

Tanzania's Cultural Policy And Its Implications For The Contribution Of The Arts To Socialist Development

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Introduction

Art has always been an important tool for man's socio-economic development. Man of the pre-scientific age, for instance, discovered how to use dance and music, as well as masks, in rituals that he hoped would bring rain and improve his crops or game.¹ Art was, to him, an effective medium of communication with the supernatural powers which he believed controlled some aspects of his well-being.

Apart from this religious role, art has also always been an ideological tool for shaping the consciousness of a people so that they accept and maintain their socio-economic structure. Societies based on the communal mode of production, for example, used the arts to inculcate in their people, values and attitudes that fostered sharing of property, working together, and communal responsibility for the well being of the members of the society. This was true of some African pre-capitalist societies such as the Kaguru, as evidenced by the following wedding song:

Chikaguru	English
Ichidoo	This little food
Ndi na nani ndie	with whom shall I eat it
Ndie nai ndugu ndie	I must share it with my kin
Chidogogi	It is so little
Ndie na nani ndie	With whom shall I eat it
Ndie nai ndugu ndie	I must share it with my kin

Similarly, other societies, socialist and capitalist alike, used art to shape the people's consciousness to accept the system. In capitalist systems, the mind of the exploited was tuned to accept their exploitation. Religious songs for example, especially those of Christianity, have been extensively used by capitalism to make people accept worldly material poverty in the hope of receiving heavenly spiritual salvation. See the following song for example.

I hunger and I thirst	Renew my life with Thine
Jesus my manna be	Refresh my soul with love
Ye living waters burst	Rough paths my feet have trod
out of the rock for me	Since first their course began
Thou bruised and broken bread	Feed me Thou Bread of God
my life-long wants supply	Help me Thou son of man

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As living souls are fed,
O feed me, or I die
Thou true life-giving vine
Let me Thy sweetness prove

For still the desert lies
my thirsting soul before
O living waters rise,
Within me ever more²

Art has also been an important tool in revolutionary processes. During the Chinese revolution, for example, Mao saw art as being

Part of the entire cause of the revolution... its cogs and screws, indispensable to the whole machine, and forming an indispensable part of the entire cause of the revolution. If we had no art and literature even in the broadest and most general sense, then the revolutionary movement could not be carried to victory.³

Songs, drama, dance, poetry, painting and so on, have been used extensively all over the world as ideological tools for liberation movements. Consider, for example, the popular song for the liberation struggle in South Africa by Amandla, the Cultural Troupe of the African National Congress Liberation Movement.

Ayakinggikaza
Agangigikaza ayesabamagwala
Athi Kungcono sibuyelemuva
Qiniselani nani maghawe
Sekuseduze Lapho syakhona

They tremble
They shiver
The cowards have cold feet
They say it is better to retreat
Steel yourselves
Intensify the struggle you brave ones
Our destination is close
(our victory is certain)

This song emerged at the time of the Soweto national uprising. Numerous examples could be cited to show the uses and potentialities of art as an ideological tool for the socio-economic struggles of man.

The use of art has, however, varied according to different societies. Some bourgeois societies have reduced the use of art to the mere provision of entertainment. Like many other aspects of these societies, art is alienated from the production process and struggle for survival.

In some socialist countries, art is looked upon as an indispensable component of development. The German Democratic Republic states categorically in its constitution that:

Socialist national culture (including art) is one of the foundations of socialist society. The German Democratic Republic fosters and protects socialist culture, which serves peace, humanism and the development of socialist society. It combats imperialist anti-culture which serves psychological warfare and the degradation of man. Socialist society promotes the cultured life of the working people, cultivates the humanistic values of the national cultural heritage and of world culture and develops socialist national culture as the concern of the whole people.⁴

This policy is implemented through state organised programmes and structures for the development of various cultural activities, including the promotion of the arts, the artistic interests and abilities of the working people, physical culture, sports and tourism and the all-round physical and intellectual development of citizens.

The People's Republic of China also has a clear-cut policy on culture. Culture is looked upon as the people's way of life and this is manifested in a system of well organised cultural programmes including art activities that are part and parcel of work, education and leisure. Cultural palaces and cultural facilities at school, work places and residential areas have been established. The Cultural Revolution of 1965 was also a manifestation of the importance of culture to socialist revolution.

