, have acquired technological and nation-building skills vital to the development of Africa. Those persons skilled as doctors, dentists, lab technicians, nurses, dental assistants, etc., can be instrumental in developing one of the most valuable resources that a country possesses - its human resources.

SOME TYPICAL JOB REQUESTS

NEEDED: X-ray mechanic to install new x-ray equipment and maintain x-ray facilities in about 30 government hospitals.

NEEDED: Specialist in occupational health to advise the chief medical officer on health care for workers; organize and operate an occupational health service.

NEEDED: Surgeon to perform general surgery in regional hospitals.

HOW TO APPLY:
Send Resume

CONTACT:
Pan African Skills
Project
475 Riverside Drive
Room 576
New York, New York
10027
Phone 212-870-2297

Medical Profession

ARCHITECTS

She has been called the sleeping giant. She is the richest continent on the earth in terms of natural resources. For centuries, her resources, both natural and human, have served the Western world. Cheap labor and raw materials from the African continent have served to transform the vast wilderness that was North America and Europe into industrial giants. The development of the West was accomplished at the expense of our motherland. Africa, consistently colonized and neo-colonized, was left ravaged and under-developed, a sleeping giant.

But now the sleeping giant is awakening. Africa possesses the potential to build new nations - nations devoid of exploitation, racism, poverty and ignorance. The task that lies ahead is monumental and time is of the essence. The contribution of time, skills and energy towards the liberation and development of our ancestral

homeland must become a major priority and responsibility of African people all over the world. Afro-Americans, instrumental in the building of this nation, have acquired nation - building and technological skills vital to the development of Africa.

The concepts of structure and design have always been an important part of African life. The scientific application of these concepts through architecture is needed in Africa now. The PAN AFRICAN SKILLS PROJECT has made it possible for those persons equipped with architectural skills to contribute to the development of our motherland.

SOME TYPICAL JOB REQUESTS

NEEDED: Architect to design all types of public buildings, schools, clinics, etc.

NEEDED: Town planner with architectural background to prepare master plan for a selected town of between 20,000 and 60,000 people, also training of local professional staff.

HOW TO APPLY:

Send Resume

CONTACT:

Pan African Skills
Project
475 Riverside Drive
Room 576
New York, New York
10027
Phone 212-870-2297

Architects

Baggage Allowance 44 pounds

Informing Yourself Read ! Become familiar with East Africa and its people, this will help you to set priorities as to where you would like to visit, what you wish to see and how long you will stay. Some suggested books are:

Thornton Cox, Ed. Travellers Guide to East Africa, Thornton Cox, London, 1970

A concise paperback guide to wildlife and tourist facilities in the East African countries.

Nkrumah, Kwame, Neo-Colonialism - The Last Stage of Imperialism International Publishers, New York, 1965

An astute and detailed analysis of how economic subservience coupled with formal political independence is achieving imperialism in Africa today.

Morel, E.D., The Black Man's Burden, Modern Reader Paperbacks, London, 1969 (reprinted)

Classic history of Africa, describing the techniques used to exterminate, enslave and exploit the Black populations.

Nyerere, Julius K., Ujamaa - Essays on Socialism, Oxford University Press, New York, 1968

The basic principles underlying Tanzania's commitment to Socialism are explained in a straight forward manner by Mwalimu Nyerere.

Language

Although English is widely spoken, a passing familiarity with Swahili is definitely an asset. Several inexpensive paperbacks for beginners in conversational Swahili are available.

Odds 'n Ends

Insect repellent, sunglasses, ample film supply, binoculars, if visiting game parks and a road map which will help in organizing your trip.

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PAN AFRICAN SKILLS

To: Irving Davis and Ollis Douglas
Pan African Skills Project
United States of America

From: Pan African Skills Project
Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Date: January 10, 1973

Re: End of Year Report and Analysis

This report is submitted with the hope that it will help to bring clarity to the status of the Pan African Skills Project there in America and well as here on the continent. This report is written frankly and within the context of the situation that exist at this time.

Pan African Skills Office - Dar es Salaam

Since the opening of the Pan African Skills office in August of 1971, it has assumed a number of functions not directly related to manpower. You are well aware of its use as a head quarters for the Angela Davis Defense Committee, Ad Hoc Committee in Support of the Viet Nameese People, orientation centre for tourist i.e. Heritage group, African Liberation Support Committee and as a clearing house for information and in coming Afro-Americans e.g. our action leads to the President intervening-thus stopping the deportation of Mr. and Mrs Charles Warts.

These activities have complemented our manpower work and they have served to introduce us to a wide variety of contacts as well as keeping our fingers of the pulse of what is going on in the country in general and with Afro-Americans in particular.

We have been able to accomplish these tasks inspite of a number of obstacles that are constantly presenting themselves and endangering the operation. At one time some of us thought the Dar Office was superfluous, but events have proved this to be wrong. (see appendix I). The presence of Chale in Washington and the bureaucracy here necessitate a man to keep things in motion. The replacement of Chale by another person no matter how conscientious will not change the nature of the set up here.

The primary barriers to the effective running of the office are money for office expences e.g. postage, stationery, salaries for the secretary and porter, lights, RENT, water and a lack of equipment e.g. filing cabinets, a duplicating machine, a table top copier, a real type writer and a steady flow of information from the United States on issues affecting us. These are not new needs, but old ones which continue to hamper our operation.

at 125th St., Suite 503
New York, N.Y. 10035.
United States of America
Phone: (212) 862-9828, 866-5116

Regional Office:
Box 3475,
DAR ES SALAAM,
Tanzania, East Africa.
Phone: 28763

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During a recent telephone conversation with Irving we were admonished not to harass and jump on Bill Sutherland. This would be at present a physical impossibility, unless we way laid him in the street or outside his home, because he has not come in the office or contacted either staff member, in person or by phone. This is very depressing in light of the high costs of his services and the deprivation caused by these costs.

A full report on the recruiting drive is needed, because many of our supporters in government were informed of his trip and we are being pressured by Foreign for our annual report. An annual report with no reference to Sutherland couldn't be an annual report in light of Foreign Affairs close involvement e.g. Sutherland's Tanzania passport, constant conferences.

