THE SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INFLUENCES ON HIGHER EDUCATION IN TANGANYIKA SINCE INDEPENDENCE (1961-1970)

A Dissertation

Presented to

the Faculty of the College of Education

University of Houston

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Education

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by

Jurgens Johannes van Onselen

May 1970

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ABSTRACT

van Onselen, J. J. "The Social, Economic and Political Influences on Higher Education in Tanganyika Since Independence (1961-1970)." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Houston, 1970.

The study was concerned with the social, economic and political forces that influenced Higher Education in Tanganyika since its Independence in 1961 up to 1970.

The University has done much to reorient itself to an African environment. Most of the syllabuses have been radically changed; the East Africanization of staff has been pursued vigorously; and much of the research done in the University has been relevant to the needs of the region.

It could not be denied that there were still many areas where reforms were necessary. The Governing Council, for example, was composed mainly of eminent outsiders, many of whom have had no experience in the administration of an academic institution. They made fundamental decisions which influenced academic policies. This arrangement was fraught with problems in developing countries.

On the one hand, this should not have meant that politicians should not have been involved in university planning as some academics who were jealous of their autonomy have contended. On the other hand, one had to avoid the University being run by politicians.

Tanganyika has made a revolutionary departure in the field of human resource development; indeed the sharpest possible departure from the conventional wisdom of the rich, developed nations of the world. Its program was based on the conditions which prevailed in Tanganyika and not upon what "ought to be." It has faced the issues and shaped policy in a manner which has had no parallel in Tanganyika.

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Chapter 1

AFRICA OVERVIEW

Since Africa's Year of Independence, 1960, there has been growing interest outside of Africa in the development of education. What had previously been the concern of missionary and educator has now become the focus of study and involvement for people in many disciplines, in government aid programs and American universities. African education has been discovered by economists, anthropologists, sociologists and that new breed of man, the manpower planner.

The Addis Ababa Conference in 1961 helped to usher in a new age in studies of education in Africa and a concern for the relationship between education and political, social, cultural and economic development.[1]

Nearly every African country has experienced one or more surveys or studies of its educational system. These studies or surveys have been conducted by UNESCO teams, World Bank experts, Ford Foundation experts, a United Nations Economic Commission for Africa team, or its own commission appointed by the government. The goal was to integrate the expansion of the different tiers and segments of the

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[1]Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa, Addis Ababa, 15-25 May, 1961. Outline of a Plan for African Educational Development (UNESCO/Ed/180) (Paris: UNESCO, 1961).

of the educational system with what the economists predicted the economy would be like five to ten years from now.

In Africa the emphasis has been on numbers.[2] From the magreb to the veld, from the horn of Somalia to Dakar, mass education has been Africa's most pressing problem. The need for it had blithely ignored ethnic origins, religion, political philosophy and natural resources. The task of expanding systems has been so monumental that there has been little time to innovate. Yet one can predict that in the next decade innovation might become the crucial question in many parts of Africa. The number of university students returning from abroad will not be in the dozens or hundreds as in the past, but in the thousands each year.[3] The instrumental value of education will begin to disappear when it ceases to be a guarantee of employment. Jobs that required a school certificate will begin to demand even more formal education, on the basis of competition and not because the individual has been better prepared for the job. This has already happened at the primary level and nearly everywhere the possession of a primary school leaving certificate qualifies students for nothing but further education, and

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[2]Eric Ashby, African Universities and Western Tradition (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964).

[3]UNESCO, The Development of Higher Education in Africa (Paris, 1963).

this has been available for only a small proportion of the primary school leavers.[4]

President Nyerere has said that to be truly revolutionary, one must be absolutely realistic. This researcher therefore began with a revolutionary exercise and identified several of the major phenomena which unavoidably set the perimeters of the higher educational development in Africa in general, and indeed, of the economic, social and political development as well.

Realism compelled recognition that most African states have been very poor and that even under the most optimistic assumptions were going to remain poor for many years. Assume for a moment a state with an average per capita national income of 35 pounds sterling, a figure about midway between the Tanganyikan and Zambian figures.[5] If this hypothetical state achieved a consistent six percent rate of growth and held its population increase to a two percent rate, its capita average would rise, after a twenty-year period, to only seventy pounds sterling.

The next hard fact was that this increase in income was most unlikely to produce even a proportionate increase

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[4]A. Callaway, "Unemployment Among African School-leavers," The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. I, No. 3, 1963; T. M. Yesufu, "Nigerian Manpower Problems---A Preliminary Assessment," Nigerian Journal of Economic and Social Studies (Ibadan), November 1962; H. M. A. Onitiri, "A Proposal for Nigerian Rural Development," Ibid., March, 1966.

[5]J. B. Knight, The Costing and Financing of Educational Development in Tanzania (Paris: UNESCO/IIEP, 1969).

in the number of jobs available in the economy. Indeed, as wages increased and industry became less labor intensive, the numbers in wage employment might actually fall. This has, in fact, happened in recent years in both Zambia and Tanganyika. A vast majority of men have had, therefore, to continue to find their livelihood in farming.[6] This problem of unemployed school leavers has been essentially nothing more than an extension of the restricted mobility of second-generation aspirants downward into mass stratum of the population. It has been analytically separable, however, that in the important sense the problem has often been created by the introduction of mass primary education, mainly for political reasons.[7] A gross imbalance has tended to develop between the great expansion in the educational system and the comparatively limited growth in the economy and in the occupational structure. In February, 1964, the Kenya Government announced a plan to create 40,000 jobs. The Government would increase its staff fifteen percent and private employers would increase theirs by ten percent. By the middle of March, 1964, 15,000 persons gained employment through the plan but another 120,000 still sought jobs. Tribal differences

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[6] International Labour Organisation. Advisory Working Group on Rural Employment Problems in Tropical Africa (English-speaking countries). Discussion Guide (Lagos, November 1965). (Mimeographed).

[7] L. Gray Cowan, The Dilemmas of African Independence (New York: Walker & Co., 1968).

helped prevent the unemployed from becoming an active revolutionary force, but even so, African leaders have been aware of the social problem that the unemployed represented for each of their states.[8]

The result, now a commonplace, has been vast and nearly uncontrollable increase in the number of unemployed and underemployed school leavers, whose political orientation toward the polity has been marked by disaffection and alienation and whose behavioral disposition has been basically anomic. This position, in a very ironical way, has confronted the progeny of their own populist agitation.[9] It has become startlingly clear, both from the total labor force and employment statistics, and from so many school leaver projections for African states, e.g. Nigeria, that the vast majority of the young people in school had to be, like their parents, self-employed, and self-employed in the rural economy.[10]

Politically disfunctional situations of this type within one developing country frequently have created or aggravated similar situations in other developing countries, because one of the first actions taken, or encouraged, by a

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[8] East African Standard, March 17, 1964.

[9] Ibid., pp. 2-9.

[10] H. A. Turner, Wage Trends, Wage Policies and Cambridge Bargaining--the Problem for Under-developed Countries (Cambridge: University Press, 1965).

government faced with mounting pressure from its own unemployed educated nationals has been localization. As used here, this term refers to the process of displacement of non-local by local persons in all but the most menial jobs. The circumstances associated with localization campaigns have been largely the product of the uneven spread of Western education during the colonial period. The post-colonial expansion of educational facilities in the less developed host countries has inevitably produced ever more local job aspirants asserting a higher and more rightful claim as sons of the soil. The process might have been politically explosive in many developing African countries in the years of sorting-out following independence.[11]

To make this force of unemployment, underemployment and lack of opportunity for the majority of young people real, perhaps the set of detailed figures as shown in Table I for Tanganyika, 1965-66, would suffice. Thus, (a) Ninety-two percent of all these children would never enter secondary education and (b) at present, for each 250,000 entering the labor force each year at age fifteen through sixteen, only about 23,000 jobs in wage employment were available, plus six thousand places (1966) in Secondary.[12]

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[11]Robert S. Ray, Tanzania. Ministry of Economic Affairs and Development Planning. Labour Force Survey of Tanzania (Dar es Salaam, 1966).

[12]Ibid.

TABLE I

PROJECTION OF EDUCATION OF SCHOOL AGE PERSONS 1962-1969

Education of Students	Year	Number of Students	Percent
Children who did not enter school	1962	117,000	46.8
Children up to Standard IV*	1966	81,000	32.4
Children from Standard V to Standard VII	1968	45,000	18.0
Children who will enter secondary	1969	7,000	2.8

*Standard IV = Grade 6.

A forceful element prevailing in African states that has had a strong influence in University education has been a continuing wide disparity between the salaries of those in the middle and senior posts in government, commerce and industry, and the income of ordinary farmers. The vast inequalities of income which have prevailed have been a major parameter of policy. They have heightened both the moral obligation and the political wisdom, if not the necessity, of assuring that this salary earning elite has served the interests of the whole society.[13]

[13]Comparative information is derived from a number of sources: UNESCO, Statistical Yearbook, 1963-66; The Food and Agriculture Organisation Yearbook, 1964-66; Basic Facts and Figures, 1964-67 (Paris: Unesco); Norton Ginsburg, Atlas of Economic Development (Chicago: Chicago University Press,

A most obvious inference has been that the development of the university faculties must be closely related to the specific high level manpower needs of the government and the economy.[14] This has been so widely accepted in Africa that one might lose sight of the fact that this has been extremely difficult to accomplish. Frequently, there has been an indefensible imbalance between law and the humanities on one side, and the sciences and other professions on the other. In Africa there has been a tendency for training institutions to expand less rapidly and to attract fewer students. Moreover, sometimes these institutions have grown restless with the level of work they are doing. They aspired to a higher level of training which, when successful, could further increase the numerical imbalance between the highly trained and the medium level of technician and supporting staff.[15]

1961); Adam Curle, "Some Aspects of Educational Planning in Underdeveloped Areas," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. XXXII, No. 3, Summer, 1962, pp. 292-300.

[14]Robert L. Thomas, "Implementing of Manpower Programme in a Developing Country," (Dar es Salaam: International Institute of Educational Planning, 1966). (Mimeographed.)

[15]Philip Foster, Education and Social Change in Ghana (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965); Guy Hunter, Education for a Developing Region: A Study in East Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1964); UNESCO, World Survey of Education, IV; Higher Education (Paris: UNESCO, 1966).

The African university's responsibility to educate the high level manpower which the country needed went beyond the provision of specific talents appropriated to present job openings. If there were not to be an extraordinary inflexibility within the ranks of the trained manpower, the graduate had to be able to cope with a variety of possible, related responsibilities and to be equipped intellectually to carry much heavier and wider responsibilities later in his career.[16]

Several more controversial aspects of the relations of an African university to its society remained. In most African states, and particularly in one-party states, e.g., Tunisia, Liberia, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Guinea, etc., there was concern for the maintenance of the integrity of government, its honesty and its commitment to the public welfare.[17]

One of the central responsibilities that faced the emerging African university became clearer.

> It had to strive to produce. Its senior members had inevitably helped to lead a vigorous informed public, committed to do the public good, engaged in a continuing discussion on the social and economic policies of the state, in deep accord with the underlying humanistic objectives of the state, but ready as well

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[16]Kenya Government, High-Level Manpower Requirements and Resources in Kenya, 1964-1970 (Nairobi: Government Printers, 1965).

[17]Gwendolen M. Carter, African One-Party States (New York: Cornell University Press, 1962); see also, James S. Coleman, Education and Political Development (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965).

to speak out when these humanistic objectives were affronted in practice.[18]

The views of Sir Eric Ashby expressed in his recent Godkin Lectures at Harvard seemed to blend in with the views expressed above.[19] Almost everyone working in higher education in Africa recognised the serious danger that university students would tend to feel themselves apart from the mass of people, out of touch with them, and with an inadequate sense of responsibility toward their society. The classic example probably has been the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, that started an extensive expenditure on wages for students willing to work on campus.[20]

The experience in some developing countries suggested some major sources for a decline in university standards.[21] The more prevalent force threatening the academic standards of African universities was that government yielded to the political pressures for more and more university places, without reference to the ability of the university to cope with these numbers or the economy later to absorb them, e.g.,

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[18]Elisha S. Odhiambo Atieno, "Ignorance is East Africa's Greatest Problem," East Africa Journal, December 1965, pp. 29-34.

[19]Ashby, Ibid., Chapter 10.

[20]Otonti Nduka, Western Education and the Nigerian Cultural Background (Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1964).

[21]"East Africa's Ivory Towers; Universities Under Fire," Times Educational Supplement, No. 2786, 11 October, 1968, p. 748.

Haile Selassie I University. Where that has happened, the result has been dispirited teaching, impoverished research, and frustrated, embittered students.[22]

A whole variety of policies has been recommended to help these young scholars to fulfill their very high promise and to continue to judge their work by the strictest standards.[23] Frequent overseas study leaves, short secondments to the African universities of really eminent men, sponsorship of African academic conferences on specific academic interests, subsidization of academic publications, adequate supporting staff, avoidance of major administrative responsibilities within the university, and extensive committee and other duties outside of it, have added up to an important endeavour to insure the continued excellence of the growing group of African academics.[24]

The autonomy from political control which an African university could rightly assert, was another diversity that was briefly examined. The resources being spent on the universities by poor nations and the urgent nature of their

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[22]Donald Levine, Wax and Gold: Tradition and Innovation in Ethiopian Culture (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965).

[23]Ernest Stabler, "Pressures and Constraints in Planning African Education: A Review Article," Comparative Education Review, Vol. XII, No. 3, October 1968, pp. 350-356.

[24]Frederick Harbison and Charles A. Myers, Education, Manpower, and Economic Growth (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964); and Frederick Harbison and Charles A. Myers, Manpower and Education (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965).

manpower requirements meant that the state should be conceded an important influence over the development programs of the university and over the overall allocation of students as between the faculties.[25] The distribution of students with science entry qualifications between such faculties as science, education, engineering, veterinary science and medicine has been important to the state. An African government concerned with the economic development of a still very poor country could not entirely leave to a university senate such decisions as the choice of new faculties or the comparative rate of development of existing faculties. These and smaller issues too obviously related to the manpower requirements of the country. An African government rightly had a major interest in them.[26]

There has also been a legitimate national interest in the character of the university. The state could not be expected to leave it entirely to an often predominantly expatriate contract staff to assure that the life of the college was in harmony with the central values of the society. The interest of the government in this, preferably exercised

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[25]Sir Alexander M. Carr-Saunders, Staffing African Universities (London: Overseas Development Institute, 1963).

[26]United Nations Economic and Social Council. Economic Commission for Africa. Fifth Session, Leopoldville, February-March, 1963. Educational Development in Africa: Implementation of the Addis Ababa Plan (Provisional Agenda, item 7; ECN. 14/208.) (Paris: UNESCO, 1963).

through nationals in senior posts of responsibility at the university or as members of the council of the university, has to be recognised.[27]

In a society that has been struggling to achieve a minimal unity and sustained economic growth, and whose cadre of trained manpower has still been far too small, the university has inevitably been a major instrument of national policy. Moreover, in many African states, the university has often been the only expatriate-dominated institution. In this situation, the government could hardly be expected to know the full worth of a free university or to be over-respectful of its claims to autonomy. Respect for the essentials of academic freedom had to be won, and, to that end, the early exercise of that freedom had to be extremely responsible.[28]

The next educational diversity that has emerged as a difficulty was in a sense the variation of the statement of the purpose of an African university or that arm of it which dealt with African studies. There has been the need to unfold the past of Africa and this has been the business of the historian, the archaeologist, palaeontologist, geologist and archivist. There has also been the complementary need of shedding light upon the present problems of Africa and ensuring that development has been planned in an orderly

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[27]Carr-Saunders, ibid.

[28]United Nations Economic and Social Council, ibid.

manner and imbued with forethought. Practitioners of relevant disciplines in universities--economists, political scientists, etc.--were concerned with this aspect. Departments or Institutes of African Studies embraced both needs and afforded opportunities for coordination, consultation among the various disciplines and sometimes much needed guidance and direction. For this reason it has been strongly recommended that all African universities should embark upon African Studies first at post-graduate and research levels and progressively at the undergraduate level also. One of the most effective ways in which all these ideas have been tied together has been functioning at the University of Ife in Western Nigeria.[29]

Institutes or Departments of African Studies have been springing up in African universities, as in Ghana, Makerere, and Uganda.[30] A tremendous interest has grown steadily as more African states have emerged into nationhood from their former dependent status. Moreover, there have existed in Europe and America well-known centers of African studies whose personnel have been pioneers in this field, so that they could help with building up centers in Africa,

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[29]The Development of Higher Education in Africa. Report of the Conference on the Development of Higher Education in Africa Tananarive, 3-12 September, 1962 (UNESCO: 1963).

[30]Saburi Biobaku, "African Studies in an African University," Minerva, Vol. I, No. 3, Spring 1963, pp. 285-301.

not in any patronizing sense, but in a genuine spirit of cooperation.[31]

The result of research into African studies has increased the relevance of the traditional academic departments in their teachings. This ultimately led to the reorientation of university curricula in many fields so that the African university has become a vehicle for transmitting to the African, the best in his culture and civilization as well as the best in those of the rest of the world.[32] Through African studies, the universities hope to build up anew the identity of the African, of an African who has something to contribute to the corpus of world society.

The African universities have been unable to staff themselves indigenously, and the expatriates whom they have engaged under present circumstances see themselves as having a lifelong career in Africa. Expatriates on short-term appointments, however, excellently qualified by talent and training, could not really Africanize themselves intellectually, and, even if they do, it was hard for them to have a lasting influence.[33]

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[31]Ibid.; and Margaret MacPherson, They Built for the Future: A Chronicle of Makerere University College (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964).

[32]Ministry of Information: Report of the Commission on University Education, December 1960-January 1961 (Accra: Government Printing Department, 1961). Pages 33-35 give a summary of African Studies in Ghana.

[33]University of East Africa, Conference on Permanent Staffing of Teacher Education Institutions, Dar es Salaam, 5-6 April 1966. A report, edited by L.V. Lieb. (Cyclostyled).

A rapid rotation of expatriates university teachers has put a greater burden on the still small number of African university teachers. Their rapid promotion to senior responsibilities in the process of Africanization has meant that promising young men, full of intellectual vigor, were burdened prematurely with administrative responsibilities which interfered with their intellectual productivity. The situation was further aggravated by the necessity for Africans who have wished to do advanced work, to do it abroad, so that the stimulus which they might have contributed, at least for the time being, was removed from Africa. It was therefore necessary to estimate the supply of locally-born candidates in the years to come.[34]

The permanent and continuing supply of staff for African establishments of higher education was the responsibility of the mentioned institutions. It was there that they had to take their degrees, do their research and train to become teachers. Although the high value and desirability of study abroad for certain categories of students and staff was undoubted, there was a strong feeling in favor of students completing their undergraduate studies in their home countries. It was essential for young Africans to acquire deep roots in their own cultural and social environment during their formative years, before coming into

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[34] A. M. Carr-Saunders, Staffing African Universities (London: Overseas Development Institute, 1963).

contact with strong outside influences.[35] The lack of sufficient training facilities in Africa for laboratory technicians, librarians and academic administrators was a matter for concern. Attention had to be given to the creation of training facilities, possibly on a regional basis, in these fields.[36]

Since potential research workers for the public as well as private sectors in Africa were recruited from the same limited pool of graduates as were teachers in higher education, there existed an acute competition for the available supply of African graduates and the necessary supporting funds. It was therefore desirable that there be some form of association between universities and research organizations to their mutual benefit and to coordinate their competing demands for African graduate talent. Just as closer participation in solving the practical problems of their countries would be beneficial to university researchers, conversely, contact with fundamental research would stimulate and improve the quality of applied research. Furthermore, the recruitment of part-time teaching staff for

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[35] G. N. Brown, "Staffing the New Universities of Africa and Britain," Oversea Education, Vol. XXXIV, April 1962, pp. 9-12.

[36] Stevan Dedijer, "Underdeveloped Science in Underdeveloped Countries," Minerva, Vol. II, No. 1, Autumn 1963, pp. 61-81; Michael J. Moravcsik, "Technical Assistance and Fundamental Research in Underdeveloped Countries," Minerva, Vol. II, No. 2, Winter 1964, pp. 197-209; Y. Nayudamma, "Promoting the Industrial Application of Research in an Underdeveloped Country," Minerva, Vol. V, No. 3, Spring 1967, pp. 323-339.

universities from among the professional research workers might also result from such association.[37]

The final report of the Tananarive Conference estimated that approximately seven thousand expatriate teachers would have to be recruited for African higher education establishments by the target year 1980. The most appropriate form which the help offered by overseas countries could assume was the finding of candidates for posts for which no suitable Africans were available; this was to respond to the needs of African universities as they expressed them. This has not been the form which overseas help has always taken. International and other agencies have offered to finance large schemes under which the staffing and equipment of a department, a faculty or even the major part of a university have been guaranteed from overseas. Such schemes have extended the facilities available for educating young Africans in an effective manner. But such schemes, largely devised outside Africa, were no longer necessary in order to make progress; African authorities had their own extensive plans. Moreover the operation of these schemes was never fully compatible with the autonomy and self-direction of African universities, especially when they included the selection of teachers by overseas authorities and their remuneration was at rates out of scale with local rates.

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[37] A. M. Carr-Saunders, "Staffing African Universities," Minerva, Vol. I, No. 3, Spring 1963, pp. 302-318.

Universities had wide aims and great responsibilities. These responsibilities had to be shouldered by Africans. They had formulated their projects and had to carry out the plans. To further them they needed expatriate teachers, and it was by supplying teachers that overseas countries could best render service to African universities.[38]

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[38]P. C. C. Evans, "American Teachers for East Africa," Comparative Education Review, Vol. VI, No. 1, June 1962, pp. 69-77.

Chapter 2

CONTEMPORARY ECOLOGY AND EDUCATION

Newly freed of the political bonds of colonialism, the countries across Africa have been discarding the repugnant and retaining the desirable from cultural, educational, and economic forms established under the colonial system. It has been a pragmatic process of selection, and not always an orderly one. Although the process began less than a decade ago, the results have always been impressive. In that time, stable governments have emerged and joined forces in the Organization for African Unity. Black Africans have taken leading roles in the United Nations and in a wide range of allied international activities. Like their Negro brothers in America, Africans have been on the march.

