

**SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT,
MWALIMU JULIUS K. NYERERE,
TO PARLIAMENT**

Dar es Salaam

29th July 1985

to Parliament

Dar es Salaam: 29th July 1985

Mr. Speaker; Honourable Members of Parliament.

Today, as it is the last time I shall be addressing this House, I propose to look at some of the things which we have done since I was first entrusted with the task of leading our independent country. I want to look at these in the context of the objectives we set ourselves in 1961, 1962, and 1964. I wish, through you, to offer an account to the people who have so consistently re-elected me to lead this country. And I wish to indicate my own provisional assessment of those national achievements and problems which I shall be passing to my successor to deal with in cooperation with the next Parliament.

The single most important task - both for myself and for the people of this country - which I set out in my Inaugural Address in December 1962 was that of building a united nation on the basis of human equality and dignity. When I addressed the United Nations a year before, I also promised that the basis of our nation's actions would be an honest attempt to honour the dignity and equality of man - nationally and internationally. And the theme of unity was my central point when I again addressed Parliament on 25th April 1964, asking for the ratification of the Agreement to unite the two independent countries of Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

I believe I can say, without hesitation, that in this most basic of all our objectives we have, after less than 25 years, great reason for pride. We do have a Nation - a united Nation. We do have a nation

-2-

based on the principles of human equality. And we have made great progress towards making that equality a reality.

Central to the development and safeguarding of our national unity is the fact that by the Constitutions of our nation and of our Party, as well as by firm and consistent practice, this is a secular state. Individuals have their own religion, which is fully respected, and which they are absolutely free to follow in accordance with our laws. But the state itself has no religion; and the Party itself has no religion. Our leaders are elected, and continue in their positions, regardless of their personal religious beliefs. They are chosen on the basis of their own qualifications, actions, and commitment to the service of our people and our nation. Whether they go to Church, or the Mosque, or the Temple, or none of them, is not important. It must remain irrelevant both to their being chosen and to their actions once elected.

This is vitally important. Half of our people are youngsters who do not know, and many adults have forgotten, that at independence we were a people divided by race and by religion. Our new nation inherited legal and customary discrimination both of race and of religion. There were racially separate education and health facilities, racial representation in this Parliament, racial residential areas, and so on. Employment opportunities were influenced by race; there were few Government schools and Mission Schools were reserved for the followers of their particular religion.

All that discrimination went very quickly after the independence of Tanganyika and the Revolution in Zanzibar. Our Governments have consistently opposed any practices which were discriminatory on grounds of race,

religion, or tribe. And the Bill of Rights which is incorporated in the new Constitution outlaws any racial or tribal or religious discrimination which may occur through the inherited vestiges of racial or religious prejudices. We are now a nation of citizens absolutely equal before the law in theory and in practice.

A longer and in some ways a harder task is that of preventing the growth of new gross inequalities of income between the citizens of this country, and of reducing those we inherited. Our strategy has been that of socialism. We have fought against the exploitation of man by man by such methods as public ownership of the major means of production and exchange, through promoting equal access to social and public services, and through fiscal, monetary, and income policies as well as through our whole economic planning system.

We have had considerable success; one indication of this is that the ratio of urban disposable personal income after tax has changed from an estimated 18.8 to 1 in 1962, through 15.7 to 1 in 1966, and 4.9 to 1 last year. This means that in 1962 the highest income was nearly 19 times that of the lowest; last year the highest was nearly five times the minimum wage. This is a big step forward.

But this is a struggle which does not end; our work has to continue. For some of the inheritance practices in our country allow an individual to accumulate massive wealth; although others have the effect of distributing an inheritance. And thieves, black marketeers, and smugglers all too often escape our tax net as well as other legal measures to prevent their dishonest activities. Further, exploitation can take place through abuse of office, or through the laziness of those

entrusted with public service. The machinery is there to correct these things, but it does not always work very well.

The unity of our country has also been enhanced by the deliberate and successful further development of Swahili as our national language, and by the deliberate revival of our traditional dances. I believe that - provided we maintain our present efforts to improve the speaking and teaching of Swahili - our language and culture are now sufficiently secure for us to pay renewed attention to the teaching of the Swahili of the world, which is English.

We are now a nation. And by the deliberate choice of our two peoples, we are a United Republic. Our nation consists of Tanzania mainland and the Tanzanian islands. It is a proud nation, and one which has earned respect internationally through its policies of Non-Alignment and anti-colonialism, as well as by its domestic endeavours.

Our nationhood is now not just a matter of internationally recognised boundaries, a flag, a national anthem, and a 21 gun salute for the President. It is part of us - its people. We know that we are Tanzanians; and we are actively involved in our country's governance, its development, and its national integrity - as became very evident when Tanzania was invaded in 1978. Nor is our nationhood, or the respect and future of our nation, dependent upon the character, abilities, or foibles, of one man - be it Julius Nyerere or Hassan Ali Mwinyi or another. Over the short period since the independence of our states and the establishment of our United Republic, we have created systems and institutions through which we together govern and run our country.

Our President is important; but he is not Tanzania. The Vice-President and President of Zanzibar is important; but he is not Tanzania. We - all of our people organised together - are Tanzania.

At independence, Government was something which 'administered' and kept the peace. It was not organised for the development of the people or the economy; and it was not democratic. The situation is very different now. Government leads and guides the development of Tanzania; this is its primary goal, and the purpose of administration and peace-keeping is to promote that objective. So our Union Government, the autonomous Zanzibar Government, our Union Ministerial structure, our Cabinet and Revolutionary Council systems, our Decentralised Administration, and our public service are organised accordingly. These systems are very different (as well as inevitably much larger) from what they were in 1961 or 1964.

