

HISTORY

Research Article

SOVIET AID IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN TANZANIA IN THE 1960s–1980s

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Abstract. Based on the documents of the State Archive of the Russian Federation, the article examines the issue of Soviet aid to Tanzania in the field of secondary education from the late 1960s to the mid-1980s. The bilateral relations between the USSR and Tanzania in the field of education were chosen as the research topic due to the growing relevance of studies of Russian-African relations in all fields, on the one hand, and to the insufficient study in Russian and global historiography, on the other hand. The analysis of Soviet aid to Tanzania is preceded by an overview of the reasons why the Tanzanian leadership made such a request. The principal reasons for the appeal for aid were the lack of local specialists in the field of education and the leftist orientation of the Tanzanian government. After lengthy negotiations, the USSR and Tanzania agreed to sign a contract in 1969 to send Soviet teachers to work in Tanzanian secondary schools. Under the agreement, the USSR provided Tanzanian secondary schools and colleges with teaching equipment and materials and offered financial and technical assistance to Tanzania in building secondary schools.

While providing aid, the USSR encountered a number of problems, the solution of which fell primarily on the shoulders of the Soviet teachers dispatched to the country. According to the author of the article, the persistent difficulties that Soviet teachers and agencies had to deal with were directly related to the internal political situation in Tanzania, namely the prioritization of primary education and economic policy under the Ujamaa concept. Despite the fact that the aid provided by the Soviet Union was ultimately successful in achieving its intended goals, it was very limited in nature and influenced by trends in Tanzania's domestic political life.

Keywords: USSR, Tanzania, education development aid, Soviet-Tanzanian relations, Soviet teachers, Tanzanian education, Ujamaa

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INTRODUCTION

The organization and holding of the Russia-Africa summits in 2019 and 2023, the opening of Russian language centers in African countries in 2023, and the intensification of military and economic Russian-African cooperation in the 2010–2020s—all these events and trends mark a new phase of strengthening Russia’s ties with African countries. This, in turn, increases the relevance of research into the history of Soviet-African relations. Examining the social, political and economic ties of African countries with the Soviet Union can provide us, in addition to important historical facts, with the necessary experience for building effective Russian-African relations, taking into account the Soviet Union’s successes and failures in this field.

The issue of the USSR’s relations with African countries, which has become particularly relevant, requires special attention also due to its rather poor level of research. The presence of many information gaps was caused by the classified nature of the main source base—the archive records. The declassification of these records allows us to look at the problem from a broader perspective and to carry out in-depth analyses.

The problem of Soviet-African relations and, in particular, the professional activities of Soviet specialists on the African continent have been actively studied in Russian historiography since the 2010s. Studies dealing with the relations between the USSR and Tanzania can be found in publications devoted to the establishment of Soviet-African relations [Balezin 2018; Balezin 2019; Balezin 2020], the relationship of the USSR and Tanzania [Urnov 2014; Shubin 2022]; Soviet-Tanzanian party communications [Balezin 2017]; the activities of Soviet institutions and specialists in Tropical Africa [Tsvetkov 2019; Tsvetkov 2020; Tsvetkov 2022] and the activity of Soviet teachers in Tanzania [Lazarev 2022]. So far, however, there are no comprehensive works on Soviet aid to Tanzania in the field of education.

A similar picture is emerging in global historiography, which primarily focuses on specific aspects of Soviet-African relations. For example, there are publications that focus on the history of Soviet-African cooperation in the educational sphere [Katsakioris 2017; Webber 1992], analyzing the experience of Soviet teachers’ activity in African and Asian countries [Applebaum 2022], considering general aspects of foreign aid to Tanzania [Rugumamu 1997], touching upon the topic of Soviet university education as a way of propaganda influence on the worldview of African students [Griffiths, Charon-Cardona 2015], studying the history of cooperation between the USSR and the countries of Eastern Europe with African countries in the field of higher and professional education [Katsakioris 2019], and revealing the phenomenon of Afro-Soviet modernity generated by Soviet-African interactions [Banks, d’Avignon, Siddiqi 2021]. It should be noted that this is not a comprehensive list of all publications. However, it is sufficient to demonstrate the extent of research activity on this topic in Russia and internationally.

The relations between the Soviet Union and Tanzania in the field of educational development can be divided into three aspects: the sending of Soviet teachers to Tanzania to work in educational institutions of the country; the supplying of Tanzanian schools with educational equipment, facilities, and teaching materials; and the building of educational institutions in Tanzania with the financial support of the USSR. This paper is devoted to the consideration of all these three aspects.