Errors and miscalculations among comrades can not be hidden. They must be discussed at length and understood by all of the staff i.e. cadre. A staff devoid of this frankness will continue to be haunted by the undiscussed matters. The issue of William Sutherland must be discussed and understood by all. Our relationship with him like that with the preachers has proven to be a liability rather than an asset.

Discussion with Bomani

On two occasions we have had extensive discussions with Paul Bomani concerning the Pan African Skills Project and the recruitment of skilled Afro-American manpower. He showed a sincere interest and a profound knowledge of the possible impact of the program on Tanzania's development. We believe his replacement of Rutabanzibwa will both facilitate our work and put more demands on the project to produce.

In these discussions, Bomani expressed his displeasure with the manner in which Chale was handling the question of the recruitment of Afro-American manpower recruitment. He went as far as to state his belief that Chale did not like and distrusted Afro-Americans. We have collected a number of depositions from people here who have been mishandled or misled by Chale. This is a very solid group of people which includes an M.D., an architect/City Planner with a masters degree in both fields, a journalist and teacher husband and wife team, and an artist and teacher husband and wife team. These depositions are being reinforced with letters from Chale to them further documenting his ineptness and chichanery (see appendix II). This information is strictly confidential and has been sent to the State House, Foreign Affairs and Bomani as part of an annual report. This makes it extremely important that we do not allow Chale or any other master bureaucrat, ammunition to use against us. In short we can not allow him to send you any letters citing over sights on your part with copies to treasury and state house.

PAN AFRICAN SKILLS

P.O: Box 3475, DAR ES SALAAM, Tanzania

MAY 20, 1972

Dave,

Here is the report that was sent to Foreign Affairs. I had originally included the proposal that was sent to Rev. Cobb but had to take it out because I did not have the additional 24 shillings that it costed.

The Telephone company has cut off the phone here because the bills has not been paid in Three months.

Bill left for the U.S. yesterday ~~but~~ he should be there by now.

Onward, Brohm

"For the Renewal of Church and Community"

NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF BLACK CHURCHMEN, INCORPORATED

110 East 125th Street, New York, New York 10035 - (212) 862 9628

Bishop Herbert Bell Shaw, D.D. - The Rev. M.L. Wilson, D.D. - Rev. J. Metz Rollins, Jr.
President Chairman Board of Directors Executive Director

October 7, 1970

Dear Brothers/Sisters:

It is my sad and difficult duty to inform you that the dinner scheduled for President Julius Nyerere, at 8 p.m., October 14th at the Church of the Resurrection (R.C.) in Harlem has been cancelled.

On yesterday, October 6th, Brother Irving Davis, was informed by Tanzania's Ambassador Salim that President Nyerere will make no public appearances while in New York City except his address to the United Nations on Thursday, Oct. 15th. Needless to say this was very disappointing to everyone concerned and no amount of argument or persuasion was able to change the situation.

Nevertheless the decision was made to continue to try and raise the sum of \$10,000.00 for the African Liberation Struggle. President Nyerere has granted a private audience with ten selected persons from the ranks of N.C.B.C. and others who have been in on the planning. This meeting will take place on Oct. 14th and every effort is being made to make the presentation at that time.

We, at N.C.B.C., are not disheartened by this sudden change of events and will continue the struggle to support our African brothers in their efforts to become masters of their own destiny.

Peace with Power,

J. Metz Rollins, Jr.

JMR/bbw

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The Arusha Declaration

5 February 1967

The Declaration was discussed and then published in Swahili. This revised English translation clarifies ambiguities which existed in the translation originally issued.

THE ARUSHA DECLARATION AND TANU'S POLICY ON SOCIALISM AND SELF-RELIANCE

PART ONE

The TANU Creed

The policy of TANU is to build a socialist state. The principles of socialism are laid down in the TANU Constitution and they are as follows:

WHEREAS TANU believes:

- (a) That all human beings are equal;
- (b) That every individual has a right to dignity and respect;
- (c) That every citizen is an integral part of the nation and has the right to take an equal part in Government at local, regional and national level;
- (d) That every citizen has the right to freedom of expression, of movement, of religious belief and of association within the context of the law;
- (e) That every individual has the right to receive from society protection of his life and of property held according to law;

- (f) That every individual has the right to receive a just return for his labour;
- (g) That all citizens together possess all the natural resources of the country in trust for their descendants;
- (h) That in order to ensure economic justice the state must have effective control over the principal means of production; and
- (i) That it is the responsibility of the state to intervene actively in the economic life of the nation so as to ensure the well-being of all citizens, and so as to prevent the exploitation of one person by another or one group by another, and so as to prevent the accumulation of wealth to an extent which is inconsistent with the existence of a classless society.

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

- (a) To consolidate and maintain the independence of this country and the freedom of its people;
- (b) To safeguard the inherent dignity of the individual in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;
- (c) To ensure that this country shall be governed by a democratic socialist government of the people;
- (d) To co-operate with all political parties in Africa engaged in the liberation of all Africa;
- (e) To see that the Government mobilizes all the resources of this country towards the elimination of poverty, ignorance and disease;
- (f) To see that the Government actively assists in the formation and maintenance of co-operative organizations;
- (g) To see that wherever possible the Government itself directly participates in the economic development of this country;

The Arusha Declaration

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- (h) To see that the Government gives equal opportunity to all men and women irrespective of race, religion or status;
- (i) To see that the Government eradicates all types of exploitation, intimidation, discrimination, bribery and corruption;
- (j) To see that the Government exercises effective control over the principal means of production and pursues policies which facilitate the way to collective ownership of the resources of this country;
- (k) To see that the Government co-operates with other states in Africa in bringing about African unity;
- (l) To see that Government works tirelessly towards world peace and security through the United Nations Organization.

