

NO. 41

MAY 1980

IN THIS ISSUE

HUMAN RIGHTS IN AMERICA
TECHNOLOGY AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT
"WORLD BANK AND TANZANIA" REVISITED
THE STRUGGLE TO REINSTATE NGUGI

YOUTH ORGANISATION
UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM

Published by
THE YOUTH ORGANISATION OF TANZANIA
UNIVERSITY BRANCH
P.O. Box 35054,
DAR ES SALAAM.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

C. K. Huganda A.F. Lwaitama I. N. Mamuya M. Nkurlu S. L. Chachage M. N. Kangero E.J.P. Shirima

Views expressed in this issue do not necessarily reflect the views of the Youth Organisation University Branch and are essentially those of the authors.

No. 41, MAY 1980

ABOUT THIS ISSUE

This issue marks both a continuation and a discontinuation of elements of previous themes in our issues. The question of technology has again been focussed, this time with a marshalling of empirical analysis of the actual position of the context of technology and rural development in Tanzania. Dr Nkonoki's paper, based on various researches being carried in the Institute of Development Studies and Tanzania in general, should throw clear light to those who require specific and actual presentation of the situation as it is, rather than the broader theoretical issues surrounding the question of technology as a whole.

The paper on Human Rights in America by an American progressive writer should be looked at in depth by all interested in the real situation of human rights under the rule of finance capital. Since the Helsinki Conference of 1975, it has become customary for the human rights charge to be levelled at the Soviet Union, under the so-called "Third Basket" question in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Still this imperialist concept has not continued unnoticed. More and more, the forces struggling against imperialist domination and terrorist comprador rule are identifying human rights with bread and shelter for the broad masses. This has already led to a number of important victories in variables of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The situation of human rights United States itself, the extent to which the military-industrial completis a harbinger of human rights should be well documented in the paper.

The previous paper: in our issue No. 39, concerned with the loans of the World Bank to Tanzania, and its position within global imperialis exploitation, led to a debate in the Faculty of Law, Infact it was in the basis of its earlier or authentic dissertation form, an extract of which was offered to the Southern African Universities Social Sciences Confere and which we published. The questions were raised by a former senior lecturer in the faculty, David Williams, and replied to by the author of the paper, Hawa Sinare, We publish the correspondence along with a shor comment, since "Maji Maji" is not neutral to the theoretical and ideological implications of the debate.

Lastly, we include a short note on the struggle to reinstate Kenyan patriotic playwright and novelist Ngugi wa Thiong'o. The circumstances are explained in the note itself, and in Ngugi's article which follows.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN AMERICA: PAST AND PRESENT

By Phillip BONOSKY

If you were to take a trip around the United States today and a stop at the generally neat little ceneteries located usually just boyind the outskirts of these little American towns, you will almost inevitably find one or two, perhaps even more, modest grave mounds, stall conscientiously decorated with fresh flowers and invariably a tiny america flag.

Not all the gra, and on these markers you will find the following information (the new york but the dates hardly at all): "John Smith, 1949-1968."

Not far off from this grave, even perhaps in the same family plot you might just as often find another grave, this one with faded or no flowers, at all, but it most probably now has a headstone. But on it. too, you will find nothing more than "John Smith, 1932-1951". And there will also be an American flag.

The boys buried in both graves, though one was born much earlier that the other, are about the ame age, 19. Their markers or tombstones will be simple and extraordinarily uncommunicative, but elequent in their lack of elequence. Those tombstones will contrast to the tembstones in this or other cemeteries, of an even older soldier dead, whose brief life statistics will be followed at least with the words; "He died for his country".

But you'll search in win for that legend on these newer graves.
Sometimes it's possible to find another one altogether: "He died for
nothing." And in those contrasts between an older and a younger soldier
doed lies not only a bitter; change in the nature of their tragedy but
they reflect a change in American social consciousness which, though it
does not take organized political form, nevertheless accounts for the
fact that the noisy official American compaign in hehalf of "human rights"
which fills the columns of the newspapers and takes over the eye of the
TV, does not arouse a corresponding support for it, no popular defrom among the people.

This political fervor emanating from Washington is a manufactured product, and it is recognized as such by an American who has been tau a since childhood that truth is the same thing as publicity, and if it appears on TV it is "real", or at least has social (i.e. ruling class) power behind it. And so, more or less, this is what they believed, that the war in Vietnam was a TV performance with the same impact as a Hollywood film-until their sons came home to them in a casket from a war that really existed, was fought not by actors but by their own children, who were really killed.

Over 50,000 such youth were killed, in fact. Over 100,000 were wounded, some crippled for life, and over 800,000 were otherwise profoundly scarred by it-as boys who ran away to Canada, as draft-resisters who went to prison, as deserters, as mutineers. Parents had seen their sons go off to Vietnam as hardly more than boy-children, whose home appringing had been religious, or in any case, "proper". There in lietnam these boys had learned to buy prostitutes with a chocolate bar, contract social diseases, become addicted to drugs, and, after killing a 'slope" learned how to cut off his ears and bring them back to their superior officers in order to make the official "body count".

And yet, despite the enormity of it, despite the universal knowledge that the Tonkin Bay "incident" which was used as the pretext to involve imerica massively in the war was a political forgery, nobody is "guilty"

The author is a progressive American writer and publicist. This article is first printed in the monthly journal of political analysis, International Affairs, No 5/1978, Progress Publishers Moscow 1978

of those deaths and those emotionally and intellectually destroyed, at worst the only thing that is officially admitted about the war left behind such an heritage of human wreckage, is that it was a "are take". Nothing more.

But the reason why Arthur Goldberg's protestations at Belgrate he had discovered violations of "human rights" in the socialist social sounded so hollow in America (not to speak of the rest of the world) raised no echo of support among the people, is because these thomselved in these neat little cemetories all over the country would have risen from their graves in great derisive laughter if they had. In case, there is hardly an American who doesn't know some Victors voter returned from the war, who is unemployed, psychologically crippled, and any addicted.

They know that a monstrous crime had been committed on them, that they had been witness to a massive denial of the human rights of their sons, both those dead and those who survived, and that long before America can re-appear on the world stage as a "born again" moralist pointing an accusing finger at the way others live, it must settle acceptant them, these profoundly wounded Americans who . I these little American graves. And to do that there must be a more bonest definition of what exactly constitutes "human rights", which would also include making clear exactly when a government commits a crime, or even what a crime is.

Let's go back almost a hundred years-to 1890. December 29, of the memorable year, the American cavalry captured some 300 Indian men, and children, sealed them in a ring of steel and then methodically. In same spirit of Lt. "Rusty" Cally almost 80 years later at Mylai in Vietnam, cold-bloodedly murdered them.

The perpetrators of this massacre were not dragged be fore a court and punished for their crime. On the contrary, no crime was admitted, instead of punishment the men involved in the blood-letting were awards. Congressional Medals of Honour and were extrolled in the press which looked upon the massacre as the "end of the Indian problem".

For generations Americans had been taught that the "only good Indias a dead Indian", that Indians were heathens, whose culture was of no importance to any white man, and whose fate as a people was sufficiently taken care of by herding them all into "reservations" (i.e. concentrations) where they lived marginal lives at the edge of poverty, their tradevelopment stunted if not altogether destroyed, and their consciousness of themselves as a proud people lost in the sea of American callousness and indifference. To this "native American" is classified as the "ward of the government, but in fact, it is far more the "ward" of a single governmental bureau—the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). In any case, a "ward" he is not quite a child, nor a retarded adult, but not a full-grown human being either.

Was a mime committed? Were the human rights of an entire people violated?

It took the appearance of revolutionary forces in the world, partiularly Marxists, even to pose the question correctly—even to be able to suggest that past crimes are not sanctioned by the passage of time. Alough it's not possible to punish the actual killers of the Indian peoplit is possible to deprive those who benefit from the earlier plunder from the indian profit from their plunder. The "human rights" of the Indian stolen in the past have never been restored.

It was this understanding of their own history, which was brought focus for them by the revolutionary times-by the great upsurges in the colonial world and by the Marxist understanding of what they meant-that inspired the present generation of Indian youth to demand, not "concess

.......

con a government bureau, but a full restoration of their historic right, heir "human rights".

Wounded Knee in 1890 did not "settle the Indian problem" by elisianting the Indians. Some survived. And in 1977 the second battle of manded Knee broke out, and jain, 200 to 300 federal troops and the FLI well, all armed to the teeth, and led by a man who beasted that he manded to "change the life-style of the Indians" (i.e. kill them), drew there steel ring around the little Catholic church in a small patch of the land in South Dakota, part of the Pine Real, reservation, where handful of the Sioux of the Oglalla tribe again stood at bay like their steel catholics last-ditch battle.

This time, however, the world was watching and in the 90 years better the first battle of Wounded Knee and the second battle of Wounded a fundamental change had meanwhile taken place in the world, and the world (and the Indians themselves) hailed the second battle of world (and the opening battle for their national survival and growth, as it seemed in 1890, as the end of themselves as a people.

But how did the "government" see it? Again, in 1973, as in 1890, "government" saw no er being committed, and no instance of a whole people, or even an individual,

Its reaction, its policy, was put by the then Secretary of the Interior Rogers C.B. Morton, who declared: "There is no way I or any other Secretary can undo the events of the past", and then he launched i into a diatribe against the leaders of the American Indian Movement (A.I.M.) who had been trying to undo the "events of the past" in the present as "renegades...youthful adventurers..criminals...the bloody past is their banner...". True, he admitted, unemployment among Indians was "high, very high, about three times the national average". But that, he added, was due to the "fact" that the "Indian worker is not where the motivation. The road of least resistance is all too often not to work or go out and seek a job." But, he concluded piously, "My prayer is that soon he will sit at his table and be thankful for the bounties of this land—his land—our land. I want his heart to swell with pride that he is an American and that for him there is an American dream".

So, after 200 years of burning, killing, pillaging, destroying corrupting the American Indian, wipping some tribes entirely off the face of the earth, and reducing others to mere shadows of their former selves, all that the American government, in its majesty, can offer today's Indians is "a dream".

Meanwhile, while the "dream" remains in the future the present is a nightmare. The jobs the Indian is "too lazy" to take are the marginal, minimal-paying jobs, dead-end jobs, which no white man will take. The Indians' life-span is about half average life-span of a white American, and he is prey to disease, alcoholism.

But, though the once "proud Indian" has been reduced to poverty, humiliation and the loss of his cultural heritage, none of this amounts to a deprivation of his "human rights". No crime--no ciminal.

The whole world is familiar with the history of enforced slavery of the African people in America. In fact, legally they were not "human beings", they were property, owned and even the noblest of the American bourgeois revolutionaries of the late 18th century felt no more than a winge of conscience even as they framed the "Declaration of Independence" in which they justified their revolutionary action to be free, and so saying, they broke the bonds from their own hands as they simultaneously forged the bonds on the hands of their slaves.

This was justified as the protection of property. And in this action lay the paradox which would grow from what seemed hothing more to a natural "right"--a man's right to his property--to the Frankenstein monster of history which did not stop at enslaving Blacks but enslaved whites in the guise of "free workers", as well, and continued to enslave Blacks even after they had ostensibly been emancipated.

Political freedom--the right of the ex-slaves theoretically to vote hold office, publish newspapers, etc.--did not ensure these rights in fact For although the body of the ex-slave was "free", in fact his need to exist forsed him to sell his body all over again into a new form of bondage that differed formally from his previous form of bondage, but in actual fact did not differ in essence.

In the hundred years of struggle that followed emancipation for the Blacks, it became clear that "freedom" was not equal to political freedom such as it was, but to owning property. Even if, in the most ideal search every adult Black had dutifully voted at the polls (though, in fact, he was not permitted to in the South), and even if every Black child had industriously applied himself to his schoolbooks, saved his money and shunned every vice, still the fact would have remained that if he did not also get his hands on property-and for Blacks this was next to impossible then he still remained no more than a supplicant outside the doors of privilege (i.e. freedom).

Two hundred years after the Declaration of Independence announced to the world that "all men are created equal", and over one hundred years after a bloody war was fought to free that one-tenth of the population which, for some inexplicable reason had been "forgotten" and left in chains, here, today in 1978, is what 200 years of "freedom" have accomplished for the American Blacks: "Their eyes are bleak. Some struttling down the street, speak with false bravado. Others stand listlessly on street corners speaking in monotones of what they think being an adult is like. Most can barely read or write. They lack good work habits the should have been built into their educational experience. They are 17 to 22 years old. The majority of them are minority (i.e. Black or Hispanic--P.B.) youngster. They are a lost generation". (Horace W. Morris, Executive Director of the New York Urban League, New York Times Feb. 2, 1977).

Here is a portrait of the "winners": "The idea of a 15-year-old driving a \$12,000 Mercedes-Benz sedan or placing \$500 and \$1000 bets on schoolyard basketball games boggles the mind. That hundred of yongster are making that kind of money from the narcotics trade is applling...."

Perhaps you think that these children are the worst in the ghetto backward, uneducated? No: "The children involved in this deadly busine may be the cream of the inner-city youth: they are recruited precisely because they are bright, resourceful, courageous and loyal. They have grown up in communities where juvenile unemployment is estimated to reach 65 per cent..." (New York Times, May 1, 1977).

In New York City, in 1975, a typical year, 54 youths under 16 were arrested for murder. There were 5,276 arrests for robbery and 1,240 we charged with felonious assault; 173 were arrested for rape and 125 for sodomy. Any day in New York City, from 80,000 to 160,000 chidren are truants from school.

Albert Shanker, head of the teachers union of New York City, declared publicly some years ago that the New York public schools proced "functional illiterates" who were flung on the labour market—or more correctly, on the unemployment lines—every year with less and l capacity to cope with the demands of a highly sophisticated technolog industry.

Over a hundred years after "emancipation" the average income of the Black American (and of other minorities) stands at less than 60 per cent of the average white worker's income. The Black worker is more likely to be unemployed, undereducated, and in his general atandard of living, fall far below the level at which most employed white people live.

And, 200 years after the Declaration of Independence, a presidential commission, appointed by President Johnson to look into the causes of the great urban upheavals in 1968, when 100 towns and cities went up in flames, came up with the dismal finding that "our nation is moving toward two societies, one black one white--separate and unequal"

But, though there had been monstrous oppression for centuries, still, "perhaps" in individual instance, like the case of the Wilmington Pen today, there were no grounds to charge that "human rights" were denied by government to the Blacks, they were not forbidden by government to use the means at their disposal to petition government, act politically to change things, and to publish and otherwise plead their cause So no crime-no criminals.

The Declaration of Independence had included a "guarantee" that seemed, at the time, not only very normal and logical but beyond question That "guarantee" was that every American citizen would have a right to his "property", to the protection of the state in the ownership of his property. In fact, only property-owners had the right to vote and to hold political office in early post-revolutionary times.