And out of an imitation Westminster model multi-party system of Government and Legislation, we have developed for ourselves a system of One Party democracy which is appropriate to the conditions of our United Republic. Our Party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi, lays down the direction, the priorities, and the principles of Government and Development. The Government and Parliament translate those principles into legislative and executive reality, being accountable both directly to the People through adult-suffrage elections and to the Party through over-lapping membership and constant consultation on major issues.

We did not reach our current constitution or administrative structure at one bound; nor is the present position immutable. We have amended the Constitutions of

both Party and nation on several occasions, either as new needs developed, or as deficiencies or faults became obvious. The same is true of the Development and Administrative structures. Sometimes we made mistakes which had to be corrected later.

We started independent life with a highly centralised administrative system in order to use to the maximum the few educated citizens we had. This weak but distant structure had dangers for freedom, especially in the absence of any institutions dedicated to opposition for its own sake. In 1965 we therefore created the Permanent Commission of Enquiry to prevent abuses of office. This continues to do useful work, receiving something like 2,500 written complaints a year. The majority of these either have no basis or the complainants have not exhausted other means of rectification, but some 15% of the cases are both considered and satisfactorily settled. Since 1980 this Commission has covered the whole Union.

In 1972, after localisation of staffing had made some progress, we decentralised Central Government administration to Regional and District level, at the same time abolishing the old Local Government system. In 1975, through the Villagisation Act we laid the basis for Village Governments. But by 1982 we realised that we had made a major error in abolishing Local Government; this Parliament therefore passed legislation to re-establish Local Government at District and Urban level, while leaving the other systems basically intact.

Despite many changes, however, the constitutional and administrative thrust has been consistent since independence. We have been trying to organise ourselves for the democratic and people-oriented

development of our nation. And with all their faults, - which must continue to be corrected as necessary - I believe that our systems of government and development planning have worked, and do work, in the desired direction.

What that direction is became clearer as we gained experience. For despite abolishing Freehold Land in 1963, and Nyarubanja in 1965, we found by the end of 1966 that economic and social inequalities between our citizens, as well as other divisive attitudes, were beginning to develop. To correct this, TANU then spelled out in the Arusha Declaration of 1967 the meaning of Socialism and Self-Reliance for Tanzania. It has been our compass since then, supplemented by Mwongozo of 1971 and Mwongozo of 1981.

In February 1967 we nationalised the private financial institutions. I believe that these actions made possible our fairly steady economic progress until the late 1970s, and the strength with which we have been able to withstand the difficult period since then. For through these publicly owned institutions we have been able to develop financial services for the rural areas and the other economic sectors of our country, and also to mobilise all the financial resources of the country for the country instead of having the little that we have transferred or invested elsewhere.

Thus for example, while we had in 1966 already taken the crucial step of establishing the Bank of Tanzania - and had issued our own notes from that date - it was after the Arusha Declaration that we were able to expand commercial Bank services beyond a few urban areas. As against 64 Bank Offices in 1967, the National Bank of Commerce alone now has 381. In addition, we have

three Investment Banks; one for Cooperative and Rural Development, one which concentrates on industrial development, and the Housing Bank. The Post Office Savings Bank also continues, and Zanzibar has its own publicly owned Peoples Bank. In addition, we have our own Insurance Corporation and National Provident Fund which serve Tanzanians' personal interests while enabling their savings to be used for our development until they are needed by their owners. In fact, within the limitations of our underdevelopment, it can now be said that Tanzania has a relatively complete set of financial institutions able to finance most type of long and short term credit as well as to mobilise domestic savings.

In 1967 or soon after, we also either nationalised or pulled into joint ownership such few economically important production and trading establishments as existed. By these actions we emphasised the principle that the purpose of economic activities is the welfare of the people, not private profit for capitalists. But the real economic development of the nation followed those actions; there had been very little productive investment before the Arusha Declaration.

Thus, within six years of mainland Tanzania's independence, we were in a position from which we could seriously conduct that war against the poverty of our people which we had declared in December 1961. And our achievements are not small. In constant 1966 prices (i.e. taking account of inflation), the per capita National Income in 1964 was 510.8 Tanzania Shillings per annum; in 1966 (an exceptionally good agricultural year) it was 557.1 Shillings. After eleven years of socialist policies, during which we experienced two drought years

and an oil price rise from about 1 Dollar and 50 cents (U.S. Currency) to about 13 Dollars a barrel, by 1978 the per capita income had reached 680.1 Shillings. And from 1967 to 1978 our population had grown from about 11,700,000 to about 17 million. Thus, even with a big increase in population, the per capita income in Tanzania was increasing year after year, despite great difficulties.

From 1977, however, our economy received a series of devastating and expensive blows from which we have not yet been able to recover. The break up of the East African Community caused very expensive economic dislocation; in order to correct this, essential and urgent investments costing an estimated 2,000 million Tanzania Shillings had to be added to our Development Plans. In 1978 our country was invaded; the estimated total cost of the consequent war was approximately 4,000 million Tanzania Shillings. And beginning in 1979, the price of the oil we have to import for transport and energy went up again - this time from about 13 U.S. Dollars a barrel to about 36 U.S. Dollars in 1982!

Nor was this all. From 1979 for several years in succession we had bad crop weather so that agricultural production fell very greatly; in the three crop seasons from 1980 to 1983, we were forced to import 632,600 tons of maize (as well as rice and wheat) in order to feed the urban areas and those rural areas where the crop had failed.