PART TWO

The Policy of Socialism

(a) *Absence of Exploitation*

A truly socialist state is one in which all people are workers and in which neither capitalism nor feudalism exists. It does not have two classes of people, a lower class composed of people who work for their living, and an upper class of people who live on the work of others. In a really socialist country no person exploits another; everyone who is physically able to work does so; every worker obtains a just return for the labour he performs; and the incomes derived from different types of work are not grossly divergent.

In a socialist country, the only people who live on the work of others, and who have the right to be dependent

upon their fellows, are small children, people who are too old to support themselves, the crippled, and those whom the state at any one time cannot provide with an opportunity to work for their living.

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.

(b) *The Major Means of Production and Exchange are under the Control of the Peasants and Workers*

To build and maintain socialism it is essential that all the major means of production and exchange in the nation are controlled and owned by the peasants through the machinery of their Government and their co-operatives. Further, it is essential that the ruling Party should be a Party of peasants and workers.

The major means of production and exchange are such things as: land; forests; minerals; water; oil and electricity; news media; communications; banks, insurance, import and export trade, wholesale trade; iron and steel, machine-tool, arms, motor-car, cement, fertilizer, and textile industries; and any big factory on which a large section of the people depend for their living, or which provides essential components of other industries; large plantations, and especially those which provide raw materials essential to important industries.

Some of the instruments of production and exchange which have been listed here are already owned or controlled by the people's Government of Tanzania.

(c) *The Existence of Democracy*

A state is not socialist simply because its means of

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production and exchange are controlled or owned by the government, either wholly or in large part. For a country to be socialist, it is essential that its government is chosen and led by the peasants and workers themselves. If the minority governments of Rhodesia or South Africa controlled or owned the entire economies of these respective countries, the result would be a strengthening of oppression, not the building of socialism. True socialism cannot exist without democracy also existing in the society.

(d) Socialism is a Belief

Socialism is a way of life, and a socialist society cannot simply come into existence. A socialist society can only be built by those who believe in, and who themselves practise, the principles of socialism. A committed member of TANU will be a socialist, and his fellow socialists—that is, his fellow believers in this political and economic system—are all those in Africa or elsewhere in the world who fight for the rights of peasants and workers. The first duty of a TANU member, and especially of a TANU leader, is to accept these socialist principles, and to live his own life in accordance with them. In particular, a genuine TANU leader will not live off the sweat of another man, nor commit any feudalistic or capitalistic actions.

The successful implementation of socialist objectives depends very much upon the leaders, because socialism is a belief in a particular system of living, and it is difficult for leaders to promote its growth if they do not themselves accept it.

PART THREE**The Policy of Self-Reliance***We are at War*

TANU is involved in a war against poverty and oppres-

sion in our country; the struggle is aimed at moving the people of Tanzania (and the people of Africa as a whole) from a state of poverty to a state of prosperity.

We have been oppressed a great deal, we have been exploited a great deal and we have been disregarded a great deal. It is our weakness that has led to our being oppressed, exploited and disregarded. Now we want a revolution—a revolution which brings to an end our weakness, so that we are never again exploited, oppressed, or humiliated.

A Poor Man does not use Money as a Weapon

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

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

In brief, our Five-Year Development Plan aims at more food, more education, and better health; but the weapon we have put emphasis upon is money. It is as if we said, 'In the next five years we want to have more food, more education, and better health, and in order to achieve these

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things we shall spend £250,000,000'. We think and speak as if the most important thing to depend upon is MONEY and anything else we intend to use in our struggle is of minor importance.

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

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

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

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

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

Each year, each Ministry of Government makes its estimates of expenditure, i.e. the amount of money it will require in the coming year to meet recurrent and development expenses. Only one Minister and his Ministry make estimates of revenue. This is the Minister for Finance.

Every Ministry puts forward very good development plans. When the Ministry presents its estimates, it believes that the money is there for the asking but that the Minister for Finance and his Ministry are being obstructive. And regularly each year the Minister for Finance has to tell his fellow Ministers that there is no money. And each year the Ministries complain about the Ministry of Finance when it trims down their estimates.

Similarly, when Members of Parliament and other leaders demand that the Government should carry out a certain development, they believe that there is a lot of money to spend on such projects, but that the Government is the stumbling block. Yet such belief on the part of Ministries, Members of Parliament and other leaders does not alter the stark truth, which is that Government has no money.

When it is said that Government has no money, what does this mean? It means that the people of Tanzania have insufficient money. The people pay taxes out of the very little wealth they have; it is from these taxes that the Government meets its recurrent and development expenditure. When we call on the Government to spend more money on development projects, we are asking the Government to use more money. And if the Government does not have any more, the only way it can do this is to increase its revenue through extra taxation.

If one calls on the Government to spend more, one is in effect calling on the Government to increase taxes. Calling on the Government to spend more without raising taxes is like demanding that the Government should perform miracles; it is equivalent to asking for more milk from a cow while insisting that the cow should not be milked again. But our refusal to admit that calling on the Government to spend more is the same as calling on the Government to raise taxes shows that we fully realize the difficulties of

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increasing taxes. We realize that the cow has no more milk—that is, that the people find it difficult to pay more taxes. We know that the cow would like to have more milk herself, so that her calves could drink it, or that she would like more milk which could be sold to provide more comfort for herself or her calves. But knowing all the things which could be done with more milk does not alter the fact that the cow has no more milk!

WHAT OF EXTERNAL AID?

One method we use to try and avoid a recognition of the need to increase taxes if we want to have more money for development, is to think in terms of getting the extra money from outside Tanzania. Such external finance falls into three main categories.

- (a) *Gifts*: This means that another government gives our Government a sum of money as a free gift for a particular development scheme. Sometimes it may be that an institution in another country gives our Government, or an institution in our country, financial help for development programmes.
- (b) *Loans*: The greater portion of financial help we expect to get from outside is not in the form of gifts or charity, but in the form of loans. A foreign government or a foreign institution, such as a bank, lends our Government money for the purposes of development. Such a loan has repayment conditions attached to it, covering such factors as the time period for which it is available and the rate of interest.
- (c) *Private Investment*: The third category of financial help is also greater than the first. This takes the form of investment in our country by individuals or companies from outside. The important condition which such private investors have in mind is that the enterprise into

which they put their money should bring them profit and that our Government should permit them to repatriate these profits. They also prefer to invest in a country whose policies they agree with and which will safeguard their economic interests.