The country now known as Tanganyika, although one of the youngest in the world, was probably one of the most ancient of inhabited lands. It has passed through two or even three colonial eras in the last hundred years. It has a multiracial population, and several political parties have existed, but the term one-party state has been an accurate statement of political reality.

Tanganyika is a large, compact block of land, 362,668 square miles in area, lying between the Great Central

African Lakes and the Indian Ocean. This makes Tanganyika as large as France and Germany combined. Its eastern coast is low and sandy, broken by many small bays and meandering rivers. Mangrove swamps and coconut palms suggest the equatorial climate which many people associate with Africa. Inland, however, the countryside changes. The coastal palm belt gives way to a thickly forested strip, and that in turn to a gradually rising plateau of open savannah which stretches, often waterless and treeless, west to the great inland lakes of Nyasa, Tanganyika, and Victoria. The plateau is broken occasionally by a series of mountain ranges, which are better watered and provide a more luxuriant vegetation; in the north, Mount Kilimanjaro rises to 19,340 feet, the highest mountain in Africa.[1]

The coastal belt is fairly narrow in the north but widens appreciably towards the center, and is similar in origin and character to the coastal plain of Kenya. The harbors of Tanga, Dar es Salaam, and Kilw- have been formed by drowned river creeks. There are a number of rivers, including Pangani, Rifiji, and Ruvuma, forming deltas into the Indian Ocean, and creeks of varying size and depth. Rainfall is moderate in the north, as in Tanga, forty-nine inches, but decreases towards the south, as in Lindi, thirty-six and eight-tenths inches. The scattered forest,

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[1]William A. Hance, The Geography of Modern Africa (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964).

bush and grass, so much a feature of the East African coast, become sparser in the south as the rainfall decreases.[2]

Much of the south-eastern plateau is covered by Woodland-Savanna which suffers intense Tsetse infestation. The western plateau is separated from the south-eastern one by the spine of highlands running along the rim of the Rift Valley from Babati towards Mbeya. This plateau is higher, rising to four thousand feet or more in places. Near Tabora the climate is rather dry, and the region is Tsetse infested. Rainfall is unreliable, with a long dry season experienced after the April rains, e.g., Dodoma, twenty-three inches.[3]

The Lake Victoria Basin is really an extension of the Western Plateau but, due to the proximity of large expanses of water, rainfall is higher. The basin has a seasonal maximum in April, but rain falls at all times of the year: Bukoba, eighty inches; Mwanza, thirty-nine inches. The highlands are concentrated close to the Rift Valley. Rainfall is high, varying between sixty and one hundred inches on the mountain slope.[4]

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[2]Carey B. Singleton, Jr., The Agricultural Economy of Tanganyika (Washington, D.C.: Foreign Regional Analysis Division, Economic Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1964). See the appendix for a regional map of Tanganyika.

[3]J. M. Kenworthy, "Rainfall and the Water Resources of East Africa," pp. 111-137 in R.W. Steel and R.W. and R.M. Prothero (eds.), Geographers and the Tropics: Liverpool Essays (London: Longman, 1964).

[4]Ibid., pp. 111-135.

Sisal, coffee, and cotton account for a major share in Tanganyika's agricultural exports, followed by meat, cashew nuts, hides and skins, tea and groundnuts. Unlike Kenya, Africans here have long been encouraged in the cultivation of coffee and cotton. The Kilimanjaro Native Coffee Union was founded in 1933.

Sisal and tea are grown on plantations; coffee is both a plantation and small-holding crop. Sisal is cultivated at the foot of the Usambara Mountains in Tanga Province and further south near Morogoro. Sisal plantations occupy many square miles, and are linked to factories by light railways. Processing requires expensive machinery to remove waste from the fiber.[5]

Coffee is mainly an African crop. Arabica can flourish in the cool conditions existing in high areas at certain times of the year, and eighty percent of it is grown on the slopes of Kilimanjaro, and near Arusha, and Oldeani; it is also being tried out in the Rungwe area of the southwest.

Lake Province produces over ninety percent of the cotton grown in Tanganyika, the remainder coming from Eastern Provinces. Tea is grown in the highland regions of Mbeya, Iringa and the Usambara Mountains. A tradition

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[5]J. B. Russell (ed.), The Natural Resources of East Africa (Nairobi: D. A. Hawkins, Ltd., 1962).

of skilled pickers has to be created for a crop of this nature.[6]

Other cash crops are being developed: cashew nuts in Eastern Province and groundnuts in Western and Central provinces are two of the most important. Sugar cane is grown under irrigation of the Ruaha River; and in the Northern Province, wheat, seed beans, maize and pyrethrum are being grown for export. A coconut industry is developing on Mafia Island opposite the mouth of the Rufiji, while tobacco, rice and rubber also contribute to the country's cash economy and minor processing industries. About ninety-seven percent of the cattle are African breeds, although there are a number of imported herds, particularly in the upland regions of European settlement.[6]

The mineral resources of Tanganyika are large but widely dispersed. Diamonds are the most important mineral export and about fifty diamond deposits have been exploited in the vicinity of Shinyanga, including the Kimberlite pipe at Mwadui, site of the famour Williamson mine. Gold is extracted at Geita in Lake Province, as well as on the Lupa gold field in Southern Highlands Province. Copper and lead have been mined at Mpanda on a branch of the Central Railway, but the lead deposits are worked out and the mine was closed in 1960. Many other minerals are found in small

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[6]A. M. O'Connor, An Economic Geography of East Africa, (London: Bell Publishing Company, 1966).

quantities; among them are gypsum, kaolin, meerschaum, magnesite, salt, tin and tungsten.

Geological surveys have discovered the presence of some two hundred fifty million tons of coal in the Ruhuhu Valley near Songea and there are workable quantities near Tukuyu. The poor quality of the coal, and the distance of the deposits from centers of population, have restricted the use of iron ore deposits in the same region. Hydro-electric power is only in its infancy; lack of suitable rivers and their seasonal nature will mean heavy expenditure if further schemes are to be created. However, Tanganyika could not rely on the use of small wood-burning stations or on the exploitation of her coal reserves to provide the country with electricity.[7]

The slow development of the country has been aggravated by poor communications. The two railway lines from Tanga and Dar es Salaam penetrate the interior, and although they have now been linked, there are few branch lines, and both primary and secondary roads are often non-existent. Railways have been costly to build and here there has been no assured freight, only the expectation that given a railway link to the coast, export crop farming would expand.

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[7]Len Berry and Eileen Berry, A Preliminary Sub-Division of Districts into Rural Economic Zones: A Map, With Key (Dar es Salaam: University College, Bureau of Resource Assessment and Land Use Planning, 1968).

Tanganyika became an independent state within the British Commonwealth in 1961 and adopted a republican form of government in 1962. In 1964 it entered into a political union with Zanzibar and the name Tanzania was adopted.

The estimated population of Tanganyika in 1965 was 10,180,000 including about 17,000 Europeans and 111,000 Asians. There were over one hundred tribes within the country, mostly Bantu, but some Hamitic and Nilo-Hamitic.[8]

About half the Europeans of Tanganyika lived in towns and were engaged in the usual professional and commercial occupations. Most of the others have been farmers, miners, plantation managers and overseers, government officials or missionaries and have been scattered around the territory, many of them in Tanga, Northern and Southern Highlands Provinces.

The connection between the Indian sub-continent and East Africa has been an ancient one. The domiciled rather than immigrant population was divided principally into two divisions: the Moslems and the Hindus. There were, however, also Sikhs, who were usually artisans, and Goans from Portugese India. Asians have had a fair share of petty trade and have controlled a high proportion of the import and export trade; they have predominated as artisans. They were law-abiding, industrious and commercially competitive.

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[8]Department of State, United Republic of Tanzania. Background Notes (Dar es Salaam, August 1966).

The Arabs, as former masters of the East African coast, lived in a somewhat diminished state, but they enjoyed considerable prestige among Africans. Through them the religion of Islam has become firmly established on the mainland coast and in those inland towns where Arabs settled in numbers.[9]

The people of Tanganyika form a plural society in which physical, cultural and linguistic differences separate the various ethnic groups from each other. The Africans form by far the vast majority. Among the most important numerically and politically are the Sukuma, the only tribe that exceeds one million members, Nyamwezi, Haya and Chagga. Significant differences exist between the non-African groups, but they are less important than those distinguishing non-Africans from Africans.

Each African tribe considers itself distinct from neighboring groups, and its members identify themselves by a particular name. Most occupy a specific territory, although in a few places tribes which follow different subsistence patterns, such as farmers, hunters and gatherers, may occupy the same territory without economic competition. In addition to the sense of ethnic identity and attachment to specific

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[9]Franz Schildknecht, Islam in East Africa. (Dar es Salaam: A Report of the Tanganyika Episcopal Conference, 1963).

territories, linguistic variation usually distinguishes the different groups.[10]

Swahili, which is basically Bantu in origin but also adapts foreign loanwords, was chosen as the lingua franca and official language of Tanzania because many Tanzanians believed that it was a more appropriate language for an emerging socialist country than was English, a language associated with countries considered to be capitalist.[11]

The European and Asian communities are in the cities and towns; they have the specialized skills which are important in continuing stability of the national economy. Before Independence the roles of the African, European and Asian were clearly defined. Each was restricted to separate facilities and had differing access to political and economic positions. Awareness of social boundaries is still universal, but political and economic roles are in a fluid state. Africans have taken over the positions of non-Africans in many areas; this process is commonly referred to as Africanization.[12]

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[10] A. H. J. Prins, The Swahili-Speaking Peoples of Zanzibar and the East African Coast (Ethnographic Survey of Africa; ed. Daryll Forde: East Central Africa, Pt. XII) (London: International African Institute, 1961).

[11] P. Kiwanuka, "Bilingualism in education: the Role of the Vernacular Languages," East Africa Journal, Vol. IV, No. 6, October 1967, pp. 21-24.

[12] United Nations. Economic Commission for Africa. Social Development Section. Social Reconstruction in the Newly-Independent Countries of East Africa. (Social Welfare Services in Africa, No. 4) (New York: 1965).

The African population of Tanganyika has represented many different stages of culture, from the advanced and politically highly organized Baganda to the primitive Watinga. It has included people as different as the quick-witted Chagga of Kilimanjaro, who have readily adopted certain aspects of Western life, and the aloof and dignified Masai, who cling tenaciously to their own ways. There were nomads, and semi-nomads, cattle people and people with no cattle, farmers and hunters, cultivators of coffee or cotton, and people who cultivated practically nothing at all. Similarly, there were tribes with well established constitutions, an official hierarchy, a respected, semi-sacrosanct chief. Others might not recognize any more complicated authority than the head of a family. In a study of this scope it has been impossible to do more than mention a few examples at various points in the scale.

There has been, therefore, no <u>type</u> of East African. Instead, there were large numbers of different people at different stages of civilization and representative of different cultures, each following a way of life differing in some way from the others, all with different ambitions and aspirations, and with different material and mental equipment wherewith to attain them.

Tanganyika offered living proof that non-racialism could succeed in a multi-racial territory. Although the country's population has been composed of Africans, Europeans, Asians, and Arabs, it has been ruled

democratically according to the majority vote, irrespective of the racial origins of candidates and electors. Democratic majority rule in Tanganyika has shown that even when the vast majority of the inhabitants were African, it has still been possible for them to recognize the worth of an individual from another race, regardless of his color. Consequently, in the Tanganyika Government were to be found men from all racial groups, serving the common cause of building a new nation.[13]

Detribalization has been encouraged by the Government through its policy of Africanization. Positions in many areas which, prior to Independence, were held by Asians and Europeans have been filled by Africans. The benefits of the modern world were seen as possible attainment by Africans, and more and more have given up the traditional life.

It has been primarily education and occupation that have influenced relations between persons. College graduates who held positions in government or the civil service had considerable prestige. Being Christian has been regarded by many as a sign of cultural advancement.

Stratification, which was quite prominent during the British period, has been less apparent since Independence.

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[13]Tanganyika (Constitution) Order in Council, 1961, Statutory Instruments, 1961, No. 227. See also: Tanganyika National Assembly, Debates, 36th session, 5th meeting, 1960-1961, c. 303-374. (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer).

Two levels, however, were generally distinguishable. One level consisted of persons who had needed occupational skills or were well educated or those who had capital at their disposal; the other was a large group, ranging from the uneducated and unskilled to the small entrepreneurs and semi-skilled wage-workers. The explicit policies of the Government promoting egalitarianism and opposing social stratification had militated to remove the barriers to upward mobility which were present before Independence.[14]

The household, a distinct food-producing, food-consuming unit, included all those persons living under one roof. Usually, it comprised a nuclear family, but additional persons might be included, such as a grandparent, the spouse of a son or daughter or some other relative. Typically, a household began as a nuclear family, developed through time into a complex family and then divided into two or more nuclear families. A polygamous family might reside in one, two or more households, depending on whether the wives lived and worked together or had separate houses and fields.[15]

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[14]UNESCO, Report of the UNESCO Educational Planning Mission for Tanganyika: June-October, 1962. (UNESCO: Paris 1963).

[15]R. G. Abrahams, The People of Greater Unyamwezi, Tanzania (London: International African Institute, 1967); P. Hoad, The Use of the Reference Group Concept in the Study of Social Change in Africa (Kampala: Makerere Institute of Social Research, 1968); B. Mabugane, "Crisis in African Sociology," East Africa Journal, December, 1968, pp. 21-40.

At the time of Independence, President Nyerere's Government was faced with the need to develop a country whose citizens were mostly uneducated and untrained in modern skills. There were some African teachers, the major category of educated personnel, but many moved into Government positions; there were twelve African civil engineers, one pharmacist, no mechanical engineers and similar other shortages. It was necessary to train Africans to replace Europeans and Asians in professions, industry, commerce and public service. At the same time agronomists and agricultural extension officers were needed to introduce more effective production methods and to design development projects for lands not yet in use.[16]

Recognizing that expansion of educational and other social services, as well as economic progress, demanded skilled high-level manpower, the Government set 1980 as a target date for self-sufficiency in skills at all levels and put highest priority on funds for education at secondary and higher levels. The curriculum and scholarship grants were oriented towards the needs of the country, and the people were told that they would be expected to contribute on the farm if they did not have other needed skills.[17]

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[16]Tanzania, Ministry of Education. Annual Reports, 1961. (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1962).

[17]References to these concepts and philosophies are plentiful. See especially: East African Standard, July 2, 1963; Report of the Africanisation Commission, p. 4,

Since the attainment of Independence, rapid political evolution has taken place in which TANU has emerged as a crucial organization dominating all sectors and institutions of society.[18]

The Tanganyika Standard reported that TANU had one and one-third million members at the time of Independence. In 1963 officials claimed to have somewhere between one and one-half to two million members in some twelve hundred sub-branches.[19] Realizing the great importance of TANU's support for the Government, and realizing also that only through TANU could development really get support in the country, Dr. Nyerere resigned as Prime Minister within two months of Independence and returned to his leadership of the nationalist movement. Before doing so, Nyerere personally selected his successor, the Hon. Rashidi Kawawa, as well as Kawawa's Cabinet. The two leaders continued to work closely together through the eleven months during which Dr. Nyerere had no official position in Government.[20]

(Government Printer, 1963); EACSO, 1963-64 Estimates (Nairobi); Julius Nyerere, East African Federation: Freedom and Unity (expanded Conference text printed by PAFMECA: Dar es Salaam 1960).

[18]Harvey Glickman, "One-Party System in Tanganyika," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCLVIII (March 1965), pp. 136-149.

[19]Tanganyika Standard, December 9, 1961; "How Stable is Tanganyika?" Africa Report, Vol. VIII, No. 15, March 1963.

[20]George Bennett, "An Outline History of TANU," Makerere Journal, No. 7, 1962.

Tanganyika has always been a strong advocate of African unity and Dr. Nyerere played an important role at the Addis Ababa Conference of Heads of African States in May, 1963, where Tanganyika became a founding member of the Organization of African Unity and Dar es Salaam was chosen as headquarters for the OAU's National Committee of Liberation.[21]

The ultimate aim of the Tanganyika Government industrial policy was to achieve a level of industrialization that would make the country as self-sufficient as possible without prejudicing the general requirements for development. Although considerable emphasis has been placed on the need for industrialization, explicit recognition has been made of the fact that agriculture would continue to provide the major source of economic growth and employment. Like other developing countries, Tanganyika had decided that its national interests and growth would best be served by developing a mixed economy in which private enterprise, public enterprise and quasi-public enterprise would participate under Government supervision and control.[22]

Since Independence came to mainland Tanzania in December 1961, one of the most significant trends in

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[21]J. Clagett Taylor, The Political Development of Tanganyika (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1963).

[22]Carey B. Singleton, Jr., The Agricultural Economy of Tanganyika (U. S. Department of Agriculture, Foreign Regional Analysis Division, Economic Research Service, Foreign 92. Washington: G. P. O., 1964).

Government policy has been the search for national identity.[23] Both the creation of national unity and the expression of that unity in political and economic action have been among the preoccupations of Government. Politically, this trend has been reflected most strongly in the transformation of the country into a one-party state, albeit with ingenious provision for the expression of the popular will. In short, politically, administratively, and economically there has been a deliberate effort to create a centralized infrastructure for the new nation state.[24]

This very trend is clearly discernible in the changes which have been brought about in the organization of education, its administration, and its control. The reform of the structure of education after Independence both reflected what has been happening in the wider society and reinforced those steps towards national unity.[25] The network of schools, which has extended into the remotest corners of the country and which has in its teaching-force an influential and literate leadership, has been reviewed as a

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[23]The United Republic of Tanzania, instituted in April 1964, combines the former republics of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. Under the legal agreement upon which the United Republic of Tanzania is based, education is not a Union matter. Zanzibar has its own separate education system, as does Tanganyika.

[24]For a revealing account of some aspects mentioned in this dissertation, see H. Bienen, Tanzania: Party Transformation and Economic Development (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1967).

[25]Gerald, K. Helleiner, "Tanzania's Second Plan:

powerful agency for the tranformation of society. This has been the approach which has emphasized President Julius Nyerere's pamphlet Education for Self-Reliance where he has written, "Only when we are clear about the kind of society we are trying to build can we design our educational service to serve our goals."[26] However, the President was more concerned in 1967 with the kind of society to be developed within a framework of national unity, because by 1967 the organization and administration of education had already been centralized to the point where it had become an effective tool for the President's purposes. Since 1961 the trend in educational reform and adaptation has been towards integration, unification, and greater control from one center. In particular, the racial systems of education of the colonial period have been replaced by a single, integrated system. Groups of schools managed by such voluntary bodies as the churches have been virtually incorporated into the public school system; the teachers have been enrolled into the Unified Teaching Service; the number of education administrators both at the center and in the localities has been greatly increased, and the school inspectorate has not only been recognized but most markedly

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Socialism and Self-Reliance," East Africa Journal, December 1968, pp. 41-50.

[26]EACSO, Report of the Africanization Commission (Nairobi, 1963).

enlarged.[27] Although central Government has been far from insensitive to local needs and feelings, all the major changes in the control, organization, and administration of education since 1961 have been in the direction of greater unification. In the educational system of Tanganyika, with its combination of centralization and responsiveness to local opinion, has been mirrored the constitution of Tanzania which combined one-party rule with a remarkable provision for the expression of the popular will. In this, society and schools went hand in hand.

In accordance with Tanganyika's Education Ordinance of 1961, responsibility for administration of the educational system and its development was exercised by the central Government through the Ministry of Education. The Ministry has been directly concerned with all education above the primary level and with teacher training, but local Government councils were responsible for primary education in their respective jurisdictions.[28]

At the time of Independence, the Government was faced with a low per capita income, a low literacy level, and educational structure and a curriculum inherited from the British period and a great desire on the part of the people

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[27]Julius Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance (Government Printer: Dar es Salaam 1967).

[28]Report of the UNESCO Education Planning Mission to Tanganyika, June to October, 1962 (UNESCO: Paris, 1963).

for education. One of its first steps was to integrate the separate school systems, each run mainly for its own members by the different ethnic groups, into a unified system. All schools became, in principle, open to children of any ethnic group. Schools administered by private and religious agencies were granted financial assistance and made to conform to teaching and curriculum standards. Denominational schools were required to offer instruction in their own faith and in other faiths to those children whose parents requested it.

In 1965 the literacy rate was estimated to be from ten to fifteen percent in Swahili and less than one percent in English and other languages. The purpose of adult literacy programs was mainly to equip members of the population in order that they might play a part in the general society and economic development of the country and to understand the political aims of its leaders.[29]

Since Independence there was a shift in emphasis from development of primary education to that of the secondary level in order to train the manpower needed to replace the British Governmental staff and to carry out development plans. This emphasis on secondary education was explicit in the Three Year Plan for 1961-1964, which called for a significant expansion of the secondary, especially upper

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[29]J. Raymer, "Design for East Africa's University," Oversea Education, XXXIV (April, 1962), pp. 34-38.

secondary, level and a cut in planned expansion at the primary level. It was proposed, however, that all primary schools be extended to include at least six years because a four-year education frequently did not result in permanent literacy.[30]

Plans were also developed for increasing the local supply of trained teachers. Most of the teaching staff at the secondary and university levels and many at the primary level were foreigners on short-term assignment. The turnover among the staff tended to prevent consistency in approach and content, and both were considered to be too strongly oriented to the West for the purposes of a developing African country. This was another effort to Africanize the Tanganyikan educational system.