Because of the realisation that the arts are an important ideological tool in the shaping of a people's consciousness, most countries, especially socialist ones, have definite cultural policies and plans which give a specific direction for the arts, enabling them to contribute meaningfully to the development processes. This, however, does not seem to be the case in Tanzania. This article argues that Tanzania does not have a defined cultural policy. Consequently, no specific direction is given to the arts, as a part of culture, towards Tanzania's socialist development.

The first section of the article reviews Tanzania's cultural policy in relation to socialist development as seen in the policy of **Ujamaa** and the second section discusses its implications for the contribution of the arts to development.

Tanzania's Cultural Policy in Relation to Ujamaa

In 1967, Tanzania adopted **Ujamaa**, the Tanzania brand of Socialism. **Ujamaa**, as stipulated in the Arusha Declaration, believes in the ownership of the major means of production by peasants and workers, self-reliance and human equality and castigates the exploitation of man by man.

The adoption of **Ujamaa** has resulted in various major steps being taken to direct the country's developmental policies and plans towards socialist construction. This is true of economic policy and plans as manifested in the nationalisation of the major means of production, the reorganisation of agricultural production through villagisation, the decentralisation of regional and district planning, the reorganisation of industrial management, and the adoption of education for self-reliance.

It would be assumed, therefore, that cultural policy and plans have also been directed towards socialist construction. The truth, however, is to the contrary. A look at the cultural policy since 1967 shows a lack of effort in directing culture towards socialist development.

This situation is due to a number of factors.

Firstly, there has been an overall lack of a defined cultural policy and this has been characteristic of Tanzania since independence. Even though Mbughuni⁵ wants us to believe that there has been a cultural policy, that has not been the case. Tanzania's cultural undertakings have been based on speeches and statements made here and there, not originally meant as cultural policies but subsequently taken as such.

For example, the implementation of the revival, promotion and development of Tanzanian culture has been vaguely based on Nyerere's statements on culture from his 1962 Presidential inaugural speech.⁶

From 1961 to 1967, this lack of a clearly defined cultural policy can be attributed to the general lack of direction for the nation as a whole. The lack of direction was characteristic of economic, political and other policies although it was more pronounced in culture.

Whereas the adoption of **Ujamaa** provided a specified theoretical direction for economic development, it did not provide direction for cultural development. **Ujamaa** policy has overemphasized economic change at the expense of ideological change. There has not been a realisation that economic development has to go hand in hand with ideological development. As such, most of the major documents stipulating various characteristics of **Uja**

maa policy, including the Arusha Declaration, Socialism and Rural Development, **Mwongozo**, overemphasize economic change. Even the Education for Self-Reliance policy overlooks the role of education as an ideological tool and treats it, instead, as an economic tool.

Ideological development has only been visualised from the point of view of politics. It has been taken for granted that mass political involvement alone will shape the people's consciousness to accept and foster socialism. This has led to the neglect of the role of other ideological tools, such as cultural tools in socialist construction. This state of affairs exposes a misconception of human development.

The neglect of culture as an ideological tool for socialist construction is due to other factors apart from the misconception of development. One factor is the lack of a correct definition of culture to fit socialist construction. There is little to suggest the realisation that culture is not only a deposit in the material manifestations of a people's identity, but also, and perhaps most important, a deposit in the consciousness of man himself; deposits of methods, habits, skills, values and attitudes that are a fruit of long development and which shape the society and which in turn are shaped by it.

As such, the adoption of **Ujamaa** did not include a consideration of how this deposit in the material possessions and the consciousness of man can be used, changed or shaped, in such a way that it contributes towards socialist construction.

Neither has there been a recognition that there is culture, which is the overall deposit in man's material possessions and consciousness, and that there are tools of culture which act upon and influence these material possessions and consciousness. Instead, the term "culture" has been restricted to only the tools of culture, such as the arts, and games, and its material manifestations such as tools and utensils. As such, undertakings have not gone beyond promoting a few arts and games and collecting tools and utensils, and even then, without relating them to the cultural aspect of human and, specifically, socialist development.⁷

Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, the neglect of culture as an ideological tool for socialist construction even up to the present (fourteen years after the adoption of **Ujamaa**) is a reflection of Tanzania's practical failure to date to institute a socialist socio-economic structure. The structure is still capitalist. It is not the workers and peasants who are in control of the means of production or the products of labour, but rather the state, which is controlled by the petty bourgeoisie. The economy is capitalist and so is the culture.

