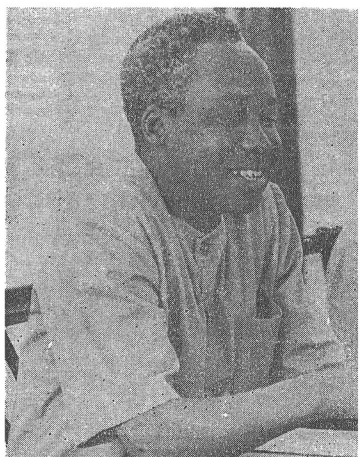
1975
Printed by the Government Printer,
Dar es Salaam—Tanzania

PRESIDENT NYERERE'S SPEECH IN PARLIAMENT

18th July, 1975

Issued by Tanzania Information Services, P.O. Box 9142,
Dar es Salaam



PRESIDENT NYERERE'S SPEECH TO PARLIAMENT 18TH JULY, 1975

Mr. Speaker, Honourable Members of Parliament.

This is the first time I have spoken to this Parliament—although I have on a number of occasions spoken to Members at Party and other meetings. It will probably also be the last time before the General Election later this year. In the past five years many changes have been made in our country. Candidates in the coming elections will be seeking votes from many new voters and from a different political and economic society than that which existed in 1970. Many of the changes and achievements in Tanzania have stemmed from the work of this Parliament.

One hundred and forty-nine Acts of Parliament had been passed by this House, and signed by me, even before the current Session began. They were varied in content, and in complexity. They included very fundamental changes to the constitution—a matter to which I shall return—as well as measures to extend public ownership and control over the economy of this country. In addition, other laws were made which will have a long-term impact on the nature of our social and cultural life in Tanzania. I am referring there to things like the Marriage Act, which although it has some faults, should in the course of time do a great deal to improve the status and the position of women in our society.

But, Members of Parliament know very well, the work of a Mbunge (an MP) is not confined to public debate or Parliamentary Questions. There are Parliamentary Committee Meetings of the National Planning Commission, as well as Regional and District Development Committees, which all have to be attended. Wabunge have also to be in constant contact with their constituencies and available to help and advise the people who live there. For it is an important part of an M.P.'s job to be in touch with problems and opportunities in his or her own area. Only by doing this can he or she help the Party and the Government—whether at local or national level—to solve problems before they become crises, and to convent the potential development of the people into actual development. My impression is that many Members have taken these less publicized functions very seriously. I would add that all MPs, whether or not they have spoken a great deal in Parliament or asked numerous questions, have in my opinion been very good Members of this House.

WHENCE OUR DIFFICULTIES?

What I am saying is that MPs have good grounds for pride in the work they have collectively done during the past five years. Yet it would be idle to pretend that this means that Tanzania is now in a strong position economically, or that we have achieved as much as we hoped to do. For despite everything which has been done—and it is a good deal—Tanzania is now enmeshed in very severe economic difficulties. Apart from any mistakes which we may have made, and which I shall be referring to, there are three major reasons

for our present difficulties. They are the rapid inflation rate in the developed world, the sudden and large increase in the price of oil and petroleum products, and the drought which caused widespread crop failures and animal deaths in our country.

These three factors have all been explained, and their effects discussed, during this Budget Session of Parliament. I do not propose to repeat the explanations which have been given to Parliament and to the country by myself and the Ministers during the last sixteen months. But I do want to emphasize the seriousness of the situation.

Our population has increased by about 2 million people since 1970; we now have over 15 million people. That means that the number of people who need to eat, have clothes, houses, schools, dispensaries, etc. is increasing by about 2·7 per cent a year. In other words, if we are just to maintain our existing standard of living—without any improvement at all—we have to increase our production of goods and services by at least 2·7 per cent a year. If we produce only the same amount one year as we did the year previously, then either our average standard of living goes down by 2·7 per cent, or up to 400,000 people starve to death, go naked, and so on.