In addition to these special Tanzanian problems, the ever-increasing chaos of the international economy has hit Tanzania as it has hit all other poor countries. We have had to contend with the unemployment and Recession in the Developed World, the wide fluctuations in currency exchange rates, high Interest

Rates, and increasing Protectionism. And the terms of trade - which have almost consistently moved against primary producers since our independence - became much worse as primary commodity prices collapsed at the beginning of this decade.

In the light of these facts it is hardly surprising that the period of this Parliament has been marked by a terrible fall in the per capita National Income. In 1983, (still in 1966 prices) it was 589.4 Tanzanian Shillings - lower than at any time since 1968. Thanks to almost superhuman efforts by our Government and People, by last year the rate of decline had been arrested; indeed, as the Minister for Economic Affairs and Development Planning reported to this House, there was a 2.5% increase in the Gross Domestic Product in 1984. Unfortunately, our population simultaneously increased by 3.3%, so the per capita income continued to decline.

Mr. Speaker. The same picture of remarkable progress in the war against poverty, followed by a retreat during the last six years, can be seen in every area of our economy.

At independence there were in the whole of mainland Tanzania only 220 factories or plants which employed more than 10 workers and had a capital of over 200,000 Shillings! What we would really call factories could almost be counted on the fingers of one hand; apart from the Ginneries and one sugar plant, one thinks of the Cigarette, Metal Box and Bata Shoes factories, the Tanganyika Extract Company, and the Brewery! We determined to change this situation and to develop our own industrial structure - and not one consisting only of links in a chain of transnational enterprises.

Some slight progress had been made as a

result of the efforts of Government and the National Development Corporation which we established in 1965. But by February 1967 there were still only about seven industrial enterprises which were so strategic to our development that it was necessary for us to take them into public ownership or control. The real progress was made between then and the late 1970s, through the deliberate development efforts of successive Governments and the Parastatal Corporations which have been established.

I can no longer give a meaningful list of our industries - it would take too long. We now have the textile capacity to produce almost enough cloth for our needs if we could keep the factories working. And apart from very many consumer goods industries, we have shoe factories and leather goods factories, and factories producing pipes for water distribution, as well as plants producing some building, educational and pharmaceutical materials. We also have three farm implements factories, the beginnings of metal and engineering industries, a billet casting plant which uses scrap iron, a steel rolling mill, a factory which makes corrugated iron and aluminium roofing, and a pulp and paper plant. And we have a machine-tools factory. For since 1975 we have been trying to implement a 'Basic Industry Strategy' which will give more emphasis to the establishment of industries which can lead to greater industrial and manufacturing self-reliance. And with the help of the Small Industries Development Organisation, as well as the activities of our Districts and Villages and individual initiative, we now have about 1,230 small industries in the rural areas, as well as those in our towns.

So we made very good progress in expanding our industrial sector until about 1979. In constant

prices, the output of our manufacturing sector rose from 572 million Shillings in 1967 to 1,429 million Shillings in 1978, - an increase of almost 150%. Unfortunately, in developing the sector we did not pay enough attention to choosing technology which was appropriate to our economy, our level of development, and our transport constraints. And we did not - and still have not - established efficient links between the different industries or with other sectors of our economy. Nor did we pay attention to the need for continuing maintenance expenditure. Therefore, when the foreign exchange problem became severe, the output of almost all our factories fell drastically. They are able to produce to only about 30% of their capacity - or sometimes less - because they depend on imports for spare parts or vital ingredients, and there is no foreign exchange to finance those imports. In 1983 the Gross Product of the manufacturing sector (again in 1966 prices) had fallen to 603 million Shillings - which is only 5.4% above the 1967 level!

One of the constraints on any industrial development is the availability of energy, and Government has given a high priority to this sector. Indeed, it is appropriate that we should congratulate the Ministry and other bodies concerned for their great efforts and, given the difficulties, the remarkable and sustained success of our developments in this field.

The amount of electricity generated and sold in Tanzania has increased by 42% since 1961, and the total installed capacity has increased by 577%. Most of these increases are the result of new hydro-electric projects since independence. Further, we are rapidly developing a National Grid for the distribution of that electricity, which will greatly ease the problems of

industries in towns far from our ports. All these developments together have eased the problem which follows from our having been forced by the foreign exchange problem to reduce our oil imports from 815,000 tons a year in 1972 to 687,000 tons in 1984 - which we still have difficulty in financing.

At the same time, we have been searching for our own oil. Between 1969 and 1984, the Tanzania Petroleum Development Corporation - in cooperation with private Companies and with external financial help - drilled 23 exploration wells. We have found extensive gas deposits, but unfortunately we have not yet located oil. The average cost of these wells has so far been 15.2 million U.S. Dollars each! While continuing to explore for oil, we are also trying to raise the finance for the exploitation of the gas by the production of ammonia and urea fertiliser. The planning work for this project has been completed.

Transport and Communications are other infrastructural developments of vital importance. After the break up of the East African Community we were faced with a disastrous situation in this sector.

We had the 1,860 kilometre track of the Uhuru Railway to Tunduma, which we had built in cooperation with Zambia and with the very generous help of the Chinese people. But for the rest of our railway system we found ourselves at the beginning of 1977 with old and worn out rolling stock (of the 140 locomotives, 94 were steam), a track which was not only very old - mostly built during German rule - but had not been maintained, and with no effective facilities for training or rolling stock maintenance.