Even though there has been an outcry to build a Tanzanian culture, suggesting a desire to promote a people's culture, the officially sanctioned cultural undertakings reflect the promotion of a petty bourgeois view of culture that sees it as a luxury, a set of activities detached from the struggle for existence.

The dominance of the petty bourgeoisie as a ruling class prevents the promotion of socialist culture for workers and peasants, one that should be part and parcel of socio-economic struggles of the people for development.⁸

Because of these problems there has not been a cultural policy directed towards socialist development. The nearest that the country has gone to a cultural policy is TANU's statement in 1976 that:

Mkutano mkuu unatilia mkazo umuhimu wa kuelewa utamaduni kama kielelezo cha utashi na uhai wa Taifa katika maisha ya kila siku ya watu wake. (The conference emphasizes the importance of understanding culture as the portrayal of the needs and spirit of the nation in the day to day life of her people.)⁹

and that of the Ministry of Culture that culture is:

chombo cha silaha muhimu katika ukombozi wetu kisiasa, kiuchumi na hasa kifikra.

(A tool and vital weapon in our political, economic and especially intellectual liberation).

The lack of a defined socialist cultural policy is sometimes defended by the argument that once a socialist economic structure is instituted, the socialist culture will come of its own. This argument ignores the fact that the economic base and the cultural superstructure determine and influence each other and cannot therefore be separated. It also ignores the fact that while the country is waiting for socialist culture to come it is under constant exposure to the influences of capitalist and imperialist culture which is part and parcel of the imperialist struggle against socialism. There is a tendency to think that the war against imperialism is only an economic one, and a failure to realise that imperialism is fighting the war against socialism both economically and culturally.

The lack of a defined socialist cultural policy has resulted in a lack of direction for culture as a whole, resulting in turn in the promotion of a few tools of culture which are not themselves directed towards the socialist development of the country. The arts is one case in mind.

The implications for the contribution of the arts to socialist development.

Because of the lack of a defined socialist cultural policy, cultural planning in relation to socialist development in Tanzania leaves a lot to be desired as can be seen in the following examples.

Although a Ministry of Culture was established in 1962, one year after independence, with the definite aim of developing a Tanzanian culture, to date the place and status of this ministry is not clear cut. This is reflected for example, in the frequent transformation of this ministry from ministerial status to that of a department within other ministries. Culture was a ministry of its own (1962), part of the Ministry of Community Development (1964-67), Regional Administration and Rural Development (1968), National Education (1969-1973), ministry of its own (1974), and part of Information (1980 to 1984) and part of Prime Minister's Office (1984 to date). Such frequent shifting reflects a lack of understanding of exactly what culture is and what its role is in development. The adoption of **Ujamaa** in 1967 should have given culture a specific place and status in socialist construction but, for reasons stated earlier, that did not happen.

The shutting and changing of the Ministry of Culture gives it a lack of permanency and continuity. The chaos arising out of the changes gives little reference to fall back to, and creates a chance to throw away long term cultural plans. This does not create a fertile ground for developing any of the elements of culture to some meaningful conclusion. As to the arts, one gets the impression that what goes on depends on the whims of whoever is heading the Directorate of Arts and National Language. For example, in the 1960's there was a national **ngoma** (traditional dance) troupe created for the purpose of entertaining dignitaries, locally and abroad. In the 1970's the National Dance Troupe was supposed to be a model for regional and district and village troupes, while maintaining its role of entertaining dignitaries during state and official functions. Instead of staying in Dar es Salaam, it toured the regions to set an example and to prompt the people to create similar troupes, without taking into consideration whether or not the people needed such troupes for their development. In the 1980's this dance troupe has been disbanded and a college of art instituted to train dancers so that they can go back to form their own troupes in the regions and districts. The results are still being awaited. These efforts, however, have shown little consideration of the question of the contribution of **ngoma** to socialist development in terms of making culture part and parcel of the socio-economic struggle for development.

Contrary to the goal of socialism, of giving the masses the powers to determine and to benefit from all aspects of their well-being, the promotion of the arts by the Ministry, especially of dance, poetry and music, has shown a strong tendency towards pleasing the ruling class. The official organisation of **ngoma**, poetry, and song is basically geared to the purpose of entertaining party leaders at state functions and festivals. The content of most poems, songs (choir, **ngoma** and pop songs) is oriented towards praising of either Government and Party leaders or Government policies, decrees and campaigns. This tendency has given rise to puppet art which largely parrots what the leaders are saying. See the following examples.