The article's principal source of information was the archival documents of the State Archive of the Russian Federation, specifically the materials of the Fund No. R-9563, which encompass the activities of the Ministry of Education of the USSR in the period of 1966–1988. The entirety of the documents utilized by the author in this paper can be found in Inventory No. 1 of the Fund No. R-9563.

The archival material can be classified into two distinct categories. The first includes correspondence on scientific and cultural cooperation in the field of education between the USSR and Tanzania. It is based on the documents of the USSR Ministry of Education, the Soviet Mission for Economic and Technical Cooperation in Tanzania (hereinafter referred to as the Mission), and the All-Union Association “Tekhnoexport”¹. The documents encompass correspondence on cultural and economic cooperation between Soviet institutions and the Ministry of National Education of Tanzania and other Tanzanian ministries, as well as interdepartmental correspondence between Soviet institutions and agencies.

The second category comprises reports submitted by Soviet teachers on their work in Tanzanian educational institutions. In the reports, the teachers describe their professional activities, living conditions, and the challenges they faced during their work.

The chronological framework of the paper covers the period from 1967 to 1986. The first date is associated with the beginning of the Soviet-Tanzanian negotiations on the secondment of teachers from the USSR to Tanzania. The second date is chronologically the last archival materials of the inventory, which provide information on Soviet-Tanzanian relations in the field of education.

PREREQUISITES FOR SOVIET AID TO TANZANIA IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION

The Soviet Union began active cooperation with African countries in the second half of the 1950s, when the process of decolonization was taking place rapidly on the African continent. The USSR mainly provided economic and military aid to African countries. But there were cases when some African countries requested aid in developing social sectors. One of these countries was Tanzania, which put special emphasis on the development of its education system [Gribanova 2022: 165].

In the 1960s, the Tanzanian leadership felt a shortage of qualified personnel in the economic and social spheres; particularly, a lack of specialists with higher education was felt in the country's educational institutions. All this motivated the Tanzanian leadership to officially invite teachers from a number of countries, including the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), the United States of America (USA), the United Kingdom (UK), Canada, Sweden, Denmark, Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic (GDR), and others². The USSR was one of the leading countries that provided substantial aid in the development of Tanzanian education.

By the time the Soviet teachers arrived, Tanzania was a relatively young state, formed on April 26, 1964, from two former British colonies, the Republic of Tanganyika

¹ “Tekhnoexport” was an All-Union association that provided technical assistance abroad.

² State Archive of the Russian Federation. Fund R-9563. Reg. 1. File 2666. P. 45, 77. (In Russ.); Ibid., File 5245. P 42. (In Russ.)

and the People's Republic of Zanzibar and Pemba. The first president of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere (1922–1999), who led the country from 1964 to 1985, paid special attention to the development of public education, as he believed that achieving universal schooling was the key to the country's economic self-sufficiency [Gribanova 2022: 165].

On January 27, 1967, the plenum of the National Executive Committee of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) adopted the Arusha Declaration, which was approved on March 4 of that year at a special party conference in Dar es Salaam³. This document proclaimed a course towards the construction of a form of African socialism—Ujamaa.⁴

Following the adoption of the Arusha Declaration, the need for political and educational initiatives targeting the younger generation became evident, as the Declaration proclaimed that the policy of socialism can only be implemented by people who firmly believe in its principles and are prepared to put them into practice⁵. One of the document's stated objectives was the elimination of ignorance, but without any concrete ideas on how to reorganize education⁶.

In 1967, the document "Education for Self-Reliance Policy" was adopted [Nyerere 1967], which reinforced the provisions of the Arusha Declaration specifically for the Tanzanian education system. Subsequently, school curricula and textbooks began to be restructured in accordance with newly established goals of achieving socio-economic self-reliance [Gribanova 2022: 165].

The main objective of the self-reliance policy in education was to achieve the social goals of collective life and collective work for the public good in accordance with Ujamaa⁷. The renewed educational system was designed to foster a collective spirit among Tanzanians, as opposed to individualism, to make access to education widely available, as opposed to an elitist approach to learning, and to instill in students the habit of socially significant community service, as opposed to the trend of separating learning and work.