Mr. Speaker; From time to time I do see

people queueing for tickets at Dar es Salaam railway station, and sometimes sleeping there to be first the next morning; I know that there are delays in the movement of goods by rail. But I still think some congratulations are due for the recovery which has been made since 1977, especially in the light of the difficulties of the period. A large number of the locomotives, wagons and coaches have been replaced; the track is being strengthened, Phase II of the Morogoro Railway Workshop has been completed and the Dar es Salaam workshop has been rehabilitated. Also, new Lake ships have been acquired and a dry floating dock has been installed on Lake Victoria.

Harbours development did take place under the East African Community; 8 new Deep Water Berths and a Headquarters were built between 1967 and 1977. Unfortunately it has not been possible to carry out the further planned development since then; the World Bank Loan for the purpose was not released until 1984 after the dispute about E.A.C. assets and liabilities had been settled.

The break up of East African Airways meant that Tanzania had virtually no scheduled air services in February 1977. When A.T.C. was created within a few months, it inherited two Focker 27 planes which could be used - plus a D.C.9 which had to be sold. After the Twin Otter crash in 1984, it now has ten planes - only eight of which are at present in working condition. Minor maintenance facilities have been established, but major overhauls - which must be done regularly - still have to be done abroad at a high cost in foreign exchange. The Corporation is now a working entity, which is being modernised and expanded as fast as our resources allow.

Postal and Telecommunications Services have also expanded greatly, and the facilities have been modernised. We now have 44,000 telephones in the country as against 19,000 at independence, and 719 Post Offices and Sub-Post Offices as against 185. After being deprived of the use of the East African facility, we have built an earth satellite station of our own.

A national Trade infrastructure has also been established since the Arusha Declaration. Our National and Regional Trading Companies are now the major wholesale, import and export institutions. They were created in order to localise these vital services. Unfortunately, their major task in the last few years has been the fair distribution of shortages. Apart from the proceeds of foreign loans (which have to be repaid) and Development Grants from friends, only goods which are domestically produced, or bought with the proceeds of exports, can be consumed; and as I have indicated there has been a drastic decline in our industrial and agricultural output since 1978.

Until the end of the 1960s Tanzania had small surpluses on its foreign trade account - we exported more goods in terms of Shillings than we imported. This was a sign of our lack of development activity; in those years we were to a large extent still preparing ourselves for the war against poverty. But the value of our exports continued to rise until 1977; it fell in 1978 and rose to a new peak in 1981 before beginning a decline which continues until now. The monetary value of imports, on the other hand, continued to rise until 1980 - although the volume was already decreasing very greatly. By 1984, our exports were only financing about 41% of our imports - which, as we all know from day to day

experience, are absolutely inadequate to keep our economy running efficiently.

There is no sign that the terms of our international trade - that is the price of our exports relative to that of our essential imports - are turning in our favour. On the contrary, they are likely to continue to move against our interests. For example, between March this year and now, the world market coffee price has fallen by more than 25,000 Tanzania Shillings a ton; and the cotton price has also fallen. That is the reality of the world in which we have to try to do business. It is also the reality behind our declining productivity, our shortages, - and the price rises in our shops. The foreign exchange shortage affects everything. There is no escaping it. As I have followed the Budget Speeches and Debate during this Session of Parliament I am amazed at how little understanding of this reality is still being shown.

No one else will solve this problem for us. We must become more efficient in production and distribution. We must guard what we have and allocate it only to top priorities; we must increase our exports. But whatever else we do, we have no choice but to stop thinking in terms of foreign consumption goods, and to adapt our production methods to our own internal resources and capacity. And we have to do this in every field, and urgently.

This applies to agriculture as to everything else. The productive use of our land is the key to our future. And in this area, our success has been very limited indeed. Our peasants work very hard. But almost 24 years after I first spoke as President to this Parliament about the vital need to modernise by the use of

ploughs and tractors, it has been estimated that 79% of our cultivation is still being done with the hand hoe. Further, very little fertiliser is being used; even worse, the use of compost, manure, and even natural land regeneration methods, has declined. And our woodlands are being cut very much faster than new trees are being planted. It is not really surprising that the expansion of our agricultural output is not keeping pace with the population, and that much of our land is deteriorating in fertility.

These things have not taken place through lack of a policy, but through failure to implement our policies. The Paper 'Socialism and Rural Development', and 'Siasa ni Kilimo' were followed by special Party N.E.C. Meetings on irrigation. All of these called for appropriate modernisation and organisation, with the emphasis on simple tools and application of the knowledge and good practices which already exist in some places in our country. And we have always known that the bulk of both food and cash crop production has depended upon the work of the peasants. But instead of helping them to apply these and other policies, we have lectured them, failed to provide them either with expertise or the simple tools they wanted, and made very little direct investment in agriculture.

It is not true that we inherited a flourishing agricultural sector at independence. Tanzania has always had to import food during bad years; in 1962 we imported 69,000 tons of maize. But although production has greatly increased, our population has increased faster. Now we have to import food every year; even this year - which looks like being much better than at any time since 1978 - we are unlikely to produce

enough to feed all our growing urban population. And the production of most of our major cash crops has greatly declined.

Cotton sales, for example, went up from just over 114,000 tons in 1962/3 to nearly 232,000 tons in 1966/7; in 1982/3 they were only 130,423 tons. Since then they have begun to rise again, reaching 151,800 tons last season. It is expected that this output will decline again this season. Tobacco production rose rapidly until 1976/77; it has now fallen back almost to the level of 1970. A deliberate decision was made in the 1960s to reduce sisal production because of the very bad world prices - but it was never intended to fall back from 218,000 tons in 1963 to the present level of about 40,000 tons. I could go on; cashew is also a disaster area; so is cloves. Only coffee - and probably tea - maintains a slow growth rate. It was once estimated that even taking prices into account, we could have earned an extra billion Tanzania Shillings on the export market if we had maintained our peak production years in the major crops.