But a 2·7 per cent increase in the production of wealth and services only leaves us where we were. If you are a herdsman with five people in family, and five goats, your wealth works out at one goat per person. If the numbers are increased by one kid and one child every year, you will still have one goat per person—no better than before. Our nation will be in the same position if we fail to increase our production of wealth by more than

2·7 per cent a year. And that is not acceptable. We must make the efforts necessary to improve our lives year by year. That has been the objective of all our economic plans, and of all our peoples activity since independence.

OUR AIM IS SELF-RELIANCE

That we have made great advances since 1970 is undeniable. But because of the combination of the three adverse economic factors I have already mentioned—none of which were within our control—we were not able to maintain our rate of expansion last year. Indeed, our National Income in 1974 increased less than the population increased—which means that the amount of wealth available per person actually decreased during that period. The family increased to six, but the number of goats remained at five!

It is true that last year we did get special and new development assistance from a number of friendly countries, and organizations. Indeed, without it many of our development projects would have come to a halt. So I would like to use this opportunity to join with the Minister for Finance in thanking these organizations and friendly countries for their help. But we cannot depend upon this continuing indefinitely. Nor should we want it to do so. Our aim is self-reliance. We have to get to a position where we can withstand adverse external economic changes without disaster, and where we have sufficient reserves of food, raw materials, and foreign exchange, to carry us over bad harvests or unavoidable shortages of particular essential commodities.

In other words, we have to make a very great effort to increase production in all sectors in the coming year. We have to use our existing resources of men, of skill and of our factors of production, to the utmost. We must use our land more extensively, and more intensively—getting more production from each hectare. We have to use our machines twenty-four hours of the day—which means that we have to produce more of the raw materials our factories use, and more of the electricity and water they need to run on.

But the truth is that even if we do this, we shall still not be able to undertake all the new investment in services and extra productive capacity which we know to be urgent. Indeed, we shall probably continue to have problems about the supply of raw materials and essential services for our existing factories and farms. For the purchase of raw materials from abroad, the expansion of our own productive capacity, and even an increase in communal social services, all take foreign exchange and money. And we are desperately short of foreign exchange; we have very little money for development. Once again **we have to remind ourselves that "to plan is to choose".**

Through their discussions in the National Planning Commission Members of Parliament should themselves now be more aware of this problem of allocating very limited resources of men and money among unlimited needs. It is, on a national scale, a problem which almost every Tanzanian family has to face. When a farmer produces only 10 bags of maize a year—for whatever reason—he has to make very difficult decisions about which family needs he can meet. First they have to eat until the next harvest. And

seed must be put aside for the next planting—only a fool eats his seed. Then, if there is anything at all left the farmer will sell a little in order to buy clothes and other necessary things including a jembe with which to cultivate the next season. If his child is growing up it will be necessary for him to buy an extra jembe this year compared with the previous year. The farmer's problem is very great, just because of his existing poverty. So it is with a poor country like Tanzania. We do not produce enough wealth to do all the things which need doing. We have to make almost arbitrary decisions to do one thing rather than another, when all the things which require doing are urgent, and when there are many other good things we would like to do. We are not in the position of choosing between luxuries and essentials. We are still so poor that we are choosing between the assentials themselves, and therefore leaving some of them undone.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

In our situation, all that we can do is to make sure that we use whatever resources we do have to good effect. We have to strive to increase our output by using properly what we already have. And if we do achieve an increase in production we have to resist the temptation to spend it all on personal consumption. First we have to put aside enough to buy the equipment of the farmer's seed and replacement jembe. Second, we must use some of the wealth to increase the availability of things like water, schools, hospitals and so on. And it is essential also that we should devote some of our increases in wealth to investment in new production capacity—that is buying machines for new factories, producing more

electricity, etc., because the number of Tanzania able to work in the fields or in factories is increasing every year. In fact, of course, the expansion of public services itself depends upon investment in new production facilities. Schools need books, which require investment in paper production and printing presses; hospitals require water and drugs; expanded agricultural output requires more factories and workshops making tools or fertiliser which in turn require more electricity and cement—and so on down the chain.