In line with the new requirements, the emphasis was now placed on combining education with practical industrial experience [Gribanova 2022: 165]. Education was to prepare students for productive employment. The teaching of natural and technical disciplines, as well as mathematics, was considered to be of great importance, as it was supposed to contribute to the qualitative enhancement of knowledge for practical work. At the same time, political education was also organized to inculcate the values of Ujamaa.

³ The Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance. Dar es Salam: Publicity Section, TANU, 1967.

⁴ Ujamaa (from Swahili literally "brotherhood" or "family") is the name of the concept of a special kind of African socialism, formed on the basis of the socio-political ideas of the President of Tanzania Julius Nyerere. Ujamaa was based on socialist principles, including the rejection of the social structure and ideology of capitalism, the rejection of private ownership of the means of production, the prohibition of exploitation of man by man, the recognition of the existence of classes and class struggle in African society. The driving force of society was the moral and ethical improvement of people and their acceptance of socialist norms and attitudes of behaviour.

⁵ State Archive of the Russian Federation. Fund R-9563. Reg. 1. File 2914. P. 20. (In Russ.)

⁶ The Arusha Declaration and TANU'S Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance. Dar es Salam: Publicity Section, TANU, 1967. P. 3.

⁷ Ibid., P. 3.

Five-year development plans have played a special role in achieving these goals. In 1964, Tanzania adopted a national economic development plan for the period up to 1980, which provided for the universal expansion of secondary education and the training of national personnel⁸. The latter was to be implemented under the first five-year plan from July 1964 to June 1969. In 1969, the second five-year plan was adopted from July 1969 to June 1974, providing for the development of universal primary education. Special emphasis was placed on the elimination of illiteracy and on the education of adults directly involved in the formation of the national economy. In the 1970s, taking into account the objectives of the second five-year plan and the adoption of the Universal Primary Education Act (1974), increasing emphasis was placed on the advancement of primary education.

Following the adoption of the Arusha Declaration and the document titled “Education for Self-Reliance Policy,” active negotiations began on the secondment of foreign teachers from socialist countries. Accordingly, on September 15, 1967, the Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries under the Council of Ministers of the USSR received Elinewinga, Counsellor of the Tanzanian Embassy in the USSR⁹. He informed them about the plans of the Tanzanian government to invite more than fifty teachers from the socialist countries of Europe, including the USSR, to work in the senior classes of Tanzanian secondary schools. In the future, Soviet-Tanzanian negotiations in the field of education would result in the conclusion of a separate contract for the secondment of Soviet teachers.

SENDING SOVIET TEACHERS TO WORK IN TANZANIAN SCHOOLS

From the late 1960s to the 1980s, the USSR actively supported Tanzania’s educational development, mainly by sending groups of teachers to work in schools.

In 1968–1969, the USSR and Tanzania signed an agreement on the secondment of Soviet teachers from the USSR Ministry of Education to work in Tanzanian secondary schools¹⁰. Contract No. 50760 was approved and signed by both parties on January 27, 1969¹¹. The teachers were selected by the Tanzanian side to teach mathematics, physics, chemistry, and biology¹². The first group of twenty Soviet teachers left for Dar es Salaam on February 8, 1969¹³.

The contract remained in effect throughout the 1970s and 1980s and became the basis for the work of all subsequent teams of Soviet teachers. The number of education specialists varied from year to year, but the general trend was to increase by the 1980s.¹⁴ While initially there were no more than twenty teachers from the USSR working in Tanzania at a time, by the mid-1970s the number had risen to thirty, and by the first half of 1980 up to forty teachers could work in Tanzania at a time (see Table 1 for details).

⁸ State Archive of the Russian Federation. Fund R-9563. Reg. 1. File 2914. P. 20. (In Russ.)

⁹ Ibid., File 189. P. 8–10. (In Russ.)

¹⁰ Ibid., File 619. P. 4–9, 10–12, 59–60, 66. (In Russ.)

¹¹ Ibid., File 939. P. 9. (In Russ.)

¹² Ibid., P. 13. (In Russ.)

¹³ Ibid., P. 16. (In Russ.)

¹⁴ Ibid., File 1544. P. 24; Ibid., File 1817. P. 1; Ibid., File 4000. P. 25; Ibid., File 4199. P. 8; Ibid., File 4802. P. 25. (In Russ.)

Upon arrival in Dar es Salaam, the Soviet specialists were allocated by the Tanzanian Ministry of National Education to educational institutions in accordance with their qualifications¹⁵. It is also noteworthy that the geographical peculiarities of this distribution: teachers from the USSR were mainly sent to rural areas and provincial towns, while the smallest part of them remained in Dar es Salaam and other large cities. Most of the teachers worked in schools. A small number of these teachers were employed in technical colleges¹⁶.