"Property" in the pre-monopolist era meant what one literally personally owned: one's house, one's business, factory, etc. Neither the Declaration, nor the Constitution, nor any of the early American bourgeois theoreticians envisaged monopoly, nor its later monstrosity, the conglomerates of monopoly-capital, the multi-national corporations in short, modern imperialism.

And yet, to this very day, the ownership, through interlocking directorates, etc., of vast corporations that control the lives, not only of Americans but of people far from America, is still equated with the ownership of a country-store, of a boarding house, a farm a carriage repair shop, even of a tixtile mill owned by a single family, or a ship that plied the seas. The individual farmer, fisher man, even ship-owner indeed had "one vote". Nobody would have dreamed then that his economic grandchildren would have the power to control the government in Washington and to dictate whether foreign governments would rise or fall.

In any case, property was installed as the central all-powerful force that would ultimately determine all things. But still problems arose. For if it was possible to drive the Indians, under whatever guise, off lands which they did not "own", and turn them into property, which then was owned, and if it was possible not only to kidnap Blacks from their African homes and bring them in irons to work in one's fields in America—and turn them into property, which you owned: you could buy and sell them turning free white native—born farmers into workers, whose labour one bought and then owned, presented quite another problem.

Indians and Blacks—as the Bible taught—were not Christians, and so they possessed no natural rights one had to observe. But white workers were declared "equal" to all others, as "equal" as the owner of the factory that hired them. And yet, it turned out that they were not.

From the very beginning--from the first desperate attempts to find aninstrument by which, in fact, they could more or less equalize their relationship to their employer--workers were branded as criminals for organizing unions, as "conspirators" for agreeing among themselves to withhold their labour until the employer granted certain demails.

And from that point on-from the American early 1960's until present day--the struggle of workers to find some mode of "equal; relationship between themselves and their bosses has continued in bloody battles.

Let this one portrait of that struggle down the bloody year claimed thousands of martyrs, and tens of thousands, even million victims, suffice, This "incident" took place on August 26, 1919 the famous Steel Strike. Fanny Sellins, one of those remarkable produced by the American labour movement, had made the cause of the workers the cause of her hert and soul. She had been highly such in getting the coalminers organized.

A dozen drunken deputy sheriffs, led by the mine official Allegheny Coal and Coke Company, tried to break through the pick that day. They came, not with petitions or arguments, but with blazing. Joseph Strzlecik, one of the pickets, fell mortally wo Fanny Sellins nearby, rushed to save him, to get the children ou the way of the Company savages. They were still clubbing Strzle bleeding on the ground, and when she pleaded with them not to ki they turned on her.

It hardly needs adding that nobody was ever arrested for the nor were the "human rights" of either the victims or the "throng women and children" ever considered for a moment, not then nor eat the brutal massacre of women and children at Ludlew, Colorade they were burned to death by the Rockefellers, nor later at Baby Bridge in Detroit when they were shot to death by Henry Ford. It union organizers was routine, subjecting members of unions to envariety of harassment was simple policy, slandering and lying at motives for organizing workers into unions was the dominant contithe "free press". Finally it amounts to a monstrous denial of elementary rights of human beings to use the methods they choose prove most beneficial to them, to better their lives.

But the Constitution has never accepted the "right" of wo: form unions and to withhold their labour in a strike as a basic right. Those laws passed by an employer-dominated Congress that certain rights to the workers (the passage of the Wagner Act) we renched out of their reluctant hands during the Depression year. (1929-40) only when redusing to grant them would have led to wo: revolts.

Even so, they were almost immediately diluted, compromise mined, twisted, even turned into their opposite by the passage labour laws like the Taft-Hartly law and the Landrum-Griffin lain effect, placed trade-unionism in the USA at the mercy of a bidominated Congress.

Today, over 100 years after the first American strikers windicted for conspiracy, one can still read in a magazine which leading idologist for American business: "Advising companies ward off labor organizers, or how to get rid of unions already scene, is fast becoming a growth industry of its own" (US News Report, Jan. 30, 1978).

Despite decades of struggle, oceans of blood being shed, personal tragedies suffered through, the American working class as hopelessly outside the gates of acceptability as it ever wa

All this may be true--and much, much more--the line adopt the Goldberg (who was once an attorny for the Steel Workers before he turned around and became one for the monopolists) ruit is all irrelevant and immaterial. For one can charge a vic "human rights" on the United States only when the means for prinjustice are proscribed by government action, and nothing else

Grimes against workers by employers are not crimes by the state.

In fact, workers have the means to seek justice for injury in the courts.

Indians have the right to protest, organize, petition Congress for reless of grievances. It is not forbidden by the government.

Blacks, too, enjoy all such rights. They may own newspapers to load their case, elect officials through the political process, petition angress to alleviate their suffering, if they can prove they truly are affering, and so work their will equally with all others.

Workers, too, have the right to petition, protest, organize, begind bluster in an attempt to persuade Congress to grant their winhes, it that's all. They may petition and beg for the right to a job. But hat right is not theirs. It is not granted to them as a birthright in the Constitution. It is not the law of the land that every man or woon to wants a job is thereby guaranteed one, as an employer is guaranteed rection of his private property.

If there is no right to begin with, one cannot therefore say that there is a denial of that right. On such sophistries does the whole case for "human rights" stand.

When the great French satirist Anatole France noted dryly that both he rich and the poor alike are free to sleep under bridges and beg, he anticipating the words of the present occupant of the White House, are he said: "Well, as you know, there are many things in life that are not fair, that wealthy people can afford and poor can't. But I don't believe that the Federal Government should take action to try to make nese opportunities exactly equal, particularly when there is moral factor involved."

It could hardly be stated any more plainly. If you are rich, you have rights, human or super-human. If you are poor, you do not, "particularly when there is a moral factor involved". Capitalist relations are cared. Q E.D.

It all boils down, therefore, to a very simple position, after all. In bourgeois countries, one has the right to petition for his human rights and this right to beg and plead is in essence his human right. In the socialist countries, the people already possess these human rights, and the need to be free to petition for them is therefore not only superfluous put ludicrous.

But even the assertion by bourgeois apologists that the individual in bourgeois countries has free access to the means of petitioning, begging, pleading with, presenting his case to do not hold up even under the most cursory examination.

The pillars upon which the freedom, the "human rights" of the individual were based, according to the American Bill of Rights, are the right to a free press, the right peacefully to assemble and petition Congress for a redress of grievances, the right to the security of person and property from unlawful search and seizure, the right to a free election etc.

Even more typically, state legislature, where anti-labour laws are readily passed—for instance, the so-called "ritht to work" law which makes union shops illegal—are no more than legislative extensions of basiness board rooms. For instance, a survey of the professions of legislatives of the nation's 50 state governments, made by the Insurance Information Institute (published in the US News & World Report, Jan. 9, 1978) reveals that most of the state legislators are either lawyers or business—an—over 70 percent—and those who are not (government employees, educators share their ideology. Of those listed as "labour, non-profit organization officials" there is a representative of only 1 percent.

All these "rights" by the way, are defined as existing in retionship to the "government". That is, any violation occurs cally the "government" moves against the press, not whan the press is seed by other (i.e. economic) means, when the government forbids frassembly and petition, not when a local authority does, or a gase, personal privacy and security are violated only when the government to do so not when private individuals (i.e. business, corporation and so.

But even this myth has been lately shattered. Revelations have come pouring out of Washington have destroyed forever the father that the press existed "independently" of government. The whole now knows that most of the press cooperate willingly (which, some find, saves "government's" honor after all: they were not presured do so) with the CIA in its crimes, the FEI in its.

But even before these revelations came out, nobody had any about how "independent" a monopoly press which was part and parcel monopoly itself could be. "Independence" toward government was act defined as the "independence" of a Republican-owned newspaper to a Democratic administration and the independence of a Democratic product determined by how "independent" it shows itself toward a Republicate administration.

But real independence was, in the past, and is today, just ruthlessly eliminated, by fair means or foul, as in any autocratic

Recent revelations that, to all intents and purposes, the est press worked hald-in-glove with the CIA (as it for years had works; the FBI) in order to suppress news, distort and falsify it, and not just trivial or marginal issues but on life-and-death issues, has vindicated what the Left has known all the time but now it was known the millions of Americans who all down the years had been the wict of "managed" news.

But if the "free press" is a myth, how much more a myth is to notion that every American is free to petition his government for redress of grievances without punishment?

It is now again publicly admitted--and it all punred out dur Water-gate--that, on the contrary, government, federal, state and keep a close watch on dissidents, enter their names into police do and then, by various means, extending from the vicious to the vicious punish them for their opinions.

Now, everybody knows in America what once only the Laft knew that is that the government, acting through the FBI and CIA, as we the military, infiltrated peace organizations, women's organization fact, all protest organizations, and through their agent-prova provoked crimes and violence that was contrary to the policy and of those organizations.

We know that telephones were systematically tapped, letters jobs were lost on FBI insistence and new ones refused, that homes ransacked secretly, and reputations destroyed by blackmail and so we know, too, that drugs were secretly used by government agents dissidents, and that, as in the case of the Black Panthers, open was instigated inside the movement resulting in several cases of we know, too, that the chief FBI agent, J. Edgar Hoover, climaxe lifetime career of framing labour rand left personalities by att to frame the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., the famous Black civi militant, and the possibility that he and his FBI might have been involved in his eventual assassination still remains an open que

ment, assassinated foreign leaders for political reasons, "de-si Chile as it had earlier "de-stabilized" Guatemala and other cou: with bribes, secret money deals, blackmail, had massively intervened in a whole series of other countries with bribes, secret money deals, blackmail, etc., climaxing this list of horrors by the Bay of Pige leading directly into the menumental crime of Fietnam.

But all this is shrugged off as the way wardness of evertly zealous administrators, and in any case, the blame, if blame there was, of "the previous administration".

Still, in America, the crowning glory of the democratic system is its right to vote freely for whatever party one chooses. But even this myth has been exploded recently. Not only has it come to grief on the question express their positions on a par with the "major" parties—(t by do not)— and on the question of whe ther or not the FBI and CIa interior with their operations (they do), but also the myth has been destroy d at its very centre. It is now also clear to millions where it was not as clear before (Watergate and Vietnam) that the two major parities are single monopoly-controlled parties and shuttle power between them without changing its essence.

And money is the name of the game. If in the "bad cld days"
political parties bought a citizen's vote for a silver dollar and mug of
beer, today the "change" is not so much in bribing the individual voter,
though it still happens, as it is in being able to buy enough TV, newspaper and other "time" and "space" to inundate him with your version of
things and events, to present your candidate as a personality (loving
father, dutiful husband, devoted chrch-goer, etc.: such a man in a good
man, he will be good for the country, etc.: vote for him).

With TV time priced, in 1976 at \$90,000 a minute, and with everyone acknowledging that the man who gets the most TV exposure is the man
most likely to win, obviously then those pareies that cannot afford
\$90,000 a minute for TV time cannot hope to make a showing at all.

And this is exactly how it works out. The man manufactured for TV exposure is an accowledged myth, a fiction—a character on films. That myth is voted for. The real man comes out from beneath the false-face only when he's safe in office and then there's nothing you can do about it.

But even though voting is touted in America as the essence of democratic freedom, the truth is that in federal elections hardly more than half of those eligible to vote actually do so, and in state and local elections, often the figure falls far below 50 per cent. The simple Eact is that most elected officials in America are elected by a minority of the citizens, not a majority.

In November 1977 a poll was taken by the New York Times and CBS
Tews in an attempt to find out why so many people eligible to vote
evertheless did not. The poll found that 55 percent of the voters they
interviewed and the same percentage of the non-voters believe that
"public officials don't care much about what people like me think".
Ind 58 percent of the voters and 59 percent of the non-voters believe
that "government is pretty much run for a few bit interests..." And,
hough 54 percent of the voters felt that "you can trust the government
o do what's right" some of the time, only 51 percent of the non-voters
hought so.

This skepticism about the two-party system, which has always been outed as guaranteeing political choice in America, further refelcts teelf in the steep drop of members in the Republican Party (only 20 ercent of the voters in 1977 admit to being Republicans) and almost as erious a drop for the Democrats who get somewhere from 40 to 48 percent. It those voters who classify immselves as "independents" now stand at tween 31-33 percent of the voters and signify a tremendous loss of infidence in the two-party system which has been traditional in the

One of the most fundamental rights of the people-a human right which leads to all other rights-is the right to know the truth. When a highly-controlled press poses as a "free press", this is a cruel descrition are endlessly sacrificed in meaningless wars, why they live atmosphere of intense anxiety, of unrelenting fear that war will brook out at any sement.

Here, then, is the entral myth in whose name the American prople are deprived of the most fundamental information about their own lives and the world they live in: that the threat of war comes from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries where "human rights" are consistently violated.

And this myth is used to cover up the truth which has been consented from the american people in a conspiracy of the press and government of the leaders of the intellectual world, church and schools, that is a convince people that the struggle of the people for their liberation is tyranny and that the rule of a minority against the majority is freedom.

Monopoly-capital is a monster whose appetite is so gargantuan that if devours governments and peoples, destroys the land, pollutes the air corrupts the youth, all in the name of "profit". Millions of human beings have been--and still are being placed on a never-ending conveyor belt of death that threatens to deliver humanity itself to its extinction

And chief among the suppliers of death weapons to the nations of the world where "human rights" have never existed, or if they did for moment, were almost immediately obliterated, is the United States.

"Between 1973 and 1977" writes Michael T. Klare, Fellow of the
"Institute for Policy Studies, (New York Times, Aug. 10, 1977), "these
10 worst offenders (of human rights: Chi,e South Korea, Thailand and
Uruguay among others.—P. B.) received \$1.1 billion in United States
military grants.—43 percent of all such funds disseminated during this
period... And despite President Carter's pledge to cut back on arms
deliveries to repressive regimes, these 10 countries are scheduled to
receive \$500 million more in United States military aid during the fascal
year 1977....

"Government records show United States agencies and corporations providing arms, equipment, training and technical support to the police and paramilitary forces most directly involved in torture, assassination and incarceration of dividian dissidents..."

So much for supporting "dissidents"! So much for "human rights"! evils today pessimism about curing even the mildest of social evils reigns everywhere.

Violent crime soars. It becomes routine, Guns proliferate, the us of them to settle problems, ranging from family quarrels to getting money, is almost as automatic as, for a good Catholic, going to church.

For crime and criminals, the New York Times (Sept. 16, 1977) write "Most prisons need to longer aspire to schools or counseling centers or anything but places with bars and locks."

Education? Popular education in America has suffered body blows in the last 20 years. This is signified not only by the deterioration in standards but also in the fact that a pronounced division between rich and poor, white and Black, has appeared in the American school system, which is being institutionalized in the enormous growth of privatchools and in the flight of white middle class to the suburbs.