These three are the main categories of external finance. And there is in Tanzania a fantastic amount of talk about getting money from outside. Our Government, and different groups of our leaders, never stop thinking about methods of getting finance from abroad. And if we get some money or even if we just get a promise of it, our newspapers, our radio, and our leaders, all advertise the fact in order that every person shall know that salvation is coming, or is on the way. If we receive a gift we announce it, if we receive a loan we announce it, if we get a new factory we announce it—and always loudly. In the same way, when we get a promise of a gift, a loan, or a new industry, we make an announcement of the promise. Even when we have merely started discussions with a foreign government or institution for a gift, a loan, or a new industry, we make an announcement—even though we do not know the outcome of the discussions. Why do we do all this? Because we want people to know that we have started discussions which will bring prosperity.

DO NOT LET US DEPEND UPON MONEY FOR DEVELOPMENT

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

Firstly, we shall not get the money. It is true that there are countries which can, and which would like to, help us.

*Don't not all...
the money*

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But there is no country in the world which is prepared to give us gifts or loans, or establish industries, to the extent that we would be able to achieve all our development targets. There are many needy countries in the world. And even if all the prosperous nations were willing to help the needy countries, the assistance would still not suffice. But in any case the prosperous nations have not accepted a responsibility to fight world poverty. Even within their own borders poverty still exists, and the rich individuals do not willingly give money to the government to help their poor fellow citizens.

It is only through taxation, which people have to pay whether they want to or not, that money can be extracted from the rich in order to help the masses. Even then there would not be enough money. However heavily we taxed the citizens of Tanzania and the aliens living here, the resulting revenue would not be enough to meet the costs of the development we want. And there is no World Government which can tax the prosperous nations in order to help the poor nations; nor if one did exist could it raise enough revenue to do all that is needed in the world. But in fact, such a World Government does not exist. Such money as the rich nations offer to the poor nations is given voluntarily, either through their own goodness, or for their own benefit. All this means that it is impossible for Tanzania to obtain from overseas enough money to develop our economy.

GIFTS AND LOANS WILL ENDANGER OUR INDEPENDENCE

Secondly, even if it were possible for us to get enough money for our needs from external sources, is this what we really want? Independence means self-reliance. Independence cannot be real if a nation depends upon gifts and loans from another for its development. Even if there was a nation, or nations, prepared to give us all the money we

need for our development, it would be improper for us to accept such assistance without asking ourselves how this would affect our independence and our very survival as a nation. Gifts which increase, or act as a catalyst, to our own efforts are valuable. But gifts which could have the effect of weakening or distorting our own efforts should not be accepted until we have asked ourselves a number of questions.

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

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

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

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grammes of economic development that we need, is that what we actually want to happen?

Had we been able to attract investors from America and Europe to come and start all the industries and all the projects of economic development that we need in this country, could we do so without questioning ourselves? Could we agree to leave the economy of our country in the hands of foreigners who would take the profits back to their countries? Or supposing they did not insist upon taking their profits away, but decided to reinvest them in Tanzania; could we really accept this situation without asking ourselves what disadvantages our nation would suffer? Would this allow the socialism we have said it is our objective to build?

How can we depend upon gifts, loans, and investments from foreign countries and foreign companies without endangering our independence? The English people have a proverb which says, 'He who pays the piper calls the tune'. How can we depend upon foreign governments and companies for the major part of our development without giving to those governments and countries a great part of our freedom to act as we please? The truth is that we cannot.

Let us repeat. We made a mistake in choosing money—something we do not have—to be the big instrument of our development. We are making a mistake to think that we shall get the money from other countries; first, because in fact we shall not be able to get sufficient money for our economic development; and secondly, because even if we could get all that we need, such dependence upon others would endanger our independence and our ability to choose our own political policies.

WE HAVE PUT TOO MUCH EMPHASIS ON INDUSTRIES
Because of our emphasis on money, we have made another

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

LET US PAY HEED TO THE PEASANT

Our emphasis on money and industries has made us concentrate on urban development. We recognize that we

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE PEOPLE AND AGRICULTURE

The development of a country is brought about by people, not by money. Money, and the wealth it represents,

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is the result and not the basis of development. The four prerequisites of development are different; they are (i) People; (ii) Land; (iii) Good Policies; (iv) Good Leadership. Our country has more than ten million people* and its area is more than 362,000 square miles.

AGRICULTURE IS THE BASIS OF DEVELOPMENT

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

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

THE CONDITIONS OF DEVELOPMENT

(a) *Hard Work*

Everybody wants development; but not everybody

* 1967 census showed 12.3 million people.

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

In towns, for example, wage-earners normally work for seven and a half or eight hours a day, and for six or six and a half days a week. This is about 45 hours a week for the whole year, except for two or three weeks leave. In other words, a wage-earner works for 45 hours a week for 48 or 50 weeks of the year.

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

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

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great treasure which could contribute more towards the development of our country than anything we could get from rich nations.

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

(b) *Intelligence*

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

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

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

Furthermore the people, through their own hard work and with a little help and leadership, have finished many

development projects in the villages. They have built schools, dispensaries, community centres, and roads; they have dug wells, water channels, animal dips, small dams, and completed various other development projects. Had they waited for money, they would not now have the use of these things.

HARD WORK IS THE ROOT OF DEVELOPMENT

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

None of this means that from now on we will not need money or that we will not start industries or embark upon development projects which require money. Furthermore, we are not saying that we will not accept, or even that we shall not look for, money from other countries for our development. This is *not* what we are saying. We will continue to use money; and each year we will use more money for the various development projects than we used the previous year because this will be one of the signs of our development.

What we are saying, however, is that from now on we shall know what is the foundation and what is the fruit of development. Between *money* and *people* it is obvious that the people and their *hard work* are the foundation of develop-

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ment, and money is one of the fruits of that hard work.