But, I repeat: we are very poor; we cannot do everything at once. And because the needs are so great the decision about what is to be postponed is often a matter of choice not rational judgement. For example if we do not have enough money to build both a well and a necessary, it is not easy to decide which to do, but one has to be postponed. Or if there is only enough money to build one school, but two villages have no school, you just have to decide which village gets a school this year.

Yet to say that we must concentrate on essential things, and that we must rely upon our own efforts and be self-reliant, is only to repeat what we have said many times. What we have to consider is what these things mean in practical terms, that is, in terms of the kind of goods we produce and how we produce them. We have to realise what implications they have for our own actions, and the leadership we give to the people.

For although we recognised in 1967 that self-reliance was the only way in which we could develop in freedom, and according to our own desires, we have in some ways recently tended to reduce the emphasis we give to self-reliance. Similarly, we have sometimes appeared to forget that money is the

product of development, and not its basis. Thus. for example, one newspaper report of a single day's debate in the current session of Parliament showed nine specific demands being made for the spending of more money in the villages. Many of these demands were for government to provide facilities which the people could provide for themselves by their own labour if they were given good leadership. None of those MPs. who demanded that money should replace the effort of people made any suggestion about what else should be for gone, or what else the people would produce to provide the tax revenue. And it is often M.P.s. like that who are very critical of any government proposals to increase taxation!

EVERYONE HAS A VITAL ROLE TO PLAY

Mr. Speaker; we must face up to the meaning of self—reliance. It means that every family will do everthing possible to meet its own out of its own efforts, and that in addition it will produce goods and services which can be exchanged for the other necessary things which it cannot produce for itself. Further, it means that every village, through the co-operation of the villagers, will meet all the village requirements which it can meet by the labour of its people, and a surplus to meet the costs of other services required by the villagers and by the nation as a whole. The same is true for every District, and every Region. Every district and every Region must produce a surplus above its own needs so as to be able to exchange this for the things it needs but cannot produce for itself and also to contribute to the development of the nation as a whole. Only on this basis can our nation be self-reliant, and our condition improve.

In other words a self—reliant nation means that everyone of us should work to his fullest capacity and in cooperation with his fellows. And ultimately we all depend upon the production of goods by the farmer and the workers. The teachers, nurses doctors, soldiers, office workers, —and politicians—can only do their work if their wages give them access to food, clothes, and houses which are produced by the peasants and production workers. It is production of goods by our own cooperative efforts which is the basis of everything we do and want to do.

INTENSIVE AGRICULTURE A BLESSING

The campaign for "Kilimo cha Kufa na Kupona" has, I believe, helped to bring this message home to everyone in Tanzania. For people realised very clearly and correctly that the alternative to increased food production was hunger, and perhaps even starvation. The farmers expanded their cultivation of food crops; people in towns, in Army camps, and in schools and factories began to produce at least some food for themselves. And those who had become dependent upon buying all their food in the market have now realised that the more food they grow for themselves, the more money they have for other things. A worker who has grown his own vegetables or paddy can meet the increased cost of sugar or khanga with a little less difficulty.

The response to Kilimo cha Kufa na Kupona has been very good. Whenever I have had an opportunity to congratulate the people I have done so, and I shall do the same in the future because they deserve congratulations for their efforts and

achievements. But we must continue with our efforts; the danger is not over, and cannot be until we have built up adequate reserves of food and of foreign exchange.

We must, however, learn from this year's experience, and we must use our common—sense. The purpose of the campaign was to increase the production of food for two reasons. First, we cannot depend upon the rest of the world for our food; it might not be available. Second, even if the food is available in the world market we do not have any foreign exchange to buy it with. All the foreign exchange we earn is needed to buy raw materials—including oil—and the capital goods which are vital to our own production effort. Therefore, it is not good to use our foreign exchange to buy food which we could grow for ourselves. Nor is it a good thing to reduce our cotton growing and to plant maize instead, especially in areas where cotton grows well but maize does not! What we have to do is to increase our production of all crops. We have to increase our output of food, and also to increase our output of commercial crops like cotton which are needed in our own factories and also enable us to obtain foreign exchange.