If we look again at those figures we can learn a great deal about where we went wrong. In almost all crops - certainly as regards cotton, cashew, tobacco, and pyrethrum - there was a period of expansion before the decline set in. In all these cases, the growth was due in large part to an expansion of the area planted, to better seeds, to improved husbandry, and in particular to the use of fertiliser. The decline which we have since seen is not always the result of a reduction in the acreage devoted to the crop; there has been no significant decline in the area planted for cotton and tobacco. Most often the decline has occurred because the soil fertility has gone down, or the pest infestation has

increased, or the standard of husbandry has deteriorated. We have to look at why these things happened; for if the problem had simply been related to the tools our peasants use, the result would have been a stagnation at or about the peak levels, not a decline.

Even within the constraints of the hand-hoe, it would be possible to increase output considerably if we use better seeds, plant properly, improve soil fertility through the use of fertiliser or organic methods, and guard the crops both in the fields and in the store against pests.

At the 1982 C.C.M. National Conference I spoke at great length on the problems of agricultural production, and the need to put this sector at the centre of all our economic planning. That turn-around has begun. The agricultural sector now receives a very much higher percentage of our Development Budget. The Cooperative Unions have been reintroduced - their abolition was the other most serious mistake of the past years; and the activities of the other Ministries as well as of the Districts and Regions are being increasingly oriented towards service to the needs of the peasants.

For it must be remembered that agricultural output and reward does not depend solely on activities which get labelled 'agriculture' or 'natural resources'. Peasants need farm implements, and consumer goods on which to spend their earnings; this is a question of industry. They need reliable transport for their crops and energy to ease their labour. They need education and health services, and so on. They also want the dignity of governing their own local affairs and participating in the government of their District and nation. It is not possible to serve the peasants'

interests properly by ignoring all these other aspects of economic and social development in Tanzania. Nor is it possible to pay prices for their output which exceed the prices obtained on the international market. The peasants constitute something like 80% of the population of our country; they cannot be prosperous while the nation is in economic trouble for reasons beyond our control, any more than the nation can be prosperous if it ignores the needs of the peasants. They are the bulk of the nation.

And from the peasants' point of view the picture is not all gloom. We have had considerable success in our rural development policies and in our taxation policies. It was rural children who used not to go to school and who can now do so, who had no access to medical treatment and who now have it. The real income of the average peasant is now higher than that of the urban minimum wage earner; in areas where there is a good cash crop a successful peasant can earn very much more than most of the civil servants - and he will not pay the same tax either! At present, a maize farmer who produces just 50 bags of maize a hectare on his shamba will earn more than 24,000 Shillings a year. After taking account of his production costs, his annual income will still exceed that of a minimum wage earner - who gets only 9,600 shillings a year. And the peasant is generally assured of food and adequate shelter, because he is largely self-reliant in these respects.

But the fact remains that our agriculture must be modernised. We shall not be able to increase the production of food and of cash crops simultaneously unless we move away from reliance on the hand hoe. And the answer for the peasants is not, in the near future, the

tractor.

The output of the peasant will greatly increase, and his burden will be immensely lightened, if we expand the use of ploughs in production, and carts for village transport and simple tools for threshing etc. It is the job of the leadership to ensure that such things are easily available, and that the peasants are shown how to use them and look after them. Also, the productivity of our land will be greatly increased if we increase the use of manure and compost - including green compost - as well as appropriate spacing, inter-cropping and other natural methods of fighting pest infestation. These things are not difficult to do - so let us do them! If we implement these practices we shall achieve great agricultural change, as well as greatly increased incomes for our farmers.

It is also necessary that, together, we pay more attention to afforestation. On this too, some very useful work has been done. Apart from the tree planting connected with the Mufindi Pulp and Paper mill (which the local people say has increased the amount of rain in the area), we now have 93,570 hectares of national industrial forests as against 3,340 hectares at independence. And tree planting in the villages has been advancing at an average rate of 7,500 hectares a year since 1975. This is important and needs to be expanded. As well as helping to prevent erosion, tree planting ensures fuel and building supplies for the future; the income of the villagers could also be increased if they planted trees on that part of their land which is not suitable for other crops.

Mr. Speaker and Honourable Members.
Despite the setbacks of recent years, I believe the record

I have been outlining shows that we have laid crucial foundations for economic advance, and that what we have already achieved in this sector is also a justification for some pride. We have indeed been waging an effective war against poverty.

But Tanzania's good reputation comes from our achievements in providing social services for our people. Even our enemies, after criticising us and sometimes abusing us, are forced to recognise that in the social services our nation has made great progress. We ourselves decided to struggle against ignorance and disease as one aspect of our efforts to give reality to human equality; it has thus been part of our nation building activity. For a citizen's real income consists both of the money in his pocket and his access to basic health, education, and other public services. Yet at the same time, spending on education and health is a long term investment in the nation's most precious resource - its people. Real economic development is not possible with an illiterate population or a people weighed down with preventable diseases.

In 1961 the total number of children in our primary schools was 486,000. At present, 3,660,000 children attend these schools. Those figures speak for themselves. It is a tremendous achievement of our country - and one which is unmatched elsewhere in Africa.

