

# TANZANIA: PARTY GUIDELINES

Mwongozo wa Tanu.



Tanganyika African National Union

Production

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# **TANZANIA: PARTY GUIDELINES**

## **Mwongozo wa Tanu.\***

1. Today our African continent is a hot-bed of the liberation struggle. This struggle is between those who have for centuries been exploiting Africa's natural resources and using the people of this continent as their tools and as their slaves, and the people of Africa who, after realising their weakness and exploitation, have decided to engage in the struggle to liberate themselves.

It is both a bitter and continuing struggle: at times it is a silent one, occasionally it explodes like gun-powder, at other times the success and gains achieved by the people slip away. This has been the history of Africa since 1960 when many African states obtained "flag" independence. Since that year many legitimate African governments have been forcefully toppled and new governments established. Recently, sudden changes have been forcefully brought about in Uganda, where puppet Amin and a group of fellow soldiers have rebelled against the government of the revolutionary UPC, led by President Obote. The majority of the armed forces do not accept the rebellion and many of them, particularly senior officers, have been killed by the puppets. It is obvious that those who

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hail the rebellion are ones who opposed the UPC policy of bringing about unity and socialism and eradicating capitalism and exploitation.

This is why our Party has the duty to spell out the aims of the Tanzanian and the African revolution and identify the enemies of this revolution in order to set out policies and strategies which will enable us to safeguard, consolidate and further our revolution.

2. Revolutions are rapid social changes, changes which wrest from the minority the power they exploit for their own benefit (and that of external exploiters) and put it in the hands of the majority to promote their well-being. The opposite of a revolution is a counter-revolution: that is, quick and sudden changes which wrest power from the majority and hand it over to a minority with the aim of stopping the progress of the masses.

3. The greatest aim of the African revolution is to liberate the African. This liberation is not sent from heaven, it is achieved by combatting exploitation, colonialism and imperialism. Therefore, the experts of this liberation are ourselves, we who are being disregarded, exploited and oppressed. There is no nation in the world that has expertise to teach Africans how to liberate themselves. Our duty is to liberate ourselves and the necessary expertise will be obtained during the struggle itself.

4. Furthermore, given conditions in Africa at the present moment, there is no people in any African state which has achieved the stage of total liberation. Africa is still a continent of people suffering from the weakness inherent in being exploited and disregarded. That is why revolutionary political parties such as TANU, in independent African countries, are still fighting for liberation.

5. The African revolution, whose aim is true liberation of the African, is in conflict with the policies of exploitation, colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism. The object of colonialism, neo-colonial-

ism and imperialism is to ensure that Africa's wealth is used for the benefit of capitalist Europeans, instead of benefiting the African countries themselves. Therefore, participating in the African revolution is participating in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

6. The imperialist countries which have been exploiting and oppressing Africa for centuries are those in Western Europe, particularly Britain, France, Portugal, Belgium and Spain. These countries are the ones really confronting the African people on the question of liberating Africa. Different attempts to distort the progress of the African revolution stem from the plot of European imperialists who are bent on maintaining and continuing their old "straws" (channels of exploitation).

7. For Tanzania it must be understood that the imperialist enemies we are confronting are British imperialism, Portuguese colonialism, and the racism and apartheid of South Africa and Rhodesia. For historical, geographical and political reasons, these imperialists will be ready to attack us whenever they have opportunity.

8. The Portuguese invasion of the Republic of Guinea is a big lesson for us. Guinea was invaded by the Portuguese imperialists, firstly, because of its policy of equality and, its opposition to exploitation and secondly, because of its genuine stand in supporting the freedom fighters in Guiné-Bissau and southern Africa. For similar reasons, the imperialists may attempt to attack Tanzania one day. But Guinea has also taught us that when the people and the army stand solidly together, no imperialist will be able to subvert their independence.

9. The lesson we draw from Uganda concerns treachery and counter-revolution. Instead of invading the country to overthrow the revolutionary government, imperialism prefers to use local puppets to overthrow the legitimate government and replace it with a government of "foremen" (puppets). Such a government allows the imperialists to exploit national wealth in

partnership with the domestic bourgeoisie. The people must learn from the events in Uganda and from those in Guinea that although imperialism is still strong, its ability to topple a revolutionary government greatly depends on the possibility of getting domestic counter-revolutionary puppets to help them thwart the revolution.

10. We Tanzanians value our national independence because it is at that point when our liberation and aspirations of a liberation struggle, in conjunction with other African peoples, begins. For this reason, we have the duty to take all necessary steps to enable us to guard our independence, further our revolution and thus make Tanzania a true example of the African revolution.