On drugs, not only has the fight to stop the drug traffic ended in defeat, the spread of them to higher levels of society has increased, the same time the traffic is more and more firmly in the grip of the

les sorld which coins billions from it annually. It is a force one a log not only children but local and state governments.

irrnography has byoken out of its gest confines and has become a gional plague. It, too, is a billion-dollar industry in the tende of igsters who corrupt everyone they fough-from those she bry them, ducts to those she manufacture them and those she defined the appearance them in the name of "freedom".

The influence of new cults, religious and otherwise, wives. ording to a Gallup poll (1975) 32 million Americans believe in trology. Some 36 percent of the American people believe that "people sometimes possessed=+taken over in mind and body by a demon or a ril" (1974). About five percent of these say they accountly sew the ril with their own eyes or knew someone sho did.

Sociologists from the Universities of Delawars, New Hampshire, and ode Island reported (March 20, 1977) that their study of middle-clear gried couples revealed that "parents Kick, punch, or bits as many as 7 million children a year, "best up" 450,000 to 750,000 more and tack 46,000 with Knives or guns..., that 2,4 million children wiold ife or gun against brother and sister."

In September 1977, The President's Sommission on Mental Fealth notuded in a report that psychiatric and psychological disorder among gricans were work than previously believed and that one-quarter the population suffered severe emotional stress. The report estimated at "between 20 and 32 million Americans need some kind of mental dealth re at any time"... and that even those numbers were "conservative" and at it was probable that about 40 million Americans had diagnosable ntal disturbances and were in need of professional cares

Noted the New York Times (feb. 12, 1977): The number of suicides the US "is probably 35,000" annually ("probably" because many actual decides are reported as "accident" deaths). Of these, 5,000 are with between 15 and 2^{ls} years of age. Probably to be added to that where are some of the 5,000 who die from "accidental" overdomes of leeping pills.

The fact that millions of the American people are not enjoying seir human rights is denied by those who insist that the only definition of "human rights" consists essentially in whether or not the action government alone is denying its citizens the right to a free press, see speech, free assembly, or suppresses a system of free elections.

It does not matter if a man is jobless, for providing every are a jaranteed job is not included by bourgeois standards as a "right",

It does not matter if a man-or men, millions of them-cannot in the exercize their "freedom" of speech because they are unable to buy newspaper, radio station or TV, publishing house, etc, as long Wernment does not specifically enjoining him from doing so. It does thatter if "freedom of speech" actually in practice is "freedom" to subjected to the "freedom of speech" of those who own the media, as ong as someone has the theoretical freedom to buy and own these media.

It does not matter that the two-arty system is controlled by the ame class forces, as long as theoretically one is not prevented from pring aparty of one's own, no matter whether additionally in Act it is factically impossible to do so because of financial problems and also ther limitations placed on third parties.

It does not matter that the right to strike, to join a is not a basic, Constitutional right of workers, and is constant by forces aiming to eliminate those tentative "rights".

And so, on. "It doesn't matter," seen from the point of formal democracy. But obviously it does matter to millionas who feel less than human in a society in which their dignity affronted by the debased culture they are subjected to and wuncertainty of existence increases day by day.

The Helsinki Final Act (of which only the "Human Right exists for some) did not envisage unleashing a propaganda wa object was for one side to annihilate the other. The object Act was to find common ground which transcended all other di no matter how serious, on which both--or all sides could sta common ground is peace--is the acceptance of detente--whose not that one system is morally superior to the other but the balance of forces historically arrived at in the world preciment of outstanding issues by war.

- 13 - - - - - 3

TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN DANSANIA

By

Dr. Simon R. Namoki Institute of Development Studies University of Dar es Salans

THEORETICAL EXPOSE:

Interrelation Setween Technological Change and Social Transformation

Soier to and Technology means different things to different pople. Some people consider acience and technology as an activity anyolving basic scientific curiosity, while others associate science and technology mainly with the engineering aspects of science and technolary. Yet there are those she consider the political consequences of polying science and technology in society. There are other people some prime concern is to consider the revenues and costs associated with science and technology especially in research and/ or in importing mehinery, technical personnel, and information systems. In the third would, perhaps the only unifying factor with regard to science and tachnology are the suppliers of solutions, though only partial solutions, national developmental problems and as such, stience and technology been as the foundation for eccio-comenic development. Such problem naladministration, corruption, and injishes have no technological multion?. The interrelation between science and technology on one hand and culture and the environment of seciety on the other hand in complex illustrated in the following model:

(SAT) Develops Response
in maciety External SubSystem of of S
Society (Man WORE (Eavi
& his values (named &
norms, religions, nextal)
principles,
philosophy
etc).

External Sub-System of Society (Environment)

Challenge

Ideas (Theories & facts) Artefacts (Tools & Technologues) Organization

THUMBOLOGY

* This paper is a revised version of a paper which the author premented to a Staff-Students Seminor in the Institute of Development Studies of the University of D'Salaam in Markh 1966.

* The author is a Senior Leviurer in Development Studies specializing in Beished and Tachnology.

See Lay B., & Strasser, G., "Science and the Reeds of Society" in Science and Technology and the Pature,
E.G., Saur Verlag E.G. Muncher,
New York Pages, 1979, pp. 870-877.

Murthy, K.E., "Science, Technology and Secienty" in Science and Technology and the Future, E.G. Daur, Numches, New York London, 1979, p. 1072.

We are in full agreement with the Lidquists who have asserted that Widespread technological and social change interact so intimately that one kind of transformation is not possible without the other... Developing countries cannot experience the technological transformation necessary to achieve self-reliant development and meet minimum needs of their people without also experiencing a social transformation."

science identifies the need and provides the basis for technological solutions to social needs especially basic needs such as feed, water, shelter, chothing, health care and education.

To discuss technology and rural development in isolation of each other is a gr ss error because technology cannot be alienated from society or any development process be it urban or rural development. Technology is an ingredient or integral part of any socio-economic development process irrespective of reference to any pre-colonial, colonial or part = colonial societies. Early civilizations developed following the discovery of fire, metals, and subsequently the transformation of tools, beginnings of agriculture and accumulation of technical skills as well as organisational methods arising from specialization.

- The story of man's development can in some respects be traced from man's struggle and responses to varying environmental challenges. The role of science and Technology in development is to increase agricultural and industrial efficiency in production apart from promoting social welfare services.
- 1.2 P hilosophical Reconstruction of Linear Flow: Concepts/Resources to Solutions.

The following is a shematic representation of the flow or stages in secraling for solutions to social needs by utilizing science and technology:

Social Needs

Concept Rationalization Acceptance Involvement Satisfaction

Ideala & Principles

Policy

. Goal

Skill Resources

Concept Basic Applied Engineering Technology
Research R&D P&D R&D

Technical Development

Figure: Technical Development in Solving Social Problems:

Lauroe: _ _____

Lidquist, C., & Lidquist, O., Social Carriers of Techniques for Development SAREC Report: R3: 1979, Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with Development Countries, Stockholm 197, pp. 42-43

Source: Lay, R., & Strasser, G., op. cit; p. 872.

Therefore as less to the companies of any of the companies of the companie

- The state of the control of the control of the state of the control of the contro
- The provided fills of the pristing and perceptioned sections.
- Sin delens and cocces for more entry symposis is relative to
- The available described the results of a selected and according to a selected and according to a selected and according to a selected and according to
- There has no been necessary and complementary software direct country.

 Lang Care deeds and Choro about 5 and be an expectating sequential of the factors.

- Destinioners

The first postlo in the sense of the live in postably and their production former over the sense of the sense

In this jours, the sufficience the least Sechnology of deem sections of characteristics of the sufficience of the sufficiency o

Options to this show

Herent travels in sorder a colding and discussions on mural decreases and indicate a colding arrations of double and to seem extent scancer ristory in some secondary and to seem extent scancer ristory in some botal neglect of the cold of attents and technology in surel developments. For the is the copyer application of science and technology, not the forte, when more research as one of the department to succeed the succeeding in the factors. The control of the department of the development and make according to department of the development and make according to department of the development and make of the development and make according to definition.

This defens in the june of religions paper and dwelle on succepts to settledelogical issued of surel declined. The primary dejection of this paper is to locate the reprintestion of schemes and technology in the sequence and technology in the sequence of schemes and rection to the surely the author exhibition since operated and sublimate in the applicability of schemes and rection for mutal factories as shown that do by special reference to applicable to cural anter supply and great another course.

F I on Lev I. & Idenseed, G., on one side y 877

Tanzania is involved in a world based on technology, and we shall remain backward and dependent upon others until we are able to produce our own people with scientific skills.

In 1971, the TANU Bienniel Conference meeting in Dar as Salam resolved that Development Plans should put priority on the provision of sater, education and health:

The Party document, Siasa ni Kilimo 1 that is Politics is agriculture which is otherwise known as the Iringa Declaration of May, 1972 is another testimony of Tanzania's recognition of the central role of scientific knowledge and technology in development. Siasa ni Kilimo calls for the adoption of modern crop husbandary in order to attain national melf-infficiency in food and cash crops.

In 1973, the National Executive Committee of TANU passed and issued guidelines for the establishment and advancement of small scale industries es in order to enable Tanzania exploit and utlize fully her natural resources such as minerals, water, fisheries, forests and so on. low technical capability in industry, including small scale industries, can be explained mainly by Tanzania's history of colonial domination and exploitation which left Tanzania (Zanzibar and Tanganyika), at independence without much expertise in engineering and technology, and without a strong economic base to use her natural resources. At present, it is only the small scale industries which Tanzanians can establish and ranage without having to rely heavily on foreign assistance, especially if Tanzanians form Co-operative Societies on an Ujamaa (socialist) basis. Such is the case because small scale industries do not require very heavy investment, and often sophisticated large machinery or highly specialized expertise are not needed. One objective of Ujamaa policy is bring about transformation and revolution in the rural areas in technology and knowledge in general.

II MODERNIZATION OF ABRICULTURE:

2.1 Factors in Modernization of Agriculture:

"Technology is but one of the many factors which limit a ricultural improvement... In general, agricultural development may be limited by may factors and a systems approach is necessary." 14 Mosher, for example has identified ten factors as being universal for agricultural development, of which five are 'essentials' including markets, technology, local availability of imput supplies, production incentives, and transportation. Without any of these, there can be no agricultural development. In addition, there are 'accelerators' including markets, technology, local availability of input supplies, production incentives, and transportation. Without any of these, there can be no agricultural development. In addition, there are 'accelerators' to development, which are important but not indispensable, including education, production credit, group action by farmers, land improvement and development, and national planning.

2.2 Low Agricultural Productivity:

Tanzania's economy is dominated by the agricultural sector. Thus, the modernization of the agricultural sector is very crucial not only to the economy as a whole but also for the socialist transformation of the rural economy which involves nearly 92% of the people of Tanzania.

¹⁰ See TANU, Maazimio ya Mkutano Mkuu wa 15 na 16, TANU, Dar es Salaan, 1971, (Resolution No. 18, 15th TANU Biencial TANU Conference).

See TANU, Agizo la Halmashauri Kuuuya Taifa Juu ya Kuanzisha na Kuendeleza Viwanda Vidogo Vidogo Nchini, TANU, Dar es Salaam, 1975 pahagraphs 3 and 6.

We must, in other words, aim at creating a nation in which Ujamaa farms and communities dominate the rural sconomy and set the social pattern for the country as a whole. 15

Nyerere's observation was made at the time of the Arusha Declaration in 1967. While it is true that agriculture dominates the national economy the place at which the agriculture has been modernized in most parts of Tanzania warrants serians concern. Five years later, (1972) the them ruling party, Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) had to issue guillines on possible steps to take in order to modernized agriculture

"Our agricultural efficiency has gone down since independence... our methods of (crop and animal) husbandry have not improved, that the increases in output are in output are much less than they should given the labour effort expended. 16

Yet by October 1979, agricultural efficiency had worsered in Tanzania According to a Chama cha Mapinduzi Report, cotton production dropped from 418,845 balas in 1976/77 to an expected 285, 706 bales in 1979/80 while sisal production dropped from 209,303 tonnes in 1968/69 to 89,900 tonnes in 1977/78.

The large scate farms and estates which use only about 10% of cultivated land, employing less than 5% of agricultural labour, produce nearly 50% of the export crops. The following table fives average crop yields by Tanzanian peasants, who most of whom don't use fertilizers and do not follow other modern crop husbandry practices, and possible crop yields which could be obtained under Tanzanian conditions if modern crop husbandry practices, and possible crop yields which could be obtained under Tanzanian conditions if modern crop husbandry practicer were followed.

Table 1: Average Crop Yields by Tanzanian Peasants for 1978: and Possibl Yields for Modern Crop Husbandry (Tonnes/ha)

Crop	Average Yield/ha Possible Yield/ha (without manure, (for modern crop husban insecticides)	dry)
Maize Cassava Sorghum Groundunts Rice (Faddy) Mixed Beans Cotton Round Potatoes Sweet Potatoes Bananas	0.2 - 2.6	

Source: Ministry of Agriculture, Dar es Salaam, 1978.

¹² See TANU, Maazimin ya Mkutano Mkuu wa 15 na 16, TANU, Dar es saleas 1971, (Resolution Nr. 18, 15th TANU Biencial TANU Conference)

^{13.} SEE TANU, Agizo la Halmashauri Kuu ya Taifa Juu ya Kuanzisha na kuendeleza Viwanda Vidogo Vidogo Nchinia TANU Dar es Salaam, 1973 paragraphs 3 and 6.

Jones, G., The Role of Scoemce and Technology in Developing Countroxford University Press, London, 1971, pp. 53-59.

Nyerere, J.K., Socialism and Rural Development, Government Printer
Dar es Salaam, 1967, p. 15.

^{16.} TANU, Siasa ni Kilimo, TANU, Dar es Salaam, 1972, p. 6 (TANU, Politics is Agriculture, TANU, Har es Salaam, 1972, p. 6).

¹⁷ See Tanganyika Standard (Newspapers) Ltd, Sunday News, No. 1396, October 28th 1979, Dar es Salaam, p. 1.

The average crop yields for most crops are just about 30% of attained yields, as has been demonstrate by research institutions, if modern crop husbandry practices are used.

One of the reasons for poor agricultural performance in rural arous is poor extention senices. It is estimated that the agricultural tochmician cates for nearly 5,000 peasants. Some of the reasons for the low productivity of the small farmers are inadequate technical know-how; poor agricultural credit-worthiness; inadequate organization for effective production programures; inadequate dissemination of agricultural research findings to farmers, and inadequate professional advice. The agricultural extension is inefficient. In 1978 there was one agricultural field technician to every 1500 farmers which means that on the average, one farmer could have the service and attention of such a technician on the farm for a maximum of only one full day's consultation and demonstration in four to five years! Besides that, the extension staff are ill equipped and have in most cases to serve on many other district projects, for a variety of crops, amidst poor means of transport in the rural areas.