What is more, the education given at these schools is now much more adapted to the needs and aspirations of Tanzania than was the case at independence. All the children of Tanzania mainland go to school for seven years; in Zanzibar they go for eleven years. Before independence only very few children who attended primary school did so for the four years. Also,

the curriculum has been changed so that is now centred on Tanzania and Africa. Our children learn the history of this country, not of Britain; they learn our constitution, not the constitution of those who were our governors. They learn the geography of Africa and Tanzania, and the basics of science from the land around them. The policy of Education for Self-Reliance is being applied.

Mr. Speaker; I want to take this opportunity once again to express my own appreciation, and that of the Government, to our teachers - and our primary school teachers in particular. They serve the whole nation, and sometimes in very difficult conditions. We depend upon them very greatly. I do get disturbed when I discover that villages and Districts, or the Ministry of Education in the case of Secondary Schools, are not providing a decent house for all the teachers. I also question whether all of us understand the meaning of education when villages - including Party members - collect money for private Secondary Schools while leaving primary schools without desks or chairs or other basic teaching equipment. We are cheating our children when we send them to a Secondary School without having provided a good groundwork at primary level, or without providing teachers with basic human and work facilities. Our primary education must be very good education, because it is the education of all Tanzanians.

As and when we can expand educational provision, we must give emphasis to technical education - both in the primary schools and in post-primary courses. This is official policy, but it is the one area in which we have not been very successful. Only 6,700 pupils are enrolled in post-primary technical centres; most of the

316 centres exist only on paper because they do not have any equipment or lack teachers - or usually both.

Both Government and Voluntary Agencies run other vocational training institutions. The Ministry of Manpower Development now has 1,500 pupils studying 36 different trades at their own institutions, and another 4,700 pupils graduated from evening classes in vocational skills. All this is new. So is the system of Trade Testing, for which graduates of the Voluntary Agency Centres and private learning can enter. Whereas in 1966, 60 people entered these tests, over 26,000 did so in 1983.

I hope that the next Parliament will be more aggressive on the technical and vocational training aspect of our education service, although we have to recognise that a big constraint is that until now almost all the necessary machines have to be imported. I have invited the Voluntary Agencies to give more help on this; I have assured them that the schools they start will not again be taken over, because they will not in future make religion a qualification for entry - as often used to be the case.

My emphasis on Primary Education does not mean that Government has been inactive on the other kinds of post-primary work. On the contrary; in the first years after Self-Government we put great emphasis on Secondary Education. We did this deliberately, because without doing so we could not have expanded primary education. Whereas 11,832 pupils were enrolled in Public Secondary Schools in 1961, 40,617 were enrolled in 1984 - which is almost double the rate of population increase. What is more, whereas only 236 of these were in Form V in 1961, the enrolment in this Form in 1984 was 2,125. There has also been a notable advance in the proportion of female Secondary School - and University - students.

These now constitute about one third of Secondary School pupils, and 20% of University students.

And as some Members of Parliament will remember, at Independence we had a University College which had been started by the Internal Self Government TANU Administration; it had 14 students. We now have two full Universities with a total enrolment of about 3,400. To a very large extent we are now self-reliant as regards Under-graduate teaching; indeed in some of the science based subjects we have some vacant places because the Primary and Secondary School system does not at present provide candidates who are adequately prepared for University level work. The attained level of English is also a problem for University teaching.

This list does not mark the end of our achievements in education. The Adult Education system of classes, radio, rural newspapers, libraries and correspondence courses, has converted a position where about 80% of our adults were illiterate, to one where out of a very much larger number of people all except about 15% are literate. We have the highest adult literacy rate in Africa; our people have been liberated in this vital respect. And nearly 1,200,000 people attended post-literacy classes organised by the Ministry of Education last year!

I could go on longer on this subject. Apart from the Teacher Training institutions of the Ministry of Education, every Ministry, and every Para-statal Corporation, has training programmes for its staff. Most run their own specialised institutions. Jeshi la Kujenga Taifa is in part a training institution; the Army provides Secondary Schools as well as technical training; there are the Institute of Finance Management,

the Police Colleges, the Ministry of Agriculture Training Institutions - and so on and so on. And there are an endless number of Seminars! All of this is part of the process of up-grading our capability and our efficiency. The person who described Tanzania's policy as Revolution by Education spoke with great truth. We have much still to do, but as far as knowledge goes, we are a different kind of people now from what we were at independence.

Mr. Speaker and Honourable Members. As more than half our present population has been born since independence, very many people do not realise how immense are the strides we have taken in Health questions since that time.

Basic to good health is clean water. In 1961 about 11% of our ten million people had access to it - that is, something like 1,100,000 people. Now, just under 50%, or over 10 million people have clean water within 400 metres of their homes. It is not good enough. It means that half the people do not have accessible clean water. But it is a tremendous achievement. We can be proud of what we have done so far.

The figures for direct Health services are also impressive. At independence we had 98 hospitals, we now have 149; we had 22 Rural Health Centres, we now have 239; we had 975 Dispensaries and we now have 2,644. Of these services, 67 Hospitals, 2 Health Centres, and 386 Dispensaries have been built by and are run by Voluntary Agencies with the help of subventions averaging almost 44 million Shillings a year over the last five years.

The numbers of trained Tanzanians working in the Health Sector has also expanded out of all recognition. We started with just 12 Tanzanian Doctors for our more than 10 million people - that is, one Doctor for over

830,000 people. We now have 782 Tanzanian Doctors trained to international standards - i.e., one Doctor for every 26,000 people. Some of these Tanzanian Doctors are Specialists. In addition, we have the services of 283 expatriate Doctors. At independence we had 32 Assistant Medical Officers; we now have 436 - who have been trained to a higher level. If you add the Doctors and Assistant Medical Officers together, we began national life with one Doctor for every 227,000 people; today we have one for something like 16,400! This is still not enough; but it marks a big step forward. Further, we have 6,328 Medical Assistants and Rural Medical Aids - the vital people who, among other things, run our Dispensaries and clinics. Only as regards Health Officers have we failed to expand rapidly; as they are crucial to preventive medicine, a programme to train village health workers has recently begun.