Kiswahili

Kisomo ee kisomo ee
 Kisomo cha watu wazima kisomo
 Kisomo ee kisomo Mwalimu kasema

English

Education yes education
 Education adult education
 Education Mwalimu (The President) has said so.¹⁰

Similar traditional dance songs can be heard all over the country. They pick as their content a few political slogans from speeches or some words from political campaigns. These songs, as can be seen in the above example, display no artistic treatment of the content. Nor do they feature any views on or analysis or interpretation of the subjects expressed.

A similar tendency can be seen in Swahili poetry, such as the following which appeared in the Party Newspaper UHURU:

Hotuba ya Mwalimu:

Desemba tarche tisa, Baba kwa njia ya anga
 Katueleza mikasa, ambayo imetuzonga
 Kujikosea makosa, na jinsi ya kujikinga
 Tujitolee muhanga, kwa kufufua uchumi

Baba katoa usemi, kujitolea muhanga
 Watumishi na walimu, mkumbuu kujifunga
 Nchi yetu tuihami, tuitoe kwenye janga
 Tujitolee muhanga, kwa kufufua uchumi

Kasema tukaze roho, janga linalotutinga
 Tusiingiwe muhaha, kama kuku kwa kupanga
 Tuvue roho majoho, tuvae jembe na panga
 Tujitolee muhanga, kwa kufufua uchumi...¹¹

Translation

Mwalimu's (President's) Speech

On ninth December, through a radio broadcast he told us the catastrophes that are stifling us we must criticise ourselves and know how to defend ourselves.

we must sacrifice to salvage our economy
 Our father (the President) has given word to sacrifice
 Civil servants and teachers, to tighten our belts
 To defend our country and save it from doom
 We must sacrifice to salvage our economy
 He said we must be brave, and face the catastrophe.
 We must not shake like a chick before the hawk.
 We must take the shrouds off our hearts, and carry the hoe and the machet.
 We must sacrifice and salvage our economy.

This poem was composed at the time of a political campaign urging Tanzanians to work hard to save the country's tottering economy. One can, however, notice the lack of any deep analysis of the economic situation of the country at the time. The poet does not discuss, for instance, the causes of the economic problems but concentrates on parroting what the President had said earlier.

Parrot art is also prevalent in the popular music heard in dancing halls, over Radio Tanzania and at political rallies. Miti and Kahamba¹² discovered that out of 186 songs they identified as political songs from Radio Tanzania, 34 were on the Party, 20 on the leadership (mainly on Nyerere) and over 52 on Socialism (mainly Ujamaa Villages, the Arusha Declaration). They further observe that:

the most common and striking feature of political songs in Tanzania is their direct echoing of leadership speeches and writings. There is virtually no originality in the songs since they are mere repetition of the words of the leadership.¹³

They go on to show that this parrot art is not accidental, but that there is a deliberate political control of music production so that only music that is in tune with the leadership ideology is promoted. The Prime Minister's Office, through the National Music Council (BAMUTA), cultural officers at all levels and Radio Tanzania, exercise direct censorship of music and give directives on the kind of music to be produced.

Such control betrays a misguided view of the role of art in ideology. Art can be critical and yet contribute positively to ideological development. Parrot art does not contribute to socialist construction because it does not analyse problems and point out solutions.

The other tendency in most arts in Tanzania is an overemphasis on entertainment over the other functions of art such as the pedagogical. This is due to the capitalist monopoly of the economy in spite of the intention to build socialism. Many facets of the economy are still operating on a capitalist basis. Art, especially that of urban areas, largely operates on a capitalist basis. Art is a commodity and is exploited for commercial purposes. In order to be commercially profitable, art over-emphasizes cheap entertainment that attracts audiences to bars and dancing halls. This is especially true of pop music, most of which has content that has very little contribution to make to the development of the people. Instead, it is meant to increase commercial gains.

Such music makes up the largest percentage of the pop music broadcast over Radio Tanzania. A similar type of art can also be observed in the many paintings that are commonly seen on the walls of bars and dancing halls. These paintings, mostly of sexy dancing girls, are meant to attract customers into the establishments.

Traditional dance is also now being exploited for commercial purposes. Hotels and bars sponsor traditional dance troupes to perform so as to attract customers, especially tourists. The Muungano dance troupe which performs at the Village Museum in Dar es Salaam and the Kibisa group at the DDC Social Centre in Dar es Salaam are examples of dance troupes used for such purposes.