Provisions for economic needs were re-emphasized in the Five-Year Plan 1964-1969. The main educational objectives of this Plan were to provide the high-level manpower needed for economic development, to maintain the quality of primary education at a level which would provide for permanent literacy and to attain qualitative and quantitative self-sufficiency in school teachers. The Plan pointed out that the percentage of the appropriate school age population attending secondary school was so small that the

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[30]African Adult Education Association, Continuing Literacy. Proceedings of the Third Conference of the Adult Education Association of East and Central Africa. (Kampala, 1968) (Edited by R. F. Clarke).

continuation of this situation would entail a continued dependence upon foreign technicians and personnel to run the administrative and economic machinery of the country.[31]

The formulators of the Plan admitted that emphasis on economic needs might not be consistent, particularly at secondary and university levels, with views of education as a source of moral enrichment and aesthetic satisfaction or as the pursuit of pure learning. It was felt, that it was financially impossible to provide education for all and that such mass education could be harmful to society as a whole when it was not accompanied by a simultaneous improvement of material living standards, together with commensurate employment opportunities.[32]

President Nyerere in the introduction to his book Freedom and Unity, pointed out that, "...(strict) adherence to equality--would require that all children are able to go to primary school before any money is spent on secondary and higher education. But in that case how shall we be able to develop our country?"[33]

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[31] Development Plan for Tanganyika, 1961-64 (Government Printer: Dar es Salaam 1961). This plan called for emphasis on secondary education so that Tanganyika could train a pool of administrators and educators.

[32] Tanganyika Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development. 1st July, 1964-30th June, 1969. Vol. I: General Analysis; and Vol. II: The Programs. (Government Printer: Dar es Salaam 1964).

[33] Ibid.

In April 1967 President Nyerere set forth in his paper, Education for Self-Reliance, three changes which should be made in the educational system. A rise in school-entry age would make children older at completion of primary school and thus better able to become immediately productive. Changes in the content of education would make each level complete in itself rather than a preparatory course for the next level. Emphasis was to be switched from preparation for examinations to preparation for the type of non-academic life most students would lead.[34]

Schools registered with and supervised by the Ministry of Education included the secondary, teacher-training and technical schools which the Ministry operated directly; the primary schools administered by local authorities; and schools managed by voluntary agencies, some of which were financially assisted by the Government. Central and local Government schools and those receiving assistance were all considered to be part of the public education system. University education was the direct responsibility of the University of East Africa. Educational policy was determined by the Ministry of Education. Its execution at the primary level has been delegated to the local authorities, but Government control has been maintained by means of an

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[34]Julius Nyerere, Freedom and Unity--Uhuru na Umoja: A Selection From Writings and Speeches, 1952-1965 (London: Oxford University Press, 1967).

inspection system and by the power to grant subsidies, which could be used to maintain standards and to encourage improvements.[35]

The basic system was an adaptation of the one set up by the British, whereby several levels were set off from one another and successful completion of a series of examinations was required to pass from one level to the next higher level.[36] Entry to the higher level was also limited by the number of places available. Those who did not gain admittance to further academic training moved directly into employment, attended vocational courses or entered teacher training.[37]

PRIMARY EDUCATION

The primary level, for which fees were charged by the local authorities or administering agency, was composed of grades called standards. Standards I-IV comprised lower primary, and standards V-VIII comprised upper primary. (In 1968 standard VII was to be eliminated.)

Each local authority was required to establish a local education committee composed of members appointed by

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[35]Julius Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance (Government Printer: Dar es Salaam 1967).

[36]UNESCO, The Legal Framework of Educational Planning and Administration in East Africa (Paris: UNESCO/IIEP No. 7, 1966).

[37]See appendix for chart.

the local authority and by the Ministry of Education, which was to include representatives of voluntary agency schools. The figures for a number of students in full-time Public Education in Tanganyika are available in the appendix.[38]

In spite of the broad general aspiration for education, many students dropped out even before completion of lower primary school. Among the problems faced by the students were long distances to travel each day, inadequate food and clothing and seasonal requirements for their labor at home. The high dropout rate, coupled with the relative scarcity of upper primary facilities, represented not only a personal loss for the students but also a loss for the school authorities because the students in their few years of schooling had not acquired a firm knowledge of reading and writing.

Instruction in primary schools in 1967 was carried on in either Swahili or English, depending upon the school. In those using Swahili, English was introduced after standard III. In March 1967 the Ministry of Education announced that beginning in 1968 Swahili would be used throughout the primary course and that schools using English were to convert to Swahili, starting in standard I and phasing to standard VII by 1973. Twelve schools, teaching mostly children of foreigners, would be permitted to teach

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[38]Guy Hunter, Education for a Developing Region: A Study in East Africa (London: Allen and Unwin, 1963).

in English. The introduction of the English language as a subject would begin in standard I.[39]

The entrance age for primary school was approximately seven years. This enabled the children to participate in farming or related activities after school. Those completing the full primary course would then be ready to enter the labor market.

SECONDARY EDUCATION

The administration of secondary schools rested with the Ministry of Education, which appointed boards of governors for each Government assisted school.

The emphasis in the Five-Year Plan on the development of high-level manpower produced a derivative emphasis on secondary educational facilities. No fees were charged at this level. Secondary education accounted for approximately twenty percent of planned expenditures on education between 1964 and 1969. The aim was to increase output by eighty-five to one hundred percent and to provide seven thousand six hundred new places over the five year period.[40]

The secondary level, also in two parts, was composed of forms. Forms I to IV of lower secondary school led to

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[39]Adapted from: Tanzania, Ministry of Finance, Background to the Budget: An Economic Survey 1967-68, p. 76 (Government Printer: Dar es Salaam 1967).

[40]Marian Halvorson, "East African Literacy Seminar: A Report," African Adult Education, Vol. I, No. 2, March 1968, pp. 51-53.

the examination for one of two termination certificates, the Joint School Certificate and the General School Certificate. The results obtained in the General School Certificate examinations determined eligibility for entry into the two-year higher secondary level, Forms V and VI. The latter were academic in concentration. They usually offered two streams, one for the science and one for the arts students. In these forms the student was prepared for the Higher School Certificate, which was required for university entrance.

TECHNICAL AND COMMERCIAL EDUCATION

In 1967 the Government-administered Dar es Salaam Technical College offered a three-year, full-time technical course in civil, electrical or mechanical engineering, and secondary technical schools were operated at Ifunda and Moshi. The Technical College initially had difficulty in attracting full-time students; by 1966, there were two hundred fifty students completing the three-year course and over fifteen hundred part-time and evening students enrolled in advanced drafting, secretarial and commerical courses. No fees were charged. Many of the teachers were either British or local people trained abroad. Finding local teachers for this college and for secondary level technical courses was a major problem for the Ministry of Education. A major obstacle was the lack of opportunities in Tanzania for experience in industry. A few trade schools

were run by voluntary organizations, and instruction in craft skills was carried out under the Ministry of Communications, Labor and Works. A number of trade centers and courses were run in conjunction with community development and agricultural schemes, and evening classes were held in a number of urban centers.[41]

HIGHER EDUCATION

During the mid-1960's, Tanganyika students were enrolled in higher education at the University College at Dar es Salaam, as well as in the other countries of East Africa and overseas. Virtually all of these students held scholarships either approved by or directly provided by the Tanzanian Government. The Government controlled the choice of the field of study entered by the students in order to enforce conformity to overall goals of manpower development.

Government scholarships were granted through a tied system whereby the student promised to work for five years in a position approved by the Government, following the completion of his academic work at university level. The Government made the final determination as to which students would receive Government scholarships or which were to be allowed to accept those offered by outside agencies. The

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[41]Tanzania, Report of the Presidential Commission on the National Union of Tanganyika Workers (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1967).

movement of privately financed students was supervised through passport issuance and foreign currency regulations. It was thus possible to be assured that many of the most academically talented students would attend the University College at Dar es Salaam rather than colleges abroad.[42]

The planning of university education in Tanganyi as was the case throughout Tanzania, was formally vested in the University College itself, rather than the Ministry of Education. Government policies emphasizing practical studies and training for community service, however, have been adhered to. University activities and growth were financed by the Government according to the overall plan for educational development, and the arrangements surrounding Government bursaries for almost all students largely determined the composition of the student body. The Registrar of students at the University College was an official of the Ministry of Education.[43]

Entrance into the University College was possible by direct entry following the achievement of a Higher School Certificate or by mature-age entry.[44] Students were chosen

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[42] K. G. V. Kirshna, "University Teaching Needs and the University Share of the National Revenue," East Africa Journal, Vol. II, No. 5, August 1965, pp. 13-17.

[43] Stanley Dryden, "Local Government in Tanzania," Journal of Administration Overseas, Vol. VI, No. 2, April 1967, pp. 109-120; Ibid., Vol. VI, No. 3, July 1967, pp. 165-178.

[44] News From the Hill, April 1967, No. 12, p. 10 (Dar es Salaam: The Library Photographic Unit, University College 1967).

for direct entry on the basis of academic records and recommendation of their school heads. They entered a degree course of three year's duration. Mature-age entrants did not need a Higher School Certificate but might enter if they were twenty-five years of age or older, had completed their previous education five or more years earlier, and had attended extra-mural classes or residential courses either at the University or at an adult education college.[45]

The activities of the Institute of Adult Education included courses for teachers and tutors in different parts of the country, educational research, maintenance of a science center, the production of filmstrips for use in primary and secondary geography and history classes, and a variety of tuition courses for literate adults in Dar es Salaam. Textbooks and aids in Swahili were being prepared for primary schools, and primary mathematics and science curricula were being revised. A principal aspect of this Institute's work was coordination of the programs of the teacher-training colleges.[46]

TEACHER TRAINING

According to the Five-Year Plan, the teacher training program was of the greatest possible importance in the

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[45] Ibid., p. 10.

[46] University College, Dar es Salaam, Institute of Adult Education. Report on the Twelfth Annual Study Vacation of the University of East Africa (Dar es Salaam: University College, April 1968) (cyclostyled).

development of education, especially with relationship to the improvement of quality in the primary schools. The plan called for the reorganization of the numerous teacher-training colleges, each working at one of three levels, into ten or eleven larger colleges, of at least two hundred forty students each, which could offer training at all levels. By 1966-1967, the implementation of these plans had been started; however, a lack of funds had slowed the changeover considerably.[47]

It has been Government policy to train every possible undergraduate to teach. Beginning in 1964 approximately fifty percent of all Government scholarships to arts students and thirty percent of all those Government scholarships to science students went to individuals who planned to teach.[48]

Students in teacher-training colleges received allowances, and their teachers were paid by the Government, either directly or through grants to the voluntary agencies which administered a number of schools. The staffing of teacher-training colleges had been a major problem. The Five-Year Plan called for two hundred fifty to three hundred education officers to serve in them by 1970. In 1966, forty

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[47]Hadley E. Smith (ed.), Readings on Economic Development and Administration in Tanzania (Dar es Salaam: Institute of Public Administration, University College, 1966).

[48]University of East Africa, Conference on Teacher Education for East Africa. (Report edited by L. V. Lieb) (Nairobi: University of East Africa, 1965) (cyclostyled).

students were enrolled in an education officer course at Dar es Salaam which would train them to replace foreign staff members.[49]

INSERVICE TRAINING AND ADULT EDUCATION

Inservice employee training, conducted by Government ministries other than the Ministry of Education and by private concerns, was widespread, e.g., Civil Service Training Center, the Ministry of Health and Housing Training Institute and the College of African Wildlife Management.

Basic adult education was viewed by the Government as an important means of undertaking immediate rather than future development. Literacy programs and a variety of fundamental adult education facilities were in general the responsibility of the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, which gave subventions to lower Government authorities.[50]

In 1967 a program supported by the United Nations Development Program and executed by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization with the

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[49] Tanganyika Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development. 1st July, 1964-30th July, 1969. Vol. I: General Analysis; and Vol. II: The Programs. (Government Printer: Dar es Salaam 1964).

[50] University of East Africa, Conference on Teacher Education for East Africa. (Report edited by Carl J. Manone.) (Kampala: University of East Africa, 1967) (cyclostyled).

Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development was initiated. In five regions designated by the Government, men and women were to be taught to read and write Swahili in conjunction with instruction as to how to apply their skills in agriculture, building, hygiene and child care.

Voluntary agencies involved in adult education included churches, trade unions, cooperatives, industry, women's organizations and the Political Party.[51]

SPECIAL EDUCATION

It was the policy of the Ministry of Education that the education of handicapped children could take place as much as possible with normal children. In 1967 there were also three special residential grant-aided schools for blind children.

In 1963 the private International Primary School in Dar es Salaam was established by the Governments of the United States and Great Britain, together with private sources. This school, the first of its kind in East Africa, enrolled students from Tanzania and a large number of foreign countries.[52]

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[51] Ibid.; and Tanganyika, Ministry of Development Planning, Development Planning Related to the Needs of Children in Tanganyika, 1964 (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1963) (mimeographed).

[52] Elizabeth M. Anderson, The Education of Physically Handicapped, Blind and Deaf Children in East Africa, (London: National Fund for Research into Crippling Diseases, 1968).

Chapter 3

ECONOMIC AND MANPOWER FORCES IN HIGHER EDUCATION PLANNING

Educational planning in Tanganyika was not by any means a new idea. It was, however, not until 1963, when planning began in earnest for the five-year period 1964-69, that a serious attempt was made by each agency to agreed objectives for development and the results used to determine the priority to be accorded to each field of activity in the allocation of funds and other scarce resources.[1] Tanganyika, as mainland Tanzania, was one of the few African countries to have a considerable amount of documentation on its human resources. It would appear that the Hunter study, the Tobias survey and the Thomas survey merit particular attention in projecting manpower needs and resources in Tanganyika in a critical analysis of the part that Higher Education should take.[2]

Tanganyika was one of the few African countries to have achieved a considerable measure of success in integrating University educational planning with economic planning.

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[1] Tanganyika Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development 1st July, 1964-30th June, 1969. Vols. I and II, (Government Printer, Dar es Salaam, 1964).

[2] Survey of the High-Level Manpower Requirements and Resources in Tanganyika, 1962-67. George Tobias, consultant

This success was due largely to an early realization on the part of authorities that, in the circumstances in which the country finds itself at present (vulnerable agricultural economy, low per capita income--twenty pounds, sterling--), educational development should serve primarily the economic and social needs of the country as defined by the development plan and not simply pursue the ideal of having the greatest number possible receive schooling.[3] With its limited resources, Tanganyika could only have fulfilled such aspirations as, for instance, the maximum spread of primary education or elimination of illiteracy in a short time, by severely limiting the development of, and perhaps even cutting down, other levels and types of education which were more essential to the balanced economic and social development of the country.[4] All other features of the educational

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to the Government of Tanganyika for the Ford Foundation, 1963. (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, No. 2); Tanzania, United Republic of, Directorate for the Development and Planning Manpower Planning Unit. Survey of High-Level Manpower Requirements and Resources for the Five-Year Development Plan 1964-65 to 1968-69, prepared under the direction of Robert L. Thomas, Ford Foundation Manpower Advisor to the Directorate, 1965.; G. Hunter, High-Level Manpower in East Africa. Preliminary Assessment (London: Institute of Race Relations, 1962).

[3] Five-Year Plan, op. cit.

[4] Tanganyika, Ministry of Development Planning, Development Planning Related to the Needs of Children in Tanganyika (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1964) (mimeographed).

plan for the University College, Dar es Salaam, were a logical continuation and consequence of this decision. Increasing the output of university graduates in conformity with manpower needs has meant the institution of vocational guidance, the creation of tied bursaries and control over scholarship for studies abroad. All these measures, contemplated or put into effect, flowed logically from the decision taken by the Government to put education at the service of economic development and to achieve self-sufficiency in high-level manpower within fifteen to twenty years.[5] This decision itself was based on a careful appraisal of the available human resources and systematic estimates of future manpower needs and the sources of meeting them.[6]

To capsulize the central theme that the Five-Year Plan for 1964-69 had envisioned for Higher Education in Tanganyika, regarding its relationship to manpower and economic responsibility, seemed in order at that stage: detailed planning was formally the concern of the university itself. However, there was in the normal course of events a continuous series of relatively informal consultations between the university authorities and the Government concerning the manpower development program. Such discussions

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[5]Tanzania, United Republic of, Ministry of Communications and Work, Manpower Utilization Report, Dean A. Lund (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1965).

[6]G. Hunter, Manpower, Employment and Education in the Rural Economy of Tanzania (Paris: UNESCO, IIEP, 1966).

were of particular importance in relating the work of the University College, Dar es Salaam to the professional preparation of lay doctors, teachers, lawyers, engineers, agriculturalists and others for national needs. In contrast to this approach the planning of the financial limits within which the University would be expected to operate had to be included within the scope of the over-all education plan and was formally the direct concern of the Government. In this instance target methods of costing were peculiarly appropriate. They were therefore applied to the enrollments required for manpower purposes and adopted.[7]

Two important decisions were taken in Tanganyika, with respect to high-level manpower, which affected the educational system. First, in 1962 the Government accepted the recommendations of the Africanization Commission.[8] Among other things, the Commission urged that qualified Africans be hired when they became available. Indeed, the Commission had been guided by Prime Minister Nyerere's charge that they wished to have a completely national civil service as soon as possible, but, in fact, it has become Tanganyikan faster than the pessimists of early Independence believed prudent. This policy, in a country where central and local

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[7]Unit cost statistics are discussed in detail in: J. B. Knight, The Costing and Financing of Educational Development (Paris: UNESCO/IIEP, 1966).

[8]Tanganyika, Report of the Africanization Commission, 1962 (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1963).

Government employed nearly fifty percent of all non-agricultural wage workers, was bound to have an enormous impact on the demand for manpower. For at Independence, only seventeen percent of the Government middle and high-level jobs were occupied by Tanganyikans and only twenty African graduate teachers out of a total of six hundred thirty were in the secondary schools.[9]

Second, the Tanzanian Government set 1980 as a target for self-sufficiency in high-level manpower. Thus, President Nyerere explained in the Five Year Development Plan that self-sufficiency in high-level manpower by 1980:

> means a carefully planned expansion of education. This expansion is an economic function; the purpose of Government expenditure on education in the coming year must be to equip Tanganyikans with the skills and the knowledge which is needed if the development of this country is to be achieved. It is this fact which has determined Government education policy.[10]

Meeting the demand for high-level manpower was viewed as almost exclusively the function of the educational system, which, in turn, was seen as a series of pipelines supplying output of various types of high-level manpower. In addition to the direction of students, the manpower plan specified the number required with various educational qualifications. The manpower plan has laid down priorities, the two highest of which were science-based occupations, such as medicine

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[9]Ibid., p. 18.

[10]Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, Address by the President, Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, to Parliament -- 12th May, 1964 (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1964), p. iv.

and engineering, and secondary school teaching. The division of places offered by the University of East Africa and through overseas scholarships were made along the lines dictated by the manpower requirements.

The link between education and employment was at its closest at the university level. Higher Education in Tanganyika was therefore, the educational sector most affected by manpower requirements. The decision to bring university output into harmony with manpower-needs, involved three different lines of action: projecting entries into specific courses of study in accordance with established high-level manpower requirements; making the flow of students follow the planned pattern of studies; ensuring that graduates take jobs for which they have been trained.[11]

The Plan projected the following number of Tanzanians for entry to the University of East Africa: one hundred seventy eight in 1964, three hundred twelve in 1965, four hundred eight in 1966, four hundred eighty in 1967, five hundred four in 1968, and five hundred twenty-eight in 1969. However, numbers alone did not provide a solution to the problem. Past evidence has shown that students fail to

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[11]Tanganyika, Ministry of Education, Development Plan of the Ministry of Education, 1964-69. (mimeographed); G. Hunter, Manpower, Employment and Education in the Rural Economy of Tanzania, in Educational Development in Africa (Paris: UNESCO/IIEP, 1969); Moreover, this point has been very clearly made in the three studies mentioned on page 1 of this chapter.

choose courses leading to occupations which were in critically short supply. In 1963, for instance, the great majority were enrolled in liberal arts, while the number of professional posts vacant amounted to forty percent at the Ministry of Agriculture, twenty-two percent at the Ministry of Health, and forty-seven percent at the Ministry of Communications, Power and Works. That same year produced only six Tanganyikan graduate secondary school teachers as against some six hundred who were needed.[12]

In order to remedy this situation and channel the students into the required courses, the Government used a variety of policy instruments, such as vocational counseling, tied bursaries, and control of overseas scholarships.

The tied bursary scheme was evolved jointly by the Ministry of Education and the Directorate of Development and Planning and put into operation for the 1964-65 entry. As its name implies, the tied bursary scheme bound the recipient to serve, after graduation, five years in whatever job he was directed to by the Government. No compulsion was involved and applicants were free to accept or reject these conditions. The wishes of the recipients were taken into account in making the assignments. Students were thus directed into courses which had the highest priority, such as engineering, agricultural and veterinary, science,

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[12]Tanganyika, Ministry of Education, List of Post-Secondary Students, 1963-64 (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1964).

medicine, and teaching, the places being allocated proportionately to the demand for each of the corresponding occupations.[13]

Parallel to this scheme, which has already significantly changed the pattern of the University College intake, a system of vocational guidance has been introduced. A guidebook for secondary school leaders, Careers for Nation Building, prepared by the staff of the Manpower Planning Unit, was published by the Directorate of Development and Planning in 1964. It informed potential students of current and prospective shortages in high-level occupations, describes the job, field of work, required training and qualifications, expected remuneration and the like. The choice of careers by students in 1965 was rather closely linked with the number and kind of bursaries offered by the Government, and more than eighty-five percent of those who received bursaries as teachers of both science and arts indicated teaching as one of their first two choices.[14]

Control over the distribution of overseas scholarships was of great importance when one remembered that overseas

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[13]University of East Africa, Report of the University Grants Committee 1964 (Dar es Salaam: University College, The Library Photographic Unit 1964).