2.3 Utilization of Agricultural Inputs:

The application of manure and artificial fertilizers in any country is an intricate activity which needs careful attention because blanket prescription of certain doses of fertilizer to large agricultural zones of different soils could infact lead to soil deteoration and in some cases less crop yields per unit area. In volcamic red soil fikurusi), also known as laterite soils, as is the case in large areas of Shinyanga Mwanza and parts of Mara region, guess-work-methodology in the application of Sulphate of Ammonia intensifies acidity of soil. This can lead to low crop productivity. Vullagers of Ihayabuyaga Village in Geita district, for example, have established that when they use artificial fertilizers, such as Triple Super Phasphate and Sulphate of Ammonia, their average weild per acre is not as high as when they use cow-dung martre according to recommended dosage. In 1976/77, Ihayabuyaga villagers had a 74 acre communal maize farm. They used artificial fertilizers, we hope correctly! and they got 164 bags of maize which is an average of 2.2 bags of maize per acre. In the following year, 1977/78, the same villagers, on the same piece of land, under very similar climatic conditions realized an average of 3.5 bags of maize per acre after using cow-dung manure.

Redent studies by the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Dar es Salaam indicate that a substantial percentage of the required agricultural inputs which is delivered to villages is left to rot in village stores or in homest-ade as is illustrated in the following table:

Table 2: Utilization of Agricultural Inputs in Kigogo Village/Kibondo District - 1978.

Fertilizer/ Insecticide	int De	elivered	Amoun	t used	Percentage	Utilized
T.S.P. C.A.N. S.A. H 632 DDT	312		226		50% 77% 48% 41% 60%	

The following table concerning the utilization of fertilizers and insecticides also strengthens the assertion that a substantial amount of agricultural inputs are not used.

Table 3: Use of Fertilizers in Geita Cotton Project Villages - 1975/76 Growing Season.

Input	Total Input Delivered	Total Input distri- buted	Balances stored is ho- mesteads	Percentage distributed but not used	Balances stored in Village Stores
#TSP (50kg bag	28,034	21,429	5,655	26%	6,605
-Sa (50Kg bag	.57,930 s)	40,455	12,455	30%	17,475
-Thiodap (litres)	152,787	56,353	*	*	96,434

Source: Tanzania Cotton Authority,

Geita Cotton Project Quarterly Report, January-March 1976, Annex 6 (a) and 6 (b) See also, Quarterly Report of same profer April to June, 1976.

among reasons cited for the apathy with regard to the use of fertilizand insecticides is general ignorance and general fear of peasants coming credit terms for agricultural inputs given to them by the Tanzan Rural Development Bank. This observation is quite pronounced in the World Bank financed Project and also in the Geita Cotton Project, also financed by the World Bank.

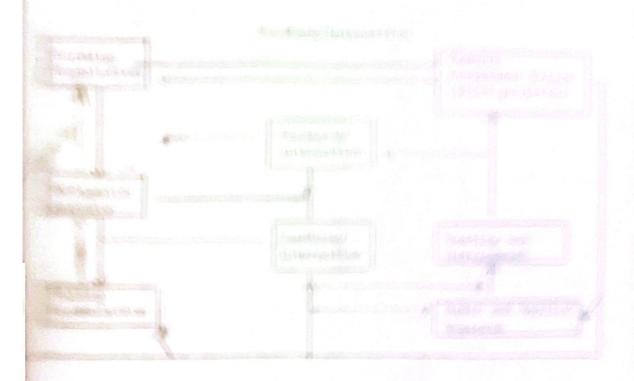
The other aspect concerning the use of agricultural inputs is the problem of late delivery and distribution of agricultural inputs to make in good time for the planting season. In a typical village, Ihuli Geita District, out of a total of 1200 bags of Triple super Sulphate delivered to the village by September 1975, only 170 bags (that is lowere distributed to peasants by December 31st 1976. The oplimum reconded planting dates for cotton in that zone are from 15th November to January 15th. This means that there were only two weeks left for the planting/sowing season and yet the fertilizer, TSP, which is used for dressing fields before sowing was still not distributed. There are pof cases of this type of delayed delivery and/or delayed distribution fertilizers, insecticides and pesticides.

2.4 Agricultural Mechanization of Tractormania?

Agricultural Mechanization is the replacement of human labour in agricultural production and processing activities by machines including the performance of activities such as ploughing, harrowing, sowing, he sting, milking and milk-processing as well as the transportation of agricultural inputs and agricultural products. Agriculture in Tanzan is still largely subsistent and only about 10% of farmers employ farm machinery. Unfortunately, nowadays, there seems to be a growing tend to identify and single out only tractorization as agricultural machantion. This tendency is unfortunate because firstly, tractors are verexpensive to buy and maintain and most peasants cannot afford them; a secondly there are simpler, cheaper and more appropriate technologies as ox-carts and ox-ploughs which could be made/used easily in the runareas. It would ofcourse be necessary to establish rural workshops and adequate facilities and staff for maintenance and repairs.

Very little systematic research and development has been done regaricultural machanization in the third world, Tanzania included, espling so gencerning research on the utilization and problems of tractor tion. Objectives of research and development activities in agricultural should be to increase labour productivity, to increase land productive to reduce drugery, to increase employment, and to increase real income

The Cibianies By a disease to the character of the contract of



And the second process of the second second

The property of the control of the c

The Appropriate to the control of th

TZ 26923 TB 26929 TZ 26926 MZH 547 MZH 545 MZH 543	Tractor No. Village
Kasamwa Lubanga Busolwa Kamhanga Kamhanga Project Farm	Village
Office 20 25 15 15	Approx. Km from G.C.P.* Head
76.29 47.99 47.99 76.37	Tractor hours
0 N P D M N P	Tractor Days done
68.0 45.0 49.5 18.0 62.0	Acrease done
8199658 9009+55	Acreage per day
917.0 450.0 860.0 260.0 245.4	Fuel used
13°5 14°5 14°5 14°5 14°5	Fuel litres/

Source: Tanzania Cotton Authority, Geita Cotton Project Quarterly Report, Jan - March 1975, Dar es Salaam, 1976.

This data does clearly indicate that not all the tractors were being used efficiently taking into account the low level of acreages ploughed and the oil consumed. For example, tractor TZ 26929 did only ll acres in 2 days where this could be trebled and yet 40.9 litres of diesel were consumed per acre as against an Average of 10 to 11 litres per acre for tractors which operated on the Project Farm; very close to the Project Head Office.

G.C.P. Means Geita Cotton Project.

The tractor seems of the Geita Cotton Project was perhaps the popular feature of the services offered by the project.

teen our belief that increasing agricultural production is tantamount to mechanization-the tractor, bulldozer and caterpillar will salvage our agriculture. The exemization programmes started in 1969/70 have made no or little progress inspite of the fact that this matter was given new inpetus in 1974 by a directive from the Prime Minister...to the effect that the explough should be given due attention in the village development programme. 19

2.5 Food Storage Systems:

exhort peasants to produce more food is one thing but to ensure that the food produced is used proporly is another thing. Between 30% to of the food produced in the third world, mostly in the tropics is sestroyed every year through improper harvesting, or storage or lack means of transportation to ferry food crops from farms to homesteads from homesteads to marketing stations and industrial processing centres. For Tanzania, this percentage of food wastage is estimated to between 35% to 80%. It is therefore very important that our science and technology system should face this challenge in order to prevent these excessive losses of food. The most common method of crop storage in rural Tanzania are huts made of poles and plastered with mud or wet oung (makologoto). Over the past five years, the National Milling corporation has launched a programme of building silos but such storage technology has has already proved to be too complex and sophisticated to be of immediate use in rural Tanzania. There is need to put more emphasis on improving traditional crop and food preservation techniques. In this regard the Tanzania Food and Nutrition Centre has a crucial role to lead other research in stitutions.

Regarding the use of chemicals for crop/food preservation, apart from developing simple but effective food storage systems, peasants should be educated on the importance of utilizing such facilities and also the dangers of chemicals used in preserving some food crops and seeds. For example, it is not uncommon to find that some ignorant peasants wash maize seeds which had been treated with KYANAKIL (CAN) and then they make flour and prepare a maize meal from such poisonous flour.

III RURAL WATER SUPPLY SCHEMES:

3.1 Provision of Rural-Water Supply in Tanzania:

Water is essential for agricultural, industrial and domestic purposes. According to a Report of the United Nations Water Conference held at Mar del Plata, Aggentina in March 1977, the world does not lack fresh water. The toral global supply is sufficient to meet needs into the foresceable fonture. The problem is availability. The report emphasized that "water tends to be available in the wrong place, at the wrong time, or with the wrong quality.20

In Tanzania, the provision of water supply to rural communities is one of the top priorities of the Party's (CCM) and the government's rural development programme. By June 1969 the end of the first Five Year Revelopment Plan, a total of 1,452,000 rural people approximately 10% of the population, had been previded with clean potable water.

¹⁹ Ngassongwa, J.M., Rural Development: An Assessment of Socialist
Rural Transformation during the first Decade
of the Arusha Declaration, (mimeo), University of
Dar es Salaam, 1977.

At the end of the second Five Year Development Plan, an additional 1,754,000 people had been provided with clean water in villages bring the percentage of the population with clean water to 17%. The implementation rate was to provide 1.2 million rural people with water to 100,000 people in the villages have been provided with improved supply per year. Thus, a total of about 5,000,000 people out of the rural population have improved Water Supply (end of 1979); that is approximately 36% of the rural population.21 At that place, it is approximately 36% of the rural population.21 At that place, it is alignly that all 8630 recognized villages will have improved water supply 1981. Infact, it is highly probable that the actual percentage is slighly below 36% because of rising costs of contruction materials, rocketing oil prices, and general inflationary trend, all of which must have damped down the pace of implementation.

3.2 Self-Help in Rural Water Supply Schemes:

A variety of strategies are used in implementing rural water explorate projects with emphasis on simple schemes and mobilizing self-help efficient of the local people. The aim of people's participation is to involve rural people in the development of their own water supplies. If such participation is to be effective, the technology used has to be within the people's general knowledge, economic base, and has to be that white demands abilities and skills which the people possess.

Water supply systems differ in their potential for development cases self-help basis. Favourable technologies for people's participation should therefore possess most of the following qualities:20

- (a) They should be low in cost.
- (b) Rural people should, with some kind of training, be able to operate and maintain the water supply system. That is, the technology used in the water supply system should not demand a high level of technical skill.
- Ic) The system should make as much use as possible of locally available materials, and should avoid heavy reliance on important materials, such as energy fuels.
- (d) Local labour should be used whenever possible and capital equipment (heavy machinery) should never be used instead of labour.

In a study on the impact of self-help in rural water supply in Tanzania, Mujwahuzi made a comparative evaluation of four technologies which are the main methods of extracting water from the hydrological cycle the methods are desalination from oceans condensation from the atrosphere foof and ground catchment from rainfall; dams, wells and canals from suface water and springs, and wells (and boreholes) from groundwater. The following table gives the various technologies used in water supply systems and their corresponding potential for local people's participation in project implementation and also the potential for utilization of local materials.

²⁰ See Omo - Fadaka, J., "The Misuse of Science and Technology". In Science and Technology and the Future, op. cit., p. 1152.

²¹ See Tanzania, Government of, Third Five Year Development Plan for Economic and Social Development, 1976-1981, Part One: General Perspectives, Government Printer, Dar es Salaam, 1978, pp. 2, 69-70.

²² See also Tanganyika Standard (Newspapers) Ltd, SUNDAY NEWS, Dar es-Salaam, 4 November 1979, p. 1.

²² Mujwahuzi, M.R., The inpact of Self-Help in Rural Water Supply in Tanzania, mimeo, University of Dar es Salaam, 1977, -P. 31.

Participation Qualities of Water Supply Systems

Type of Water Supply System	Low in Cost	Simple Technology	Local Materials	Local Labour Used
Oceans and Atmospher	9:			
Desalination: By mechanical				
Plants	No	No	No	No
Condensation/Atmo sphere Rainfall:	No	No	No	No
Roof catchment	Medium	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ground catchment: Improving surface	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Soil treatment	Medium	Yes	No	Yes
Lining catchment	Medium	Yes	No	Yes
Surface Water Source	s:			V
Ponds and Tanks	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Reservoirs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Groundwater Sources:				
Hand-dug wells	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Tube wells:				
Bored wells	Medium	Yes	No	Yes
Driven wells	Medium	Yes	No	Yes
Jetted wells '	Medium	No	No	No
Boreholes:				
Rercussion	High	No	No	No
Rotary	High	No	No	No

Source: Mujwahuzi, M.R., op.cit.

Desalination by use of mechanical plants brings improvement both in quantity and quality of water obtained. But as a system which has to be used in rural areas of underdeveloped countries this system has many disadvantages. The major constraints for this technology is that the technical know-how required in building the plants call for special expertise, the costs involved in purchasing the machinery and equipment are high and operating costs are also high. If a desalination plant is to be built in an underdeveloped country, machinery has to be imported. Pherefore, construction and running of such plants would depend on coreign experts, and local labour would hardly be used. Due to the mature of the required technology, this system of water supply cannot seasily taught and acquired by the rural populations.

Cloud seeding is known to increase the amount of precipitation but technology required and the costs involved in inducing rainfall akes this approach to water supply unsuitable for development in rural reas.

Roof catchment system of collecting rainwater seems to be the easiest ay of obtaining water for domestic purposes in rural areas. The system rings an improvement in both quantity and quality of water. The system an be built in almost any village materials as well as locally available

nent system is the cost of the roof and storage. This system is cuit especially in areas which experience only adequate seasonal rainfall, but in such cases large storage units would be needed and these are costly to build. Another advantage of using this system is that it is flexibile. The system can be made for use by and for one homestead, collecting rainwater from one house roof, or it can be built with a group of households collecting rain water from individual house-roofs and leading it into a central storage unit. 23

Among the three ground catchment systems, surface improvement alternative seems to have the highest potential for participation since it does not require the use of imported materials, as is the case with the other two alternatives; and it can easily be developed by the local people. The only problem with this system is in the poor quality of the water collected. 24

3.3 Operational Problems of Rural Water Supply

There are a number of problems which have hindcred the regular prevision of improved water to rural communities in Tanzania. Many rure water supply systems are tither in very poor working condition or not operating at all. In a study of rural water supply in Dodoma district, out of thirty one water supply projects in the survery, only nine were in some form of working condition, and the remaining twenty two were of order were for supply of water to 57,065 people, 80,183 cattle, 28,399 goats and 8820 sheep. Some of the main factors which were identified for this poor state of affair regarding rural water supply, and this is not limited to Dodoma District, are lack of trained personnel for operating, maintaining and repairing water supply systems, lack of maintanance facilities, inappropriate design of projects including post selection of machines, lack of transportation facilities and general lack of involvement of the village communities in the development, operation and maintenance of rural water supply projects. See Appendix

With the frequent shortage of diesel in rural areas, from time to time, even some of the water supply systems which are in good working order do not serve the people because they do not operate for up to 30% of the time. There is one other problem of rural Water supply systems which concems village planning and engineering design of water projects. A number of rural water supply schemes are now overbabed or over strains in that such systems were orginally planned to serve sumaller population than they are presently being expected to serve. A good example of this is the Kalemela Igalukilo Water Supply Scheme in Magu District is now serving slightly over twice the original population and livestock than had been anticipated during the planning and design stage. A similar problems of an overloaded Water System occured at Lusanga Village in Muheza district where the water supply from an undergound source, was also diverted and extended to the nearbly Muheza District Headquarters which was not catered for in the original design and choice of machinery or tanks. A new water supply for Muheza has now solved this problem.