And as well as congratulating our people and our Public Corporations for their efforts in the "Kilimo cha Kufa na Kupona", campaign I would like to remind them not to forget questions of cost versus return next year. There is no point in using Shs. 100/- to produce food worth Shs. 20/-. For example, one factory in Dar es Salaam cultivated 115 acres; it expects to harvest just 115 sacks of maize worth Shs. 7,762/50. But it spent

Shs. 161,000/- in order to achieve this result! Not all factories or parastatals made that kind of mistake, but we must all learn from the achievements and the mistakes of our campaign this year.

SELF—RELIANCE IN SCHOOLS

Also, I would like to emphasize the special need for self—reliance in our schools. For there, we need to be concerned with much more than "Kilimo cha Kufa na Kupona"; we have to make our schools self—reliant. It is obvious that urban schools cannot cultivate very much. But after growing what they can on the small space available they must try to become self—reliant by producing other things which the schools themselves, or the nation, also need. Other schools do already usually have a shamba, and produce some of their own food. But in general we have been too conservative in our thinking about this, and too worried about academic standards to tackle the question seriously. Now that we have adopted universal primary education by 1977 as our target, we have no choice but to implement education for self—reliance with full vigour. With twice as many schools, we cannot afford the same tax cost per school as when we were being more cautious in our approach to expansion.

In future we must be more realistic in our standards. As the Minister has made clear, new Primary Schools, and new classrooms and teacher's houses, must be built by the teachers, the pupils and the villagers themselves from local resources. And new secondary schools must also be built more simply; they do not need beautiful classroom and dormitory blocks—local fundis could

be employed to build these in improved traditional style. Only science laboratories and libraries, dispensaries and kitchens, need the kind of buildings we have been getting accustomed to—and these should now be built with burnt brick.

Further, a large proportion of the recurrent costs of schools must begin to be met by the schools themselves. In the rural areas schools must not only make an effort to grow their own food; they must also grow crops for sale, so that from the proceeds they can purchase the foodstuffs which they cannot grow in their locality, and meet other local costs.

Youth at the Ruvu National Service Camp have chickens which produce 11,000 eggs every day. I am sure our schools could produce more goods than they do now. In the urban areas, the schools have to find some alternative means of earning or saving money through the work of the pupils and teachers. And in all schools, simple maintainance must be done by the school communities themselves, just as they must dig their own latrines and participate in constructing new buildings and the creation of simple school equipment.

Teachers too must become more innovative in their use of local resources for teaching materials. The Government—that is to say the community at large—must only be expected to provide the teachers, supply the basic books, the heavy furniture, and the more complex equipment for science and other special studies. This is particularly true for secondary schools, the University and other institutions of higher education, and for technical schools in all of which the students live where they study.

Those young men and women who get the privilege of post-primary education are among the fittest and most educated part of our population. In saying this I am not criticising our young people. I do not believe they are so proud that they only want to study, to eat and to sleep, or that they are unable or unwilling to work at production. Indeed, I am confident that in all our schools—primary, secondary, and post-secondary, the young people are willing to practice self-reliance with enthusiasm. The mistake has been in the planning for self-reliance, and in the leadership.

IMPLICATIONS OF SELF-RELIANCE

No one is suggesting that self-reliance, whether for schools, for the family, the village, or the nation, means self-sufficiency and isolation. Self-reliance simply means that ours alone is the responsibility for development, that development will come from our own sweat, that we have to use our own resources, and that by these same means shall we be able to buy the things we do not ourselves have and which we need for consumption and development.

Our priorities, therefore are: first to produce all the food we need, both in quantity and in the variety necessary for a healthy diet for all Tanzanians. Second, to produce all the other consumer goods we need, giving priority to such things as sufficient clothing, adequate housing and basic public services like water, schools, dispensaries, etc. Third, to produce such simple investment goods as are within our capacity and resources of skill and materials. This means things like hoes, ploughs, carts, small water pipes, clay

tiles, baked bricks, etc. Fourth, to produce crops like cotton or copra which we need in our textile and soap factories, etc. And fifth to produce goods which we can export and thus obtain foreign exchange for necessary imports like capital goods demanding advanced technology, raw materials which we do not possess or cannot yet afford to exploit, and skilled manpower which we have not yet developed among our own citizens.