[14]United Republic of Tanzania, Directorate for Development and Planning, Careers for Nation Building, a careers guidebook for secondary school students (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1964).

study has been the largest source of supply of high-level manpower. In the middle sixties, there were more than three times as many Tanganyikan students enrolled overseas than there were in East Africa. All scholarships, whether awarded by governments, private organizations or voluntary agencies, had to be submitted to the Civil Service Advisory Group and were accepted only if they fit into the general plan of training high-level skills. A comprehensive roster of Tanganyikan students abroad, with indication of their status, course of study, country, and prospective date of return, was kept at the Ministry of Education to facilitate the placement of graduated in accordance with manpower needs. This approach of the University College, Dar es Salaam's, manpower program was one around which all the trouble was centered. At the University level it consisted simply of the Government's decision to offer bursaries for courses which would produce the skills needed to meet national manpower requirements; and conversely, not to offer bursaries on any other basis. Since almost all students who attended the University College did so on full Government bursaries, this was a highly influential device.[15]

It was too early to form a conclusion on the efficacy of these measures. There have been some exceptions to the

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[15] List of Post-secondary Students, op. cit.; Also in this regard, the Bulletin of International Exchange, Interchange, regularly supplies these figures. See Vol. IV, No. 3, 1969.

rules laid down by them. On the whole, however, these combined measures of directing inflows and outflows of university students in Dar es Salaam have been found effective in Tanzania, when vigorously applied. The resulting system of tied bursaries has been regarded as a cornerstone of Tanganyika's program for the achievement of self-sufficiency in high-level manpower by 1980.[16]

Gearing the educational system to manpower was the most fundamental issue on which battle was joined in the first days of the Government's decision to undertake manpower planning as a part of its overall development planning effort. Since the educational system played a central role in skill development and provided an educational base essential for the acquisition of many skills acquired on the job, it was inevitable that its operations had to be guided very substantially by manpower considerations if the Government undertook to plan its manpower development. Factors that guided the University College in Dar es Salaam were such compelling forces as: the fact that the country was neither highly developed, nor was it wealthy, and above all, it was grossly underdeveloped; the most compelling reason for adopting the manpower requirements approach to educational

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[16]Frederick Harbison and Charles A. Myers, Manpower and Education (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965), chapter 11. For a fuller discussion, see Frederick Harbison and Charles A. Myers, Education, Manpower, and Economic Growth (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964).

planning was the paucity of resources in relation to total development cost.[17]

One primary aim of modern university planning has been to expand and reshape a nation's educational system to fit its priority development needs, including the need for various types and amounts of manpower required to support economic growth and social development. Most students of educational planning are therefore agreed that projections of future manpower requirements, derived from projections of economic growth patterns as reflected in the national economic development plan, must be given heavy weight, though not exclusive weight, in formulating educational development plans. The logic, however, has been far simpler than the practical problems encountered in applying it. Tanganyika was an excellent laboratory for this viewpoint because, unlike many developing countries today, it had both an economic and an educational plan that were on speaking terms; it had conducted three national manpower studies in order to provide guidance to educational planning; and, not least important, the Tanzanian Government had boldly given first priority in its educational plans and policies to meeting the manpower needs of economic growth, at the

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[17]Robert L. Thomas, op. cit., pp. 25-37.

necessary cost of postponing some other important educational services until a stronger base for them could be established.[18]

University places cost the Tanzanian Government, on an average, more than a thousand pounds (sterling) per year per student. This money could provide seven pupils with high school places, sixty-seven pupils with places in Standard VII, or nearly three hundred pupils with places in Standard I.[19] Therefore, such high expenditure on University education could only be justified if it resulted in a greater contribution to development than that of simply turning out qualified personnel, especially since places at many foreign universities, were markedly cheaper than those in East Africa, or altogether free. The thinness of the occupational structure in the monetary sector was such that few valid comparisons with highly developed countries were possible. With only about three percent of the population working for wages, and less than one-third of one percent of these in jobs requiring more than a primary education, one dealt with very small numbers indeed. For example, at the time of the 1964 manpower survey there were only eighteen architects in Tanzania, one hundred fifty six civil engineers, four chemical engineers, one industrial engineer,

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[18]A. Curle, Educational Strategy for Developing Countries (London: Tavistock Publications 1963).

[19]Robert L. Thomas, op. cit., p. 47.

twenty-seven chemists, seventy-five agronomists, two dieticians, one hundred forty-six professional accountants, nine professional librarians, forty-nine pharmacists.[20] Estimated effective demand for the Five-Year Plan period for occupations of this kind, as well as those for technicians, office workers of various kinds and skilled "modern" craftsmen, was at a similar low level. Under circumstances such as these, a substantial amount of planning by the University College, Dar es Salaam, was mandatory. It was essential for the University College not only to produce the needed skills in the number required but also to assure that scarce resources were not wasted on producing skills substantially in excess of the ability of the economy to utilize them. This was the hardest thing of all for laymen from outside Tanganyika to understand.[21]

In deciding to tie educational planning to manpower requirements, Tanganyika automatically became committed to a related policy. The manpower requirements for development could not be met simply by increasing gross output of university graduates, High School Certificate holders and Form IV output. The nation's requirements existed in

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[20] Ibid., p. 17.

[21] In absolute terms the requirements in 1964 for technicians (5,778) and office and skilled manual workers (20,910) are larger than in the occupations requiring degrees, but by comparison with any developed country with a comparable population, they are minute.

specific occupational terms. Many of these skills were required on the job after the individual had achieved the educational base roughly appropriate to the occupation. Many others, however, required specific skill training in an education-training institution before beginning their jobs. Doctors, lawyers, engineers, agronomists, statisticians, and school teachers are examples of this kind of manpower.[22]

Furthermore, the high-level manpower plan in Tanzania defined jobs within its purview in the following manner:

Category A -- Jobs normally requiring a university degree

Category B -- Jobs which normally required from one to three years of formal post-secondary (Form IV) education/training

Category C -- Jobs which normally required secondary school education for standard performance of the full array of tasks involved in the occupation.[23]

A brief look at the facilities and opportunities available at the University College for alleviating some of the existing high-level manpower problems high-lighted the urgency with which the College viewed its function.

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[22]Guy Hunter, Education for a Developing Region -- A Study in East Africa (London: George Allen and Unwin, Limited, 1963), Chapter IV.

[23]Robert L. Thomas, Ibid., p. 2.

1. Common Faculties: B.A., B.Sc., B.A. with Education and B.Sc. with Education. At each of the three Colleges, M.A., M.Sc., and Ph.D. degrees of the University of East Africa could be awarded after candidates had satisfied the conditions prescribed by the University.

2. Professional Faculties: LL.B., LL.M., Ph.D. degree in Law. Other facilities included an Institute of Public Administration; an Institute of Education; an Institute of Adult Education; and an Institute of Swahili Research.

3. What the various facilities and courses in the University College can produce:

(a) Manpower for Category A posts, which included all senior administrative and executive posts in Government and Commerce as well as all the top professional jobs.

(b) Manpower for Category B posts: these were produced directly through the Institute of Public Administration and Adult Education, and the School of Librarianship as well as through the various technician training schemes. The University College also produced graduate secondary school teachers.[24]

The latest Five-Year Development Plan for Tanganyika aimed at self-sufficiency in manpower by 1980 and was

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[24]Directorate of Development and Planning Office of the President, Survey of the High-Level Manpower Requirements and Resources for the Five-Year Development Plan 1964/65 to 1968/69, United Republic of Tanzania, (Government Printer: Dar es Salaam 1964).

designed, among other things, to meet the requirements of the national economy for high-level manpower.[25]

The number of Tanganyika students who would be completing their third, usually final, year in the University of East Africa was estimated as follows:

Year:	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Number:	55	89	123	178	312	408

In comparison, the number of Tanganyika students who would be enrolled in the University of East Africa over the six years in question are given below:

Year:	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Number:	178	312	408	480	504	528

The latest demand-supply picture of the Tanganyika Category A high-level manpower for the 1964-65 period was estimated as shown in Table II.

In regard to the manpower for Category B posts, the training facilities in the Tanzania Ministries were well established. If the secondary school output were to continue at a satisfactory rate, the training facilities should be able to expand at a rate sufficient to meet or nearly meet the total manpower requirements.

In regard to Category C posts in Tanzania, considerable progress would be made in the provision of qualified personnel during the Five-Year Plan.

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[25]The United Republic of Tanzania, Tanganyika Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development, 1st July 1964-30th June, 1969 (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1964).

TABLE II

TANGANYIKA CATEGORY A HIGH-LEVEL MANPOWER -- 1964-65[26]

	1964-69 Requirements	Estimated Supply	Shortfall
Science/Math based occupations (such as, engineers, scientists, and doctors)	1,437	843	- 594
Other occupations requiring special training (graduate teachers, lawyers, social workers, etc.)	943	599	- 344
Occupations open to entrants with non-specialized degrees (such as, B.A.)	525	522	approximately in balance
TOTAL	2,905	1,964	- 941

[26]Directorate of Development and Planning Office of the President, Survey of the High-Level Manpower Requirements and Resources for the Five-Year Development Plan 1964/65 to 1968/69, United Republic of Tanzania (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1964).

Stated in broad general terms, the University College in Dar es Salaam is at the present (a) producing graduates and professional people for Category A posts; (b) producing graduate teachers for secondary schools who are in a very short supply in the whole of East Africa; (c) to a certain extent training manpower for Category B and C posts.

Serious realistic planning in Tanganyika began only with the attainment of political independence. There was complete absence in many cases of reliable statistical information; consequently, even if the College had had the manpower and other resources earlier, it could not have contributed more effectively to the solution of these high-level manpower problems.[27]

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[27]G. Hunter and F. H. Harbison, High-Level Manpower in East Africa: A Preliminary Assessment (Dar es Salaam: Provisional Council of the University of East Africa 1962).

Chapter 4

ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL FORCES IN HIGHER EDUCATION

The Conference on the Development of Higher Education in Africa held in Tananarive, from the third of September through the twelfth of September 1962, has given serious consideration to the pressing problems which African countries would have to face in planning the development of their higher education between now and 1980. These problems related to the staffing, financing, and content of higher education. They also related to the question of cooperation amongst African countries as well as between them and non-African governments and agencies. Goals and targets would be realized. One of the main aims of all the governments of African countries was the improvement of the economic, social and cultural condition of their peoples.[1]

The establishment and development of university institutions in Africa raised fundamental issues of their precise role in African life. Should they merely perform the traditional functions which the universities of Europe have performed for centuries for their societies? The tasks

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[1]UNESCO, The Development of Higher Education in Africa, Report of the Conference on the Development of Higher Education in Africa, Tananarive, 3-12 September 1962 (Paris: UNESCO 1963).

of the universities in the underdeveloped countries of the world were fundamentally not very different from what they were in more highly developed societies. They had to transmit in a more differentiated and more specific way the cultural heritage--the history, the scientific knowledge, the literature--of their society and of the world culture of which their society was a part; they had to train persons who would become members of the elites of their societies to exercise skills in science, technology, management and administration; they had to cultivate the capacity for leadership and a sense of responsibility to their fellow countrymen and they had to train them to be constructively critical, to be able to initiate changes while appreciating what they had inherited. A university system which failed to perform these functions, however useful it might be in other respects, was not doing its job. It would become parasitic on the university systems of other countries and would be unable to cope with the tasks of national development.[2]

The African university was neither the outgrowth of African emancipation nor a unique byproduct of the atomic age. It was an international entity, having accepted the

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[2]Klaus Mehnert, "The Social and Political Role of the Intelligentsia in the New Countries," in Kurt London (ed.), New Nations in a Divided World (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1963); John Friedman, "Intellectuals in Developing Societies," Kyklos, XIII (1964), 4, p. 514.

basic pattern and characteristics of the University as a world institution.

In this chapter the author attempted to examine the University College, Dar es Salaam, as a component of the University of East Africa, to see it in a country that is educationally hungry and whose limited resources prevent the caviar of formal education for all.

In East Africa an imaginative experiment in Higher Education has been taking place. On the twenty-eighth of June, 1963, a Federal University, called the University of East Africa, was founded by the voluntary partnership of three University Colleges, Makerere University College, Kampala, the Royal College, Nairobi, and the University College, Dar es Salaam. It brought together into a loose federal relationship three colleges at very unequal stages of development. Within this relationship the University assumed final authority over the awarding of degrees, the admission of students, the opening of new faculties and departments, and the initiating of new degree courses and subjects. With these powers the University was expected not only to assure that the academic standards of each College were equivalent, it was also to achieve the integrated planning of Higher Education in East Africa. The conception was a grand one, a Federal University transcending three international boundaries with constitutent colleges in each

country but with all the professional faculties being shared so that each served the whole of East Africa.[3]

Coordinated planning of Higher Education through the University did more than achieve welcome economies; it also attracted significant external assistance. Much of the international interest in this University College stemmed from an interest in the University and from the conviction that the development at Dar es Salaam was essential to the success of the regional experiment.[4]

Having outlined the salient features of the Tanzanian mainland education system in Chapter two, this study investigated the attention of the reader to a more detailed look at the features of the University College, Dar es Salaam, and some of the social forces and problems effecting the role and planning of this institution for Higher learning. The manpower element and political forces that were prevailing upon the University College were reviewed in two separate chapters. The skills produced by the education system had to be of such a nature, quality and number as would correspond to current and future time to enable the targets of the

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[3]UNESCO, The Process of Educational Planning in Tanzania (Paris: UNESCO/IIEP 1969) by A. C. Mwingira and Simon Pratt.

[4]Eric Ashby, African Universities and Western Tradition, Godkin Lectures (London: Oxford University Press, 1964); Audrey I. Richards, "The Adaptation of Universities to the African Situation: Review Article," Minerva, Vol. III, No. 3, Spring 1965, pp. 336-342.

Five-Year Plan to be reached within the Plan horizon. They had to be produced at reasonable cost to society.[5]

Entrance levels were but one aspect of the issues which faced the University College, Dar es Salaam, in its efforts to become an African institution. A few arguments against as well as in favor of the present entry level were as follows:

Against the present entry level:

(1) The incongruity of these three University Colleges requiring higher entrance qualifications than most overseas universities.

(2) The likelihood of empty places over the following few years if entry requirements were not lowered.

(3) The probability that many students doing highly specialized work of the Vth and VIth Forms would benefit more from a more widely based program at that stage of their intellectual development.

(4) The possibility that there might develop a bottle-neck at the Vth and VIth Forms should the schools prove unable to increase the number of these forms sufficiently fast.

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[5] Tanganyika Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development. 1st July, 1964-30th June, 1969. Vol. I: General Analysis; Vol. II: The Programs (Government Printer: Dar es Salaam 1964).

In favor of the present entry level:

(1) The financial saving if students were kept on at school for the two years following the Cambridge School Certificate rather than sent to the much more costly University for an extra year.

(2) The need of many students for the somewhat closer tuition that was available in the Vth and VIth Forms.

(3) The damage to the secondary schools if the Vth and VIth Forms were withdrawn.

(4) The reluctance of most university academic staff to teach at the pre-intermediate level.

(5) The possibility that there has not been any bottle-neck at the Vth and VIth Forms and that university entries at a Cambridge School Certificate level would merely fill university places by emptying school places.[6]

Despite all the assurances received from the Government about the absence of any bottle-neck between the IVth Form and Higher Education classes, there was, for reasons of finance and staffing, a limit to the number of places in these classes. There was a rigorous selection at the Form IV level. The difficulty in finding the extra finance

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[6]Creaser Report, Entrance Levels and Degree Structure (Kampala: University of East Africa, 1964).

and staff was acceptable, but the finance needed to increase the number of places in Higher Certificate classes was certainly very much less than that needed to increase the number of university places and that the staffing problem was no less difficult in one case than in the other. There was another reason for the loss of potential university students in Tanganyika: if places in overseas universities were offered to holders of School Certificates who could get admission to Higher Certificate classes, the offers might well be accepted if only because the status of a university student ranked higher than that of a school pupil.[7]

An urgent matter which confronted the University College, Dar es Salaam, since the Independence of Tanganyika was the understandable desire for Africanization of their academic and senior administrative staffs. In his Presidential lecture on "Academic Freedom and University Autonomy in the Economic, Social and Political Context of East Africa," at the Fifth Symposium of the East African Academy, held in Nairobi on the eighth of September, 1967, the Principal of the University College, Dar es Salaam, Dr. Wilbert K. Chagula, stated inter alia that

> ...Universities and Colleges in most developing countries in general, and the University Colleges in East Africa, in particular, still have a predominance of expatriate academic staff some of whom may still hold views on university autonomy and academic freedom

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[7] J. B. Knight, The Costing and Financing of Educational Development in Tanzania (Paris: UNESCO/IIEP, 1969).

> which are either strange or totally inapplicable to East Africa. Because of this, there have been sharp clashes and misunderstanding between politicians, on the one hand, and the university academics on the other, some of whose ideas on university autonomy and academic freedom are not in keeping with the stark realities, needs and aspirations of these rapidly developing countries.[8]

The impression was created that Tanganyika has been stepping up every effort to utilize the services of its Natives in policy-making within the University. Academic communities in Dar es Salaam were well placed in that they enjoy unrivalled opportunities for detecting talent at an early stage. It was in this connection that possession by the academic institute of sufficient funds, under its own control, for post-graduate scholarship awards was so vital.

A few ideas about overseas scholarships in relation to the development of the University College, Dar es Salaam, and the cost of University tuition have illustrated some of the problems that this University College is experiencing. The complex and emotionally charged matter of overseas scholarships concerned this research only with its regard to the growth of the University institution in Dar es Salaam. According to figures supplied by the East African Students' Adviser for North America in Washington, D.C., there were the following appropriate numbers of Tanganyikan students

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[8]Wilbert K. Chagula, "Academic Freedom and University Autonomy in the Economic, Social and Political Context of East Africa," (London: Tanzania High Commission, 1968), p. 3.

enrolled in universities, colleges and junior colleges in North America during the 1961-62 academic year:

United States:	178
Canada:	11

Although the distribution according to race was unavailable, examination of the list of scholars supplied by the Students' Adviser suggested that all but a few of these students in the U.S.A. and Canada were Africans.[9]

According to the Student Advisers for East African University students in London, the following numbers of Dar es Salaam students were enrolled in British Universities in the academic year 1961-62:

Europeans:	22
Asian:	106
African:	62
TOTAL	190

From the same set of data, the following alarming indication was worth noting: from all three East African Colleges there were 1,788 students enrolled in universities, colleges and junior colleges in Britain, Canada, and the United States, not to mention a very considerable number in other overseas countries, while there were 1,385 in the three East African colleges, distributed as follows:

Makerere (including 152 teachers for East Africa students):	951
Royal College:	420

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[9]UNESCO, International Yearbook of Education (Paris: UNESCO 1963).

The University College,
Dar es Salaam: 14[10]

In 1966 over twice as many university students were overseas as were in East Africa. However, as facilities in East Africa developed, the numbers going abroad were to be substantially reduced and were eventually to include only those in highly specialized fields not available in East Africa and those desirous of post-graduate work.[11]

Serious consideration had to be given to the aspect of the cost of being an African University which the University College at Dar es Salaam was bravely facing. The Tanganyika Five-Year Development Plan[12] pointed out that it was twenty-five percent less costly to keep a student overseas than at the University of East Africa and said that after the annual intake of Tanganyika students reached four hundred fifty, overseas scholarships would be used for any further studies if the cost per additional student at the University had not by then come down by this twenty-five percent. This made the University College, Dar es Salaam, an extremely costly institution. The recurrent costs were still very high

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[10] African Abstracts, Vol. XIII, No. 2, 1962 (International African Institute; London 1963); also see Africa Research Bulletin and African Recorder.

[11] African Recorder, Vol. V, No. 5, 1966; see also Africa 69/70 (Compiled and edited by the editorial staff of Jeune Afrique (New York: Africana Publishing Corporation, 1969).

[12] Tanganyika Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development, 1st July, 1964-30th June, 1969. Vol. I: General Analysis (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1964).

during the University's period of initial growth and it was proposed to raise the enrollment of Tanganyika students on degree courses from four hundred thirty-five in 1964-65 to twelve hundred fifty in 1967-68. Because of this high cost, the Ministry of Education proposed that the annual intake of Tanganyika students to the University of East Africa should only rise above four hundred fifty if this additional intake could be accommodated at a cost no greater than that of sending them overseas. The total number of Tanganyika students on degree courses at the University would rise from four hundred thirty-five in 1964-65 to fourteen hundred ninety-eight in 1968-69, if this condition were to be satisfied.[13]

Provision has also been made in the projected cost estimates of the Plan to continue to maintain at Government expense a number of students overseas. The continuing interest of other countries in helping provide places at their universities at little or no cost to Tanganyika was most welcome. Clearly, however, as the University of East Africa grew to maturity and the manpower needs of the country became more specific, so the value of this form of aid would become more closely related to its effectiveness in meeting specific, often highly specialized, needs for particular courses which could not be provided in an economical manner in East Africa.

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[13]Ibid., p. 64; Thomas Report; Tanzania, United Republic of, Ministry of Communications and Works. Manpower and Utilization Report, by Dean A. Lund (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1965).

This Five-Year Plan envisaged a total expenditure of up to 4,902,000 pounds, sterling, on University development, of which the agreed plan of expansion at the University College, Dar es Salaam, entailed an expenditure of 2,040,000 pounds, sterling, between 1964-67. The balance would be needed as part of the next University Triennial Plan if the enrollment at University College, Dar es Salaam, was to be raised to equal the total enrollment of Tanganyika students in the University of East Africa, provided, as stated earlier, that the recurrent expenditure per student dropped sufficiently to allow potential students to be sent to the country's own University and not overseas.[14]

Partly but not entirely, Dar es Salaam University College was expensive because it was still small. Its staff/student ratios were generous. All members of the staff were housed, almost all the students lived in halls of residence and each received a comparatively generous bursary, as well as a full scholarship. These standards, the result partly from necessity, partly from determination to bring the best to Tanganyikan education and partly from the transplanting of patterns of student life traditional to British universities, had resulted in colleges which even Tanganyika could only just afford despite their tiny enrollment.

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[14] Five-Year Plan, op. cit.,; Knight, op. cit.; Tanzania, Ministry of Education, A Short Progress Report of the Ministry of Education for 1966 (Dar es Salaam: Ministry of Education, 1966).

In Dar es Salaam, the capital cost per student place had been brought down by the introduction of double rooms, by concentrating student facilities in a student union, rather than duplicating them throughout the halls of residence, and by the construction of a single college cafeteria rather than separate kitchens and dining rooms in each hall of residence. Each of these decisions at the time seemed radical, and they were certainly introduced only after most careful discussion and some reluctant acquiescence. Yet without further and possibly drastic economies in the cost per student, Tanganyika would be unable to afford the capital and recurrent costs that would be involved in a major and rapid expansion of University education.