Our medical service is to a large extent responsible for the improvement in Tanzania's basic health indicators. At independence, our Infant Mortality Rate was 225 babies for every 1,000 born alive. It has fallen to 137. And the expectation of life, which was about 35 years when we began, is now estimated at 51 years. This infant mortality rate of 137 babies for every 1,000 born alive is still very much too high, and an expectation of life of 51 years is very much too low. But if make comparisons with where we came from, the advance is not small. We have laid the foundations for further advance.

Mr. Speaker; I paid a tribute to the teachers. Our Doctors and Nurses also deserve a very big tribute. We have first class Doctors and Nurses working in this country. They too have been working, and continue to work, under very difficult conditions. Their

work also is greatly hindered by the same shortage of foreign exchange which holds back our other services. It is a very bitter experience for a Doctor to see someone suffering or dying of a disease which he knows he could treat if he had the necessary medicines or equipment. The medical staff make the maximum efforts within the constraints which confront them; the country must continue to give them the maximum possible support.

We must remember also that the biggest causes of death and suffering in this country are malaria and common illnesses which cause diarrhoea - many of which are related to malnutrition or bad water. We have a health system by which people with more unusual and very serious illnesses can be referred upwards to the Consultant Hospitals. But Primary Health care is the key to improved health in Tanzania. We must give that - and particularly the preventive care aspect of it - the top priority in the allocation of our Health Budget.

Mr. Speaker; we have many other basic social and public services which we take for granted. Our publicly provided Social Service provision is still rudimentary, and we are indebted to Voluntary Agencies for many of our orphanages, our schools for handicapped children, and other programmes which give help and relief to individuals who have a right to our care. But the Service has begun, and gives very helpful service to individuals with problems; and the Government gives financial assistance to the Voluntary work.

Workers take for granted the Security of Employment provisions which are laid down by law, and their right to severance pay when they are discharged through no fault of their own. But these conditions rest upon legislation passed by our first post-independence

Parliament. This also established the National Provident Fund which ensures that workers in both the public and private sectors have at least a little money when they retire. The Permanent Labour Tribunal was established in 1967, and does valuable work in protecting workers' interests. Many other Manpower Planning services affect our lives and our economy - but are only noticed when they fail to do all that we would like to have done!

About the various services which defend our country, and law and order within it, there is little that it is appropriate for me to say. Our People's Defence Force is small, as befits a poor country. But it is now well organised and has built up the relevant technical units, so that it protects all our borders from strategic centres. And it is reasonably well equipped - although like everything else it has suffered from the down-turn of our economy in recent years. This Force, ably supplemented by volunteers in the Militia which it trained, proved its capabilities during the 1978-1979 war - and has been wise enough since to learn from that experience. The T.P.D.F. has also contributed to the extension and defence of African freedom in other countries through its training contributions both within Tanzania and elsewhere. And Jeshi la Kujenga Taifa does valuable tasks in providing basic military and political training to all members, and in its production activities.

Our Police Service is now entirely manned by Tanzanians; and it is now a much better educated Force than we inherited. It gives real service to the people of this country. It is still very small; taking the country as a whole there is only one policeman to every 1,000 people! Yet the number of crimes reported increases year by year. Stock theft has always been a

problem in this country; but now the thieves sometimes attack in daylight and use guns. 1,554 cases of stock theft were reported in 1984! And unfortunately armed robbery of all kinds has become a problem. The Police wage endless war against the possessors of illegal arms; 897 such weapons have been seized since 1976 - often with the help of public cooperation. But as well as cooperating with the Anti-Corruption Squad, the Police also have these days to deal with more sophisticated crimes - things like fraud, theft of public money or goods by those entrusted with them, and so on. We need them to do better in all fields of crime prevention and detection; but rather than apologising for their deficiencies, we have every reason to be proud of the good job they do under very difficult conditions and with completely inadequate resources.

Police successes as well as deficiencies are in part the reason for the terrible over-crowding with which our Prisons Service is trying to cope! In accommodation which by laid down standards would give room to 19,000 prisoners, there are 29,000 convicts and 12,000 people on remand at any one time! Much of this accommodation is old and has not been properly maintained, and the staffing levels are only about half of what they should be. Thus simultaneously we have a shortage of Prison Officers and of houses even for the existing staff!

It is imperative that we do something about these conditions. We do not like having criminals, but criminals are human beings and they must be treated decently if our objective of reforming them is to have any chance of success. And that is the attempt which is still made. It is done through the system of Open Prisons - most of which are an example of good

agricultural husbandry - and through the provision of education and training for first-offence prisoners with a sentence of more than six months.

The Police and Judiciary must between them speed up the consideration of cases, for this is a very black spot on our law enforcement machinery. Many accused people are kept waiting for two years before their trial - which can mean two years of insecurity and uncertainty for all those involved (including witnesses) or even that long period of confinement for people later judged not guilty.

Mr. Speaker; there are very many other services provided by our Government and Public Enterprises to which I have made no reference today. This does not mean they are unimportant; nor does it mean a lack of achievement in those fields. But a complete book would be insufficient to tell all that we have done, as well as another to re-state what remains to be done.