²³ See Mujwahuzi, M., op cit.

²ª Ibid.

²⁵ For details See Mujwahuzi, M., A Survey of Rural Water supply in Dodoma District, BRALUP Research Paper No. 57, University of Dar es Salaam, 1978, pp. 7-17.

ENERGY AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT:

Energy in Socio-Economic Development:

All systems, whether natural or man-made depend on energy. Energy on essential input in the development of society. The introduction agriculture and eventually industrialization in human history were paralleled profound energy and social revolutions:

Energy revolutions in the sense that each vastly increased energy availability over the former period; social revolutions in that each increased the scale of society and rearranged the social order around new technologies. As fossil fuels, the energy of industrialization, are depleted, the would enters into the third and most important energy and social revolution in the development of civilization... The evolution of civilization over more than a million years can be seen as a successful quest to control greater amounts of energy through social organisation in three different energy and social systems; hunting and gathering, agriculture and fossil fuels. 26

2 Main Features of Energy Consumption in Rural Areas:

Villagers in Tanzania as in other African countries, use very little n-human or dead energy. There are three district features of energy nsumption in Tanzanian's rural sector. First, Tanzanian peasants pend very heavily on muscular energy to perform all basic activities or human survival. The second main feature of the rural population's nergy consumption pattern is that most energy is derived from firewood getation based sources. Charcoal is also widely used for cooking but his is more so in the urban centres than in the rural areas. It has en estimated that more than 95 per cent of Tanzanian wood volume conamption in the form of fuelwood and poles is consumed in the rural reas. 27 It has also been estimated that a minimum consolidated forest eserve of 75 hectares per village is required if villages are to eplenish at por the wood that is used annually and simultaneously reserve habitat from degradation. Most villages in Tanzania do not are even a third of that much area of forest reserve to keep the balance etween supply and demand. There is now an afforestration deficit counting for foolwood shortage of 18 million cubic metres per year n 1977 rising to a projected shortage of 20.7 micm by 1985. The wailability of firewood is now approaching a crisis point in some areas specially in the regions of Mwanza, Dodoma, Mbeya Singida and Shinyanga. the degradation of the environment is being aggravated by excessive over razing, poor crop husbandry/cultivation and compaction resulting in lemage to soil. (for data on afforestation and charcoal statistics, see Appendices B and C). It is predicted by energy experts that Mainland Canzania will be alsmost a desert in 60 years time if urgent and sontilous afforestation and forest conservation measures are not taken and implemented. Robert Lamb writing on the role of the tree Laucaenia in in the Tanzanian Daily News observed that:

Everyday, the peasant must go a little further away from the village to find firewood. Every day the charcoal burner charges a little more. Everyday, more forests are felled and soil erosion grows worse. This is the poor man's energy crises.

Candidate No. 00489, The choices in the Next Energy and Social

Revolution, Unpublished Paper, World Future Studies Federation,

Rome, 1977, p. 1

²⁷ Mnzava, E.M. Village Afforestration in Dodoma District (mimeo)
Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism Dar es Salaam. 1977.pl.

²⁸ See Lamb, R., "One Answer to African Energy Crisis," Daily News Tanganyika Standard Newspapers 11/10/08, Dar es Salaam, .p.2

by & Emergy for Bural Industriest

At the district and vilings levels, Tanzania's twenty year industrialization atrategy (1975-1995) provides for the gatablishment and promotion of flexible, small scale rural industrise simple technology. This is one of the efforts to depentralise predicts enterprises to districts and villages. This move to desentraliza in a trice, especially small scale industries, will sertainly mean that the development of appropriate energy systems for rural small scale industry cannot new be left to be on an adnos basin. Morein lies the important Promotion o of energy planning and development for the rural scotor. small scale industries is expected to raise the standard of living 85 masses of workers and peasants; to utilize existing or traditional seri and local resources for the promotion of socialism and self-reliances increase employment opportunities in rural areas; bring about a . . testing logical revolution' in the gural areas through the dissemination of environmentally appropriate technologies; and to enhance a regional di persal of industries.

V PENEWABLE ENERGY RESOURCES, POTENTIAL FOR APPLICATION IN BURAL

5.1 Potential for Solar Energy Systems:

It is considered appropriate to investigate other means of direct harmessing of solar energy. Our country is not very rich in every resources, but the solar intensity which it receives is comparatively high. This form of energy could be used on small scales in villages where it can be put to various uses. The sun effect on this country produces a variety of topographical features resulting in winds which can harmessed and used for pusping water for domestic use and irrigation in the villages. It is clear therefore that the impact of the rural areas of our country as a result of the availability of less expensive and easily accessible form of energy can be quite prefound. 31

East Africa, of which Tanzania is a part, gets about 3,000 hours sunchine per year giving 400 to 600 calories per cm² at ground level. far, very little Solar energy technologies can be used for heating water for domestic purpuses, distrillation of water for drinking, drying cross water pumping, refrigeration and generating electricity in small units. However, Tanzania has already made a modest start in research and development of renewable alternative energy systems.

5.2 Windpower development in Tanzania. (32)

Blightly ever 50 per cent of Tanzania has favourable wind regimes to run windmills and good potential therefore exists for wind-driven general not only for water pumping but also for supplying telecommunication state like telephone repeaters in remote areas, as well as for supplying electricity to institutions like dispensaries and governmental offices. In 1974, therewere thirty two windmills in mainland, Tanzania. The major of these windmills were located either in the semi-arid regions, of Shinyanga and Dodoma, for water pumping.

²⁹ See TANU, Agizo la Kuanzisha Viwanda Vidogo Vidogo, TANU, D'Salaam 1973, p. 9

³⁰ See Mramba, B.D., "Development of Small Scale Industries in Tanzania" in Rural Technology, op.cit.

³¹ Hon. Al-Noor Kassum, (Minister of Water, Energy and Minerals) Address in Tanzania National Scientific Research Council 40.8.

National Academy of Sciences, Workshop on Solar Energy for the Villages of Tanzania, Bar es Salaam, 1977, pp.63 - 67.

³² This section has been shorted and adapted from Reichel, R.S., Wind Fower Programmes in Tanzania, in Proceedings of the Second International Symposium on Wind Energy Systems, Amsterdam, 1

Shinyanga, various industrial made windmills have been tried like othern Gross, Comet, Climax, Lubing etc. as well as locally produced pes. To date 1979, there are 60 installed, and operating, windmills, Tanzania. A small local firm, Ujuzi Leo industries, is now fabrican windmills at a cost of Tshs 18,000 (though US 3 2250) compared to east of importing similar windmills at about eight times that price ich is paid in foreign currancy.

The Faculty of Agriculture, Forestry and Veterianacy Science of University of Dar es Salaam has been conducting research and design rk on which performed satisfactorily after a few design charcoal stoves. Faculty of Engineering fabricated a windmill for water pumping in 76. It pumped water for nearly two years for nearly two years for a all agricultural project in a perfurban area of Dar es Salaam called mdale. A recent study made at the same Faculty has shown conslusively at windpower is not only technically feasible in Tanzania but also more conomical than an entirely diesel based system of same size for a village wer station with a 45 kW wind-driven generators, bank of batteries, static DC_AC inverter and a small emergency diesel pump for back-up.

3 Biomass Energy Systems:

At present (end of 1979), Tanzania has nearly 50 biogas (gobar gas) lants operating. These are distributed all over Tanzania but mainly in he northern regions of Mwanza, Mara and Arusha. These biogas plants ange in cost from Tis. 5,400/= for 2m³ capacity to Tis. 35,000 for 10.5m³ apacity at 1978 prices. There are tentative plans to instal more community size gas plants in village communities in the new capaital ity of Dodoma and in Shinyanga Region. These community size gas plants re dedigned to maximize and each collection of dung. These community as plants can generate more energy, at a cheaper price, than rural lectrification because not only do you get gas for cooking or heating, at also you collect a by-product, suitable as a fertilizer, from the ludge which issues from the bio-digester drum. The Indian experience ith biogas has shown that biogasification in the rural areas is a cheaper, etter and simpler energy system than rural electrification.

A rural biogasification project has been planned by OXFAM for community institutions especially rural dispensaries and for some lamilies in Shinyanga Region, in the nrothern part of Tanzania, which is one of the regions where fuelwood is already in short supply. It is planned to instal one-familypsize biogas digesters at official residences of Village Managers and in this way, it is hoped that the biogas technology will diffuse and will be socially accepted smoothly without much birth pangs. Already an OXFAM sponsored biogas-utilization willage has been identified and biogas plants are in operation at Makoko Village in lusoma, Mara Region, where the gas is used for domestic purposes. Another rillage, Majengo in Arusha region is using biogas for afew homes under the Arusha Appropriate Technology Project.

1.4 Other On-Going Rural Energy Studies:

5.4.1 Rural Energy Research Centre:

The Tanzania National Scientific Research Council plans to launch Solar Energy for Villages Pilot Project under which it is proposed to establish a Rural Energy Research Centre in one of Tanzania's semiarid areas, Dodoma, so as to carry out research an deforestation and afforestation. The centre will also conduct field tests of photovoltaic and themodynamic devices, and windmills for water pumping/electricity generation. Other areas of research will include field tests at the centre will also include biomass systems for family units and for rural communities. It is hoped that the project will also include a training part for rural technicians and workshop for local fabrication of various energy devices using, where possible, local resources.

5.4.2 Tanzania Rural Energy Congumption Study:

A two year Sural Energy Consumption Study is in progress at the Institute of Development Studies. Principal Researcher D. Simon E. Nkonoki, the author of this paper. The results of the survey which examine energy resource demand and supply in fifteen villages will used to forecast, and hence plan for, village energy needs including afforestation.

5.4.3 Scope for Further Bural Energy Research and Development.

There is a lot of scope for studying various energy aspects in the rural areas almost from first principles. Energy for rural comties has always been taken for granted, and there is now an urgent to educate the masses on intelligent consumption of energy for rural transportation, for agricultural and for small scale industrial act; The following aspects need immediate attention.

- (i) Zonal variation in energy supply and demand. This should include the major energy deficit in such region and the potential renewable sources.
- (ii) Characteristic patterns of energy utilisation in rural and in urban areas and the impact of energy shortages.
- iii) Comparison of calcrific values of firewood, charcoal, coal, groundnut husks, coconu husks etc.
- iv) Further investigations of suitable collectors for photothe mal conversion of solar radiation.
- v) An investigation of possibilities of fabricating local devices for solar cooking and for photovoltaic conversion of solar radiation.
- vi) Energy storage systems including food preservation systems like solar driers.
- vii) Further development of Family and Community size Biogas digesters.

VI. CONCLUDING REMARKS:

Tanzania, like most developing countries, has to raise agricultum productivity, improve quality and quantity of water supplies and has a energy conscious. The challenge of Socialist rural transformation in Tanzania must be based on attaining a higher level of agricultural efficiency includes research and the application of science and technicand hence technological change all of which must take cognizance of the political, and socio-economic parameters of the Tanzanian environment to play in the popularization of science and technology for rural far as possible in research, development and development. Rural people should be involved as far as possible in research, development and implementation of technologically oriented projects so as to ensure smooth diffusion and acceptability of technical change among them.

Table 5: Water Supply Projects Developed by W.D. & I.D.: 1966-1976

Yasy	Earth Dams, Catchment Tanks,	Gravity Pipe lines and Pumped Supplies	Boreholes successfully Completed
1946	7	1	6
1947	12	1	10
1948	5	9	6
1949	10	11	13
1950		13	26
1951	5	18	19
1952	3	22	21
1953	7 5 3 9	41	32
1954	19	52	29
1955	10	22	22
1956	20)	5	24
1057	29	15	30
1957	18	20	23
1959	19	30	19
1960	33	29	23
1961	13	44	26
1962		21	17
1963	9 8	21	13
1964	18	23	20
1955		20	35
1966	9 5	18	18
1967	6	71	28
1968	13	90	59
1969	14	118	101.
1970	n.a	n.a	n.a
1971/73		277	473*
1974	n.a	33	66

Source: Water Development and Irrigation Division, Annual Reports, 1946-1969, (Dar es Salaam, Government Printer)., Ministry of Water Development and Power, Progress Report on Water Development Activities, 1973 (Mimeo). Economic Survery, 1974/1975. (Dar es Salaam Government Printer, 1975).

* Includes failures.

n.a. = figures are not available

Table 7: Demand for fuelwood/Poles in Tanzania mainland by 1985.

Region [2° 1888 m³	Potential Supply	Deficity m x1000	Required annual planting in hectares
Arusha Cost and	1882	753	1129	7000
Dar es Salaam	2134	573	1561	0000
Dodoma	2116	840	1276	9760 6990
Iringa	2532	1413	1119	2580
Kigoma	1271	859	412	11880
Kilimanjaro	2010	109	1901	12000
Lindi	1169	1169	**	10260
Mara	1736	94	1642	4720
Mbeya	2373	1618	755	3630
Morogoro	1929	1348	518	10080
Mtwara	1875	360	1613	18980
Mwanza	3146	109	3037	
Rukwa	990	990	189	1180
Shinyanga	1770	1770	2069	12930
Singida	1272	1272	176	1100
Tabora	2361	2185	1649	10310
Tanga	2208	559	1620	10130
West Lake	1897	227		-
TOTAL	37404	16625	20779	129570

Source: Forest Division, Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourist Dar es Salaam, 1978.

Table 8: Projections of Consumption of Fuelwood Charcoal in Tanzania (in cubic metres)

*	Year 1970	1985	2000
Fuelwood Charcoal	29,660,000	32,688,000	36,975,00 7,979,00
TOTAL	30,480,000	36,647,000	44,788,00
Estimated Population	15,000,000	19,700,000	30,600,00

Source: Forest Division, Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism Dar es Salaam 1978/

an outside a position constitute description of the constitute of	State of the late					
Type of consumers	Installed Capacity	Daily kWh Require- ments	Monthly kWh Requirements	Annuel kWh Requirements	Remarks	
Domestic and Lighting	4.044.W	8-10kWh	240300kWh	1500~2200kWh 13000~1800C.kWh	Priority 1 Priority 2	
Bet: geration and Cooking Fars and Workshap machines Water supply (50m) per	5-lok#	2-60kWh	600-1800kWh	7000-22000	Priority 3	
fsy, 10-100m pumping height)	1-10kW	3-30kWh	90-900kWh	1000-10000kWh	Priority 1	
Irrigation (200m per day, 50-100 pumping	30	100 July 100	1800-3600kWh	22000-44000Wh	Priority 3	
Telecommunications or	less	OCHLORNI	Z (01/11).	300-7201-Wh	Priority	
nudio-Visual Equipment Total (without irrige)	14-31kW	66-150kWh	1980-4500kWh	23-53GWh 25-97GWH		1

Source: Reichel, R., op. cit. (adapled).

