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PERMANENT MISSION OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF
TANZANIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS
800 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017



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LECTURE AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
TUESDAY APRIL 16, 1974 ON
SINO-TANZANIA RELATIONS.

INTRODUCTION:

- (i) Experiences in China.
 - (ii) Why the discussion on Sino-Tanzania relations:
 - (a) The tendency to misrepresent & misinterpret.
 - (b) On the other hand: The study gives us a clear pattern of cooperative interaction in the field of int. politics rather than the conflictual approach.
- Professor George F. Yu, University of Illinois put it: "Cooperative action has been a dimension as important as conflict in Chinese foreign policy behaviour".

BACKGROUND:

FOUR PERIODS OF
SINO/AFRICAN TIES

I Between Bandung - 1960, ^{contacts} begin.
[By 1960 only 9 African states were independent. Four of which had recognized PRC. These were Egypt (1956); Morocco (1958), Sudan (1958) and Guinea (1959).

II 1960-1965: Major offensive

[Between Jan 1960 & Dec 1965, 29 African states won independence with 16 below in 1960. At the peak of China's dip. thrust 1964-65 with Chou En Lai's African Safari - 15 states had recognized China. Out of these Tanganyika (1961), Zanzibar (1963).

III Mid 1960s - 1970^{most} after GPCR

Period of Retreat or Selectivity
diplomatic ties in Africa reduced to 13 in 1970.
Emphasis on interaction with selected African states in China during Tanzania's

IV: Period of the Seventies after GPCR
general normalisation with Africa states, particularly after Membership of UN in 1971: Now even Botswana.

FOUR PERIODS OF SINO-TANZANIA RELATIONS xx

I: Pre-Independence: particularly since AAPSO formation in 1958.

- (i) little contacts with the mainland.
Those done through TANU at Conferences of AAPSO.
- (ii) ZANZIBAR was however different.

Contacts made ~~very~~ popular
organizations in China of: Afro-African Solidarity Committee; The Institute for Relations with Foreign Countries; Peace Committee, Trade Union, etc.
with 2 NP - leading Zanzibar ASP students in 1960
L delegations.

ZANEWS office in Zanzibar

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PHASE II: 1961-1965: Normalisation of [Warming up] ^{early} establishment of relations
 1961 December: Setting up of Chinese Embassy - 1962
 ZANZIBAR Revolution 1964: China's recognition & support & assistance. - Ho Chi Minh & Chinese
 Relations generally low key except for Zanzibar. Vice Chairman's. Tanganyika's in
 April 1965: Union: Its impact. Peking - Fall 1964

PHASE III: From mid 1965-1970: Strengthening of relations: Rapid expansion of cooperation in various fields at different levels.

(I) Mwalimu's Visit in 1965.

(a) Its impact: Tanzanians were impressed by the spirit of discipline, the sense of frugality, simplicity and organization. **P. Nyamwe stated in Shanghai** "I wish all the people of Tanzania could come to China and witness for themselves what a determined people can do".
 [Remember Mwalimu's assertion that the total number cars in Shanghai, Nanjing and Peking did not greatly exceed those in Dar]. What is the significance of this analogy in terms of Tanzania development - objectives and lifestyle.

The Treaty was considered by the Tanzanians to be a milestone in the development of the relations between the two countries.

(II) Sino-Tanzanian Treaty of Friendship signed by

Phonch Nyamwe and Liu Shao Chi, February 20, 1965.

Treaty for 10 yrs & automatically renewable for another 10 yrs.

Article II stipulates that the relationship is based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

- (i) mutual respect for sovereignty & territorial integrity
- (ii) mutual non-aggression
- (iii) non-interference in each others internal affairs
- (iv) equality and mutual benefit
- (v) Peaceful Coexistence.

Guided by Chinese behavior to Tanzania, they have lived by these principles.

Nowonder

Mwalimu has characterized Tanzania's relations with China as a friendship "between most unequal equals" despite disparities in wealth, population & power, equality governs our relationship.

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(v) Chou en lai's visit in 1965

(vi) Nyerere's second visit 1968 [The GPCR
had ^{adverse} impact on Tanzania-China relations].

(VIII) Other forms of cooperative interaction:

(iv) Periodic
exchange of ^{diplomatic} ~~diplomatic~~
Army and Air ^{forces} ~~forces~~
chiefs of staff.

(i) Training & equipping of armed forces - from 1969.

[exch'g the two dimensions of Canadian officers
training Tanzanians how to use Chinese equipment]

(iii) The concept of a People's Army

(iv) Cultural ex: training & acrobats of Wuhan

PHASE IV: THE ERA OF TAZARA: From 1970 to present.

Consolidation & relations; ~~important~~ ^{important} expansion of cooperation ^{Relations}
reaching a high level of cooperative interaction.

I: Tazara:

Background: (i) Rejected by the World Bank in 1964 on
the grounds that development in Tanganyika and Zambia
would be better served by other projects. General negative
attitude by the West when approached to finance project

(ii) Importance of the Project to both Zambia
& Tanzania, Economic, Security & Strategic.
[pauze until after USI in 1965]

1965 - China indicates positive attitude

Sept. 5, 1967: after feasibility Agreement
signed in Beijing.