The East Africanization of the University College, Dar es Salaam, also involved the promotion and encouragement of research focused on East African problems and making the fruits of research relevant to the needs of local development. To date, the most recent draft recommendations of the Conference on the Role of the University College, Dar es Salaam, in a Socialist Tanzania, held on the eleventh of March, 1967, recommended the following suggestions to cope with this problem of staffing:[15]

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[15] Conference on the Role of the University College, Dar es Salaam, in a Socialist Tanzania (Dar es Salaam: Ministry of Education 1967) (mimeographed) (The Arusha Declaration on Socialism was approved by the TANU National Committee which met at Arusha in northern Tanzania from 26 to 29 January, 1967).

(i) The Conference was of the opinion that in the future less reliance should be placed by the College on overseas agencies or foundations for both recruitment and salaries of staff; (ii) The Conference recommended that the College should ensure that the majority of its academic staff and all its teachers of the social sciences were sympathetic to Tanzania Socialism; (iii) The Conference recommended that the College give top priority to the East Africanization of its academic, senior administrative and library staff, and that the East African Governments should be asked to provide the necessary finance for fellowships or post-graduate scholarships; (iv) The Conference particularly recommended that the following posts at the College should be East Africanized as soon as possible: (a) College Administrative posts, (b) directorships of national institutes at the College, (c) the office of the Dean of Students, (d) the wardenship of halls of residence, (e) the sub-wardenships of halls of residence; (v) It was recommended that East African staff at the College be encouraged to take study leave in socialist countries; (vi) The Conference in general recommended that the goal for the University College in the area of staffing should be to develop a university institution which exemplified and played a leading role in the

program of socialism and self-reliance as enunciated in the Arusha Declaration.[16] If the resolutions emanating from this Conference were fully implemented--and it would be extremely difficult for the College to resist them--the students would lose still more freedom of choice of what subjects they wanted to study and time to study them in. One is reminded of the University College, Dar es Salaam, students who in October, 1967, demonstrated against a bill to amend the National Service Act. The students denounced the Act as forced labor and their slogans made unfavorable comparisons between colonial rule and the present regime.[17]

East Africanization of the University College, Dar es Salaam, as was the case with the other two University Colleges, also involved promotion of mature East African Scholars, already on the staff, to senior positions such as Senior Lectureships, Readerships, Professorships and Deanships. These were positions of influence and great responsibility in the College. Although promotions had not been rapid in the past, the expectation was that the present East African cadre would move into these "high-powered" positions in the near future when some of the Senior

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[16] Tanzania, The Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1967) (mimeographed).

[17] The Tanganyika Standard, 18th October, 1967, pp. 1-3; Minerva, Vol. V, No. 3, Spring 1967, pp. 451-452.

expatriates retired.[18] Over ninety percent of the East Africans on Dar es Salaam's academic staff in 1966 had less than five years each of teaching experience at the University level. This illustrated the point that one could not Africanize senior ranks of academic staff the same way one would the Civil Service or quasi-government boards.[19]

Table III showed an interesting analysis of the numbers of East Africans in Senior position in the three University Colleges.

TABLE III

EAST AFRICANS IN SENIOR ACADEMIC POSTS, 1967-1968

College	Senior Lecturers	Readers	Professors & Heads of Department	Asst. Deans	Deans
Makerere	6	--	2	--	2
Nairobi	7	--	5	--	2
Dar es Salaam	2	--	--	3	--
TOTAL	15	--	7	3	4

Note: The above figures did not include honorary, visiting and part-time members.[20]

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[18]Tanzania, Ministry of Education, A Short Report of the Ministry of Education for 1966 (Dar es Salaam: Ministry of Education, 1966) (mimeographed).

[19]Aggrey S. Awori, "East African University must be Africanised," East Africa Journal, Vol. IV, No. 8, December 1965, pp. 29-34.

[20]University of East Africa, Progress Report of the Special Lectureships Scheme, 1967 (Dar es Salaam: University of East Africa, 1968) (mimeographed).

The sociological implications for the University College caused by the Special Lectureship Scheme was a further strong force that needs explanation. This Scheme tended to accelerate the ambitious efforts by the University College, Dar es Salaam, to East Africanize its programs, staff, and curricula.[21] Special Lectureship appointments were intended for mature scholars who would soon be fully qualified for established posts in the University. The suprenumerary Special Lectureships gave the University College(s) an opportunity to employ a promising scholar imme iately in a department where a vacancy might not exist then. However, a Supernumerary Special Lecturer was appointed with the intention of bringing him into an established post within two years; East African citizens already on establishment at one of the constituent colleges of the University of East Africa might also apply because the Scheme offers salary support for a full year, or equivalent, during which the Special Lecturer was freed from teaching duties to devote full time to research in East Africa. For Special Lecturers already on establishment, this was accomplished by providing funds to the College to provide salary support for a replacement.[22] The Special Lectureships

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[21] Ibid.

[22] A more detailed description of this Scheme will be found in the following document: A. C. Mwingira, Education Policy and Development Policy in Tanzania (Dar es Salaam: Institute of Adult Education, February, 1966).

Scheme has had its shortcomings. However, the principal ideal was that of the growth of the University College as a genuine University in an East Africa where a myriad problem and rapid changes might not make such a development easy. The chief condition of long-term success was seen as the involvement of highly intelligent citizens of the countries concerned who, knowing what a university was, as distinct from other training institutions, were equipped and enabled to control the destinies of the University of East Africa.

University planning in a developing country was a part of national planning. It had thus come to be regarded by the Government of Tanzania. As President Nyerere had repeatedly pointed out, Higher Education in Tanganyika, at this stage of its development, was a social privilege and not a personal right.[23] Any assistance given for posts for East Africans, and care taken to see that local people were prepared for posts of responsibility within the University, would be achievements somewhat empty in character if the teaching in the University College remained devoid of East African content in areas where it need not be. Hence, there was serious and sincere concern to see that syllabuses, wherever appropriate, included African, especially East African material, so that they might be better related to

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[23]Julius K. Nyerere, After the Arusha Declaration: Presidential Address to the National Conference of the Tanganyika African National Union, Mwanza, 16 October 1967 (Dar es Salaam: TANU Pamphlet, 1967).

the needs of the local students.[24] A great deal of thought in recent years has been devoted at the University College, Dar es Salaam, to the adaptation to Tanganyikan and East African circumstances of the content of courses. It was neither a straightforward nor easily solved problem. It involved far more than merely inserting an African content into some of the papers offered within a subject. Rather it was a question of orienting the whole course naturally to an African perspective, keeping its intellectual content as high and, its reading challenging, as in more traditionally organized. A student who took history at Dar es Salaam was expected to be as fully extended intellectually as any student studying a more traditionally structured history syllabus. The course was not necessarily parochial; it was as international in its reference and as intellectual as any history syllabus. But it concentrated upon the study either of Africa or upon some of the great historical events of the modern world, such as the major revolutions and the rise of the modern industrial state. Admittedly it was a controversial syllabus but it was also a very stimulating and exciting one. This particular University College attempted to cultivate subjects of universal concern and validity; it also cultivated, by means of techniques of universal

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[24]This ideology permeates all of President Nyerere's recent speeches and publications. See: Freedom and Unity: Uhuru na Umoja (Oxford University Press: Dar es Salaam, 1966).

validity, the study of their own parochial African inheritance and environment. This involved for the Tanganyikan a far-reaching reorientation of the form and content of Higher Education but it also afforded it a new zest. President Nyerere, in his essay Education for Self-Reliance, has provided a concise statement of the purposes he had in mind for education in Tanganyika, "...to prepare young people to live in and to serve society, and to transmit the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes of the society."[25] Nyerere believed that Tanganyika, like other countries that had received their political independence, had to escape from European prejudices and preconceptions if her citizens were to find the right way to combat the long and painful nightmare of poverty, ignorance and disease in which they were imprisoned.

In Tanganyika most people would live in a village all their lives.[26] It was there that the promises of the

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[25]Julius K. Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1967) (mimeographed).

[26]It has been found necessary to provide a definition of the term "village" in this context, viz.: "A village is an area or place wherein people, not necessarily of the same class, have come to live in a small aggregation of houses (or huts). A village does not include any local government-defined settlements (townships, towns, etc.) nor does it include any settlements which have been established according to a plan (e.g., estate villages, urban settlements, etc.)" The distinction is necessary to clarify the difference between existing "villages" and the proposed new village settlements.

twentieth century had to be fulfilled if they were not to seem a cruel joke, and so as the President said in his Education for Self-Reliance, "...it is the villages which must be made into places where people live a good life." Prime Minister Nyerere set the theme for the Government's task early in his initial term of office, when he said, "While other countries aim to reach the moon...we must aim to reach the villages."[27] However, this improvement would not come automatically, indeed it was common for life to improve dramatically in the cities while the countryside stayed unchanged or even sank still further into poverty and neglect. At the moment the educational system in Tanganyika, which was much like that of any European country, made the coming of the good life to the village far too slow, if not impossible.[28]

Not all children go to school in Tanganyika. The country could not afford to send more than half of them to primary schools and of those about one in ten would go on to one of the free secondary schools, and still fewer would receive bursaries to study at the University. For those who

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[27]Press Statement, December 1961, repeated in: Julius Nyerere, "It's Up to Us: Uhuru na Kazi," Africa Today, December 1961, p. 5.

[28]The objectives of the settlement program are also given in a Government Service Press Release: "Rural Settlement Commission Established," B/751/63 LG 5/2, Dar es Salaam, May 9 1963, and a booklet issued by the R.S.C.,: Rural Settlement Planning (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1964).

did, the rewards were immense, and a Dar es Salaam graduate could expect a house, a car and servants that many English graduates might envy. The school has therefore become the one intensely competed-for path of escape out of a village soon to be only a hated memory of dirt and mud and hard, empty lives. For too its purpose was to choose a few children for the good life which lay elsewhere. Under Nyerere, stout efforts were attempted never again to make the Tanganyikan peasants feel like the forgotten children. His sincere efforts to steer university students in research that were truly Africa-centered and in this case, that were concerned with matters and topics which were of real interest to the Tanganyikans, were only to be alluded. The social reality in Tanganyika village settlements was a reality in which old customs were yielding place to new. What was important was to regulate that change so that all that was valuable in the old was preserved in the new. It was a university education in Tanganyika that had hitherto made it quite certain that a graduate would not fall back into the abyss of the poverty-stricken-soul-destroying life of the village. With a university degree, he was safe for life and he might confidently expect never to touch a hoe again. Given a framework composed of economically sound regional development plans and a maximum of consensus, it was here concluded that implementation of villagization would likely prove worthwhile. On the whole, the East African University Colleges had reinforced the urban bias of the colonialists

without even stimulating the resistance to injustice which a colonial education aroused in the days before Independence.[29]

Nyerere never hesitated to demand a great deal from those who worked at his side to make a new Tanganyika, and the university was asked to carry a heavy load. It had to be responsible for its graduates' skills and its graduates' attitudes during the difficult years when entering students would have skills which were shaky and likely to become shakier as earlier education concentrated less upon them, and attitudes which had for years been distorted by divorcing the child from the community.

These dilemmas were much more immediate and pressing for the student as he wondered whether he could do all that was expected of him.

The Government knew that for another generation at least only a few citizens would receive a higher education and reap the rewards that this brought. A Ministry of Education poster compared these few to the messengers sent out by a starving and isolated village to bring back food. If they ate it themselves, they would have betrayed those who remained behind in hope. The University College of Dar es Salaam would fittingly complete Tanganyika's

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[29]Julius Nyerere, Democracy and the Party System (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press 1963; Julius Nyerere's Speech at Cairo University, April 10, 1967, as reported in East Africa Journal, Vol. IV, No. 2, May 1967, p. 27.

educational revolution if its students did not disappoint those who still waited in the village for their return.[30]

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[30]See for example: "Nyerere Opens College...Call for Realism," Tanganyika Standard, October 23, 1963; "We're Like Commandos," Tanganyika Sunday News, Republic Day Supplement, December 9, 1962; "We Work Together...Swai," Tanganyika Standard, June 22, 1963. The Tanganyika Standard contained several enlightening reports during this period, viz.: April, 1963-July, 1963.

Chapter 5

HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE POLITICAL FRAMEWORK

Since independence came to mainland Tanzania in December, 1961,[1] one of the most significant trends in government policy has been the search for national identity.[2] Both the creation of national unity and the expression of that unity in political and economic action have been among the preoccupations of the government. Politically, this trend has been reflected most strongly in the transformation of the country into a one-party state, albeit with ingenious provision for the expression of the popular will. Politically, administratively and economically there has been a deliberate effort to create a centralized infrastructure for the new nation state. This very trend has been closely discernible in the changes which have been brought about in the organization of education, its administration and its control. The reform of the structure of education after

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[1]The United Republic of Tanzania, instituted in April 1964, combines the former Republics of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. Under the legal agreement upon which the United Republic is based, education is NOT a Union matter. Zanzibar has its own separate education system and this chapter refers only to the system of chiefly Higher Education in mainland Tanzania.

[2]Immanuel Wallerstein, Africa: The Politics of Unity (New York: Random House, 1967).

independence both reflects what has been happening in the wider society and reinforces those steps towards national unity. The network of schools, which extended into the remotest corners of the country and which had in its teaching force an influential and literate leadership, has been viewed as a powerful agency for the transformation of society. This was the approach which underlay President Julius Nyerere's pamphlet Education for Self-Reliance, where he wrote, "Only when we are clear about the kind of society we are trying to build can we design our educational service to serve our goals."[3] However, the President was more concerned in 1967 with the kind of society to be developed within the framework of national unity, because by 1967 the organization and administration of education had already been centralized to the point where it had become an effective tool for the President's purposes.[4] Since 1961 the trend in educational reform and adaptation has been towards integration, unification and greater control from the center. To more clearly see the University College, Dar es Salaam, in the socialist framework of President Nyerere, a closer and composite look at Ujamaa,

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[3]Julius Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1967), p. 3. (mimeographed).

[4]See J. Cameron, "The Integration of Education in Tanganyika," Comparative Education Review, 11 (February 1967), pp. 38-56, which gives a full and useful account of the process.

his Education for Self-Reliance and his now famous Arusha Declaration was unavoidable.[5]

The theme of Education for Self-Reliance was the use of education to create a new and appropriate kind of society in Tanganyika. The concept of this new society, with its roots in the traditional past of Tanganyika, was first clearly stated in Julius Nyerere's earlier pamphlet Ujamaa.[6] In his definition of Ujamaa, the President developed the concept of the traditional family as the basis of a socialist society in twentieth-century Tanganyika. In Education for Self-Reliance the aim was stated thus: "We have said that we want to create a socialist society which is based on three principles: equality and respect for human dignity; sharing of the resources which are produced by our efforts; work by everyone and exploitation by none."[7]

Socialism, as Nyerere declared in 1962, "is an attitude of mind." What had to be curbed in the leadership was not only its affluence, but the elitist values which made such affluence respectable. To this end, the President

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[5]Julius Nyerere, Ujamaa (Dar es Salaam: TANU Pamphlet 1962). President Julius K. Nyerere, Arusha Declaration: Answers to Questions(Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1967).

[6]Julius K. Nyerere, Ujamaa (Dar es Salaam: TANU Pamphlet 1962). Ujamaa is one of those Swahili words which can not be satisfactorily translated. For present purposes "familyhood," "brotherhood," or "friendship" would suffice.

[7]Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance, op. cit., p. 5.

published Education for Self-Reliance, a month after the Arusha Declaration. Hitherto, the education system of Tanganyika had been looked upon as a means of escape from rural society, not a means of enriching it; a university degree, paid for by the toil of the peasants, was a final guarantee that a man would never "fall back into the abyss of the poverty-stricken, soul-destroying life of the village."[8]

In his paper Nyerere proposed--and the Ministry of Education followed this up--that primary and secondary schooling be regarded not as steps on a ladder to the University College, Dar es Salaam, but as complete educational experiences in themselves. With changes in the curriculum and schemes to make schools increasingly self-reliant economically, pupils would be encourage not only to return to rural life but to enrich it. The new education had to "inculcate a sense of commitment to the total community;" it had also to "emphasize cooperative endeavor, not individual advancement; stress concepts of equality and the responsibility to give service which went with any special ability, whether it be in carpentry, in animal husbandry, or in academic pursuits;" in particular, it had to counteract the intellectual arrogance which led the elite to despise those who were less well educated, those

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[8]Irene Brown, "Tanzania's Education Revolution," Venture, 19, 6 (June 1967), pp. 13-17.

who were just human beings, including their own parents. If the present elite generation had to be covered into socialism, then perhaps their successors could be educated up to it.[9]

Political independence opened up the possibility of changes in the colonial educational system. Instead of being challenged, the capitalist mode of production seemed to be strengthened by the end of colonialism. Owing to the development of their technology, through control of the international money market and as buyers of raw materials which the Africans, newly independent especially, were anxious to seel, the former colonial powers were well equipped to continue imperialist domination in a new guise.[10] The Arusha Declaration was Tanganyika's declaration of intent to escape from this vicious imperialist circle by opting for socialism. Education was expected to play an important part in the implementation of the principles of that historic document.

Most African states professed one form of socialism or another as their philosophy of government. Tanganyika was one of the few to begin making the transition from rhetoric to reality. Because conditions in each society were different, there was no sacred book from which all

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[9]Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance, op. cit., p. 5.

[10]J. Clagett Taylor, The Political Development of Tanganyika (London: Oxford University Press, 1963).

could draw inspiration. Still, whatever its circumstances might be, an ideal society should always, Nyerere asserts, be based on three essentials: equality, freedom and unity.[11]

As an ideology of development, Ujamaa was a mixture of African tradition with the best that the colonial and other external influences had to offer to Tanganyika. The notion of kazi, work, and the degradation of id eness was rooted both in the Protestant ethic and in the African tradition of obligation to work. From the colonial experience and other outside sources came the techniques of mass social organization and large scale economic production, but without their underlying social ethos.

Socialiam was basically an attitude people had towards wealth and their fellow man. It was on this point that Nyerere differed from most of the African socialist thinkers; for example, from the drafters of the Kenya Sessional Paper No. ten of 1965,[12] who placed greater emphasis on production accompanied by the expectation that it would be equitably distributed, but said little about the purpose of wealth itself in a socialist society. The M-jamaa, Nyerere said, was one who used wealth for the

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[11]Julius Nyerere, Freedom and Unity/Uhuru na Umoja (Oxford University Press: Dar es Salaam, 1966).

[12]Government of Kenya, African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya (Nairobi: Government of Kenya, 1965).

benefit of society, not as a means to dominate others or as a symbol of ostentation.

However, Nyerere had not yet grappled seriously with the problem of incentives in Ujamaa: that question was attempted in his later writings. Nevertheless, Nyerere's ideas of Ujamaa was acceptable to most Tanganyikans. Several factors were responsible for this success. He asserted that socialism was essentially an attitude of mind. He stated that African socialism was simply an extension of the values of the traditional African extended family to the modern nation-state and not the result of a class struggle or a proletarian revolution. Therefore, the Tanganyikan need not radically change his inherited pattern of life to be a M-jamaa, that an African is born socialized. These assertions seemed to evoke a ready response among his supporters.[13]

The absence in Tanganyika of an African professional middle class, with its own particular interests to oppose to socialist ideas, was a further factor in favor of Nyerere's ideas. In this respect, there was a marked contrast with the situation in, for instance, Ghana or Nigeria.

But the most important factor on the whole scene was Nyerere himself, his personality and style of politics. An

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[13]William Tordoff, Government and Politics in Tanzania (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, No. 2, 1967); and William H. Friedland, "Basic Social Trends," in William H. Friedland and Carl Rosberg, Jr. (eds.), African Socialism (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964).

unostentatious, humble and simple-living man, Julius Nyerere portrayed almost exactly the kind of leader that was expected in a society of Ujamaa. Conscious of the political importance of emulation in public life, Nyerere strove, not without success, to live by what he preached.

The political aims of the Education for Self-Reliance were social and vocational. It was the task of the University College to help "inculcate a sense of commitment to the total community and help the pupils accept the values appropriate to our kind of future, not those appropriate to our colonial past."[14] This social-political role of the College was crucially important at the secondary and university levels because of the patent danger that the students in post-primary education would become alienated from the rural community from which they came. It was there that the dangers of elitism were strongest.

That political document held a strong vocational obligation for the College in Dar es Salaam. To assist primary school children in acquiring the vocational skills which would prepare them for their roles as better farmers in a predominantly agricultural society, seemed a heavy burden for the College to bear. Through the development of such skills at school the farmers of the future would be able to contribute substantially to that improvement of

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[14]Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance, op. cit., p. 5.

agriculture which was at the heart of economic improvement through self-reliance.

Each of those roles, the social and the vocational, had implications for the other. The social role of the University College bore upon the attitude toward farming and the recognition of its importance for the future. On the other hand, the vocational role of the College bore upon the social role because, without a consequent improvement in agriculture and the emergence of the good life in rural society, there was a danger that the social vision would become a mockery.

In the year of independence and immediately afterwards, it became clear that Tanganyika had a woefully inadequate number of high-level administrators and other personnel educated to a comparable level. In Education for Self-Reliance, President Nyerere forcefully made this point: "So little education had been provided that in December, 1961, we had too few people with the necessary educational qualifications even to man the administration of government as it was then, much less undertake the big economic and social development work which was essential."[15] The need in 1961 was for high-level manpower. The whole educational atmosphere of that time, reinforced by the

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[15]Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance, op. cit., p. 4.

recommendations and resolutions of the Ministers of Education of African States in the Addis Ababa Conference,[16] required that priority should be given to secondary and higher education in order to produce the necessary high-level manpower.

