



## SOCIALISM IS NOT RACIALISM

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THE ARUSHA DECLARATION and the actions relating to public ownership which we took last week were all concerned with ensuring that we can build socialism in our country. The nationalisation and the taking of a controlling interest in many firms was a necessary part of our determination to organise our society in such a way that our efforts benefit all our people and that there is no exploitation of one man by another.

Yet these actions do not in themselves create socialism. They are necessary to it, but as the Arusha Declaration states, they could also be the basis for fascism—in other words, for the oppressive extreme of capitalism. For the words with which I began my pamphlet *Ujamaa* in 1962 remain valid; socialism is an attitude of mind. The basis of socialism is a belief in the oneness of man and the common historical destiny of mankind. Its basis, in other words, is human equality.

Acceptance of this principle is absolutely fundamental to socialism. The justification of socialism is Man; not the State, not the flag. Socialism is not for the benefit of black men, nor brown men, nor white men, nor yellow men. The purpose of socialism is the service of man, regardless of colour, size, shape, skill, ability, or anything else. And the economic institutions of socialism, such as those we are now creating in accordance with the Arusha Declaration, are intended to serve man in our society. Where the majority of the people in a particular society are black, then most of those who benefit from socialism there will be black. But this has nothing to do with their blackness; only with their humanity.

Some years ago I made the point that fascism and racialism can go together, but socialism and racialism are incompatible. The reason is



easy to see. Fascism is the highest and most ruthless form of the exploitation of man by man; it is made possible by deliberate efforts to divide mankind and set one group of men against another group.

In Nazi Germany the majority were incited to join in hostile actions against the Jews—who were a minority religious and ethnic group living among them. 'I hate Jews' became the basis of life for supporters of the Nazi Government.

But the man or woman who hates 'Jews', or 'Asians', or 'Europeans', or even 'West Europeans and Americans' is not a Socialist. He is trying to divide mankind into groups and is judging men according to the skin colour and shape they were given by God. Or he is dividing men according to national boundaries. In either case he is denying the equality and brotherhood of man.

Without an acceptance of human equality there can be no socialism. This is true however 'socialist' the institutions may be. Thus it was that when Nazi Germany organised the Krupp group of industries no socialist could rejoice; for it simply meant that the fascist state was more highly organised than ever. Nor do socialists welcome the news that South Africa has established an oil trading and refining company in which the State owns a controlling interest. We know that this simply makes that fascist state more efficient in its oppression and more able to defend itself against attack.

We in Tanzania have to hold fast to this lesson, especially now as we advance on the socialist road. For it is true that because of our colonial history the vast majority of the capitalist organisations in this country are owned and run by Asians or by Western Europeans. Twenty years ago we could have said all the capitalists in this country were from those areas; we cannot say this now. For the truth is that capitalism and capitalist attitudes have nothing whatsoever to do with the race or national origin of those who believe in them or practise them. Indeed, nobody who was at Arusha needs any more proof that the temptations of capitalism ignore colour boundaries. Even leaders of T.A.N.U. were getting deeply involved in the practices of capitalism and landlordism. A few had started talking of 'my Company'. And very many others would have done so if they could; they were capitalists by desire even when they could not be so in practice. Hence the resolution on leadership. Hence the difficulties we must expect in enforcing this resolution.

Socialism has nothing to do with race, nor with country of origin. In fact any intelligent man, whether he is a socialist or not, realises that there are socialists in capitalist countries—and from capitalist countries. Very often such socialists come to work in newly independent and avowedly socialist countries like Tanzania, because they are frustrated in their capitalist homeland. Neither is any intelligent man



blind to the fact that there are frustrated capitalists in the communist countries—just as there will in time be frustrated capitalists in Tanzania. It may even be that some of those frustrated capitalists from Eastern countries come to work with us.

Neither is it sensible for a socialist to talk as if all capitalists are devils. It is one thing to dislike the capitalist system, and to try and frustrate people's capitalist desires. But it would be as stupid for us to assume that capitalists have horns as it is for people in Western Europe to assume that we in Tanzania have become devils.

In fact the leaders in the capitalist countries have now begun to realise that Communists are human beings like themselves—that they are not devils. One day they will realise that this includes the Chinese Communists! It would be very absurd if we react to the stupidity they are growing out of, and become equally stupid ourselves in the opposite direction! We have to recognise in our words and our actions that capitalists are human beings as much as socialists. They may be wrong; indeed by dedicating ourselves to socialism we are saying that they are. But our task is to make it impossible for capitalism to dominate us. Our task is not to persecute capitalists or make dignified life impossible for those who would be capitalists if they could.

In truth it is necessary for socialists to think about issues—about policies—and about how our institutions can serve the people of our society. To try and divide up the people working for our nation into groups of 'good' and 'bad' according to their skin colour, or their national origin, or their tribal origin, is to sabotage the work we have just embarked upon. We should decide whether a person is efficient in a particular job, whether he is honest, and whether he is carrying out his task loyally. But those of us who call ourselves scientific socialists must be scientific and objective in our thinking and in making such judgements. We must think about Men, and an individual man, not about 'Asians', 'Europeans', 'Americans', and so on.

Certainly socialism in Tanzania will be built by Tanzanians. And certainly we are working for the time when all those in our Government employment will be Tanzanians—though they will not all be black Tanzanians. But it is absurd for anyone to suggest that because we now have non-Tanzanians working for Government—or in the newly nationalised industries—that we do not control our own affairs. Only those who are lacking in self-confidence, or who are trying to hide their own shortcomings, could say this now. For all the evidence is against them. We obtained our independence although we were governed by colonialists. We became a Republic although there were many expatriates working here—at that time even in high positions. We effected the Union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar although many

Government servants on the mainland came from countries which did not like the Zanzibar Revolution. We have accepted the Arusha Declaration, and in the space of one week have nationalised or taken control of all the large capitalist firms and institutions which could have dominated our economy. In all these activities we have used all the Government servants concerned. And all—Tanzanians and non-Tanzanians alike—are carrying out our decisions loyally, and are working very hard indeed.

The Arusha Declaration talks of Men, and their beliefs. It talks of socialism and capitalism, of socialists and capitalists. It does not talk about racial groups or nationalities. On the contrary, it says that all those who stand for the interests of the workers and peasants, anywhere in the world, are our friends. This means that we must judge the character and ability of each individual, not put each person into a pre-arranged category of race or national origin and judge them accordingly. Certainly no one can be a socialist unless he at least tries to do this. For if the actions taken under the Arusha Declaration are to mean anything to our people, then we must accept this basic oneness of man. What matters now is that we should succeed in the work we have undertaken. The colour or origin of the man who is working to that end does not matter in the very least. And each one of us must fight, in himself, the racist habits of thought which were part of our inheritance from colonialism.

It is not an easy thing to overcome such habits. But we have always known that it is necessary, and that racism is evil. We fought our independence campaign on that basis. And the equality of man is the first item in the T.A.N.U. Creed. For in our constitution we say 'T.A.N.U. believes (a) That all human beings are equal; (b) That every individual has a right to dignity and respect'.

If we are to succeed in building a socialist state in this country it is essential that every citizen, and especially every T.A.N.U. leader, should live up to that doctrine. Let us always remember two things. We have dedicated ourselves to build a socialist society in Tanzania. And, socialism and racism are incompatible.

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