Accepting these priorities means making quite deliberate decisions about the kind of things to produce, and the technology we use to produce them with. We are a poor country. If we are to meet the needs of our own people we have therefore to produce things needed by the poor, not those demanded by the rich. Let me give an example. A Msukuma needs shoes. And he needs those shoes to be cheap; that is he needs to be able to obtain them in exchange for as small a quantity of cotton as possible. Therefore, if you establish a factory to make high quality shoes such as those worn in Europe, you are not meeting the needs of the Msukuma. Conversely, if your factory is designed to provide shoes for the poor peasants and workers of Tanzania, you will not be able to sell its products in Germany—though you may be able to do so elsewhere in Africa.

In that example, it is obvious that Tanzania must give priority to establishing a factory—or many factories—to provide shoes for Tanzanians. This is our first priority. Yet it is also true that we need to produce things which we can export. So in addition to producing goods for the poor we have also to produce some goods for which there is, or could be, a market in the sophisticated consummer-oriented countries of the developed

world. These goods may be primary commodities, they may be crafts—or even leather and other manufactured goods designed for the export market. Or we can export our services through the tourist industry, using our own resources to construct the necessary facilities, and then obtaining foreign exchange from our visitors. The important decision we have to make is that the facilities we provide for foreign tourists, or the goods we make to sell to rich countries, must not be diverted to our own use, and must not be allowed to set "standards" against which we judge the things we make for our own use. A goldsmith does not eat off the gold plates he works! And he is not being foolish. The pots which potters make for their own use are never as elaborate as those he sells; and the carpenter's house does not have doors, tables, and chair of the same standard as those he sells. The goldsmith is not stupid, nor is the potter or the carpenter.

A decision about whether we are producing a particular item for the rich or the poor will often determine the nature of the technology which we should be using if we are to make maximum use of our resources. In the past we have often made the mistake of taking large loans to buy machinery capable of producing the sophisticated products needed for export and then using the machines to produce the simple goods we need for ourselves. This is wrong. A factory which produces shoes which could be sold in Western Europe, North America, or Japan, makes shoes which are too expensive for the Mgogo, although they could be purchased by a few prosperous

Tanzanians. We must look at our real needs, and then see how far they can be met by the use of labour and simple machinery, disregarding the methods used in Hamburg, Tokyo, Toronto or Detroit.

Thus, our primary and adult education campaigns require very large amounts of reading and writing materials. But our books do not have to be printed on art paper, in two colours, with lots of decorative illustrations. All that we need are books printed clearly on poor quality paper in black and white. And whereas quality printing requires modern machinery and high skill, our own needs for a large quantity of one colour books can be met by older and simpler technologies. Our investment decisions should be made accordingly.

Dispersal of our industrial production throughout the country is also possible if we make our technology appropriate to our needs. We have talked a great deal about promoting small and cottage industries; the trouble is that we give it so little practical encouragement! We have been brain-washed about the economies of large-scale production, and we frequently forget all about transportation difficulties or costs. And because we have established the small Industries Development Corporation, there is a tendency to assume that a cottage industry not started by SIDO is not a small industry! We must strengthen SIDO so little practical encouragement! We have been but its job is only to help them, not to replace them. SIDO's help should be called upon only when local initiative lacks the necessary skill, or capital, or marketing knowledge; or when it is economically necessary to establish an intermediate size workshop to serve the whole or a large part of a district.

All our new villages will, sooner or later, require simple wood and metal-repair workshops for ploughs, bicycles, milling machines, and so on. SIDO cannot provide those things. Instead one of the people who have been trained under SIDO auspices, or by TAMTU, or someone who has learned from another craftsman, should be encouraged to set up himself or in co-operation with other villagers.