Sunmary of Some of the Preliminary Findings in Using the Wonoki-Sikwese Solar Cooker: Талье 10:

Dish	Average Maximum Ambient Temp.	Average Maximum Cooker Temp, at Base	Average Time to Gook/Boil	REMARKS
Urlia(Maizo Stiff Porridge)	33.5°C	2,96	Chrs 45 minutes	No pockets of uncooked flour, No need to stire Excellent Ugali.
Ugali-Muhogo (Cassava Stiff	33.5°C	1,38°C	Thre 45 minutes	Ugali comes out rather soft but nice to es
Personal Per	34.5°C	20 +6 20 +6	lhrs 30 minutes 2hrs OC minutes	Soft boildd Hard boiled
Irish Potatoes (1 mm. thick slices)	33.5°C	95°c	Thrs 45 minutes	Medium boiled
Maboga na bamia (Pumpkin leaves and Abelmoschus	33.5°C	5 ₀ 96	lhrs 30 minutes	About 500cos of water for handful of vegetables
Rice (boiled)	33.5°C	2 ₀ 96	2hrs 45 minutes	Amount of water must not be two much; 250 ccs to 1 tea cup of rise or multiples thereof.
Beans	46.5°C	2,86	thrs 45 minutes	Beans are tough to cook Amount of water is beans; c critical, Better results if soaks for Shrs in water before cooking.
Boiled Fish (Fresh) Baked Fish (tasi)	33.0°C 34.0°C	2,00T 2,96	2hrs 45 minutes 2hrs 45 minutes	Add salt and popper (as required) before
Goat's liver (baked)	1d for stiff p	Swallly world for ctiff porridge made out of maize, agasava or milles	nize, egssavn or mil	Some of Bood left in liver. Better if on on thick alices.
. Guitaria is a Sachili v	ord which mean	s on aluminium cooking	pot.	
7 6 6 4 4 4 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6	0000	16,019,000 17,218,000 18,451,000 20,815,000	00	200,000 3,910,000 13,120,000 000,000 0
4,050,000	000	3,581,000		5,510,000
508,000	000	2,632,000		5,010,000 12
7,015,000	0000	9,924,000		000 0TH 6
7,705,000	5,000	8,505,000		5,810,000 12
80.574.000	7,000	5.7		3,510,000
0,182,000	0000	5,055,000		
	000	2,610,000		610,000 11
200	000	2,310,000		310,000 1,750,00
, 0	000	2,010,000		2710,000
11,020,000	000	7,710,000		11, 000,000 11,
CO.	000	7 15	And the second s	And in case of profess contract expressions in the best section (1900). If you will be a section of the section

	Commence of the Commence of th	The second problems of the continues of		Andrew College	
B 1	ES TEMATED	TF 300,000	SUPPLED ANNUALTY	TE 1,219,000 SUPPLIED	TIED ANNUALLY
	RURAL POPULATION	Peaplo with Water Supply	Paople without Water Supply	People with Water Supply	People without Water Supply
P.O.O.A.	000 080 000	000,000	11,5%0,000	80	, 5-0 T
2002	000 00 E WE		1,520,00	1,710,000	000
ECO!	12 630 000		000,000,00	2,010,000	000
100	10.000.000		1.750, 0	2,310,000	11,750,600
1075	12.000	600 000	0 0 0 0 0 0 TE	2,610,000	050
1076	14 8 70 000		13, 520, 200	5,829,000	
7997	15,230,000		17,020,000		TOP
3978	15,640,000		12,130,000	000000000000000000000000000000000000000	2000
1979	16,050,000		12,250,000		2 23 CO
1980	26,490,000		12.580,000		
1981	16,940,000	COO OIL	12.530,00	000 km th	000 000 000 000 000 000 000 000 000 00
1982	27 400 0000 CCO		T\$,500,000	1-7-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1-1	100 000 100 000
1983	17,870,000		TE,850,000	000 cm	200
1984	18, 350,000		13,040,000	0.00 H2000	P 050,000
1985	18,850,000		T2 240,000	000 000	11/1/2
1986	19,360,000		13,450,000	2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2	201
1987	19,880,000		T3,670,000	1000	N.CO
1988	20,410,000		13,900,000	000	18000
9000	20,950,000		14,150,000		THE COLUMN
1990	21,530,000	7,110,000	14,420,000	22,000,000	000
1991	22,110,000	7,430,000	14,700,000	CC	

Tobie 12 Baumany of main characteristics of the Water frajects to bridge burnk states

	No. of people on project	ple in	Animal with W	a tok	A COMPANY OF	5.07				of the Victor
Fine of Water project	Households	People	Cattle	Gonta	Sheep	Donasym	Storage tenk	Paper of party	dates position	
9 Chi di Lo	458	2290	5393	573	233	09	2011		Money	100
S Chinana	610	3050	4745	2160	524	5.7	Engli tank		Magain.	OF REAL SECTION
	780	3900	2902	3583	1101	169				Total W. Philada
			0 11	47.40		6.9	Task.	and head		Brokeline
	273	2430	2420	2000	200	70	Con a tropage	THE PERSON	WARRANT BUTTOUTHER	0.0
5 Iringo Moumi	520	2220	5818	1873	680	000	nt rag	4	or polas	
							tank			
7. Kigwo	1115	5575	5353	2099	698	7.1	90	Physic	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	Norway and
	680	3400	4823	1434	9	101	two atoraga	ptped	200	mit wayshing
		0	11460	16×6.	0.78	107	tanka two atoraka	ed ne d	- 一	not working
9. Mpinsa	029	52.12	KOTA	400	200		anko			
100	408	3000	2835	179	324	2	none	44.4	10.05.4	分子與四个資本的區
	200	3405	3595	1510	209	414	none	not paped	15,000.00	の
	288	3175	5136	1379	319	189	none	100	900	ON RESERVED
Z. Makanda	100	3020	3476	1290	244	150	one etorage	potra	to a tendythes	STOR WOLLD'S
					0		tenks		acres de	workship a
14. Manzese	504	2520	2834	2206	213	2 2 2	che storage	paped	memeral	OA WILL
L5. Maya Maya	074	2000	1100	200			100			
Z Mb. batika	4200	2100	5385	1184	576	69	one storegs	ppdyd dau	RODA	not wagelia
10. Mand being						900	n.k		M.COPLAN	est working
17. Mkola	557	2785	6778	1831	400	TKO	TO BEOLEGE	i.		
	472	2960	4968	815	120	14.3	no storage	padjd tou	5-05-9	SOLT WORKSHIP
16. Miloua							TAUR			

22. Halci 1016 - 7895 787 201 91 one storage tank 23. Hundemu 523 2965 1262 1045 173 47 one storage tank 24. Mwitikira 604 3060 2960 635 78 22 one storage tank 25. Mzogole 570 2050 3736 1857 771 82 one storage tank 26. Magulo 562 2210 3736 1877 771 82 none 27. Ndebwe 28. Ndogowe 285 1425 7493 2100 700 115 none 29. Nkambaku 376 1425 7493 2100 700 115 none 30. Sasajila 376 1495 1325 5597 289 13 none 34. Segala 35. Soluwa 385 1925 1273 1023 244 24 no storage 37. Zajilwa 614 - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	hand of Water areject Households People- Cattle TGomies	isuseholds	People	Cattle	1907 70	2000	DONKONE	Donkryd Btornge tank Pipea project water porate	ribed broles	Water posters	and come approximation
523 2905 1262 1045 173 47 604 3060 2960 635 78 22 570 2050 3736 1857 771 82 562 2210 1273 1030 104 50 609 3045 1053 863 473 17 285 1425 7493 2100 700 115 285 1425 7493 2100 31 376 1495 1325 5597 389 13 385 1925 1273 1023 244 24 614 - 1899 60 73 45	The second secon	9101		3895	787	201	16	one storage	piped	Several	not working
570 2050 2960 635 78 22 570 2050 3736 1857 771 82 562 2210 1273 1030 104 50 609 3045 1053 863 477 177 285 1425 7493 2100 700 115 285 1425 7493 2100 700 115 376 1495 1325 5597 389 13 376 1495 1325 5597 389 13 385 1925 1473 1023 244 24 614 - 1899 60 73 45	Tundenu .	523	2905	1262	1045	173	24	one storage	piped	8 waterpoints	not working
570 2050 3736 1857 771 82 562 2210 1273 1030 104 50 609 3045 1053 863 473 17 285 1425 7493 2100 700 115 293 2100 6466 597 280 31 376 1495 1325 5597 389 13 385 1925 1277 1023 244 24 614 - 1899 60 73 45		100	- 20	0,000	323	78	00	tank	pined	Several	Borking
570 2050 3736 1857 771 82 562 2210 1273 1030 104 50 609 3045 1053 863 473 17 285 1425 7493 2100 700 115 285 2100 700 115 376 1495 1325 5597 280 31 376 1495 1325 5597 389 13 385 1925 1473 1023 244 24 614 - 1899 60 73 45	. Mwitikira	400	2000	2300	000	2	77	000000000000000000000000000000000000000	1 24	11 11 11 11 11 11	3
Mzogole 570 2050 3736 1857 771 82 Magulo 562 2210 1273 1030 104 50 Ndebwe 609 3045 1053 863 473 17 Ndogowe 285 1425 7493 2100 700 115 Nkambaku 376 1425 7493 2100 700 115 Sasajila 376 1495 1325 5557 389 13 Solawa 385 1925 1477 1023 244 24 Zajilwa 614 - 1899 60 73 45								tank			
Magulo Ndebwe Ndebwe Ndebwe Ndogowe Nkambaku Sasajila Segala Soluwa 614 - 1899 Sajilwa Sajilwa Segala Sajilwa Segala Sajilwa	0 0000	570	2050	3736	1857	777	82	none		none	Working
Mdebwe 609 3045 1053 863 473 17 Ndebwe 285 1425 7493 2100 700 115 Nkambaku 393 2100 6466 597 280 31 Sasajila 376 1495 1325 5597 389 13 Begala 330 1650 974 680 97 25 Soluwa 585 1925 1477 1023 244 24 Zajilwa 614 - 1899 60 73 45	TACOUNTY OF THE PARTY OF THE PA	11/20	2270	1273	1030	104	20	none		none	not working
Ndogowe Ndogowe Ndogowe Nkambaku S93 2100 700 115 Nkambaku Sasajila Sasajila Solowa S93 2100 700 115 S100 570 1495 1325 5597 389 13 S0lowa Solowa S100 1495 1925 5597 389 13 S0lowa S100 1495 1925 144 244 244 Sajilwa Sajilwa	De Balanco	600	2404	1052	863	473	17	none	not piped	none	adoad w Tulin
Ndogowe Nkambaku Sasajila Sasajila Solowa Solowa Sasajila Solowa Solowa Solowa Solowa Sajilwa Salowa	. Nacowe	000	1000	1070	0010	200	115	none		none	working
Nkambaku 393 2100 6466 597 280 31 Sasajila 376 1495 1325 5597 389 13 Segala 330 1650 974 680 97 25 Soluwa 385 1925 1473 1023 244 24 Zajilwa 614 - 1899 60 73 45	S. Ndogowe	202	Cンサイ	(44)	CAL	2		9	4		and despite to
Sasajila 376 1495 1325 5597 389 13 Segala 330 1650 974 680 97 25 Soluwa 385 1925 1473 1023 244 24 Zajilwa 614 - 1899 60 73 45	9. Wkambaku	293	2100	9949	265	280	31	попе	not paped	none	DOC MOLETER
Segala 330 1650 974 680 97 25 Soluwa 385 1925 1473 1023 244 24 Zajilwa 614 - 1899 60 73 45	Goestille	376	1495	1325	5597	389	13	none	not piped	none	working
Soluwa 585 1925 1473 1023 244 24 24 24 24 1891 60 73 45	Section 1	330	1650	426	680	26	25	one storage	pattd	several	
Zajilwa 614 - 1899 60 73 45	Solumn	300	1925	1273	1023	544	54	no storage	not piped	none	not working
		419	1	1899	09	73	45	one storage	patid	6 standpåpes	not working
COUNT								tenk			

District Development Director "s office, Population Summary Sheets, July, 1977, and Field Surveys Conducted October - December 1977. Source:

63.5%

67%

63%

66.5%

8,820

28,399

80,183

57,065

Projects Without storage tank -

No. of animals in

Total

No. of people and animals

In projects not working Percentage of people and

animals without water

7,039

21,131

127,280

85,680

19,308

42,447 13,877

1.

22nd October, 19

Ndugu H. Sinare, Faculty of Law,

Dear Hawa,

Sometime ago an economist engaged in doctoral research in Tanzana asked me to look carefully at your paper "How the World Bank Serves.] Imperialist Exploitation in Tanzania." He had obtained a copy of the paper at the Social Sciences Conference but he had not been able to attend the session at which you presented it. He pointed out to me that there are errors of calculation in your statistical data which are fairly fundamental to your line of argument. The problem lies in your calculation of "interest or charge annually" and "interest or charge per period." The first figure is calculated from the rate of interest on the amount lent (the principal). This figure would not be the int. charged annually - rather it would be the interest charged only in the first year when the principal owing was the total amount of the loan, Unless World Bank loan agreements are completely different from usual capitalist lending practices, the interest is calculated on a per ana basis and there will be a schedule or table for rapayments. Let us consider laon 1 from your Table I with two different repayment levels First let us assume that \$520,000 is repaid each year from 1971, and secondly let us assume that \$ 350,000 is repaid each year. The repayment tables would be as follows:

A. Hypothesis 1 - 3 520,000 repaid annually.

Year	Principal Owing	Interest Paid	Principal Paid
1971 1972 1973 1974 1975	5,200,000 4,992,000 4,771,520 4,537,811.2 4,290,079.9 4,027,484.7	312,000 299,520 286,291,2 272,268.67 257,404.79 241,649.08	208,000 220,480 233,708.8 247,731.33 262,595.21 278m350.92

And, so on. After 6 years at this rate of repayment the interest pai would have been 1,669,133.5 whereas on your calculations it would be 1,872,000. Of course, as the years go by the interest paid would stareduce as the rate of principal repayments increased.

B. Hypothesis 2 - \$ 350,000 repaid annually.

Year	Principal Owing	Interest Paid	Principal Paid
1971 1972 1973 1974 1975	5,200,000 5,162,000 5,121,720 5,079,023,2 5,033,764.6 4,985,790.5	312,000 309,720 307,303.2 304,741.39 302,025.87 299,147.43	38,000 40,280 42,696,8 45,258.61 47,974.13 50,852.57

(Calculations as per my pocket calculator which in that capitalist consumer centre, Singapore, cost the equivalent of about T. 40!)