By 1966, a combination of the upward growth of existing primary schools, the conversion of the seven-year primary course, and the decline in opportunities generally for the primary school graduates, revived the problem of the school-leaver in a new and more acute form. Concern throughout the country became widespread and, in this atmosphere, people began again to consider the kind of education that ought to be provided in the primary school for the majority of pupils who would never go beyond standard VII. Already in 1966, therefore, the officers of the Ministry of Education, the staff of the Institute of Education of the University College of Dar es Salaam, and other educators began to work upon schemes for the reintroduction of primary school agriculture. They began to turn to a curriculum based on primary school agriculture as the solution, or a partial solution, to the problem of the primary school-leavers. This revival of interest in

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[16]Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa, Addis Ababa, May 15-21, 1961, Final Report.

agriculture in the primary school predated the appearance of Education for Self-Reliance.[17]

Other relevant and significant events also occurred in 1966. Among the rapidly increasing numbers of those who had been educated in secondary schools and higher institutions, dangerously elitist attitudes were becoming more and more evident. In Education for Self-Reliance President Nyerere had much to say about these attitudes of inequality, intellectual arrogance and intense individualism among the young people who go through our schools.

The products of this system expressed what the government regarded as elitist attitudes in 1966, when some three hundred students at the University College of Dar es Salaam voiced their opposition to participation in the government's plan for a form of national service which would have enabled them to repay a poor society for the privilege of their own education.[18] This student strike, and the dangers for the society that it symbolized, were major factors in turning the leaders' attention to a revision of the educational system. "The events of 1966," wrote President Nyerere, "do

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[17]Ministry of Education, Tanganyika, Development Plan of the Ministry of Education, 1964-69 (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1965) (mimeographed).

[18]The Tanganyika Standard, October 1966-March 1967.

suggest, however, that a more thorough examination of the education we are providing must be made."[19]

There was another facet of the atmosphere of 1966 that was relevant to any consideration of Education for Self-Reliance. The Five-Year Development Plan that was launched in July, 1964, had been based on assumptions about the availability of massive overseas aid to Tanzania. By 1966 it was clear that much of this aid was not forthcoming, or that it could only be obtained on conditions that threatened the independence and political integrity of the country.[20] It appeared more and more necessary that Tanzania should go it alone to a great degree, and the process of reappraisal that followed culminated in the Arusha Declaration of February, 1967.[21] This important statement of policy defined the socialist goal for Tanganyikan society to be achieved largely through the self-reliant efforts of its own people and through development of the land. In the words of the Arusha Declaration:

> Because the economy of Tanzania depends and will continue to depend on agriculture and animal husbandry, Tanzania can live well without depending on help from

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[19] Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance, op. cit., p. 15.

[20] Clyde Sanger, "Tanzania's Presidential Commission Report," East African Journal, 11, No. 3, June 1965, pp. 19-23; See also "Tanzania Annual Bibliography," Tanzania Notes and Records, No. 65, March 1966, pp. 113-122; No. 66, December 1966 pp. 231-238; No. 67, June 1967, pp. 79-92.

[21] The Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance (Dar es Salaam: Publicity Section, TANU, 1967).

> outside if they use their land properly. Land is the basis of human life and all Tanzanians should use it as a valuable investment for future development.[22]

There were two characteristics of political forces on higher education relevant to Tanganyika. Firstly, there was the political aspect--enlightening the citizenry on the nation's politics, ideals and principles; that is, on democracy, socialism and self-reliance. Secondly, there was the economic aspect--instruction in the economic realities of the country. Socialism and self-reliance were not simply political ideologies, they were also economic philosophies. Self-reliance, for example, meant that, while Tanzania would still seek foreign assistance in terms of capital and technical assistance, the major part of the country's developmental effort would come from within, that is, from Tanzanians themselves. Excessive dependence upon foreign assistance was considered unrealistic, as well as politically undesirable. Thus, from the standpoint of economics, self-reliance required, in addition to more effort through hard work, that Tanganyikans be fully aware of some of the economic realities of the country. The pressure exercised by these political convictions would mean imparting to the people not only the nation's politics and ideals but also some of the economic and social realities of Tanganyika.

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[22]Ibid., p. 17.

Furthermore, the democratic approach to socialism and self-reliance required the participation of everyone, or at least the majority of the citizens. The democratic element implied that the success and coherence of the institutions depended heavily upon how adequately they were understood and how readily they were accepted by the majority of the people of Tanganyika.[23]

Hence, Tanzania, through her political party and government, had opted to include political education in the list of first things to be done. One of the most important aims of political education in Tanganyika was to develop citizens who were also active, so that they were not left out and merely on the receiving end--having no meaningful role to play in shaping the destiny of their country.[24]

The purpose of education in a socialist state was to equip the workers and peasants to build their own society and to carry on the struggle against domination by any other classes. Consequently, a socialist education was to aim at reaching all workers and peasants. The system had also provided ideological arms for the workers and peasants and their spokesmen.

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[23]L. Gray Cowan, The Dilemmas of African Independence (New York: Walker and Company, 1968).

[24]Washington Okumu and T. R. Odhiambo, Africanisation and Staffing Policy in the University of East Africa: A Study (Nairobi: The Committee of Action) (Action Study Series No. 1. 1965) (cyclostyled).

It was obviously unrealistic to expect that the structure of education was to include all Tanganyikans. At every juncture, the system was hemmed in by a lack of money. The Arusha Declaration had decisively rejected the attitude which was part of a wider dependency ethic which looked to imperialism to provide a Marshall Plan for Africa, and which stressed Africa's right to foreign aid. In the case of Tanganyika, all youth who participated in work should have had the opportunity to sit in the classroom to acquire rudimentary skills, while the rest of the education could take place on the job. Pressure on school buildings and teachers was slowly being relieved by a system of rotation and by securing the services of the secondary school students. With regards to the adults, it was easy to see how they could be exposed to continuing education coming from students and teachers in the field. Collectively, the workers and students in factories and on farms were gradually being trained to be able to manage elementary accounting, digest technical information and political analysis and put into print their own experiences.[25]

Ideology, the second of the two imperatives mentioned earlier, was the particular responsibility of the higher levels of the educational system. For the next few years,

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[25]J. King, "Planning Non-Formal Education in Tanzania," in Educational Development in Africa, Vol. XI (Paris:UNESCO/IIEP, 1969).

the institutions of higher learning in Tanganyika faced not only the usual task of consolidating the work done at lower levels, but the formidable one of actively combating bourgeois attitude produced by colonial and neo-colonial schooling. The object had to be to challenge the minds of the students to recognize the superiority of the socialist worldview as it was applied to their particular field of academic study. Courses on Socialism, per se, were marginal to the achievement of victory in the realm of ideas. The two prerequisites for a successful socialist orientation of University College students in Dar es Salaam and institutions of higher learning were, firstly, the need for committed socialist staff, especially within certain strategic social disciplines; and secondly, the need for a concerted effort to illumine the social realities of Tanzania and Africa, in a perspective that was hostile to imperialism and class domination.[26]

Fears about the outcome of this change in the educational system were bound to be expressed. Some would be genuine fears, others would be the out-pourings of the enemies of socialism, who would undoubtedly appear as prophets of doom. They started with the belief that socialism

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[26]William H. Friedland, "The Evolution of Tanganyika's Political System," Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs: Program of Eastern African Studies, Occasional Paper No. 24. (Syracuse: Syracuse University, 1967) (mimeographed).

in Tanganyika would be a disaster which would mean economic stagnation; they assumed that there was no prospect of increasing education until some distant date; they put forward the blatantly fallacious argument that education for ideological purposes was incompatible with education which gave technical skills; and they predicted an absolute decline in standards. The metropolitan countries had raised much the same sort of fears about African independence, and yet the post-independence schooling was improved in Tanganyika both in quantity and from pedagogic standpoints.[27] Teachers with better training were produced, more creative teaching methods were employed, while some ultra-modern features such as new mathematics and language laboratories had a place in the educational system. Similarly, socialist revolutions, while changing the framework of instruction, had always sought and attained higher standards of skills and techniques.

The Arusha Declaration was a declaration of intent. With characteristic freshness, President Nyerere compared it to a young Christian's confirmation.[28] The main road to

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[27]Tanzania Government, Annual Report, Ministry of Education 1963; Statistics 1964 (Government Printer: Dar es Salaam, 1965).

[28]Julius K. Nyerere, After the Arusha Declaration: Presidential Address to the National Conference of the Tanganyika African National Union, Mwanza, 16 October 1967 (Government Printer: Dar es Salaam, 1967) (mimeographed).

socialism had been defined in the Arusha Declaration and unanimously supported by all the citizens of Tanganyika.

The starting point of the Declaration was a concern for the man who represented over ninety percent of Tanganyika's population, whose efforts won virtually all Tanzania's foreign exchange, whose tax-enforced savings pay for much of the national development, including the educational system which produced his rulers, and yet whose daily life was still characterized by grinding poverty, ignorance and debilitating disease--the peasant. From this starting point the rest followed. Tanganyika declared its intention to fight the three interrelated problems of the growth of elitist tendencies within the government and party leadership; the dominance of the minority urban interests over the majority rural interests; and the influence of capital over external policies. The Arusha Declaration was Tanganyika's declaration of intent to escape from the imperialists circle by opting for socialism. Education was expected to play an important part in the implementation of the principles of that historic document.

Socialism was a political and economic ideology. In Tanganyika a socialist approach had to recognize the importance of political, as well as economic problems, and these two elements were stressed more vigorously in educational policy. The worst enemy of any socialist policy was bad economic performance. There could be no political

consciousness in a developing country like Tanganyika without a high economic content. For many reasons, some of them dating back to the struggle for independence, there were assertive expectations for a better life in Tanganyika. It was the purpose of the policy of self-reliance, as declared by TANU in the Arusha Declaration, to explain to the population that there would be no economic miracles, that economic growth first of all depended on two conditions: hard work and intelligence. The development of Tanganyika had to be the job of Tanganyikans. As the Arusha Declaration pointed out,[29] this did not exclude the use of friendly assistance, but Tanzania did not want to become dependent on outside assistance. For East Africa, the Arusha Declaration created new opportunities for economic cooperation, taking into account the existing realities in the region.

For the economic future of the country, finding the correct relationship between the peasants, the government and the private sector was an extremely important task of public policy. Without increased production in the peasant sector, a socialist policy had no chance of success. It was a political task to create harmony between the peasants' own interest to earn a higher income and their part in the

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[29]Tanzania, The Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1967) (mimeographed).

national interest to develop the country. Private and social incentives had to be integrated.[30]

The Tanganyikan peasant population, like people the world over, were adept at disregarding calls for change if the method used was restricted to exhortation alone. If the imaginative mobilization value of socialism through self-reliance, as clearly expressed in the Arusha Declaration, was not to be squandered and lost, the party, cooperative and community development personnel at the branch level, had to be transformed into a leadership group able to understand their role in promoting socialist development.[31] It was only one year following the adoption of a one-party constitution n October, 1965, that Tanganyika embraced the policies of socialism and self-reliance. In the Arusha Declaration the party (TANU) was called upon to produce a training program for all levels of leadership. If the University College in Dar es Salaam wished to remain an integral part of that program, it had to show how it could most effectively participate in that enormous task.

Hence, Tanganyika through her political party and government opted to include political education in her list

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[30]Tanzania, United Republic of, Ministry of Agriculture, Manpower Utilization Report, Agricultural Division by John B. Seal, Jr. (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1964).

[31]An analysis of Kivukoni College, Tanzania's existing leadership college, is an interesting by-product of Tanganyika's objective to build a socialist society.

of first things to be done. One of the most important aims of political education in Tanganyika was to develop citizens who were not only deeply committed to the principles and practices which the country held dear, but citizens who were also active, so that they were not left out and merely on the receiving end, reaching no purposeful role to fulfill in determining the destiny of their country. For the students this political aim at imparting a sense of purpose and service to the country, had become a challenge that was forcefully accepted. Students needed to know, for example, why politics was primarily a challenge to serve the community or nation, rather than being a form of secure career. Through the Arusha Declaration the University College received a shock treatment back to a thorough knowledge and understanding of its environment through disciplined study, and a rededication of itself to the service of the nation.

There were some of the more important political strains which weighed down on the University College, Dar es Salaam. It remained to be seen whether the tool for social mobilization would be a new, revolutionary TANU committed to the class struggle, with all its anti-democratic implications, as could be read into the Arusha Declaration. The University College had not become an ideological institute, as some feared. Its political education courses took the form of stimulating teach-ins organized by the new TANU

Youth League branch on the campus, and the new common course run by the academic staff was a thoroughly respectable one in Development studies.[32]

The government stated that the education policy for the country had to be such that it would give rise to a socialist society, grounded on three principles: equality and respect for human dignity; sharing of the resources produced by communal effort; and work by everyone and exploitation by none.[33] With this philosophy and the governmental statements as guidelines, the very important Conference on the Role of the University College, Dar es Salaam, in a Socialist Tanzania, was held in Dar es Salaam from the eleventh through the thirteenth of March, 1967.[34] At this conference an analysis was made of what the function of the University College should be in the Tanganyikan socialist-democratic milieu; suggestions were tabled about possible curriculum plans that could be implemented. In short, the tone of the conference was summed up in the words by Professor Pratt at the inaugural opening of the university campus in 1963 when he said, inter alia:

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[32] News From the Hill, Nos. 6, 11 & 12 (Dar es Salaam: The Library Photographic Unit, 1967).

[33] Dr. Julius K. Nyerere, The University's Role in the Development of the New Countries, A speech delivered at the Opening Session of the World University Assembly on June 27, 1966 (Dar es Salaam: The Library Photographic Unit, 1967).

[34] References to and comments on the above-mentioned Conference will hereafter be cited as Conference.

> We must strive consciously and deliberately to assure that the life and work of the College is in harmony with the central positive objectives that underlie the national policies of our governments... The University must be a committed institution, actively relating our work to the communities it seeks to serve.[35]

What made the University College after independence an institution of more direct political relevance was that the products of the University College were no longer excluded a priori from the commanding heights of the political systems. As the size of the educated class in Tanganyika expanded, the attainment of every graduate of a position of even modest leadership became less automatic. Progress in higher education gradually led to the production of educated followers, as well as educated leaders and high officials. The University College was then more conscious of contributing to the commanding heights of the administrative and political structure than it was a few years ago.[36]

In Dar es Salaam the governmental control of the flow of graduates was becoming tighter. Tanzania had already devised an elaborate bonding system to ensure that Tanzanians who were educated at the University College would be directed into specific positions determined by the government. The careers of Dar es Salaam graduates would then be more

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[35] R. C. Pratt, Inaugural Address at the Opening of the University College, Dar es Salaam, (Dar es Salaam: The Library Photographic Unit, 1963).

[36] Conference, pp. 29-42.

directly determined at the political level than they were ever before.[37]

The bonding itself was part of the broader change in the nature of government in East Africa. The University of East Africa was then more of a political institution than Makerere used to be, partly because a bigger sector of life in East Africa was then politically and governmentally determined. Administration during the colonial period was, to some extent, minimalist.[38] The bureaucratic ethos was interested in stability rather than in development. Law and order was a higher ideal than rapid economic growth. By thus contributing to a less politicized system, the old Makerere was itself less of a political institution. The difference was dramatized in the case of Tanganyika. Tanganyika is more today a politicized system than it ever was under the so-called stable trusteeship administered by Britain. A higher education institution which served Tanganyika under Nyerere was therefore more implicated in a more extensive and more ramified political process than an institution which served the old trusteeship administration.

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[37]Alan A. Roe and M. J. H. Yaffey, "East Africa's New Community," The Standard, December 1, 1967, pp. 6-7.

[38]William H. Friedland, "The Evolution of Tanganyika's Political System," Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs: Eastern Africa Studies Program, Occasional Paper No. 10 (Syracuse: Syracuse University, 1964).

This point was given additional depth by yet another post-independence trend. Within the bounds of its present capacities, the University College is seemingly on the way towards monopolizing undergraduate training supported by government scholarships. During the colonial period, East African governments awarded overseas scholarships even for undergraduate courses which could have been studied locally. The present trend, however, is towards the goal pursued by some West African governments since independence, which is to give the local institutions of higher learning a monopoly of government scholarships except for courses of study which would not be provided locally. In Tanganyika this policy had not yet attained full realization, but the signs were that it would be before very long.[39]

Another political area of great concern was the College-TANU relationships. It was an unfortunate fact that the University College-TANU relations had never achieved the high level of cordial cooperation which have marked college-government relations, and it was this lack which in part led to the crisis in confidence in 1966.[40]

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[39]David Koff and George von der Muhll, "Political Socialization in Kenya and Tanzania--A Comparative Analysis," Journal of Modern African Studies, V., No. 1, May 1967, pp. 13-51. See also: George W. Shepherd Jr., "Non-Alignment, Neo-Colonialism and Assimilation," East Africa Journal, 11, No. 9, February 1966, pp. 11-16.

[40]The Tanganyika Standard, 17 October, 1967; Joel D. Barkan, "What Makes the East African Student Run?" Transition, Vol. VII, No. 37, 1968.

The concept of compulsory national service for all school-leavers and college graduates was a new one and cut right across the students' ideas about their futures developed on strong social pressures and vision of a comfortable life ahead. Many of them thought of it as a punitive measure aimed at them merely because they were students.

The government on the other hand, regarded national service as an essential element to help develop more positive attitudes of service to the nation and to prevent that further growth of elitist and arrogant attitudes among the educated minority.[41]

Both sides were shocked at each other's behavior without understanding each other's reasons. A breakdown in political communication was at the base of all this. A much more thorough and public dialogue about the purposes of national service has since taken place in Tanganyika. Socialized inducements had to be found for the college students. The government had to involve the student by giving him a special though not in any other sense privileged role while he was a student in the process of nation-building.

This very tricky question of relations between the University College, Dar es Salaam, and TANU, TYL, and UWT, has become a hardy annual since the student rebellion in 1966. The most recent opinion favored a genuine and

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[41] The Tanganyika Standard, October 23-October 31, 1966.

compulsory Common Course, which was to be taught as part of the syllabus to all students during their first year and perhaps for some time thereafter. The main suggestions included the proposals that: (1) the course should be examinable, and the opposing view that it should not; (2) that the course occupy one-third of the students' time, at least in the first year; and (3) that all students should be taught a subject in the first year, the contents of which should be determined by the necessity of making the students dedicated to the national goals.[42]

> The task of the students (as members of the Party) is essentially to aid in the mobilization process and in the political dialogue which is the basis of that mobilization. The Party needs this help, the nation needs this help, and the student needs this opportunity for his own self-realization in terms of other than the profit motive.[43]

However, a refurbished Common Course, proposed at the end of the Conference held in March, 1967, contained two great advantages. In the first place, existing specialized or technical knowledge, which then constituted the student's education, would be situated within and informed by an orienting framework. The graduate who would have gone through this course in social analysis would subsequently approach his technical or administrative work from a more than narrowly specialist standpoint. The second gain would

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[42]Idrian N. Resnick (ed.), Tanzania: Revolution by Education (Nairobi: Kenya Litho Ltd., 1968).

[43]Ibid., p. 148.

be that the technical or administrative experts would be better able to situate themselves and their responsibilities within the total context of social needs and problems.[44]

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[44]T. O. Ranger, "The Common Course Experiment at Dar es Salaam," News From the Hill, No. 6, December 1964.

Chapter 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A common comment about adaptation in African universities which was made by Margery Perham twenty years ago,[1] was that it ought to be left to the Africans. On this point this researcher does not agree. The British designed the African universities.[2] Universities were very intricate organisms. What was needed, before it was too late, was a partnership in adaptation between designer and user.

This question of adaptation raised the discussion to a much more important and difficult level. In his courteous and perceptive review of the Godkin Lectures,[3] Geoffrey Walton made the penetrating remark that one ought to:

> take the African universities for granted... to treat the job in an African university as just an academic job and one's students as just students and one's African colleagues as just colleagues.

Here was a concept of the university at once inspiring, reassuring, and with its roots in history. It was doubted, however, whether it would be sustained. When Universities

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[1]UNESCO, The Legal Framework of Educational Planning and Administration in East Africa (Paris: UNESCO/IIEP No. 7, 1966).

[2]See appendix for chart.

[3]Guy Hunter, Education for a Developing Region: A Study in East Africa (London: Allen and Unwin, 1963).

operated under a jus ubique docendi supervised from Rome there was an isomorphism about them. Within the medium of a common language and a common faith it could be assumed that higher education was always and everywhere the same. The curriculum was as sacrosanct as the canon of the mass. There were contemporary thinkers, such as R. M. Hutchins, who still maintained this view.[4] But it seemed to be contradicted by events. It was true that some important functions of universities, research, for instance, particularly scientific research, were supra-national. Nor can subjects like topology and thermodynamics be taught differently according to latitude and longitude. But insofar as a university was the nursery for the nation's skilled citizens, shaping their ethos, it could not exclusively be supra-national. There might have been a time, in the colonial era, when Walton's concept was entirely correct, for the Asquith colleges were started with the assumption that colonial rule would last for decades.[5] An English professor in an American University was, unfortunately, not just a colleague. He was a foreigner, albeit a very welcome one, teaching young people who did not want the new nation they were building to become a facsimile of Britain. His scholarship and his teaching skill were

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[4]R. M. Hutchins, The Conflict in Education in a Democratic Society (New York: Harper, 1953).

[5]Report of the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies. Chairman: Hon. Mr. Justice Asquith. Cmd. 6647 (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1945).

assured of a welcome. His participation in university-policy making was not so sure of a welcome; yet his experience in this area was still essential. It was in this area that one would like to think that Walton's concept was still valid; for although African universities would evolve patterns of degrees, curricula, constitutions, relations with governments, different from those which were to be found overseas, yet there were certain universals in academic life which would not become firmly established in Africa without the benefit of expatriate help. The trouble about these universals was that they were used as catchwords; ideas took sanctuary in them which had no right to their protection; discussion of them became emotional and confused. This chapter ended with a few notes on three of these universals as they applied to Africa.

First, Africa universities had to be on a gold standard of learning. This did not mean that they had to accept the imprint of a foreign coinage. The gold standard was established by quality of teaching and learning, which was often confused with standards of achievement. Quality was a spirit, not a milestone reached.[6]

Secondly, African universities had to permit academic freedom to their teaching staff. This did not mean benefit

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[6]R. G. Harris, "Standards in Transition: Analysis of a Dilemma," Makerere Journal, No. 8, 1963, pp. 17-27.

of clergy for dons. It meant Lehrfreiheit, a privilege of the teacher, as the Germans developed and refined it in the nineteenth century.[7] It was not a personal privilege: it was an essential freedom to enable university teachers to do their jobs with integrity. Where academic freedom was disallowed, universities always failed. If the country's laws were inimical to freedom of speech, then academic freedom was eclipsed in that country. The academic, whether a citizen of the country or not, had to resist, or leave, or forfeit his freedom.