This need to use technology which is appropriate to our needs, and which we can afford, cannot be emphasized too strongly. We need to expand our agricultural output. But we cannot afford to depend upon tractors to do it with. Tractors are quite complicated machines, and have to be imported; they cost ever-increasing amounts of foreign exchange. But we have within the country something like 15 million head of cattle. And we can afford to buy oxen-ploughs-indeed we are making them.

Again; we need to transport the crops and other things we produce in the villages from one place to onother. But why do we need to think in terms of lorries when the goods are only being moved a few miles? Donkey or oxen carts could carry crops from the farms to the storage or collecting points, from one village to another, or to the local town. This would be cheaper, and more reliable; often we cannot repair lorries when they break down on our bad roads whereas a locally made cart can be easily mended. And lorries—like tractors—have to be kept moving with imported diesel or petrol; carts only need a little grease occasionally and can be pulled by animals which are anyway eating our grass.

There is no reason why we cannot revolutionise our short-distance transportation in this way. Carts and other simple agricultural machines have been developed by the Agricultural Machinery Testing Units at Arusha (TAMTU). They are being produced and more could be produced. It has a training section for people from rural craft workshops and Ujamaa Villages as well as a small production section. The Prime Minister has already referred to the valuable work of this Unit, and the assistance it is giving to the establishment of regional production centres. How many MPs know about it, or have sought its assistance in development local producting of simple hut efficient tools?

VILLAGISATION HELPS

Mr. Speaker: the villagisation policy now makes it easier for us to advance through technologies appropriate to self-reliance. To talk of a village carpenter when there is no village does not make much sense. But when the tables and chairs he makes do not have to be carried for miles across the bush, and when the wheelbarrow which needs repairing is only along the street, then a village craftsman can provide services which ease the work and improve the life of the peasants. Of course, this is only one of many advantages which we can obtain if we exploit the opportunities as we have created by moving to villages. But it is necessary to stress that people have not been brought together in villages so that they could sit back while the government provides services for them. They live in villages so that they can provide services for themselves by their joint efforts, with the government giving assistance to these efforts as appropriate and possible.

The point about living in a community is to have a community life-to do things together which are not possible when you live isolated from one another. Cultural life can be enriched because of villagisation; ngoma, football and athletics, all become feasible on a regular basis. Traditional skills can be revived, indeed in many places, such as the Ujamaa Villages of Dodoma, these skills have been revived, and new skills acquired, through the formal and informal education opportunities which exist when people can easily meet for an hour or so twice a week. Building a school, a dispensary or a water furrow by self-help is no longer an imposition on anyone when everyone is near enough to use the facility. And cooperation in the marketing or production of simple manufactures like post, and of agricultural products, is greatly facilitated by proximity.

A gradually improving standard of living through self-reliance is the basic purpose of villagisation. It is also facilitated by the decentralisation policy which we adopted in 1972. It is not necessary for me to speak on this point today. For it is obvious that the promotion of integrated and self-reliant development is much easier in an area when the relevant government authorities are easily accessible for advice, assistance, and decision-making. And I believe that the advantages of decentralisation are already becoming visible in most of our Districts and Regions.

LESSONS FROM OUR POVERTY

But it is necessary for all of us to recognise that top priority in all our activities in the coming year must be the increased production of wealth, measured in economic terms. Our poverty makes that vital. However, our poverty also makes it

very difficult for us to increase output. Last year, for example, some of our factories were not able to work full time because we did not have the foreign exchange to buy necessary raw materials with—and that situation still exists. But difficulties are there to be overcome. We can earn more foreign exchange by expanding our agricultural output, and we must do so. The necessity is to cultivate for life or death is still there. So is the necessity to grow more export crops. And our scientists, at the University and elsewhere, must help us to find alternative raw material components for our factories, at least as a second-best short-term measure. For example just now we have a shortage of the ingredients for soap making. But the people of Kyela use "mafura" as a cleasing agent. Is it not possible for our exports to see whether we cannot meet the shortage of soap by using more "mafura"? In this particular case it may not be possible, but there may be other instances of shortages where similar questions lead to a positive result. The point I am trying to make is that we have to be unorthodox and innovative in our determination to overcome obstacles to increased production.