From now on we shall stand upright and walk forward on our feet rather than look at this problem upside down. Industries will come and money will come but their foundation is *the people* and their *hard work*, especially in AGRICULTURE. This is the meaning of self-reliance.

Our emphasis should therefore be on:

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

(a) *The Land*

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

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

(b) *The People*

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

In our country work should be something to be proud of, and laziness, drunkenness and idleness should be things to be ashamed of. And for the defence of our nation, it is necessary for us to be on guard against internal stooges who could be used by external enemies who aim to destroy us. The people should always be ready to defend their nation when they are called upon to do so.

(c) *Good Policies*

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

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

(d) *Good Leadership*

TANU recognizes the urgency and importance of good leadership. But we have not yet produced systematic training for our leaders; it is necessary that TANU Headquarters should now prepare a programme of training for all leaders—from the national level to the ten-house cell level—so that every one of them understands our political and economic policies. Leaders must set a good example to the rest of the people in their lives and in all their activities.

PART FOUR

TANU Membership

Since the Party was founded we have put great emphasis on getting as many members as possible. This was the right policy during the independence struggle. But now the National Executive feels that the time has come when we should put more emphasis on the beliefs of our Party and its policies of socialism.

That part of the TANU Constitution which relates to the admission of a member should be adhered to, and if it is discovered that a man does not appear to accept the faith, the objects, and the rules and regulations of the Party, then he should not be accepted as a member. In particular, it should not be forgotten that TANU is a Party of peasants and workers.

PART FIVE

The Arusha Resolution

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

(a) *The Leadership*

1. Every TANU and Government leader must be either a peasant or a worker, and should in no way be associated with the practices of capitalism or feudalism.
2. No TANU or Government leader should hold shares in any company.
3. No TANU or Government leader should hold directorships in any privately owned enterprise.
4. No TANU or Government leader should receive two or more salaries.
5. No TANU or Government leader should own houses which he rents to others.
6. For the purposes of this Resolution the term 'leader' should comprise the following:

Members of the TANU National Executive Committee; Ministers; Members of Parliament; senior officials of organizations affiliated to TANU; senior officials of para-statal organizations; all those appointed or elected under any clause of the TANU Constitution; councillors; and civil servants in the high and middle cadres. (In this context 'leader' means a man, or a man and his wife; a woman, or a woman and her husband.)

(b) *The Government and other Institutions*

1. Congratulates the Government for the steps it has taken so far in the implementation of the policy of socialism.
2. Calls upon the Government to take further steps in the implementation of our policy of socialism as described in Part Two of this document without waiting for a Presidential Commission on Socialism.
3. Calls upon the Government to put emphasis, when preparing its development plans, on the ability of this country to implement the plans rather than depending on

- foreign loans and grants as has been done in the current Five-Year Development Plan. The National Executive Committee also resolves that the Plan should be amended so as to make it fit in with the policy of self-reliance.
4. Calls upon the Government to take action designed to ensure that the incomes of workers in the private sector are not very different from the incomes of workers in the public sector.
 5. Calls upon the Government to put great emphasis on actions which will raise the standard of living of the peasants, and the rural community.
 6. Calls upon NUTA, the co-operatives, TAPA, UWT, TYL, and other Government institutions to take steps to implement the policy of socialism and self-reliance.

(c) *Membership*

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

ANNEXE 18/ Julius Nyerere, *Ujamaa* p. 14-37.

ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Julius K. Nyerere

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Rome, Italy

13th July 1979

Mr. President: Your Excellencies: Ladies and Gentlemen.

This Conference can be thought of as a natural successor to the United Nations World Food Congress of 1974, which made obvious the urgent matter of human hunger in an era of increasing prosperity. It has been preceded by the holding of Regional Conferences, by careful planning, and by the preparation of Papers discussing the problems and the efforts which have been made to deal with them.

The facts about rural conditions and progress are set out in the Country Reports, and in the "Review and Analysis of Agrarian Reform and Rural Development in the Developing Countries since the mid 1960s".

One overwhelming fact shines through all Reports. With the possible exceptions of China and Cuba, our nations have not found the answer to absolute rural poverty. It is estimated that there were in 1972 some 700 million people who were victims of absolute poverty, and about 85 per cent of them lived in the rural areas. This 700 million figure was larger by 43 million than it was ten years earlier; by 1982 it will be very much larger still.

In the face of this situation there is a general recognition that "something must be done". The purpose of this meeting is surely to promote the achievement of a minimum objective—even although there are some who might add "if possible". I would like to state that minimum objective in the now old fashioned phrase: the elimination of Poverty, Ignorance and Disease.

If this is our objective, the past fifteen years provide, on balance, a lesson on how not to succeed.

The "Trickle Down" Policy:

Under the economic, political, and social systems at present operating, the world's people are divided into two groups; those with access to its resources, and those without

access. Those with access to existing resources—the rich—can afford to invest heavily in the production of greater wealth, so they get richer. The poor have very little to invest; their productivity consequently remains low, and they remain poor. Worse still, the market laws of supply and demand mean that the wealth of the few diverts the world's resources—including the labour of others—from meeting the real but ineffective demand of the poor into satisfying the luxury desires of the rich. Land and labour are used to cultivate grapes instead of grain; palaces are built instead of houses for the workers and peasants.

The automatic market tendency to favour the rich is aggravated by the fact that political power also flows naturally to the "haves" of the world—the educated and those persons or societies which have inherited public or private capital. The result is that publicly produced wealth also benefits the wealthy more than the poor, accrues to the towns rather than to the rural areas, and serves the educated rather than those without academic opportunity or ability. We are all more aware of those problems which affect us than we are of the problems which affect others, and the word "need" is very elastic. Those of us in Government are likely to be closer to the man who "needs" a second car or a University education, than we are to the man whose "need" is for shoes to protect his bare feet or the ability to read and write.