There is, however, one other arena of Tanzanian activity which I must mention. On your behalf I stated at the United Nations in December 1961 that we intended to use our freedom internationally to learn, to cooperate with others, and to contribute to the search for world peace and the dignity of man. I believe we have carried out that promise. This country has earned very widespread international respect for its active and principled policies of Non-Alignment and support for the United Nations; it has given exemplary service to the cause of African Liberation and Unity, both directly and through the Organisation of African Unity. We are renowned for our stand against colonialism and apartheid - in words and in action. We have made respected contributions to the institutions of South-South

cooperation and to the international campaign for a New International Economic Order. We have world-famous Tanzanians in these fields, and our Ministers are very active and informed participants in numerous important but often technical Ministerial Meetings and Commissions. They are ably backed up by some first class Tanzanian Civil Servants.

In the course of all this work, we have been carrying out our policy of seeking friendship and cooperation with all nations which respect human equality. To this end, and in pursuit of our other foreign policy objectives, Tanzania has 29 Missions outside the country headed by an Ambassador. These Missions are accredited to a total of 79 countries or international institutions. In addition, we send a Special Envoy when this is essential; our Minister for Foreign Affairs is a very active and peripatetic person on our behalf - which accounts for his frequent absence from Meetings of Parliament and the rarity with which he is able to visit his constituency or a potential constituency! As our international involvement has expanded, other Ministers - and in particular those in my own Office - have had similar foreign tasks given to them from time to time.

I should add that we also receive the cooperation of 56 Resident Ambassadors in Dar es Salaam, as well as having 25 other Ambassadors accredited to our United Republic but with their Embassies elsewhere. And there are 12 International Organisations with offices in our capital city. I take this opportunity to thank these Representatives of friendly nations and Organisations for their consistent cooperation with our Government.

Mr. Speaker; it would be quite wrong - and

things are essential. They are not alternatives, but two aspects of the same priority. For a food surplus in one part of the country and starvation in another could occur if we do not earn the foreign exchange necessary to move it from one area to another. And nor do our people live just on bread or ugali!

Mr. Speaker. My successor - and the successors of some of you in this House - will have immense problems to deal with. I think it will be clear from what I have said today that Tanzania's economic difficulties do not stem from our socialist policies, but on the contrary it is our socialism which has given us the strength to contend with them in unity, understanding, and with hope. And despite the encouraging signs which are beginning to be seen, our economic situation remains very bad, and it will continue to be bad for a long time to come.

We are very heavily in debt to international institutions, to other countries, and to supplying firms, and have arrears of due payment which cannot quickly be paid off. And the world economy in which we operate shows no sign of improving. Even the I.M.F. and the World Bank predictions for the next five years are that the poorest countries of the world - which includes Tanzania - will continue to suffer from causes beyond their control. And the combination of a decline in internationalist attitudes, and aggressive ideological stands by major Powers, will continue to add to the problems of the world's poor.

On the internal political front I pass responsibility to my successor without worry. It will be always be necessary for us to defend and extend the reality of the freedom and dignity which we have

established for our citizens, and to adjust our practices and our systems as circumstances change. "The price of liberty is eternal vigilance" - domestically as well as internationally. Our nation has to fight against the corrupt practices which have crept in during our difficult years, and intensify the practical recognition that all citizens have duties to the society as well as rights in it. And under ever-changing conditions, we must protect the economic and social equality which we have gone so far in establishing.

All these assessments I offer to our people, and to our future leaders. And I do so with personal humility in respect of the things we have not yet done for our development, but at the same time with pride in our country. Our achievements are very great indeed. In particular, our people now move in dignity and with self-confidence. And they have a justified pride in being Tanzanians.

Mr. Speaker and Honourable Members. I offer to you all my sincere congratulations, and my heartfelt thanks for your work and your loyalty to our country and its people during the difficult years during which you have served as Members of Parliament. In accordance with your responsibilities, you have criticised when you felt it was necessary. Sometimes you have praised. On behalf of all the Tanzanian people, I thank you all for both.

I would like to add a special thank you to the people who have served as Ministers in our successive Governments. Some of them have at times been given almost impossible tasks in the light of the resources we were able to give them. Although it would be invidious to name any particular individuals, I must pay a special

tribute to our Ministers of Finance; it is a job for which no one would say thank you when he is given it. He announces taxes, and gets blamed for them although he speaks on behalf of the whole Government; and he has to spend a large amount of his time saying No to perfectly reasonable requests, and these days even to people who have a right to what they are asking for.

Parliamentary Elections will be held in October. Some Members of Parliament - including many who have served ever since the independence of our country and the establishment of our United Republic - have announced their intention not to stand for elections again. To them I would like to express particular appreciation on behalf of our country. They have all had the confidence of the people, and they have served our people well. I know that they will continue to serve our nation, and to offer loyal support to their successors.

For myself I can only say this. Ever since I was given the privilege of leading our country, both before and after independence, my fellow-citizens have given me very great honour and very great help. How could they give me anything more? It is a very great honour to be used in this position of President by our country and its people. It is not an honour which anyone can claim to deserve. What I have tried to do is to guard the honour which has been accorded to me, knowing that the honour of the Presidency belongs not to me but to our country.

The best thanks I can give to Tanzanians for all this honour and all this assistance is to make a new promise. It is that I will continue to work for our country and its people with all my heart and to the best of my ability; and that as an individual and as Chairman

of our Party I will give unstinting loyalty, respect and assistance to my successor according to the Constitution of our nation. I shall always continue to work with all my colleagues to build and to consolidate our policy of Socialism and Self Reliance.

To pass on the tongs is to sustain and perpetuate the blacksmithery.

God Bless Africa! God Bless Tanzania!

Thank you.