DISCIPLINE AND WORK

And before I leave this subject of work I want to make a final point about the importance of discipline in our work-places. I think there is little doubt but that the greater popularity of some sections of Mwongozo, Combined perhaps with a lack of leadership by TANU and Government officials, did lead to a lowering of work discipline in 1971 from which we have not yet recovered. The original drop was inevitable. The discipline we were all used to was the discipline of "bossism"

and the threat of starvation; and this is incompatible with socialism. That is what the Party was saying in Mwongozo, and that has been the theme of most of our labour legislation since independence, and especially since 1967.

But socialism is also incompatible with poverty. And poverty is poverty, whether it comes from capitalist exploitation or from laziness, irresponsibility, and carelessness in carrying out one's duty. It is now quite clear that we have to take a stronger stand against any lack of discipline. It is not good enough to take firm action against capitalism, and then let ourselves be exploited by lazy or negligent people or by thieves or embezzlers. All are enemies of socialist development, and all must be fought against by every socialist supporter. If we do not fight against them our country will not develop, and the enemies of Socialism will say that Socialism does not bring about development.

Mr. Speaker: there is only one further thing which I want to explain, and that is about this Parliament and the forthcoming elections.

There seems to be some feeling that the recent changes in the constitution of the United Republic, especially that which spelled out the supremacy of the Party, have in some way down-graded Parliament. It has even been implied that the changes have made Parliament so unimportant that the whole exercise of Parliamentary elections is an expensive irrelevancy.

In Party meetings I have already explained to MPs that neither of those things is true. But I would like to use this opportunity to explain the position to other Tanzanians who may have been thinking in that way.

CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES REVOLUTIONARY

Under our Constitution Parliament consists of Members of the National Assembly, and the President. The recent constitutional changes have not taken away a single power conferred by the Constitution on either the National Assembly or the President. The laws of this country are still made by Parliament, i.e. the National Assembly and the President, and no one else can make them. There is no meeting of the Party which can pass the laws of this country. The President of the United Republic of Tanzania remains an Executive Head of State, without a single power taken away from him which hitherto has been conferred upon him by the Constitution.

But we are a One Party State. It is the Party as defined in the Constitution which lays down the policies on the basis of which we legislate and run the Government of this country. This we all know. In fact that is the way we have always behaved.

All that the recent constitutional change did, was to put into legal form the ideology we had accepted a long time ago and which we had been carrying out in practice. This is not the first time that we have legalised an existing and agreed practice. Ten years ago we had a One Party system in the sence that we only had one Party, but it was not One Party System by law. In 1965 we made the law agree with our beliefs and our practices.

We are doing the same thing now.

By practice our Party leads the nation. The Arusha Declaration, Mwongozo, Politics is Agriculture, the Policy of Small Industries, the emphasis

on Irrigation, Decentralisation, the recent educational changes, all stem from our recognition that the Party is the real leader of the country. When the Party has laid down a policy our custom is to make every effort to implement that policy. Our laws, our administration, our various endeavours to expand the economy and so on are all intended to implement the policies of the Party and all involve a recognition that the Party has a right to supervise that implementation. This has been our belief; this has been our practice.

The purpose of the changes in the constitution is to make law conform to what we believe and practise. But the changes do not reduce the work of Parliament or the respect due to Parliament. Nor do they reduce the work of the President or the respect due to the President. All that they do is to remind us that by belief, by practice, and now by the laws we follow, our country is led by our Party.

The other constitutional change which identifies the Constituency with the Administrative and Party unit at the District and Regional level is simply intended to enable Members of Parliament to be more effective in their work, especially in the light of Decentralisation. After the coming elections it will be clear that MPs. are members of their District and Regional TANU organizations, and that they are directly involved in all the work of the District or Region—not just in a part of that area. This does not reduce the honour or the respect of the MPs. in the District; I think it increases it. They will have the right and the duty to check, and to correct where necessary, the work of Government at local as