11. The responsibility of the party is to lead the masses, together with their institutions, in their efforts to safeguard national independence and advance the liberation of the African. The duty of a socialist party is to guide all activities of the masses. The Government, parastatals, national organizations, etc., are instruments for implementing the Party's policies. Our short independence history reveals problems that may arise when a party does not guide its instruments. The time has now come for the Party to take the reins and lead all mass activities.

12. The first task of the leadership is to spell out the national goal. This is understood and the party has already fulfilled this duty. Our aim is to build socialism in Tanzania; but to attain this objective the Party must offer policies and guidelines concerning different aspects of the people's activities. The Party has already given guidelines on socialism in rural areas, education for self-reliance, etc. There is still the need to clarify the Party's policies on other matters, such as settlement (housing), workers, money and loan policies, etc.

13. But the charting of objectives and policies does not by itself constitute good leadership. Leadership also means preparing the people. It is the Party which decides on the structure of government, various

institutions, the army, etc. In addition, the Party should provide guidelines on work methods and attitudes, and decision making.

The truth is that we have not only inherited a colonial governmental structure but have also adopted colonial working habits and leadership methods. For example, we have inherited in the government, industries, and other institutions the habit in which one man gives the orders and the rest simply obey them. If you do not involve people, the result is to make them feel a national institution is not theirs, and consequently workers adopt the habits of hired employees. The Party has a duty to emphasise its leadership on this issue.

14. In addition to preparing the people, leadership involves supervising the implementation of the Party's policy. Ways must be found to ensure that the Party actively supervises the activities and the running of its implementing agencies. Leadership also entails reviewing the results of implementation. It is the Party's duty to ensure that it assesses the effects of the policy implementation undertaken by its agencies. This is the only way to establish whether people participate in devising solutions to their problems in offices, institutions, the army, villages, industries, etc.

15. Together with the issue of involving the people in solving their problems, there is also the question of the habits of leaders in their work and in day-to-day life.

There must be a deliberate effort to build equality between the leaders and those they lead. For a Tanzanian leader it must be forbidden to be arrogant, extravagant, contemptuous and oppressive. The Tanzanian leader has to be a person who respects people, scorns ostentation and who is not a tyrant. He should epitomise heroism, bravery, and be a champion of justice and equality.

Similarly, the Party has the responsibility to fight the vindictiveness of some of its agents. Such actions do not promote Socialism but drive a wedge be-

tween the Party and the government on the one side and the people on the other.

16. There are presently some leaders who do not fulfill these conditions, they disregard and cleverly avoid the leadership code. The time has come for the Party to supervise the conduct and the bearing of the leaders.



## Foreign Policy

17. Our foreign policy is one of non-alignment. We are ready to co-operate in a friendly manner with any country that wishes us well, be it from the East or West. Another important aspect of our foreign policy is to strengthen relations with and co-operate in supporting genuine liberation movements in Africa. We have said earlier that we are still a party engaged in a liberation struggle.

At the moment, in Africa, the liberation movements are in the vanguard of the struggle against colonialism

and imperialism. By strengthening our co-operation, in the knowledge that their war is our war, we shall double our strength in bringing about the total liberation of Africa. The Party must take the necessary steps to establish this revolutionary relationship with revolutionary movements of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Similarly it is our duty to establish fraternal and revolutionary relations with those American citizens fighting for justice and human equality.

18. In addition, we have the obligation to strengthen co-operation and solidarity with revolutionary African countries because all of us are in the same boat and our destination is one. With unity and co-operation, our enemies will not be able to destroy us one by one as is now their habit.

19. At the United Nations and other United Nations organizations, there is a need to stress co-operation with all friendly countries, socialist and revolutionary countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.



## **Uganda and the E.A.C.**

20. We value the political and economic benefits derived from the co-operation that exists among the partner states of the East African Community. Therefore, the present situation created by the puppet Amin in subverting the legitimate Government of the UPC greatly disturbs us, because it has given rise to difficulties in co-operating and in running the activities of the Community.

If the situation continues as it is, it may make it difficult for the Community to continue flourishing and will render East African co-operation difficult, thereby weakening it. The party supports the Government's stand on Uganda and the East African Community. Although the question of Uganda's liberation is for the people of Uganda to decide, it is the duty of the people of Tanzania to support their brothers in Uganda in their efforts to liberate themselves.

"The development of a country is brought about by people". (Arusha Declaration).

21. The basis of Tanzania's development is the people themselves - every Tanzanian - in particular each patriot and each socialist. Tanzania's defense and security depends on Tanzanians themselves - every

Tanzanian, in particular each patriot, each socialist.

22. Were our Party forced to wage a liberation war, every TANU member would have been a soldier, either in the army or wherever he was. A TANU member would have been a soldier and a soldier a TANU member. Not only would the Party have been a liberation movement, but the army would have been a liberation army - fist and shield of the liberation movement.