Thirdly, African universities had to have autonomy over the appointment and tenure of staff, the selection of students, the design of curricula, and the standards of examination. This did not mean that a university had to be a state within a state. It did mean that the state had to deliberately exempt the university from interference by its own power over these operations. University autonomy was a universal which was often confused with academic freedom. It was in fact quite different.

If academic universals were going to be defined to the last ditch and it would be a poor look-out for universities if they were not, then the universals had better be few, and well-defined, and widely known. In higher

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[7]Eric Ashby, Universities: British, Indian, African (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966) Chapter 10.

education, as in other institutions, nothing short of the best was good enough for Africa.

Countries were underdeveloped because most of their people were underdeveloped, having had no opportunity of expanding their potential capacities in the service of society. The main reason for the lack of this opportunity was within the social structure and could only be remedied when there were enough people with a new attitude towards society. Education in its various forms was the chief vehicle for changing attitudes. Therefore, the emphasis should not so much have been on using people to build the resources, but on using the resources to produce the people.

It seemed impossible for any sympathetic observer of the struggle of Africa, initially for Independence and then for dignity in the comity of nations and a better life for its peoples, not to feel compassion for the problems of its political leaders. Political leaders seemed to be too caught up in events to have the same withdrawn and critical facility. Yet the detached outsider had to recognize the dilemmas facing a new leadership, had to understand the realities of attempting to deal with a population that did not yet have a full understanding of the complexities of modern society or the mechanics of modern government. In Tanganyika one had a new nation confronted with some dilemmas and seeking to effect a compromise between the needs for a centralized and unified Government and the pluralistic demands of a modernizing society.

By the time this dissertation has been completed, the United States might well have landed another lunar module on the moon. In Africa, however, were many men for whom a journey into another world was nothing new. They were the black Africans who in a few brief years had been catapulted out of the primitive world of tribal Africa into the flashing, clanging wonderland of the twentieth century. This was for them a journey tinged with all the fantasy and adjustment of a flight to the moon for other men.

Swiftly and suddenly, a dramatic revolution has swept across their continent, resulting in an entirely new Tanganyika. This revolution was a many-sided one.

It was economic, plucking the black Tanganyikans out of their leaves and loinskins, and dumping them down as miners and mechanics and bulldozer operators and factory hands making everything from nylon stockings to bicycle bells.

It was social, ripping into both the white man's color bar and the Tanganyikan's own background of tribal custom and superstition.

Above all, it was political, as Tanganyikans rode a rocket to self-rule in a shower of political pyrotechnics.

The dominant theme of this educational overview, was the need for constant cooperation and negotiation among all the units of Government involved in making, financing and successful execution of an educational plan. There has been the need especially for close cooperation between the

planning office in the Ministry of Education and those in the Ministry of Development Planning responsible for elaborating projections of manpower requirements as well as those concerned with mediating the competing claims against the nation's limited financial resources. It was clearly a process in which skill and creative ideas might often play a more important role, and did more for education, than naked bargaining power. The financial stringencies that surrounded Tanganyika's educational plan, once it had run the gauntlet of negotiation and modification, forced new attention on the search for improvements in the educational system and its processes that might secure both a better quality and larger quantity of educational results within the means available.

It was easy to point to the statistical deficiencies and the political and economic imponderables which made any educational planning an exercise full of pitfalls. Nevertheless, provided there was sufficient flexibility in the planning machinery, so that estimates could be revised where necessary before the plan period was over, these considerations in no way diminished the need for planning. It was only by attempting to plan that the deficiencies of data would be remedied. It was far better to reach decisions by trying rationally to evaluate alternatives than by relying on hunches. Even if some decisions were taken on political grounds, it was important that their cost implications should be recognized. The planning and development of Tanganyika

educational system since its Independence were a remarkable first step, and one which carried with it some useful lessons for other African countries faced with similar problems.

It was a far-reaching decision of the Tanganyikan Government not to allow the indiscriminate expansion of education, the results of which were often ephemeral, and to confine, for the time being, the growth of primary education to a limited objective of maintaining the present enrollment ratio, so as to be able to give top priority to secondary education. This was seen as the keystone for building the structure of high-level manpower development.[8]

All the other features of the educational plan were a logical continuation and consequence of this decision. Secondary education, if it were to fulfill the role assigned to it, had not only to be expanded, but also oriented more towards science subjects so as to provide a sufficient number of future university students in science and engineering; the primary school output had to be improved considerably. The supply of trained teachers had to be increased correspondingly in accordance with this orientation and the quality of the teaching staff improved, a task which was to be carried out by raising the entry qualifications to teacher-training colleges, regrouping the existing colleges and

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[8]Tanzania, Report of the Presidential Commission on the National Union of Tanganyika Workers (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1967).

setting up the facilities for training graduate teachers. Increasing the output of university graduates in conformity with manpower needs has meant the institution of vocational guidance, the creation of tied bursaries and control over scholarships for studies abroad. Bringing technical and vocational education closer to the needs of the economy has required such measures as the revision of the curricula, the introduction of agricultural and commercial subjects in a number of secondary schools, the expansion of vocational training in evening classes, and particularly the setting up of a variety of inservice training schemes.

All these measure, contemplated or put into effect, sprang logically from the decision taken by the Government and to put education at the service of economic development and to achieve self-sufficiency in high-level manpower within fifteen to twenty years. This decision itself was based on a careful appraisal of the available human resources and systematic estimates of future manpower needs and the sources of meeting them. Herein lurked an object-lesson which other developing countries might consider with more than passing interest.

An important issue that faced the University College, Dar es Salaam, with regards to its role in assisting in solving the problem of high-level manpower supply to Tanganyika, was the question of cost.

The question that came to mind was whether the students of Dar es Salaam automatically entered the specialized

courses in the proper numbers to match requirements. The answer was "no." Left, however, to their own devices, young people's choices were apt not to be too soundly based in relation either to their own aptitudes, or to employment opportunities. This was particularly true in Tanganyika, where, because of the lack of employment opportunities, most students had no contact with the world of work until after graduation.

An analysis of the last-mentioned assessment once more stressed the fact that manpower forecasting was a hazardous business and one could hardly be surprised that the estimates were constantly changing. There did seem, however, to be two factors which were constantly recurring: the need for scientists and the need for localization of posts of responsibility in East Africa and Tanganyika in particular. Tanganyika needed more doctors, lawyers, teachers and engineers and not more graduates. In many countries, the question of whether the responsibility for professional training of graduates should lie with the universities or with the professions themselves was a matter of continual and lively debate. By international standards, the professions in Tanganyika were small and so was its University College. They had, therefore, set out to integrate higher education with professional training within the University. This meant that the College not only had the responsibility for academic standards; it also shared the responsibility for

professional standards. It was in this field of University participation in the training of professionals that this author believed that Tanganyika had the greatest opportunity to evolve solutions which were truly related to its own development needs.

The provision of professional teacher training at University College, Dar es Salaam, was an excellent example of the sort of cooperation between University and professional interest to which had been referred above. Whilst completing a three-year academic course, the student's all too long holidays were then occupied with professional study, in that case, student teaching. A real working link of common interest in the development of the students was thus being forged between the University College and the teaching profession. From this one could only hope there would arise a consensus of opinion on the academic and professional standards to be sought in the teaching profession which would become the solid foundation of Tanzania's education system.

Increasing the enrollment of science students assumed, of course, the Government would be prepared to provide the additional finance for both the capital and recurrent expenditure that would be involved, and that a sufficient number of science students would come through the secondary schools to make effective use of this College expansion in Science and Technological facilities. It was gratifying to note that in the Tanganyika Five-Year Development Plan, it was

envisaged that from 1964 to 1965, the output from Form VI would be in the proportion of four Science to every three Arts graduates.[9] This trend should provide the College with the necessary material for the expansion of its science and technological training programs. It should be remembered that some of these College science graduates would be ploughed back to secondary schools after they have taken Education as a subject.

Whatever the form the bricks and mortar might take, the role of the University College, Dar es Salaam, in the continuous regeneration of the Tanganyikan professions would be critical, at least for the next twenty years. The immediate need could be summarized as one for the carefully constructed joint undertaking between University College and the professions in order to follow up the progress of the College's new graduates. In short, professions in Tanganyika which stood on their own feet had to be self-generating. It was the time for the University College in Dar es Salaam to address itself to exploring the possibilities of close and functional relations with the professions.[10]

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[9] Tanganyika Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development 1st July, 1964-30th June, 1969. Vols. I and II, (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1964); Tanzania, United Republic of, Ministry of Communications and Works, Manpower Utilization Report, by Dean A. Lund (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1965).

[10] The Development of Higher Education in Africa: Conclusions and Recommendations of the Conference on the Development of Higher Education in Africa (Tananarive, 3-12 September 1962). (UNESCO, ED/62/D.20/A) (Paris: UNESCO, 1963).

While Tanganyika was concentrating on building up its University as a means of producing high-level manpower and make this objective the corner-stone of its policy, it was essential that one should not lose sight of the relationship of research programs at the University College to this high-level manpower objective. This question of choice of research topics was inextricably linked with the appointment of teaching staff, and in particular of senior teaching staff, at any university. Likewise, if this University College was to pursue excellence within its constructs, it could not be altogether free agents in its choice of research topics. Surely, however, it was not too much to ask that topics should be chosen as far as possible with reference to their potential relevance to problems of development. For example, this College had been most inadequate in its research for training graduate teachers for secondary schools. The Development Plans quoted throughout this dissertation stressed the fact that the successful expansion of secondary education was crucial before manpower problems of Tanganyika could be solved. Since the facts were known, the University College, Dar es Salaam, should urgently adapt its training programs to the very great need for graduate teachers throughout Tanganyika, even at the expense of some other programs. By research into administrative methods and procedures, the role of the College could be improved greatly with regards to manpower-supply. By and

large it was true that "over a wide field there is no substitute for technical training."[11] The College in Dar es Salaam, through its Institutes of Public Administration and Departments of Political Science, was in a unique position, through research, to devise administrative and decision making procedures which would be best suited to the social, economic and political conditions obtained in Tanganyika, but which would be just as effective as those that were based on European and American experience. What was needed, however, was a practical and realistic approach to the subject, rather than an academic study which would only satisfy the whims and interest of academic in the publish or perish race that was usually the rule in Academia. For example, what should be the ideal and most effective administrative machinery in a One Party State?[12]

Tanganyika was striving to achieve a planned economy and was seeking to mobilize the resources of the country for a major development effort. The teaching of the College and its further development had to be related to the requirements of this plan. This ought to have limited the right of the University College to decide what new subjects or new

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[11]Guy Hunter, The New Societies in Tropical Africa--A Selective Study (London: Oxford University Press 1962), p. 238.

[12]Report of the Presidential Commission on the Establishment of a Democratic One Party State (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, The United Republic of Tanzania 1965).

faculties to introduce and how many students to admit to each of the courses which it offered. These had to reflect the Tanganyikan and/or Tanzanian manpower requirements. The College could rightly insist that they alone decided who should be admitted but decisions concerning total enrollments and new developments impinged too directly upon national policy for the College to expect them to be within their sole jurisdiction. The Colleges and the University needed, therefore, to devise more effective machinery of consultation with Governments to assure that the growth of the Colleges was effectively related to the most pressing manpower requirements of the country.

This conclusion would not be complete without highlighting the expanding role of the University College Adult Education in Tanganyika in the context of rapid and radical changes, changes that were amenable to control and direction. The Institute of Adult Education, University College, Dar es Salaam, could, through a planned expansion, play a national role in Tanganyika manpower and economic development. If its resources were rationally deployed, the Institute could both accelerate and smooth desirable changes in society. The Institute was, of course, only one of many development agencies.[13]

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[13]J. King, Planning Non-Formal Education in Tanzania Paris: UNESCO/IIEP, 1966) (mimeographed).

Even when one had an education system which was Tanganyikan based, the tendency would be, in a competitive system, to see the value of learning in regard to the examination, rather than to the nation. The effect of a competitive and examination-oriented education system was to throw a burden of remedial social education on to the adult education agencies. Therefore, one of the main tasks of informal adult education was to break down the narrow educational ideas inculcated by the formal system. This was a prerequisite for producing educated and socially involved adults.

Tanganyika's greatest need in this connection seemed to wean farmers away from traditional methods of cultivation and to get them to adopt both new skills and a new outlook on their productive role. The weight of this task was mainly on the Ministry of Community Development and National Culture and the Ministry of Agriculture.[14] The role of the University College, Dar es Salaam, here seemed to be limited to research into psychological, social, and economic problems related to peasant conservatism, to research in literacy teaching and to provision of high-level courses in these problems. Although this was a limited role, it was a key one and would be of greater value than dissipating resources on a large scale provision of courses in remote rural areas.

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[14]John B. Seal, Jr., Manpower Utilization Report, Agricultural Division (Dar es Salaam: United Republic of Tanzania, Ministry of Agriculture 1964).

In addition, the University College Adult Education had proved itself to be useful in fulfilling gaps in the provision of high-level in-service training and through its internal university connections ensured that the latest developments in a number of professional fields were made accessible to workers in those fields.[15] One function of this University College Adult Education seemed to ensure that channels of communication were kept open among scholars, decision makers, and the people who execute decisions. Another observable task of the Adult program in Tanganyika was to ensure that teaching was geared to social action, to ensure the widest possible participation in the formulation of policy by ensuring the spread of knowledge and training adults in the skills of applying and adapting knowledge to the special circumstances of their own communities.[16]

The University College, Dar es Salaam's Adult Education in a socialist Tanganyika had a national education role to play economically, politically, and in the field of social communication. In considering the extent of that role it was necessary to take into account the limited

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[15]Ibid., p. 47.

[16]A. C. Mwingira, High-Level Manpower Needs of East Africa and the University of East Africa: The Role of the University of East Africa. The East African Academy Seminar on Higher Education, July-August 1965. (Dar es Salaam: University of East Africa). (mimeographed); UNESCO, Report of the Educational Planning Mission to Tanganyika, June to October 1962 (Paris: UNESCO, 1963).

resources that a poor country like Tanganyika could put into adult education, the division of adult education work among the several agencies and the goals that adult education could reasonably achieve within a given period. In order to make best use of the resources, to allocate responsibilities and to select reasonably attainable goals, a more detailed system of strategic planning seemed needed than was then available through the system of interlocking representatives on various councils and committees.

The Tanganyika Institute's approach to formal or vocational training should be, and was gallantly developing along those lines, related to particular and calculated needs, rather than to general demands. In Tanzania it would have been fatal for the College Adult Education to operate within a set of alternatives of doubtful validity: liberal versus vocational, pure versus applied, academic versus technical, training versus education, or any other conventional oppositions. Various courses in Law, Personnel Management, Industrial Relations, Business Administration, Labour Legislation had clearly been vocational in effect, even when the purpose was not so stated, and all of them were hopefully related to the smooth economic development of Tanganyika.[17]

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[17]Carl G. Widstrand (ed.)., Development and Adult Education in Africa (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies 1965); United Republic of Tanzania, Careers for Nation Building (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer:

The vocational aspect of the Institute's work would necessarily grow. High-level manpower trained in today's, or yesterday's knowledge would inevitably require opportunities to keep themselves up to date. Access to recent development was difficult in Tanzania, since facilities for study were not evenly distributed. The University College might be the most appropriate agency to offer retraining, partly through its Institute of Adult Education. Generally, the Institute of Adult Education in Dar es Salaam could make a useful and direct contribution to the nation's economic development by a program of training and retraining of specified professional categories. The purpose should be to train for precisely defined functions, rather than to train for personal qualifications. The thirst for education in a developing country like Tanzania was such that facilities could be sparse or almost non-existent, and teachers free or near-free were obtainable. What was needed in Tanganyika was a frank recognition of the existence of the problem and the preparation of the manpower which would make solutions possible.

The University College, Dar es Salaam, with degree-granting powers, was still dependent upon an overseas body for conducting the secondary school examinations, the results

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Directorate for Development and Planning, December 1964); E. J. Hughes, (ed.) Education--World Perspective (New York: Lancer, 1965).

of which governed admission to the University. An institution or examinations under the control of an East African Examinations Board was recommended. A great deal of study and research could profitably go into the type of examination best suited for Tanzanian conditions, and particularly, whether the examination should include, in addition to papers in the ordinary school subjects, some general tests of intelligence or aptitude. A new college, such as at Dar es Salaam, had to strive more self-consciously and deliberately to relate its activities and its life to the countries it sought to serve.

Although this was a most upsetting indication to Tanganyika, that such a comparatively large number of Dar es Salaam students were overseas at a time when there were empty places, there were factors which explained the situation. A high proportion of these overseas places were wholly or largely free of cost to the Government; a high proportion of the students involved were unlikely to meet the entrance requirements in Tanganyika at the time they went abroad; a certain proportion were doing courses not available in East Africa, etc. It seemed clear that some students abroad could just as well have been in Dar es Salaam, University College. As had been pointed out in Chapter Two, the Government had adopted stringent measures to restrict the overseas movement of students. Nevertheless, in a society like mainland Tanganyika which was striving to

achieve unity and sustained economic growth, and whose cadre of trained manpower was still far too small, the University was inevitably a major instrument of national policy. In the situation at the University College, Dar es Salaam, the Government could hardly be expected to know the full worth of a free university or to be over-respectful of its claims to autonomy, because all three of the University Colleges in East Africa were expatriate-dominated. In April 1963, only nine percent of the total academic staff of the whole University of East Africa were East Africans.[18] In Tanganyika there seemed to be a widespread recognition of the importance of academic freedom and a desire in political circles cooperatively and pragmatically to evolve a detailed definition of its meaning in an East African context.[19]

The University College had made many major mistakes in their building programs; but it seemed obvious that the College had to do all it could, without damage to the quality and standards of its teaching, to bring down the cost per student.[20]

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[18]Aggrey S. Awori, "East African University Must be Africanised," East Africa Journal (December, 1967), p. 16.

[19]President Julius K. Nyerere's "Education for Self-Reliance" and "The Arusha Declaration" will more than substantiate this view. The political forces, in relation to the University College, Dar es Salaam, do constitute a further chapter in this research.

[20]Tanzania, United Republic of, "Policy Speech by the Hon. S. N. Eliufoo, M. P., Minister of Education," Budget Debate, 1965. (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1965) (mimeographed).

The East Africanization of the University College, Dar es Salaam, also involved the promotion and encouragement of research focused on East African problems and making the fruits of research relevant to the needs of local development. Of these various ways of East Africanization of the University College, this author considered as very fundamental the necessity for getting the College staffed by local people of the highest academic caliber. The University College, Dar es Salaam, like its components, and for that matter, all African universities, had to be a committed institution actively relating its teaching, research and its corporate life to the communities it sought to serve. This was in no sense in contrast to or contradiction of the intellectual objectivity and respect for truth which also had to be an essential feature of a university. Commitment and objectivity were not opposites, they were not in contradiction to each other. Rather they were jointly a feature of the best of intellectual and academic work.

What was being suggested, in short, was education for African development rather than African education. Higher education in Tanganyika had to find itself not in the same situation as the other much abused term African Socialism. What was needed was a teaching program which would produce men and women who were endowed with the capacity to unearth the vast latent resources of Tanganyika, and harness them

for the good of the continent's population.[21] To analyze the draft recommendations of the Conference on the Role of the University College, Dar es Salaam, in a Socialist Tanzania 11 March 1967 regarding work and service to the community, would reveal the Conference's urgent desire for students to establish a committee to help in the planning and implementation of local projects in the community. The section, "Social Integration of College with Community" was another indication of Tanganyika's desire to East Africanize their Higher Education curriculum.

There was a serious danger that Tanganyika University students might tend to feel themselves apart from the mass of their people, out of touch with them, superior, and with an inadequate sense of responsibility towards their society.[22] One had to hasten to say that the task of the outsider or external adviser was to present the choices, but not to make them. The policy decisions had to be made by the Tanzanian Government and by those Tanganyikans holding responsible

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[21] L. G. Cowan, J. O. O'Connel and R. G. Scanlon, Education and Nation-Building (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965); and J. S. Nye, "Tanganyika's Self-Help," Transition, November 1963.

[22] For a more scrutinized view of this aspect of the African University College, per se, the Godkin Lectures at Harvard, delivered by Sir Eric Ashby, and since published under the title: African Universities and Western Tradition (Harvard University Press, 1964) proves enlightening. The same author's Universities: British, Indian, African (Harvard University Press, 1966) aptly compliments his Godkin Lectures.

positions in university education. There was no single educational pattern which could be exported from an advanced country and uncrated in Tanganyika, or for that matter, Africa, for local use. It became apparent that it would be necessary to construct an African pattern of higher education in Tanganyika which was consistent with the broad goals of national development and the promotion of freedom, dignity, and worth of African people. The rapid development of education in Africa was a consequence of the revolution of rising aspirations.[23] In analyzing some of the social problems involved, one might profitably listen again to the advice of President Nyerere that to be truly revolutionary, we must be absolutely realistic and use what opportunities the world provides.

Not only might one not transfer uncritically an overseas concept of the role of the University in Tanganyika, one might also review critically the structure of the degrees of the University College as well as the content of the curricula to be sure that they fit the requirements of Tanganyika. The University of East Africa had already done a good deal of fresh and clear thinking on the degree structure. The main University degree programs both for the B.A. and for the B.Sc. degrees were for a 3:2:2 structure--that was to say that students did three subjects in their first

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[23] Immanuel Wallerstein, Africa: The Politics of Unity (New York: Random House, 1967).

year and two of these subjects in their second and third years. This new degree structure replaced the older system whereby Makerere University College and the University College, Nairobi offered a 3:3:3 general degree structure and a 1:1:1 honours degree.[24]

The arguments for the new degree structure were forceful. It would provide an opportunity for students to work in depth in two subjects but would avoid the intense specialization of the older honours degree. The economics student in Tanganyika who was thus required also to do history, or political science, the zoologist had also to do botany or chemistry, the historian who also studied languages or economics, might be somewhat less advanced in their special subjects than they would have been had they taken a full one subject honours degree, but they would also be better educated. Moreover, to become professionals in their subjects, they were likely in the long run to be better specialists because of the somewhat broader academic basis they had received in their first degree.