Until now we have, in general, been trying to tackle the problem of poverty—including rural poverty—by directing resources into the existing system and hoping that it will "trickle down" to the poor. Some of it does. When a factory is started, there is always some unemployed person who gets a badly needed job. When more productive seeds are made available to a farmer and his output goes up, he may give a temporary job to his landless neighbour. And so on.

But the major benefit of the new investment stays where it began—with the man who already has, and in proportion to the wealth which he already has. The poor benefit—or sometimes suffer—from the side effects; or they receive

the crumbs left over. Even nationally, the net result of a new private investment, described as an asset in the fight against poverty, is frequently a large foreign exchange commitment for the payment of interest and profit, and also the destruction of indigenous and widespread local production systems. Similarly, giving higher education to the wrong person in an exploitative system does not result in the uplifting of the poor, but in their greater exploitation by a more skilled operator!

Rural Development requires Political Decisions:

The lesson to be drawn is surely that fighting poverty is not just a question of production techniques and capital investment. It is a highly political topic. It involves matters relating to the existing wealth distribution and the present location of power within nations and between nations.

If this Conference is to inaugurate an effective fight against world poverty, it has therefore to face up to the political questions implied in its title and in the subject matter of its Agenda. In the modern world there is nothing more domestically political than land ownership; and rural development affects social relations between men and groups. Further, there are few things more internationally controversial than the demand for a New International Economic Order—which is the substance of the Conference international Agenda items.

Yet Rural Development, and what is called the Basic Needs Approach, has become the fashion among intellectuals concerned with development matters and international assistance Agencies like the World Bank, as well as among the Aid Donor countries. Most of the developing countries also espouse this strategy in words. I believe this new fashion is to be welcomed, provided we do not allow it to become a fetish, or an incantation, and thus ignore its practical implications.

For the root of world poverty, as well as the mass of it, lies in the rural areas. Urban poverty is more obvious—the slums and degradation of some towns in the developing

countries force themselves upon the notice of the richest citizen and upon the most casual visitor from other states. But the bulk of the slum inhabitants and the beggars on our streets have migrated to towns because they are pushed out of the rural areas by landlessness, joblessness, and hopelessness. It is therefore in the rural areas that we can most effectively tackle the long-term problems of urban poverty, as well as dealing with the mass of misery which now exists unseen—but not unfelt by its sufferers. Trying to deal with mass poverty by improving conditions and providing work in the towns simply attracts more and more people from the depressed rural areas. You could just as well try to solve the world problems of poverty by allowing the people of the poor Third World nations to migrate to the industrialised countries.

An effective attack on world poverty can only be made by going direct to the rural areas and dealing with the problems there. We have to deal with them in the light of the objective. And that objective is not maximising the value of production in money terms. The objective is, and must be, the provision of food, clothing, shelter, education, and health services, for everyone, under conditions which provide for universal human dignity.

Land Reform is a Prerequisite:

That objective can only be achieved if certain basic facts are recognized and acted upon. First among these is that those who own the land will use it for their own benefit. If the land in a state is owned by a small number of people, these can be relied upon to maximise their own private income from that land by using it for whatever crop will bring most profit to themselves. If the land is owned by the peasants, either individually or collectively, it will be used to meet their needs. Actions which transfer land to the people are an essential first step in the fight against poverty.

Experience suggests that where the ownership of land is inequitable, securing change is not just a question of passing Land Reform Legislation. There are now only a few

states without some kind of Land Reform laws. But in too many cases these laws are cosmetic; or else the machinery of the state does not enforce them against the opposition of local or international vested interests.

And even if effective Land Reform is carried out, that is not enough. The poor who have gained land under it—again whether privately or co-operatively—have to have access to credit, to improved seeds and tools, and to new knowledge, if the transfer of power over the land's resources is to be permanent and to lay the basis for future development. It takes a great deal of political commitment, and a strong political will, to implement Land Reform and to give the necessary economic support to the beneficiaries. These things can never be done painlessly.

Rural Diversification:

But "Land to the People" is not a solution on its own.

If poverty is to be abolished in the rural areas, farming activities must be efficient. They have to produce a surplus so that the rural economy can be diversified by the development of alternative sources of production and employment. Rural industries must be established to process the farmers' crops and provide many of their domestic and agricultural goods. Forestry and animal husbandry must use land not suitable for arable farming; these activities can provide fuel, wood for housing and furniture, animal protein, and also incomes for the rural community. Water control and land conservation measures must be built to increase the productivity of the land at the same time as they provide clean water and possibly power. Schools, dispensaries, sports facilities, and so on, need to be established and supported in the rural areas to improve the lives of all who dwell there. This kind of diversification of the rural economy is an essential part of the struggle for human development and human dignity.

Rural Diversification, however, requires that technology should be suited to the needs of the people. We have many unemployed and under-employed people in the

rural areas. Leaving them to rot while we "save labour" with foreign purchased, expensive and sophisticated machinery, will lead to an increase—not a decrease—in poverty, regardless of what it does to the Gross National Product. It seems that at least in the initial phases of development our agriculture and our rural service industries need to be labour-intensive rather than capital intensive.

The Use of Rural Surpluses:

But to say that the rural areas must produce a surplus to finance diversification is to beg the question. Rural areas do produce a surplus now. The trouble is that it is extracted and used to finance luxurious consumption patterns of the rich and the kind of development in urban areas which will support the present economic structures. The surpluses are extracted by the comparative pricing of primary products and manufactured goods. It is done also by the combination of regressive taxation and the allocation of government expenditure to services needed by town dwellers rather than those needed by the people in villages.

Rural development, and the diversification of the rural economy which it involves, will not take place without fundamental changes in the present approach to development and to government activities. These have to be redirected in order to encourage rural production, and to ensure that the surpluses produced in the rural areas are not used for the development of the urban centres in the interests of the economic or political elite.

Policies to this end cannot be divorced from the rest of government activities. National pricing and taxation policies designed to ensure the retention of rural surpluses in the rural areas are unlikely to be consistent with import or incomes policies which allow the purchase of foreign luxury goods by the better off. Social and Public Utility policies are also involved in a fight against rural poverty. For this implies giving priority to universal primary and technical education in preference to advanced studies in the

humanities, or indeed to much in the way of post-graduate professional studies. It also implies that Rural dispensaries and Health Centres will have to be given preference over sophisticated Hospital services for the few. And so on.