In order to find the correct figures for your Table 1 you need know the required rate of repayment according to the loan agreement. What is absolutely certain is that the total of "interest or charge plus principal" will be much less than the figures you arrive at.

mily then it is not appropriately that "The hapital said to have twings into Tamannia is usually almost half of that exist in (p. 8) and all your calculations on pp. 10 & 1) must be every. Toy the take so note of the fact that most of the loans and credits ha directly productive sectors of the secrety. Thus he the 1975 the in line 10 of your Table for tes is put to good abs the return Sammania small holder ton formers will be vently mary than the police ar . The charge plus principal repayments. The indubtament problem re and Turkey, for exemple, get into trueble becomes so much of the 1 lest in diphoned off by corruption and inefficiency. Then alth-I there should be no problem for TANESCO provided the plant being maked is operating and generating reverse by or within the \$ year pariod. But of course if the project is only half financed memorating no revenue then there will be problems in finding the by to repay the loan. This is where some countries get into looms ready looms which is a victors circle. But this really "should" May ever happen with World Bank ferilities on much "acft" terms as me indicated in Table 1. Commercial loan transactions require arments to commerce ismediately and of course interest rates would much higher in these inflationary times.

All the above is no technical quibble. In fact I submit that F argument is round the wrong way. The problem with the Werld Rend the reason that it can dictate so freely - as you illustrate In respect to the Kigoma credit (p.15) - in precisely because its ms are so 'soft'. The World Bank is a very useful instrument of serialism, in other words, not because it extracts large sums of interest Father because it engages in finacing of such activities as will wench and strenthen the dependency of countries like Tanzania on imperialist finance capitalists by directing the economy along lines table to the continuing extraction of superprofits. It is not only Tanzania that "small-holder tea farmers" are being encouraged af course the more tea that different Third world countries produce more certain it is that real costs of the commodity will not rise A will probably be consistently lowered for the capitalist firms atrolling that commodity. There lies the problem - and the ploitative nature of the World Bank as an instrument of imperial at mance capital - NOT the terms of the leans themselves.

I hope that my assumptions are correct in pointing out what I ink are your miscalculations and I hope that this will be useful for misting any rewriting you might 60 to publish parts of the assertation. I am sending a copy to your erstwhile supervisor who well be able to point out that I have got it all wrong. Anyway, wase let us discuss the matter sometime.

Yours sincerely

David V. Williams

C Ndugu J.L. Kanywanyi
Faculty of Law.

S My discussion of the figures uses the capitalist terminology, of course. But then you need to work through the capitalist way of presenting it and to understand how the system operates. It makes it easier then to attack their system. The reason that the proletariat ought to be the most revolutionary class is because from practice that class understands the capitalist system and its inherent contradictions.

14th January, 19

Ndugu David Williams, Faculty of Law, P.O. Box 35093, DAR ES Salaam.

I am writing in response to your letter of 22nd October, 19; I am responding so late because at the time I receive your letter a lot of Faculty work pending which required my immediate attention I have reduced quite a lot of it and now I can pay attention to you letter.

The World Bank's lending is regulated generally by Loan Regulations. 2 and 3 and Credit Regulations No. 1 and 2. One for lending member states and the other to non-members whose loans or credits be guaranteed by the member state to which they are sutuate. This care of multimational corporations' borrowings from the Bank as the case study of Brazil in my thesis indicates. Specifically loans a credits are regulated by their separate Agreements.

Credits are interest free and the borrower only pays % of 19 year as service charge.

When a loan is granted to a borrower and a loan account is by the Bank in the name of the borrower, the loan amount can then withdrawn as provided for in the loan aggreement.

A commitment charge at a rate specified in the loan agreement paid on the withdrawal amount of the loan. The charge accrues from days after the date the loan agreement to the respective dates on amounts shall be withdrawn by the borrower from the Loan Account, charge is payable in the currency in which the principal is denoming which is foreign exchange. The interest is paid semi-annually.

The interest rate of a loan is specified in the loan Agreeme is payable on the Loan Account outstanding from time to time. To this amount outstanding, one must have the disbursement schedule a as the debt repayment schedule. The two could not be obtained by author. This was made clear immediately after the conference by a the above information below my tables. Without the two schedules calculation of interest charge can be entirely correct.

The interest accrues from the dates on which amounts shall be withdrawn, computed against a 360 day year or twelve 30 day months repayment of the principal is dependent upon the amortization sche to the laon Agreement - and is repaid in the several currencies wifrom the laon account. Again the author could not get all the lao credit Agreements so as to be able to prepare a comprehensive amor schedule for all loans and credits indicated on the table.

In the absence of the three, namely, the amortization debt r and disbursement schedules I could not show what is exactly paid b of interest or service charge. You can note that, for similar rea I did not include in the table the commitment charges for loans. viable way for me was to make a calculation of the interest and ch as follows.

I divided the loan or credit amount by the interest rate chand got annual charge which I multiplied by the number of years wi which the loan matures. Consequently, the charge annually became same. If I were to calculate my interest against the disbursement schedule I would definitely get lass amount as the loan is succeed withdrawn.

The table's main purpose is to show that the Werld Bank Scos arcetly repatriate surplus by way of interest and service charge. The amount of capital brought in is far less than that taken out.

The other point which is well spelt out both in my thesis and my more is the fact that the World Bank is an instrument by which the maitalist countries, particularly the U.S.A. can export their capital the oppressed countries, who form 90% of the World Bank's borrowers. sorves as an instrument of exploitation by facilitating a sociomeanic relationship between the capitalist and oppressed countries already existed before its establishment. Its real function being rivoted in the type of projects it finances. This was my second point. thesis both in the dissertation and the paper is very clear on this the World Bank's publications (annual reports, Sector papers, ports of Annual Meetings and its news release) want us to believe that t is a catalyst of economic development of the oppressed countries, thesis is based on the premise that the World Bank operates with in - sapitalist socio-economic structure and objectively facilitates that atrusture. Therefore the World Bank cannot under the present econosic structure facilitate economic development for its borrwers.

I went as far as examining the events that led to its establishment their socio-economic context. I showed how the World Bank's decisions, its borrwed capital from capitalist money markets, its subscribed capital mainly from the capitalist countries - see Chapters 1 & 2 of my dissertation, and its management are controlled by its capitalist mater states. I went further, to show two categories of the World Bank's borrowers, namely,

- (a) Its lending to the capitalist countries for reconstruction and explained why the reconstruction took a short period and why the world Bank in that context facilitated genuine economic development these countries.
- (b) Its lending therefoom to oppressed countries (for 35 years now) and demonstrated why these countries grow poorer and underdevelop while the capitalist countries grow richer. I demonstrated the general powerty of the people therein which I found to be Over 85% of the people in these countries to be absolutely poor. (See my Chapters 1 & 2 of the dissertation and pp. 1-7 of my paper for a comprehensive picture).

Then I demonstrated that it is impossible for an oppressed country attain a genuine economic development relying on World Bank loanse

- (a) The World Bank facilitates the neo-colonial relationship between capitalist and oppressed countries by financing the increased production of primary commodities and extractive processive industry.
- (b) It directly repatriates surplus by way of interest, commitment and service charges.

These facts are demonstrated in two case studies - Brazil and Tanzania. (Refer to Chapter 3 of my dissertation for reasons for selecting Brazil as a case study).

Consequently, my thesis is not based at all on the exploitative nature of the World Bank as an instrument of imperialist finance capital nor on the terms of the loans themselves. (p.2 of your letter) but rather on the premise that the World Bank facilitates exploitation of its oppressed member states who are its main borrowers and that instead of being a catalyst of development it is an instrument of underdevelopment for these borrowers. (Refer Abstract introduction - My dissertation)

(1) Your critisisms seem to be based mainly on the comments of the economist (P.1 of your letter) and not on your own assessment the understanding of both the paper and the dissertation. Had you read them both, your criticisms would have been better.

- (2) Your priticions are therefor based on an assumption which the production is right and the whole of your calculations are based on the assumption!
- (3) From your letter you indicate that the Wor. i Bank should not criticised because it is exploitative (P.2 para 2 of your letter)
- (4) You are not (from your letter) saying that the World Bank is not exploitative but by clear implication your argument is that it is not, (Refer to your letter P.2 lines 3-12 from the top of the page), yet that argument is not seriously made! (see Para 1 on page 2 of your 1 =) which starts with "All the above ... ") This is because in that para son idmit that the World Bank facilitates exploitation. But what is explotion? Does it not sean the appropriation and expropriation of surplus value? Does exploitation therefore cease to be if the appropriation in % of 1% or 8.85% or 4%; "soft" or "hard" terms? No doubt your quarral with my figures is not that they are merely not exact but that the surplus value which the World Bank appropriates and expropriates is le than my figures would want us to believe! And you call that miscalcultions, fairly fundamental, to my line of argument!! (See p.1 of your letter 4th sentence). You stress in that sentence that in the calculations lies my problem which lead to (p.2 1st para 1st two senteces) my formulating my argument round the wrong way!!
- (5) Perhaps it is of interest to you to note also that the World Ban as an institution operating within monopoly capitalism the interest an charges it charges are aspects of the general monopoly capital superprefit which is extracted from the whole context of finance capital circulation generally and in Tanzania in particular.
- (6) Why you chose to miss my premise beats my understanding. The points are clear. First that the World Bank directly exploits its oppressed member borrowers by way of interest and charges. The rate of interest it charges on loans is objectively determined by its borrowing rate since it has to borrow and lendd commercially. If the borrowing rate is high the World Bank must raise its lending rate even higher so as to be able to pay back the borrowed capital. (See my dissertation) Chapters 1 & 2).

Second, the World Bank facilitates exploitation in the oppressed member countries by financing primary commodities, extractive and prossive industries. It does not facilitate the development of basic industries which is the basis for any meaningful economic development

To prove my premise I examined two case studies - Brazil and Tanzania.

I do not dispute that facilitating the production of primary commodities, or extractive industries or processing industries is in tant nor do I dispute the fact that primary commodities are directly productive (see p. 2 of your letter) but the fact that these cannot act as the basis for the economic development of the oppressed countribut underdevelop them, by perpetuating the present socio-economic relations.

- (7) On p. 2 of your letter you referred to "most loans and credits are in directly productive sectors of the economy". You do not show what these productive sectors are. Are they roads, production, common the question is in what form are these sectors to the overall economistructure stand? Do they facilitate economic development or don't t
- (8) On the same page 2 of your letter, you seem to use catchy word which you don't substantiate nor explain. For i stance, you argue (that page) that, "the indebtedness problems only arise with the Worl Bank Loans if the money is not put to good use. Zaire and Turkey, example, get into trouble because so much of the money lent is siphioff by curruption and inefficiency".

Pires this is a statement which must have been made in ichora so terms of World Bank's Articles of Agreement, the Loan and crackt lations and what is generally included in separate lean and cradit recents. (See Chapters 1, 2, 4 and 5 of my dissertation) you will that the World Bank monitors the utilisation of its loans and its and implementation of its supported projects wery closely. If phoning of capital is made by corruption it is really minimal. For further information - See World Bank Appraisal Reports and revisory Reports). Again on p.2 you argue that " ... , if the project is only half ished and generating no revenue then there will be problems in finding money to repay the loan. This is where some countries get into to repay loans which is a vicious circle. But this really 'should ever happen with World Bank facilities on such 'soft' terms as indicated in Table 1". You argue that once the project generates revenue then the borroser ald have no problem repaying the loan. You are forgeting that the and interest or charge repayment it made in the currency to which were demoninated. For Tanzania, for instance, to pay part of the and interest in a given year, she must earn foreign exchange. of which she pays. It is not only one loan or credit that matures any. As their number grow so is the difficulty of debt servicing. is why the World Bank's Appraisal report of the Tanzanian economy wired recourse to external financing but warned that it should be on nterest free basis. Hence the many World Bank credits to Tanzania. Besides, should you care to analyse the contents of the Program No. 23:- Table 1 in my paper of \$30, million at 8% interest rate program credit of \$15 million, in 1977 you will find out that they a loan and a credit for payments for imports and if your examing 1974 imports you will find out that most of the goods imported were consumer necessities. So a country is forced to borrow for payment of where a country borrows for the payment of loans of credits then can be sure that such a country is in critically bad foreign exchange

osition. This is because in almost every oppressed member borrower's untry, World Bank's loan or credit repayment, is given priority. (Get touch with Central Bank - Foreign exchange control Department or the reasury External Finance Department for information on this).

(10) Lastly you apologized because in your discussion of figures you had to use capitalist terminology, but what is ironical, is the fact that your arguments are capitalist.

Since you based your criticisms on mere assumptions that your arguments were right, they become wrong once the assumptions have been roved wrong.

But the only point you might have is that the amount of interest and charge the World Bank charges against the loans and credits in Table 1 of my paper or table 16 of my dissertation is much less than indicated. The reasons being that I could not get amortization, debt repayment and disbursement schedules which are ind I pensible for an exact calculation of interests or charges. Therefore, the above is a fault which could not be helped.

I could have discussed with you these points orally but since you had put your criticisms in writing and copied them to my supervisor, I am compelled to put my answer in the same form. Only that I will also send an extra copy for your unnamed economist.

> H. Sinare, FACULTY OF LAW

Mail Lali comments:

The arguments, raised by D.V. Williams remind us of Geoffrey Kay's argument that imperialism underdevelops the "third world" countries not because of exploiting them but precisally due to not exploiting them adequately! To argue that the terms of the World Same are "soft", and that the loans should simply be becausefurcing production of the "aconomy" demonstrates a complete conception of exploitations, the export of capital and the rate of profit. The crisis facing the World Bank - that is, the banks it borrows from - due to the crisis of pensant production and the failure of the World's pensantry to reper these loans and intensify production on that basis, is entirely runcing from this conception.