23. Our Party was not forced to fight a liberation war. It was a liberation movement without a liberation army. But with effect from 1964 we have been building the Tanzania People's Defence Forces, and since TANU is still a liberation party the TPDF is the liberation army of the people of Tanzania.

TANU's relations with the TPDF should be that of a people's party and a people's army. It is up to TANU to ensure that the people's army is the army for the liberation and defence of the people. It is TANU's responsibility to ensure that the army's main task in peacetime is to enable the people to safeguard their independence and their policy of socialism and self-reliance.

24. The National Executive Committee stresses the implementation of the Arusha Declaration and particularly the need to arouse political consciousness so that every Tanzanian understands our national environment and the importance of safeguarding the security and lives of the people, our policies, our independence, our economy and our culture.

25. Political education must make the people aware of our national enemies and the strategies they employ to subvert our policies, our independence, our economy and our culture. To enable the people to confront the enemy, it is necessary to make them aware of the enemy's strength in all spheres, such as their army, commercial enterprise, life and habits, and the way these conflict without convictions and aspirations.

26. To confront the enemy the people must know that they are the nation's shield. This means all de-

fence and security matters should be in the hands of the people themselves. We do not have the means to establish large permanent armies to guard the whole country. Our army must be the people's army used in teaching the people how to defend themselves in their localities and to enable them to inform on matters of national security. Therefore it is imperative to start training a militia for the whole country. Since the militia will spread throughout the country, in co-operation with the regular army, they will have the duty to defend our territorial borders, air space and to expose traitors and enemies.

27. The recruitment of the militia and the army must be scrutinised minutely and supervised by the Party to ensure co-operation between the army and the militia. Political education for both must be a prime responsibility of the Party. TANU must establish a sub-committee of the Central Committee to look into defence and security.

28. For people who have been slaves or have been oppressed, exploited and disregarded by colonialism or capitalism, "development" means "liberation". Any action that gives them more say in determining their affairs and running their lives is one of development, even if it does not offer them better health or more bread. Any action that reduces their say in determining their affairs or running their lives is not progressive and retards them even if the action brings them better health and more bread.

For us development means both the elimination of oppression, exploitation, enslavement and of being disregarded and the promotion of our independence and human dignity. Therefore, in considering the development of our nation and in preparing development plans, our main emphasis at all times should be the development of people and not things. If development is to benefit the people, the people must participate in considering, planning and implementing their development plans.

The duty of our Party is not to encourage people to implement plans which have been decided upon by a

few experts and leaders. The obligation for our Party is to ensure that the leaders and experts implement the plans that have been agreed upon by the people themselves. When the people's decision requires the expertise of the leaders and the experts it will be the duty of leaders and experts to offer their services to the people to enable them to decide. But it is not correct for leaders and experts to usurp the people's right to decide on an issue just because they have the expertise.

29. To inculcate in the people the spirit of defending their country, it is important for the TANU Government to give priority to improving their conditions.

The inherited economic structure which has kept many people out of the economic mainstream must be replaced immediately by programmes designed to boost expenditure and spread investment to all districts. The Regional Development Fund has helped to awaken economic activities and brought visible benefits to the people. It will be beneficial to increase allocations to the Fund and to give this expenditure special priority when appropriating Government finances. The Party must stress the participation of the people in various nation-building projects.

30. It is also the Party's duty to educate the people on the importance of saving in national institutions such as the Savings Bank and the National Bank of Commerce, instead of just hoarding their money.

31. In consolidating the peoples development there is now a need to build and promote the internal economy. Although this was touched upon in the Second Five-Year Development Plan, it was not stressed and its implementation and therefore results have not been seen. The things that are produced in this country must also be protected from unnecessary foreign competition.

32. In our external trade, we must avoid using our foreign reserves in buying items that do not help our economy. The Government and its Corporations must

set an example - a thing that is not now being done. Our importing agencies must be given guidelines appropriate to our policy of socialism and self-reliance, and the guidelines must be adhered to. It is the duty of every Tanzanian and particularly every leader to remember that shortages of foreign exchange weaken our economy and endanger our national independence.

33. The conduct and activities of the parastatals must be looked into to ensure that they help further our policy of socialism and self-reliance. The activities of the parastatals should be a source of satisfaction and not discontent. The Party must ensure that the parastatals do not spend money extravagantly on items which do not contribute to the development of the national economy as a whole.

34. The Government must supervise and guide the expenditure of surpluses accruing from its economic activities and the parastatals.

35. The National Executive Committee congratulates the Government on the steps it has taken to implement the Arusha Declaration. The Government should nonetheless ensure that action is taken to bring into the control of the people those major means of production still in private hands. TANU's affiliates must fulfill their obligation in implementing the Declaration.



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