It should have been clear how relevant even the most general features of standards were to the Tanganyika situation, and, conversely, how it was impossible to consider standards in Tanganyika in isolation from their social, national, and international context. The further one moved from basic,

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[24]Martena Sasnett and Inez Sepmeyer, Educational Systems of Africa (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966).

neutral types of standard towards standards representing ideals and not easily verifiable by measurement--such as standards in higher education, systematic economic and political theory, or social morality--the more obvious it became that even the conventions by which neutral and measurable standards were agreed, and certainly the impulses which created ideal standards, were functions of the total cultural system.[25]

In the contact between Europe and Tanganyika, the argument that the standards of the former should have been adopted by the latter without modification was fortuitously supported by historical circumstances. By their essential nature, history emphasized changes, art knew no, or few, rules, and empirical practice was forced to accept that what rules there were were subject to constant change; so within Europe itself history had shown the contrast of standards between Renaissance Italy and Calvin's Geneva, art had conceded the impossibility of viewing Watteau and Picasso in the same perspective, and empirical practice soon discovered the difference between the agriculture of rural Sicily and rural Norway. These lessons learned by Europe should not have led one to expect that the standards of social morality, political procedure, or University education imported from

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[25]S. O. Biobaku, "Africa's Needs and Africa's Universities," West African Journal of Education, VII (June, 1963), pp. 61-63; W. Senteza Kajubi, "Dilemmas in African Education," Educational Leadership, Vol. XXV, No. 6, March 1968, pp. 518-523.

outside Tanganyika would remain unmodified in their new context, or that indigenous standards in comparable areas of life would remain untouched by the new forces from outside.[26]

The University College, Dar es Salaam, was the place where the potentially most influential members of society were introduced to the most refined standards, quantitative and qualitative, neutral and ideal, because it was the most critical arena in which the class of systems was fought out and because, consequently, as an active force, it was the most energetic and fully conscious midwife of cultural genesis. All the factors which influenced the creation and use of standards in general, and in the clash of systems in particular, applied pari passu to higher education in Tanganyika. Here above all one should have cast off the illusion that standards could be imported intact from an alien, or even merely dissimilar system, from a system which was itself simultaneously in transition and in a cultural collision with East African, Tanganyikan, system.[27]

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[26]Eric Ashby, African Universities and Western Tradition (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964); Eric Ashby, Universities: British, Indian, African (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966); Philip Hall Coombs, The World Education Crisis: A System Analysis (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968).

[27]R. C. Pratt, "African Universities and Western Tradition: Some East African Reflections," Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. III, No. 3, 1965, pp. 421-428; David Rubadiri, The University Role in the Development of East African Culture..In East Africa's Cultural Heritage (Nairobi: East African Institute of Social and Cultural Affairs, 1966).

Whether or not properly applicable to the social sciences, the phrase mediating instruments did draw attention to another facet of standards at the University College in Dar es Salaam. Standards demanded or expected, and of whatever kind, not only reflected a cultural pattern, but were catalysts of it. As catalysts they were functions of the widespread and earnest desire of Tanganyikans to possess the type of technological system associated with the highly developed Great Powers, and its political, economic, and social changes.[28] If India and China, with their powerful alternative cultures could not, and would not, by-pass the technological experience stemming from Europe, it was doubtful if Tanganyika, with its less powerful alternative cultures, could even begin to contemplate such a denial, even if the point of no return for such a denial had not long ago been passed. There were no two ways about it: if Tanganyika wanted to identify itself with the scientific and technological advances of the Great Powers, it had to retain, or acquire, in some form or other, at least those neutral, quantitative standards through which advances elsewhere were organized. And not only the standards which measured quantity; for Nature yielded her secrets only to minds as precise, as absorbed, as inventive as her own, so that the Tanganyikan

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[28]Simeon H. Ominde, "Education in Revolutionary Africa," East African Journal, Vol. II, No. 2, May 1965, pp. 6-14.

scientist had to accept the qualitative and ideal standards of a scientific culture too, otherwise he was a priest without a religion, a politician without a policy, a head without a heart. Conversely, there was no such thing as a significant Tanganyikan mathematics, and no local language able to carry those conceptual and psychic energies which were built into the inner structure, into the very syntax and grammar, of languages belonging to the European tradition and without which it was psychologically impossible to fulfill a creative role in the scientific and technological scheme of things. Once Tanganyika had made its choice of system, or, at least, of the central principle of a system, and if it had chosen science and technology, it was rationally impossible not to accept the secondary implications of the system and the standards through which they were promoted.[29]

Thus the standards accepted and created in the University at Dar es Salaam could not merely be those of technology. Equally clearly they could not be wholly those of Western humanism either, in its religious or technological aspects. They were to be discovered only in the creative interplay of Western and African and other, perhaps Oriental, values; more specifically, at this moment of history, of Western values in a major technological key, plus the values from the East and its species of humanism in its technological key, and

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[29] Ibid.

African values in an as yet only minor technological key. The resulting pattern could be viewed as either a cultural system or as a cultural image. The system was what one lived and participated in while the image was the system not only as it was but as we would have wished it to be. The image of itself with which the University College wished to be confronted would be an image composed of all the cultural lines, shapes and colors interacting with each other. It would be a kaleidoscopic image, and the basic capacity required for its discovery and propagation would be sensitive and passionate intelligence, not least the intelligence to be aware of these evolving facets of the image when the thought or feeling of society was pregnant with them, and to consciously nurture their fulfillment, greater coherence and more orderly harmony.

To assume technology as the final end of existence was, paradoxically, to cut oneself off not only from the positive standards inherent in technology, but was also to leave onself without any ideal goal-standards by which the character of society, of a people, could be projected and defined. If man could not live by bread alone, the University College in Dar es Salaam could not survive only on a knowledge of the standards implied in the notion of a baker's dozen, even if, assuming him to be a would-be educated man, such interesting facts of the staff of life were fed to him under the attractive patronage of social, economic or psychological academic "technology."

Capitalism in Tanganyika had run its race. Its achievements during its various phases had been pitifully small as far as the Tanganyika people were concerned.[30] Even more important, it has demonstrated its capacity to extend the money economy to the whole country and to raise the level of investment in industry. Not for the first time and not for the last either, a workers' and peasants' state was entrusted with the task of socialist developments, which means the planned and rational control and maximization of the human and physical resources of the country. A socialist education system of the work-study, self-reliant type would lead towards the achievement of this goal in Tanganyika. From the outset, theoretical study would be linked to productive labor, while the value of the highest intellectual cadres in the Arts, the Natural Sciences and the Social Sciences would be considerably enhanced when they would be able to relate their skills to the total needs of the society and were willing to place their services at the disposal of the workers and peasants. In this way, the educational system, especially through Higher Education, would provide one of the vital forces necessary for the movement of Tanganyikan society and its continuing socialist self-transformation.

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[30]Julius K. Nyerere, "The Costs of Non-Alignment," Africa Report, XI, No. 7, October 1966, pp. 61-67.

The consequences of all these major points for Higher Education were very obvious. It had to be a task of any teaching to convey to the population a higher understanding of these economic facts and problems of the country seen in the light of the socialist objectives. It was exactly this lesson that was so prevalent at the very important Conference on the Role of the University College, Dar es Salaam, in a Socialist Tanzania held in Dar es Salaam from March the eleventh through March the thirteenth, 1967.[31] A Socialist who understood only the basic economic problems of his country was only a fifty percent socialist; and the same was true for a Socialist who was well versed in political principles, but knew very little about the specific economic situation of his country. Any teaching of Socialist principles under the label of civics or political education which did not try to bring across the fundamental fact that income depended upon production, and that production depended upon efforts, would be a misunderstanding.

Self-reliance was the key-word in the Arusha Declaration and had to guide all efforts to make Tanganyika's Higher Education more appropriate, more efficient, more influential, more national, and more useful. A sound attitude on the part of the students towards life in an

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[31] Conference on the Role of the University College, Dar es Salaam, in a Socialist Tanzania (Dar es Salaam: Ministry of Education, 1967) (mimeographed).

agricultural society, of which farming is only a part, depended upon the degree of understanding, interest, personal involvement and enjoyment of the people in that life. It was this attitude which found its roots in self-reliance, kujitegemea; the joy of achievement through self-reliance; the confidence of being able to face the challenge; the challenge of making life as a Tanganyikan better through one's own efforts, through one's own insight; through one's own ability to face the problems and to solve them, and not by waiting and keep waiting till someone else did it for you. Herein was embedded the challenge to the student from Dar es Salaam.

In this study the task of the students was viewed as one essentially to aid in the mobilization process and in the political dialogue which was the basis of that mobilization. The Tanganyikan Government had often stated with force its intention to create a fully egalitarian society. It was educating its students in order that they might be instruments in creating that society. It was also educating them in order that they might be instruments in modernization and economic development.[32]

Tanganyikan socialism demanded that the present be freed from the past. In Tanganyika President Nyerere and

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[32]D. P. S. Wasawo, Some Problems of University Education in East Africa (Paris: Presence Africaine, 1964); D.P.S. Wasawo, "The Nation and the University," East Africa Journal, Vol. II, No. 5, August 1965, pp. 4-5.

his Government were faced with the perennial dilemma faced by socialists the world over which was: how to build a new structure with insufficient craftsmen who understood the blueprints; how to promote socialist development without socialists. It seemed clear that a condition of success was that the teaching must be given by socialists in an environment which would foster egalitarian attitudes as opposed to opportunist or elitist ones. The importance of these expectations for the University College could not be minimized, for failure to produce socialist leaders and socialist teachers who would themselves be the implementors of the general socialist propositions outlined in the Declaration might result in failure to transform the principles of the Arusha Declaration into reality.

When one linked the fact of the above-mentioned obstacles with the bonding system, one strong possibility suggested itself. Given first, that Government scholarships entailed an obligation to serve the Government on completion of studies, and, secondly, that Government scholarships went overwhelmingly to students coming to one of the three colleges of the University of East Africa, there was a strong risk in Tanganyika of a neat division in the employment pattern of the region a few years hence. There was a risk that the private sector of Tanganyika's employment world might have to turn increasingly to students educated abroad without Governmental support, while the products of the University College in Dar es Salaam went overwhelmingly into Government

employment. Such a clear bifurcation of the been-to's and locally trained would not be entirely healthy. Although the division was not likely to be quite so neat, the logic of some of the present policies pursued did raise the possibility of a great preponderance of University of East Africa students continuing to go into Government and affiliated services, while the private sector of the region's economy turned overwhelmingly to products of overseas institutions trained without Governmental financial assistance.[33] The preponderant participation in Government and relevant services of the local graduates would give the University College in Dar es Salaam a very particular significance in the political life and development of the region. If that happened, the University College in Dar es Salaam would play a more limited role in the private sector of development activities. It seemed to be the Government's intention for all pupils that entered the University to compete for bursaries available for specific courses rather than for the total number of places made available each year. The Government reserved the right to select the most suitable candidates for the courses in accordance with the University College requirements of the donor country. The Tanganyikan Government did not allow scholarships to be awarded to individuals

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[33]Terence Ranger, "African Attempts to Control Education in East and Central Africa," Past and Present, December 1965; and A. J. F. Simmance, "Training for Civil Service," East Africa Journal, Vol. II, No. 10, March 1966, pp. 27-31.

for the individual's interest.[34] Hopefully the cooperation of the University College in its development of individual faculties was, therefore, as much a part of its role in manpower development as its development of total intake. No longer was it sufficient to assert that more graduates were needed; the Tanganyikan Government was then saddled with the questions: "Graduate in what? and "How many graduates each year?"

It was clear that a condition of success in this Governmental Common Course was that the teaching had to be given by Socialists. Courses had to be given not only by those who were themselves ingrained in the ideology of socialism but they had to be experts on Tanganyika also.[35] But the problem of the expatriate was a passing one. The important principle remained that, given that the socialist purpose of TANU was recognized as being correct, then the criteria for selection of all teachers had to take into account socialist attitudes and political experience in addition to the formal qualification.

As with staff, such was the condition with students. Some students, particularly officials from TANU and NUTA, had been accepted for the long course because they were in existing influential positions although they did not always

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[34] Conference, pp. 13-29.

[35] Ibid., p. 10.

have the ability to cope with the more theoretical parts of the course. This should not have caused surprise. In all mass parties the selection criteria for party officials tended to be of a rather personalized nature; it was factors like loyalty, personal contacts, sincerity and ability to influence others, which ranked high as the right qualities.[36]

To date TANU, a mass party, had been more fortunate than many parties elsewhere in not attracting too many opportunists.[37] Many TANU officials could be described as instinctive socialists, but unable to appreciate the implications of political and economic decisions and their actual effect on the society or group. If such students continued to have difficulty in grasping the theoretical criteria for socialist actions, then the University College in Dar es Salaam might well have helped to turn an instinctive socialist into a confused socialist, one who no longer possessed the attractive prop of the simple slogan which gave him strength before entering the University College.

On numerous occasions had the Tanzanian Government expressed the view that the University College in Dar es Salaam should not merely be an institution for the acquisition of professional skills.[38] The College had to be a source of

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[36]Okumu and Odhiambo, op. cit., section IV.

[37]Julius K. Nyerere, "Socialism and Rural Development," The Standard, September 14, 1967.

[38]Conference, p. 8.

intellectual outlook and beliefs as well. In its present conception the University College was basically Western in its ethos and approach to intellectual training. The Western system of education involved in one respect a basic contradiction. At the level of primary and secondary schools, part of the aim of education was to inculcate in the children the beliefs of the society to which they belonged and an attachment to the society. Such inculcation was a form of moral and cultural indoctrination. At the University level, there was a change. Instead of cultural indoctrination, there was a partial loosening of attachments to some of the symbols which the student accepted unquestioningly at school. In certain disciplines, the University taught the young to question the answers which they received at school. Many university students became disbelievers at university, sometimes agnostic in religion and atheistic or heretical in political inclinations.[39]

The question which now arose was whether this dual tendency in the Western educational tradition was wasteful. Should Tanganyika have abandoned a system which first taught young people certain values in primary and secondary schools, and then encouraged them to be cynical or critical about those values in universities? Should Tanganyika have

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[39]All this is discussed in a related context in: Ali Mazrui, "The Scholar and His Residence Permit," Transition, IV, 14 (May-June, 1964), pp. 20-21.

continued at university level the inculcation of national values which was started at school? At first sight that did not look like a logical thing to do. If nation-building was an inspiring lesson for children at school, why should it cease to have been so in higher education? As Tom Mboya once put it, "Universities and other academic institutions must be founded on a basic sympathy with the national movement."[40]

The dilemma was a real one. The University College in Dar es Salaam was politically one of the most important non-political institutions in the area. Yet, in its ethos of academic detachment, it was at the same time supposed to be apolitical. Governments impatient for change might sometimes be tempted to say: In our present state of underdevelopment, we want commitment and not detachment, involvement rather than objectivity. An institution with such important political consequences cannot afford to be apolitical in its ethos. Yet it was easier to say: "Universities must inculcate and promote national values," than to specify what those values were. What were the national values of Tanganyika? The days when one could have talked glibly about East Africans having common ideals were perhaps over. Ideals then

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[40]Tom Mboya, Freedom and After (London: Andre Deutsch, 1963), p. 146.

varied not only from one East African country to another, but sometimes also between one generation of East Africans and another.

One of the most important lessons of the last few years of Africa's history was that African countries were not yet sure where they wanted to go. The values and goals of East African society were in a state of flux. It was not the business of the University College to respond automatically to the latest policy declaration from the capital of the country. What this University College owed TANU was neither defiance nor subservience. It was a combination of criticism and affirmation, of attachment and responsibility, or in other words, intelligent cooperation.

In its capacity as a source of skills, the University College's cooperation was normally a matter of straightforward discussions with the Government.[41] But in its role in the analysis and formulation of values and beliefs, the College's role was more complicated. As had been mentioned earlier, university education tended to place some of the values inculcated at school in a wider perspective. What ought not to have been overlooked was that to teach an undergraduate to be critical of the most cherished values was itself to inculcate a new value: the ultimate value of independent

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[41] Lionel Cliffe, "Socialist Education in Tanzania," Mawazo, i, 2, pp. 73-80.

thinking. This was a principle heavily stressed in most of the papers read at the Conference in March 1967. Could independent Tanganyika do without independent thought? There had been cases of African leaders behaving as if national political independence could not be combined with individual intellectual independence, as in Ghana. At least in what happened within the precincts of the College, the Governmental leaders of Tanganyika had so far respected the academic right to be sceptical without being subversive, sympathetic without being subservient.[42]

In the relatively unprecipitated form in which political values existed in Africa, there was a need not only for nation-building but also for norm-building in Tanganyika. Thus, the Dar es Salaam University College in such a situation helped the growth of beliefs best by controlled scepticism rather than by inculcation of national values. There were no such national values yet. They remained to be built. The starting point had to be, to change the metaphor, a greater intellectual sobriety in Tanganyika. It was thus

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[42] W. K. Chagula, The Economics and Politics of Higher Education and Research in East Africa (Dar es Salaam: East African Academy, 1968) (cyclostyled). This study gives a full and useful account about the Governmental respect of the academic right.

to this sobriety that the University College might perhaps try to contribute.[43]

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[43]Russel Parkes, "No Ivory Towers," Transition, Vol. III, No. 11, November 1963, pp. 43-46; and R. C. Pratt, "African Universities and Western Tradition: Some East African Reflections," Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. III, No. 3, 1965, pp. 421-428.

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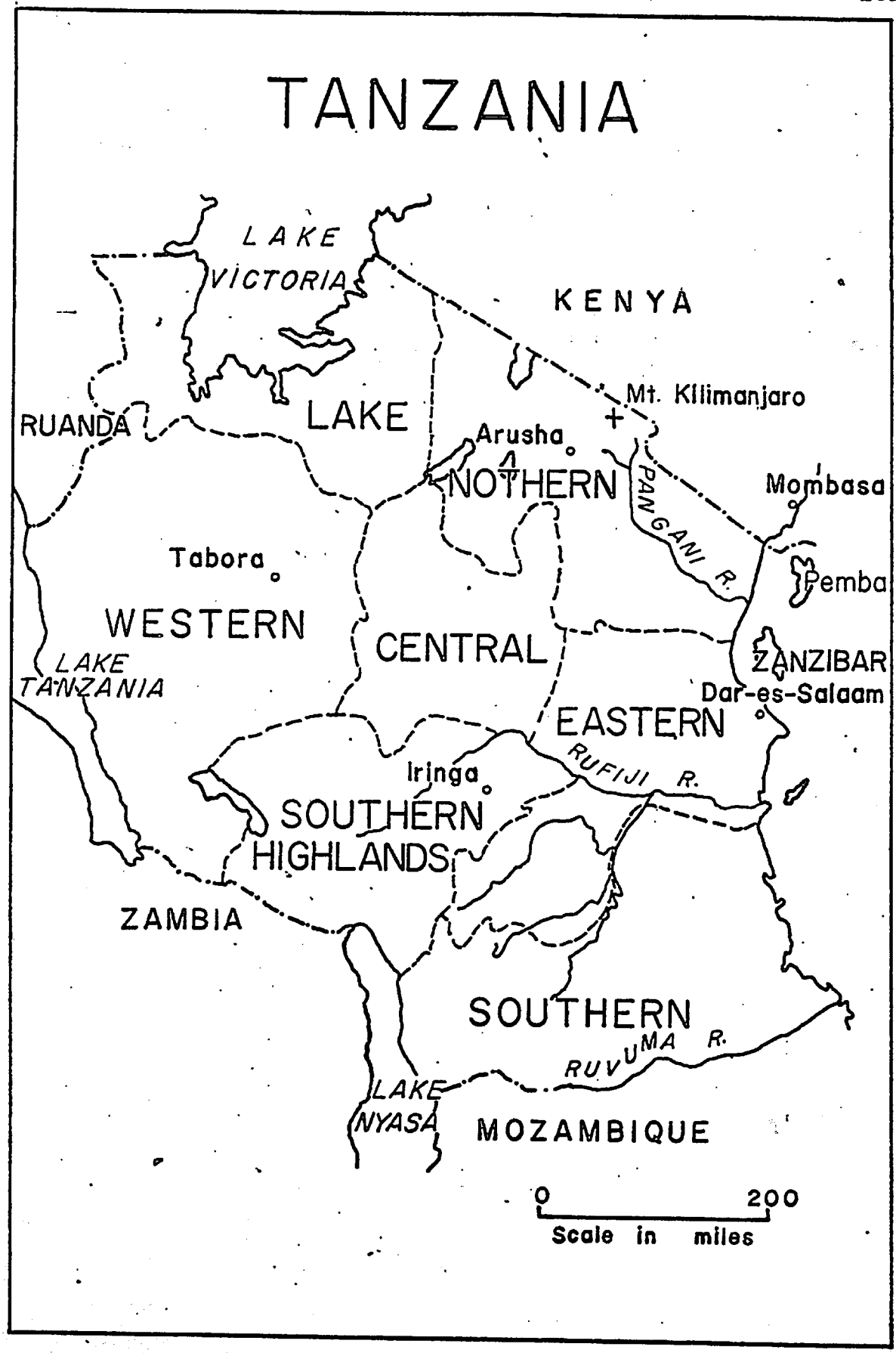
APPENDIX A


TANZANIA
LAKE VICTORIA
KENYA
Mt. Kilimanjaro
RUANDA
LAKE
Arusha
NORTHERN
Mombasa
PANGANI R.
Tabora
Pemba
WESTERN
CENTRAL
ZANZIBAR
LAKE TANZANIA
Dar-es-Salaam
EASTERN
RUFIJI R.
Iringa
SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS
ZAMBIA
SOUTHERN
RUVUMA R.
LAKE NYASA
MOZAMBIQUE
0
200
Scale in miles