Railway: 1,063 miles or 1860 km / Indian
port of Dar es Salaam to Zambia's national railway at Kapiri
Mposha

Construction started in October, 1970 and is expected
to be completed in 1975 - One year ahead of
schedule.

Payment over 30 yr period. First payment due in 1983.

On April 8, Chinese
built to and hosted its
new train from Tanzania
to Zambia. First of
operational train
came to and from
Tanzania's security
completed August 1973 &
now runs west into Zambia
connected by about 550 km
from final terminal.

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(5)



He met Mao in the
presence of Zhou Enlai
and Wang Hung-
wen, the youngest
of the five vice chairmen
CCP elected by Oct 1973.

^{15th}
(11) Mwalimu's Visit - March 24-29, 1974
- interest free loan

\$75 million - for the exploitation of

rich iron and coal deposits in Southern Tanzania. [Construction
of a railway link J. over the next 5 years.

This will open numerous development opportunities
for Tanzania and particularly Southern Tanzania.

Loan repayable over 10 years after a 5 year grace period.

In the Tanzania Govt. Newspaper, Daily News of April 3
hailed this agreement as example of true aid & praised
Chen and criticized "the imperialists and their fellow
travelers who talk glibly about aid but almost
in every case their "aid" does not only help
to negotiate but is also tied to their interest".

PHASE V: From Now — ?

Whether the future relationship



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(C) Aid & Experts: Tanzania's experience

This is an important part of Sino-Tanzania
cooperation in the area. During the Chinese at the New
Zealand International Institute of International Affairs, Christchurch
on March 18, "Aid and Development - from a Recipient's Point
of view". President Nyerere specified 3 areas which can
be termed as real aid:

- (i) Capital grants, i.e. transfers without a need
for charging power - even when tied and genuine if
they meet needs of recipient
- (ii) Making available skilled manpower or expertise, or
advisory or training purposes at a low cost or no cost at all
- (iii) Loans which carry no interest rates, or have
low interest rates, contain a large element of
aid. The effect can be multiplied if tied
to purchase from a high cost developing area.

Tanzania's experience had been to benefit from all
the three types above Chinese have benefited Tanzania's.
The loans can't longer provide of payments
a free.

The 'Eight Principles of Economic & Technical
Assistance' set forth by Premier Chou En-lai in 1964 [in his visit to Africa
during interview with Ghana News Agency reporters on Jan 15, 1964]. See also statement
at XX by Tang
Hsinan

p. 46
& p. 40.

- (i) Aid is equality & mutual benefit.
should not be considered as unilateral
gifts. Promote economic & new energy
activities which in itself constitute
support to the.
- (ii) Respect sovereignty of recipient &
no privilege or conditions.
- (iii) Loans at interest free or low interest
& extension of repayment period.
- (iv) Aid not to create dependence
relationship but assist in road to self-reliance
- (v) Building projects requiring less
investment but yielding richer
results.
- (vi) Modern equipment - best
available - be provided.
- (vii) Train personnel in recipient
countries to operate equipment.
- (viii) Chinese experts appear with
local experts. No special
deals or amenities

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TANZANIA GOALS

- (i) China cannot be ignored: Basis for initial interaction: Why? ✓
- (ii) Tanzania's policy of non-alignment strengthened by relations with China. [Get out from the Western orbit] ✓
- (iii) Tanzania's options increased: trade aid etc. ✓
[China's aid & deeper relations will help to overcome the imbalance of the past.]
- (iv) Tanzania's commitment to African liberation parallel with CRR foreign policy objectives.

IMPLICATIONS

Tanzania's relations with China have not in any way affected or reduced Tanzania's relations with other states [As Nyong'o put it: "We shall not allow anyone to chop our friends or enemies for us"]

Points of convergence of Non Proliferation Treaty

Points of divergence e.g. Concern of Second Afro-Asian Conf. 1965 after Ben Bella's overthrow

Reaffirming to Chinese departments but not to China as a whole
Implications for the liberation struggle

AND

CHINESE OBJECTIVES

- (i) Difficult to discern from Tanzania's point of view. But assumption includes:
 - (1) Spirit of Third World Solidarity. Tanzania unquestionable anti-imperialist credentials conforms to China's conception of strategy for African struggle being major link in the world's revolutionary movement.
 - (2) Sino-Tanzania ties - an example to Africa? - legitimacy of China's socialist revolutionary movement.
 - (3) Acquisitorial recognition & international support.
- According to Prof. Yu, "China's Tanzanian policy served the vital objective of securing and giving substance to China's international legitimacy in the world of Africa, Asia, and Latin America [Yu, p. 21]."
- # In the words of Chou En Lai "Tanzania has become a glorious banner in East Africa, a banner against old and new colonialism and for national liberation struggle" [Chou En Lai speech Mass Rally June 1965] p. 88.

See Also

Mwalimu's statement: apparently China's policy is to support the struggle.