This commercially based art does not pay attention to the functions of art, other than entertainment, which could contribute to the development of man. It exists only to procure financial profit. Nevertheless, some effort has been made to try and make this art serve a socialist ideological role. For example, the Ministry of Culture has organised competitions that have encouraged popular music bands to compose politically relevant songs. Radio Tanzania is also encouraging the same. These efforts have, however, not proved successful because they are superficial and not directed at the core of the problem. As long as the bands operate on a capitalist basis, it is difficult for them to serve socialist goals. For example, the competition for markets drives the bands to produce that music which attracts the largest audience, no matter how degenerate that music may be.

Because of the lack of a defined socialist cultural policy, little is being done to change the direction of the arts; they are treated as if they have nothing to do with socialist construction or development in general. For example, there is little effort to use art as a means of creating an awareness in the people of the cause and nature of, and the solutions to, the numerous problems that Tanzania is facing in socialist construction.

The lack of socialist cultural policy is also reflected in the absence of a well-co-ordinated training programme for cultural personnel to promote various cultural activities including the arts. For example, to date, the arts are optional subjects in the primary and secondary school curricula. The result is: Many schools do not teach at all. Instead, in most schools the arts are conducted as extracurricular activities, again, mostly for the purpose of entertaining Government and Party visitors to the schools or at state functions. In spite of the omission of arts subjects in primary and secondary schools, the arts (music, theatre & fine art) are nevertheless taught at post-secondary school level. There is an art college under the Prime Minister's Office at Bagamoyo and another, under the Ministry of Education at Mwanza. Both colleges train form four leavers at certificate level. It is, however, absurd to start post-form four colleges of art without first teaching the arts at primary and secondary school levels. This assumes that students with no academic background in the arts can be admitted and trained as well-qualified arts personnel.

In addition, the arts are taught at the University of Dar es Salaam in order to train degree level cultural personnel. But there is no art training at form six or diploma level, which constitutes the qualification required for university entry. Again, the University trains people with very little or no academic background in art. The situation has become even more absurd since the Musoma Resolution which stipulates that university entrants must come from work places in order to be trained in the disciplines of their work and later go back to the same work places. This means that the Department of Art, Music and Theatre ought to be drawing its students mainly from the Prime Minister's Office and training them to go back to the same Ministry. However, very few of the cultural personnel actually qualify for university entrance because they do not have the required academic background. The Ministry does not have a system for training its cultural personnel to a point where they can qualify for university entrance.

Without an adequate training system, it has become increasingly difficult to undertake any meaningful cultural development programmes. To date, most cultural personnel are not qualified for their jobs and they do whatever they themselves view as cultural work, which in most cases amounts only to the organisation of football matches or **ngoma** troupes for state functions. Most of them have little idea of what culture is and how to relate it to the overall socialist development struggles. Such a situation does not create fertile ground for the development of the arts, or any other aspect of culture, so as to contribute to the development of the country.

The lack of a definite cultural policy often gives way to programmes based on misguided conceptions of cultural development. For example, recently, the Prime Minister's Office has embarked on a national cultural competition programme. Entries in this competition include the fine and performing arts, crafts and literature. The competition, organised nationwide in four zones, is aimed at encouraging local artists to use their talents to advance art and national culture.¹⁴

Developing art through competition is an approach that has long been abandoned. It has been proved that unless there is aesthetic uniformity, it is unwise and often difficult to make artists of different aesthetic and cultural background compete against each other. For example, how does one arrive at the conclusion that a Masai dance is better than that of the Bondei, or the Hehe better than that of the Nyakyusa, when these societies are aesthetically different from each other?

The lack of a clearcut cultural policy has made it impossible for the Prime Minister's

Office to realise that cultural promotion efforts elsewhere now emphasize cultural festivals rather than competitions. Festivals have proved to be fertile ground for encouraging artists to greater creative effort without having to go through the pain of being told that their arts are bad, as happens in competitions.

If the aim of the Ministry is to encourage the arts nationwide, one would expect that it would encourage those activities which would integrate artistic effort into the overall struggle for development. Not only does making artists compete against each other fail to contribute to development but, in the long run, it might create ill-feeling among artists which will be detrimental even to the development of the arts themselves.