For that matter, the songept that the Bank's money is not at all "dirty", so taspeak, if not used to buy TV sets is ready-made ideclosy for maltilateral compreder necessionialism. If it is extended all the ly further, it implies that there is no contradiction as such between the Bank and the peasantry, insofar as the peasants have a state that that the leans are not taken up for consumption. And as binary risk points out, these L and are required for all aspects of reproduction as the productive asctors but the reproduction of the productive forces and the relations of production as a whole. Evidently this criticism needs a bread synthetic monespition of production,

The "softnose" of the loans of the Bank is frequently raised to qualitative category. The World Bank is considered differently from commercial banks, rather than be seen within the crisis of rates of profit and how, to ensure global reproduction of peasant production within this crisis, a definite mode of export of capital is required. This we hold to be absolutely necessary for a clear historical concept imperialist domination in the present context, not least since peasant production, led by the same Bank, is in dire straits in Tana

REINSTATE BOTTO

Tear, we received a descion to of the activity of the authorities to remarks the Department of Literature.

of Prof. Hgugi is not need to the Samuel and America abducted bin on account of whose story and the structure of Linear tole following the story of Literature and Misswald account and the story of Literature and Misswald account and the story of the st

efore we went to press, Kenyan President Deal along with the civil servents enion, for politics" and failing to represent their models in politics of the teachers, whose many motion is efforts of the teachers, whose many motion is efforts of the activities of the civil means it is also part and parcel of the attributes of the straights for which we reviewed, after the death of Jose Lay 5, Toward 1979.

also showed that the action was not alsoly and consists of the state but has to do we have and consists of the state but has to do we have and reactionary sections within these Unions. I seem a solidarity in the University of Marcoli on the of Professor Ngugi, along with other issued to closures, demonstrationa, strikes out in the closures, demonstrationa, strikes out in the closures, which is part of the structure of the structure of the scate is against the academic establishment was the foreign of premiser, 1 octurers which was published in

to creaking this note to keep some of our coursely following the issue to at least get an interpretation readers shall consult the above public matter, and hence enhancing the collisist the collisist to the difficult struggle for bultural lines.

CONTROL OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY OF

the this year. We recoved a dession stating in exceedinging to exceed the satirity of the University of Delroyf, Talk to Solve on the Authorities to remaining Ersteneer Programs of the Delate of The Solve of The S

and quantion of Prof. Hongi in not now to the Colvective of Dar es and American of American and American American and the otraceless providing the Unexpressed by Milet explains in his article following this note - exercise be Dapartsen' of Literature and Kicsahil' along with the government article following this note - exercise article community met for a brond-bar of discussion of the 11-f and at an appearance of the parents of the seasing and process of the seasing and process of the seasing and produced in Eindule Journal of the Charachen and the trace this seasing and the seasing and the seasing and the seasing and the season of the Charachen and the trace that the season of the season of

Jack before we wonk to proce. Kenyan President Daniel Who Hol beaued List? Union along with the civil dervants union, for "los much ligane to politica" and failths to represent their mambers (adequately for it a trade union sense. This action is of course ast uscenner with the effects of the beachers, whose many metions to that effect anhaustively documented in the domnler ending in September 1979. We not tell informed of the activities of the civil servants union, but it may, it is also part and parcel of the atruggles going as in tellar, which we reviewed, after the death of Jomo Kenyatta, in fall So pos a earmary 1979.

the statement, given in a wedding corrowny which the President sate and her, also showed that the action was not slapply and entirely an elated decision of the atate but has to do with struggles between proselve and reactionary sections within those Unions. While there been general solidarity in the University or Harrott concerning the estatement of Professor ligual, along with other issues which constanted to closurer, demonstrations, states ato in the university, is in also a difficult struggle against around section of the academic adiament, which is part of the structure of the State itself. I struggle against was reflected in a paper last imperialist education in the university, pointedly criticising under of prominent, rectarged which was published in Maji Maji No. 32, part 1978.

We are making this note to keep some of our comrades who have not a stoquately following the issue to at least got as idea of it, while expect that our readers shall consult the above publications for a full isp of the matter, and hence enhancing the solidarity by understanding I involving enough in it. Meanwhile, we should listen to hough walong on the distinct, atruggle for dultural Liberation.

d=

. 41. July 1:80

THE NATIONAL STRUGGLE TO SURVIVE

BY

NGUGI WA THIONG ! O

A CENTRAL fact of Kenyan life today is the fierce struggle between the cultural forces representing foreign interest and those representipatriotic national interest. This struggle may not always be obvious to a casual visitor, for such a visitor will almost certainly be struck by the virtual domination of Kenyan life by foreigners and foreigners and foreign cultural interests.

If such a visitor should want to see a film he will find the since all owned by foreigners (20th Century Fox for instance) and he will be seeing only American effering on the screen. These offerings range from the moderately good, like Coming Home, which are slightly critical of American imperialist adventurism in the continually underdeveloped courties, to the mass market scare trash, like Omen and Magic where change and possibilities of change are seen in terms of doomeday and the end of human civilisation.

The message is clear; any change from the American-dominated present is the end of civilisation. Agents of change are devils. The horses (all American, of course) are those fighting against the villains from Hades or outer space who threaten the present world stability guaranteed by American dollar and guns.

Should the same visitor want to buy a daily newspaper, his choice is between the Nation newspapers owned by the Agha Khan in Paris, or the Standard newspapers owned by Tiny Rowlands' Lonrho in London, Thus the two major means of mass communication to Kenya's reading public are owned by foreign firms. The editors may be Kenyans; but when there is a conflict between the editorial policy and at a of the foreign owner, it is the interest of the Kenyan employee which must give way to those of his foreign employer.

If our visitor should want to visit book publishing houses in Keryahe will be welcomed by Kenyan directors of branches of such well-known foreign concerns as Heinemann, Longmans, Oxford, Helsons, McMillan, and the like. The only exception is the Government owned Kenya Literature Bureau. These firms sometimes publish books by Kenyans, but book production, both in quantity and quality, is by the grace and at the mercy of foreigners.

Now our visitor might visit schools. The English language dominated a Kenyan child's life from primary school to University and after Swaliff the all-Kenya national language is not only not compulsury, but is often offered as an optional alternative to French and German. There is total neglect of the language of the nationalities that make up Kenya.

A Kenyan child grows up admiring the culture carried by these foriglanguages, in effect Western European ruling class cultures, and looks down upon the culture promoted by the language of his particular nationality, in effect Kenyan, peasant rooted national cultures. In other work the school trains him to look down upon what is national and Kenyan, and to look up to what is foreign even if it is anti-Kenyan.

The present language situation in Kenya means that over 90 per cent of Kenyans (mostly peasants) and completely excluded from any participation in national debates conducted in the written word.

in the theatre where this somination by forei is nakedly clear. Nairobi has recently seen a little oultural institutions like the French Cultural institute; and of course the American interior goothe Institute; and of course the American interior goothe.

with productions like the Killing of Bister to be clouds, they see themselves as offering a tour self and Broadway combined) in theatrically darks and product advertisements in tourist brochures a residence of the companion of the free of the companion of the c

what annoys most patriotic Kenyans about the the what is not the foreign presences but the factorists, the Kenya Cultural Centre and the Kenyand Dreo be controlled by foreigners offering for and data foreign cultural mission - the British Company all the offices at the Kenya Cultural Centrolly all the same centre is chaired by a British in succil Council, is in addition, represented in the offices.

The Hational Theatre, which is run by the gove completely dominated by foreign-based theatre group rheatre Ltd. What these groups offer has noth and except when may be they offer racist shows light except when may be they offer racist shows light except when may be they offer racist shows light except when may be they offer racist shows light except when may be they offer racist shows light except when the state of th

Most of the groups at the Kenya National The airectors, costumes, orchestral pieces, and actor canada giving the impression that there are no Ke ganyan clothes, no Kenyan actors, and no Kenyan ;

The Kenyan reply to all this over the years degrees of success and failture. In the cinema success. A Kenyan film-maker, Hilary Ng'weno's wairobi Times. The Weekly Review has been publicantent and outlook however is entirely another

In the schools, Kenyan teachers of literathe next three years or so produced far-reaching the teaching of literature in Kenyan school Government to replace the present syllabus, be with one which would be Kenya and African-base sent through all the necessary administrative enthusiastic approval until the time of implementation of the sent shelved. Jane Austen is deemed more relables.

Kenyan musicians like Kamau are strugglthey have survived - and continue to enliven national languages, thus reaching a mass and

But it is in the theatre that the struin culture is most manifest. Kenyan drama Drama Group which produced Ngugi and Micere Kimsthi and Imbuga's Betrayal in the City; Tree Travelling Theatre which tours the coire of plays in English and Kiswahili; the current production of Imbuga's The Success Colleges dram festivals, have all tried to dominance in the theatre.

The trend is virtually the same in music and plastic arts. It is ther foreign music, or Kenyan music but produced by foreign-owned trus; it is either foreign sculpture and painting, or Kenyan sculpture and painting but exhibited in foreign-owned art galleries.

It is in the theatre where this domination by foreign cultural mterests is nakedly clear. Nairobi has recently seen a mushrooming foreign cultural institutions like the French Cultural Centre; the grean Goethe Institute; and of course the American Information Services,

A most ludicrous colonial affair is the Domavan Maule Theatre in mirchi. With productions like the Killing of Sister George and Michael rayn's Clouds, they see themselves as offering a touch of civilization west End and Broadway combined) in theatrically darkest Africa. One of their favourite advertisements in tourist brochures carries the slogan; A Professional Theatre in the Heart of Africa!" They just about avoid divertising "A Professional Theatre in the Heart of Darkness."

What annoys most patriotic Kenyans about the theatre scene in their country is not the foreign presences but the fact that the Government-waved premises, the Kenya Cultural Centre and the Kenya National Theatre, should also be controlled by foreigners offering foreign theatre to Kenyans. A foreign cultural mission - the British Council - occupied wirtually all the offices at the Kenya Cultural Centre. The governing council of the same centre is chaired by a British national and the British Council, is in addition, represented in the Council.

The National Theatre, which is run by the governing council, is completely dominated by foreign-based theatre groups like the City Players and Theatre Ltd. What these groups offer has nothing to do with Kenyan life except when may be they offer racist shows like the King and I or Robinson Crusos.

Most of the groups at the Kenya National Theatre often import directors, costumes, orchestral pieces, and actors from England and Canada giving the impression that there are no Kenyan directors, no Kenyan clothes, no Kenyan actors, and no Kenyan musical instruments.

The Kenyan reply to all this over the years has met with varying degrees of success and failture. In the cinema there has not been any success. A Kenyan film-maker, Hilary Ng'weno's Weekly Review and the Nairobi Times. The Weekly Review has been published for four years; its content and outlook however is entirely another matter.

In the schools, Kenyan teachers of literature met in 1973 and for the next three years or so produced far-reaching detailed recommendations on the teaching of literature in Kenyan schools, basically asking the Government to replace the present syllabus, based on foreign culture, with one which would be Kenya and African-based. The recommendation went through all the necessary administrative organs often meeting with enthusiastic approval until the time of implementation. They have now been shelved. Jane Austen is deemed more relevant to Kenya than Chinua Achebe.

Kenyan musicians like Kamau are struggling against great odds but they have survived - and continue to enliven the musical scene in Kenyan national languages, thus reaching a mass audience.

But it is in the theatre that the struggle for a national expression in culture is most manifest. Kenyan drama groups like The Festac 77 Drama Group which produced Ngugi and Micere Mugo's The Trial of Dedan Kimathi and Imbuga's Betrayal in the City; the University of Nairobi Free Travelling Theatre which tours the country every year with a repertedire of plays in English and Kiswahili; the University Players with their current production of Imbuga's The Successor; and the Kenyan Schools and Colleges dram festivals, have all tried to challenge this foreign dominance in the theatres

In the process, they have unlawded a book of Kenyan talenta in acting and directing that pute to shame the production of the forestern

And yet often these talented Kenyans have no venue for their theatrical outlet. They have to go cap in hand in the foreign cultural institutes like the French Cultural Centre to beg for a stage because there is no room for them at their own national premises. Very eccasionally they may get a night or two at the Kenya National Theatre - but only when the visiting European groups are resting.

II THE CHOICE FOR KENYA

It seems to me that the choice in Kenya today is between the foreign theatre in foreign languages, and the national patriotic efforts like those of the peasants and workers of Kamiriitho Community Education and Cultural Centre in Kenya's own national languages.

The two positions are irreconcilliable because they represent two opposed interests: ant-Kenyan foreign; and pro-Kenyan, patriotic and national. The first choice can only lead Kenya to cultural sterility and death; the second world lead Kenya to cultural regeneration and strength.

In making their choice the Kenyan people may want to look back to history and realise that no civilisation on earth has ever thrived on blind imitation and copying; that foreigners no matter how wellintentioned, no matter how clever and gifted, can never develop our culture and our languages for us.

It is only patriotic Kenyans who can develop Kenyan culture and languages. And only that culture which is a product of a people's history and which in turn correctly reflects that history can push Kenyato the forefront in the comity of nations and in the building of a moder human civilization free from the social cannibalism which has reduced over threequaters of mankind to beggary, poverty, and death, not because they don't work, but because their wealth goes to feed; clothe and shelter a few idle classes in America, Europe and Japan.

In the present cultural struggle between foreign and national interests, most Kenyans would take the view that a modern Kenyan national culture should reflect in the strength and the confidence of a people wh have completely rejected the position of always being the ragged-trouser philanthropist to money-mongers in London and New York and in the other Western seats of horons living on profit snatched from the peasants and workers of the world.

III. FOR THE FIRST TIME, THE PEOPLE COULD SEE THEMSELVES

One of the weaknesses of national efforts in the theatre is that the writers, directors, and actors often operate within the same traditions as the foreign theatre they are setting out to challenge. First their theatre has mostly been in a foreign language; i.e. English, and therefore inspite of any radical innovations in content and method, their target audience can only be the foreign, English-speaking audience or the Kenyan English-speaking bourgeoisie.

These groups have not tried to exploit the resources of the Kenyan national languages (that is, the languages of the several nationalities that make up Kenya) and the cultural traditions carried by these languages there these groups inspite of their achievements have not yet appealed to a truly national audience.

Most Kenyan writers for the theatre have not tried to change the content of their drama to take a pro-Kenyan patriotic stand. Their play have espoused the same class values of their Western counterparts. A good example is Kenneth Watene's Dedan Kimathi which depicts Kimathi, the brilliant Mau Mau guerrilla leader against the British colonial

ence, in the same terroriet terms as he are heat deplete by in aroun in The Hunt for Dodge Kimethi. Because they have applied in the same structure of values, absumptions, outlook. I have as the theatre "establishment" these groups have not also a very effective challenge to foreign to tural dominant.

Enis is the historical importance of the emergence of validation of control of the that of Kamiriithu Community Education and Control Control in Limora. This group in 1977 produced Basebike Ridernia (b. 1978). Thiongo and Ngugi we Mirri), the first major modern play in one of major's languages. The actors were all peasants and workers from the village; they designed, built an open-air stage in the control of the script of the village, and they collaborated in the evolution of the script of the in directing.

When the show opened to a paying audience, the group performed to the thousands of peasants and workers who often would hire buses or the chan foot in order to come and see the play. For the first time, the rural people could see themselves and their lives and their history portrayed in a positive manner. For the first time in their post-Independence history a section of the peasantry had broken out of the cruel choice that was thitherto their lot: the bar or the church.

The removal of the licence to perform the play and the subsequent detention of one of the authors in December 1977 was a severe blow to the efforts of Kenyans to successfully challenge the foreign theats and multural establishment in Kenya. In spite of this setback, Kamiriithm example provided the first meaningful challenge to foreign cultural domination in Kenya by changing the whole terms of the struggle - in location, audience, language, values and even in production - by introducing communal participation.