Transfer of Resources:

Such a radical reorientation of a nation's economic and social organization would take time to implement even if there were no political difficulties involved. Yet people are suffering from malnutrition in their millions now, not in twenty years time. Further, the extraction of rural wealth has been going on for centuries; some of that wealth has been used to establish self-sustaining income-generating enterprises in the urban areas as well as to build the infrastructure for civilised town life. And in any case, many things have to be mass-produced if they are to be manufactured at all; not all industrial activities can be dispersed over the countryside. The wealth produced by a diamond or copper mine also inevitably comes from one locality.

The urban areas and mines may thus be a nation's biggest wealth producers in economic terms—whatever the policies of the government. Indeed, a policy which ignored the potential of such activities within the nation would not be contributing to the abolition of poverty. What is needed instead is that some of the wealth from this inherited capital and from new national developments of this kind should be channelled into the rural areas—and in particular to those rural areas which are most backward for reasons of history, geography or geology.

Once again this requires Government action. Although internationally we are still at the stage of regarding a transfer of resources from the rich to the poor as being a matter for the voluntary decision of the rich, there is no excuse for such an attitude within nations. Giving land to the people, and acting to ensure that rural surpluses are retained in the rural areas is essential; but it is only the first step. By itself, it is not enough. It has to be combined

with deliberate policies which transfer resources from these wealth-producing sectors to the financing of social and productive capital in the rural areas. This can be done either by government control and pricing policies, or by the taxation structure, or by a judicious mixture of the two. What matters is that it is done.

Power to the People:

It is surely quite obvious that as rural development has all these implications it will not occur unless governments are absolutely committed to attacking poverty at its roots in the rural areas, and unless they can create a capacity to carry out that policy despite the opposition of those who now batten on the rural poor. But that is not the whole answer. Governments by themselves cannot achieve rural development. They can only facilitate it and make it possible. They can organize, help and guide; they cannot do. For rural development is people's development of themselves, their lives and environment. And the people cannot do it if they have no power.

Michael Lipton, in his book "Why Poor People Stay Poor" puts his finger on a serious problem when he says: "The sincere egalitarian rhetoric of say, Mrs. Gandhi or Julius Nyerere was, allowing for differences of style and ideology, closely paralleled during early industrial development But the rural masses of India and Tanzania lack the power to organize the pressure that alone can turn such rhetoric into distributive action against the pressure of the elite".

If the people are to be able to develop they must have power. They must be able to control their own activities within the framework of their village communities. And they must be able to mount effective pressure nationally also. The people must participate not just in the physical labour involved in economic development but also in the planning of it and the determination of priorities. At present the best intentioned governments—my own included—too easily move from a conviction of the need for rural development into acting as if the people had

no ideas of their own. This is quite wrong. At every stage of development people do know what their basic needs are. And just as they will produce their own food if they have land, so if they have sufficient freedom they can be relied upon to determine their own priorities of development and then to work for them.

Both political and economic power has to be held by the people within the village, in the region, and in the nation, if development is to be in the people's interests. People are the best creators and defenders of their own human rights—including the right to eat. Freedom is essential to development and not just a product of it. But freedom does not mean, and must not be allowed to mean, the freedom of the Rich and the Clever to exploit the Poor and Ignorant. The individual is part of the conscious human race or he is an animal grubbing for sustenance. It is through co-operation that each of us develops his own potential and receives personal identity. And co-operation has its own requirements and makes its own demands upon us all.

Rural Development is National Development:

A policy of rural development is thus a policy of national development. You cannot have "rural development" as an extra, tagged on to the other policies of Government. That would be a continuation of what we have been doing until now. Rural Development must be a description of the whole strategy of growth—the approach to development, and the prism through which all policies are seen, judged, and given priority.

I want to stress this point. There is now a widespread tendency for any proposal to build a modern factory to be condemned as contrary to the priority needed for rural development. An example of this attitude is that when developing countries ask for external aid to finance a new trunk road, a railway, an airport, or a Consultant Hospital, they are at present liable to be told that prospective donors want to support rural development, not industrialisation, communications systems or sophisticated medical services. And again, within our developing countries there is a tendency to think that if you have made a budgetary allocation

for something called "rural development", then the rest of Government policies and expenditure patterns can go on as before.

Such attitudes defeat any hope of rural development, or of implementing a "basic needs approach". Rural development, for example, requires greater use of fertilisers—both organic and chemical—with the consequential need for a fertiliser plant or a phosphate mine, or both. It needs a factory to produce animal-drawn ploughs, harrows, seeders—and another producing tractors and bulldozers. It needs electrical power, both for decent living in the rural areas, and for village industries. It needs roads, railways—and ports—to transport farming inputs and the products of rural areas as well as to enable rural people to participate in national affairs. A Rural Development strategy thus requires a whole industrial and communications development policy which is geared to the needs of the rural areas and the masses who live in them.

Nor is this all. However much a young nation is trying to build an economy oriented towards the needs of its own people, it will still have to export something in order to pay for essential imports. So it will need to develop export industries—either agricultural or industrial; and the more its primary exports are processed, the more imports it will receive for them—which implies a need for another layer of industrial-type development. And industries cannot all be labour-intensive. When you have plenty of labour but little capital it is important to give preference to small sugar mills, small ceramics factories, local furniture making and so on. But you cannot produce electricity on a labour-intensive basis, nor build lorries or tractors without heavy capital investment relative to the labour which will be employed.

Every aspect of government and public activity, in other words, has to be angled towards promoting mass welfare in the rural areas, while yet enabling the urban areas to

service effectively the rural areas from which their sustenance comes and which are their justification for existing.