Another consequence of the lack of a defined socialist cultural policy is the futile attempts of the Prime Minister's Office to develop a Tanzanian culture from above. Contrary to the socialist idea of developing a people's culture, the Ministry is trying to impose culture from above in the name of developing a "national" culture. Cultural planning and undertakings are decided at a national level and directions are sent down to the regions, district and villages on what is to be done. Often, however, those who decide at the national level have no idea of the cultural needs of the people at the grassroots. Instead, they impose on them their own petty bourgeois views of culture. The case of the National Dance Troupe mentioned earlier is one such example. Directives that reflect a misconception of culture as not being part of work have been thrown around under such catch phrases as *kazi siyo lelemania* (work is not dance). Dances are therefore, by order, only done after work. Those who issue these directives do not seem to have considered the possibility of using dance as part of work like most Tanzanian tribes used to (and actually some still do) in traditional society; for example, the 'Bugobogobo' of the Wasukuma, which is a work dance that was used for farming or millet thrashing. Many other tribes which worked communally made much use of dance, song or story telling as a means of making people work without feeling the drudgery of the work. One wonders whether such dances and songs cannot contribute to the communal farming insisted upon by Tanzania's socialism, especially since the methods of farming are still largely the same as those of traditional society.

It seems that those responsible for the promotion of the arts are not concerned about promoting the arts of the people according to the needs of the people or for their development. This is reflected in the lack of much official promotion of the arts at the village level, unless it has something to do with entertaining at state functions.

As such, the arts of the people which should be the ideal foundation for the development of art for socialist development are left on their own. In some cases they flourish and serve the needs of the people concerned. But in many cases, they are swept aside as not being part of the struggle for Ujamaa. Listening to the Radio Tanzania *Mbiu ya Mkoa* programme, where villages all over the country report their efforts towards development, one hardly ever hears reference being made to art being part of that development effort. People have been made to view development as being only in terms of economic activity.

In order for the arts to contribute meaningfully to socialist development, contemporary Tanzanian society has to consider a number of issues. Firstly, there is need for a definite cultural policy which specifies the culture deemed appropriate for socialist development. In this respect, Tanzania has much to learn from the experience of other societies, such as China or Cuba. A definite cultural policy will give direction as to how the arts and other cultural phenomena can contribute towards socialist development. Such a policy might also specify the relationship between cultural expressions and party ideology and enable art to play a more positive political role than the existing parroting of leaders.

Secondly, the role of culture in socialist development needs to be made clear to cultural

personnel and society as a whole. Such awareness will facilitate the proper utilisation of cultural expressions. There are numerous examples of what the role of art in development can be. The Laedza Batani (Botswana), Wason Manoma and Maska (Nigeria) and Yangge (China) projects, to mention just a few, have proved the theatre's ability to mobilise rural populations for development programmes.

Thirdly, cultural personnel ought to be aware of the great potential for development to be found in Tanzanian traditional art forms. Theatre, for example, was successfully used as a pedagogical tool in many Tanzanian traditional societies.¹⁵ For example, story-telling was used to instruct children on the morals of society and initiation dances were instructional media for introducing youth to the world of adults. Ordinary dances and recitations corrected and guided behaviour of the members of society. Attention now needs to be directed towards whether and how such traditional uses of art can be exploited for contemporary society. For example, questions need to be asked as to whether the pedagogical function of traditional theatre can be adapted to contemporary needs.

Fourthly, it is important to encourage and promote existing positive efforts to use art for development by various artists in the country. There are quite a number of traditional artists who, without the patronage of the Party or the Government, continue to use art as an ideological tool in their given society. The positive aspects of such art could be encouraged.

Modern artists are also involved in quite a number of projects and experiments with a view to adapting traditional and modern Tanzanian art to contemporary needs. One such experiment is the 'Theatre for Social Development' project by the University of Dar es Salaam Theatre Department. This project, based in Malya village in Mwanza, entails the use of the villagers' own theatre forms in discussing, analysing and suggesting solutions to their own development problems.¹⁶

Other attempts at adapting art content or form to contemporary needs are being made through plays, dances, songs, poetry, paintings, sculptures and so on by various artists. These and other artists should be encouraged further to direct more effort towards socialist development.

Other attempts of adapting art content or form to contemporary needs are being made by such groups as the Paukwa Theatre Group, the Bagamoyo Theatre College, the Butimba Art College, and the Sayari Group. Other artists are engaging in similar efforts through plays, dances, songs, poetry, paintings, sculpture and other arts. These artists should also be encouraged further to contribute to socialist construction.

Finally, tackling all these issues will not be fruitful without the involvement and participation of society at large.

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