I repeat. Rural Development means development. It indicates an approach, and the order of priorities. It involves every aspect of government and social activities. It means acting to reverse the traditional flow of wealth from the rural areas into the towns and forcing that wealth into channels which will benefit the workers who actually produce it with their hands and their brains. It means transferring to the poorer and rural areas some of the wealth produced in the richest economic sectors. In practically all developing countries these things require a revolution in the present patterns of government expenditure and of taxation. They will be done if, and only if, the people can organize their own power in their own interest.

The Rural Areas of the World:

Mr. Chairman: Up to now I have been speaking almost as if poverty in the Third World was exclusively a matter for action by the developing countries themselves, with the developed countries being relevant only as Aid donors and sympathisers. Tackling the subject in this order was deliberate. We do have national governments which can act. If we in the developing countries are not actively working to overcome absolute poverty among our own citizens, we have no right to complain about the contrast of poverty and wealth between nations.

But it is necessary that we should face facts. When a country like mine prevents a few individuals from exploiting others, or tries to give priority to the rural areas, we are doing only one thing. We are distributing poverty more fairly. When the National income per head is about \$190, your Budget arguments are about where in 360,000 square miles to build one small bridge, while everyone knows that hundreds of bridges are needed urgently if people and goods are to move freely around the country.

It is not only within nations that we need to give priority to Rural Development. World growth, and world development, must also be based on a strategy of rural development. And for the world, the rural areas are the developing nations. This Conference cannot do its job properly if it pushes to one side the question of world practices about investment, prices, education, services, and the distribution of present and future wealth sources.

Everything which I have said in relation to the implications of a strategy of rural development within nations can also be applied to international economic and political relationships. The only exception—and it is an important one—is that we have no world government which can make decisions and enforce them.

But there is a world economy, and there are international institutions, even if there is no world government. Our national economies are linked; the poverty or prosperity of one country affects the economy of all others. When potential customers are too poor to buy, the manufacturer suffers—internationally as well as nationally. And under the present world economic order the rich and the industrialised areas—regardless of whether these are capitalist or socialist—automatically, as well as by the exercise of naked power, extract from the poor and rural areas even that little which they have.

It is done through the pricing mechanisms of primary products relative to manufactured goods, by the virtual monopoly of international transportation facilities, by the control of world currency and credit which is exercised by the rich nations—and by a hundred other so-called market forces. Among these should not be forgotten the industrial and financial activities of the great transnational corporations, and their manipulations to increase the wealth of the already rich at the expense of the desperately poor.

The present world economic order is not working very smoothly, even according to its major beneficiaries. For it works smoothly only when the dominant sectors can go on

expanding and exploiting without hindrance, and when the major power centres are unchallenged in their access to raw materials and untrammelled by considerations of sovereign or human rights. That was the importance of the end of colonialism politically, and the importance also of the rise of lesser industrial and political power centres.

Yet on a world scale we are still being told that the solution to the present economic ills is for greater investment and greater wealth accretion in the already developed areas. We are told that the real problem comes from the oil producers among the developing countries, who have found a way of preventing their wealth being extracted in the interests of cheap transport and cheap power in the industrial economies. The fundamental imbalance between the world's rural and urban nations—between the industrial and the primary producer areas—is not yet universally recognized as the root cause of world economic problems and world poverty. Rural Development as a strategy on the world scale is not—unfortunately—the fashion among the economists and politicians of the developed nations. When it appears on international Agendas under the guise of the demand for a New International Economic Order, the reaction is still resistance—not co-operation for its orderly introduction. The recent UNCTAD Conference provided yet another example of the determination of the Rich to remain rich, and to go on getting richer at the expenses of the poor.

Yet it is clear that a strategy of Rural Development for overcoming poverty has two aspects. One is internal within the nations of the Third World. The other, equally important, is external to any single nation; it involves the whole world. The problem of poverty cannot be effectively tackled unless there is action on both fronts, simultaneously.

Conclusion:

Mr. Chairman: let me try to sum up what I have been saying. Rural Development is a way of approaching development; it is not something different from it. It has

to be tackled at two levels; nationally and internationally. At both levels it is the only way in which we can hope to defeat absolute poverty—as well as relative poverty. For poverty and riches are two sides of a single coin in the modern world. To abolish poverty we must create wealth. But the creation of wealth does not abolish poverty. Wealth creation has to be accompanied by at least the reduction of riches if poverty is to be eradicated.

At the international level the struggle for Rural Development is, in essence, what the demand for a New International Economic Order is all about. There is no simplistic answer to it. Aid, Trade, international credit and currency systems, shipping, the Law of the Sea—all these and many other major questions of international relations are involved in the evolution of a world rural development strategy.

Within the nations of the Third World the struggle for Rural Development has to take many different forms. We all start from different power and economic bases, and there is no universally applicable policy blueprint which we can use. But by the different routes appropriate to our starting point and our cultural heritage, we each have to create five conditions.

Our land ownership and control patterns must allow its use for the benefit of all, with priority for those who live in the rural areas of our nations.

The economy of our rural areas must be diversified. Farms must be efficient, producing food for all rural inhabitants as well as a surplus which can be sold to meet other needs. That surplus must be retained in the rural areas and used to finance rural industries and rural services, based on local resources, and meeting local needs.

There must be adequate economic communications systems, and also adequate political links between the rural areas and the rest of the economy, as well as between our nations and the rest of the world. These links must be designed to reverse the traditional flow of wealth from the rural areas and to serve the interests of the rural people.

The taxation, pricing, education, health, and other policies of the nation must be directed towards meeting the basic human needs of all, not at fulfilling the desires of the more privileged members of the community. They must encourage the development of the rural areas and the people who live there.

And finally, but underpinning everything else, effective decision-making power—political and economic power—must lie with the inhabitants of the rural areas. Political power has to be exercised by the poor if the present flow of wealth towards wealth is to be stopped and the co-operative activities of man directed towards the abolition of poverty everywhere.

Your Excellencies: Rural Development is a matter of investment and technology. But it is also a matter of politics. It is the very stuff of government. I hope this important Conference will help us all in the struggle to make Rural Development strategies a reality as we advance into the 1980s.

I wish you well in your labours.

13th July, 1979

J. K. N.

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