As a result of distributions made by the Tanzanian Ministry of National Education and on the recommendation of the Mission to Tanzania, newly arrived teachers from the USSR were assigned to the districts and towns where their predecessors had already been employed¹⁷. In this way, separate groups of Soviet teachers were gradually formed, localized in particular villages. Among the most important groups were those working in Moshi, the capital of the Kilimanjaro region in north-eastern Tanzania, and in the village of Ifunda¹⁸, located near the city of Iringa, because in these places were technical schools, analogues of the Soviet industrial-technical schools, which provided training in a diverse range of technical specialties.

Table 1. Number of seconded Soviet teachers, working simultaneously in Tanzania between 1969 and 1986

Period of training work	Number of seconded Soviet teachers
1969–1970	About 25
1971	About 23
February 1972	16
July 1972	10
November 1972	19
1974–1976	About 30
1976–1977	About 25
July 1978	About 26
August 1980	28
July 1981	31
May 1982	40
Early 1983	38
July 1984	40
July 1986	25

Source: compiled by the author on the basis of materials of the State Archive of the Russian Federation (Fund P-9563 R-9563. Reg. 1. Files 939, 1544, 1817, 2639, 2665, 2891, 3166, 3513, 4000, 4199, 4375, 4580, 4802, 5245).

The schools, where Soviet specialists taught, were divided into two levels—lower secondary schools and upper secondary schools¹⁹. Lower secondary schools had to be

¹⁵ Ibid., File 1817. P. 27; Ibid., File 2665. P. 27. (In Russ.)

¹⁶ Ibid., File 2665. P. 6; Ibid., File 3513. P. 19. (In Russ.)

¹⁷ Ibid., File 1817. P. 27. (In Russ.)

¹⁸ Ibid., File 2665. P. 110; Ibid., File 4802. P. 22. (In Russ.)

¹⁹ Ibid., File 5017. P. 11. (In Russ.)

attended for four years and provided an incomplete secondary education. On the basis of the results of state exams, students were assigned to different areas of work and to colleges. Students could continue their education in an upper secondary school for two more years to obtain a specialty. After graduation, students were required to serve in the army and could enroll in a university or college.

It should also be noted that there was a wide geographical diversity of the schools across the country. The schools were located far away from large cities²⁰. Students came from different parts of the country to study and lived in dormitories on campus. For these reasons, the groups of Soviet teachers were very far apart from each other, which caused certain challenges in communication.

To improve cooperation between the scattered groups of Soviet teachers throughout the country, methodological seminars began in 1971²¹. The seminars were organized jointly by the Soviet Embassy in Tanzania, the Mission for Economic and Technical Cooperation, and the Party organization of Soviet specialists sent to the country.

The seminars were designed to fulfill the following tasks: to summarize the experience of teaching and methodological work in educational institutions, to provide a unified report on the state of school teaching programs, to examine all existing problems of the teaching process, and to evaluate the conducted agitation and propaganda work²².

The seminars helped Soviet teachers to interact with each other, to determine how best to introduce Soviet teaching methods into the Tanzanian secondary and technical education system, and to provide a comprehensive overview of all the information about the local education system and methodology²³.

In the course of their work in Tanzanian schools, Soviet teachers encountered a number of difficulties. They noted the lack of inter-subject links and logical consistency in the presentation of teaching material²⁴, the lack of allocated teaching time for specific subjects²⁵, and the absence of uniform textbooks that comply with the curriculum²⁶. One of the most serious problems that all Soviet teachers had to deal with was the outdated teaching methodology in Tanzanian schools²⁷. The teaching process lacked many of the teaching and knowledge control methods that were used in the Soviet education system. These included the use of techniques such as answering at the blackboard, oral questioning, systematic problem solving, tests and assessments, and supplementary and thematic lessons. The Tanzanian teaching system was dominated by the lecture method of teaching, which had a negative impact on learning outcomes and instilled in the students a habit of learning by rote, memorizing the content of the lectures and textbooks without understanding.

²⁰ Ibid., P. 26. (In Russ.)

²¹ Ibid., File 1817. P. 23. (In Russ.)

²² Ibid., File 4000. P. 11–14. (In Russ.)

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid., File 2666. P. 25; Ibid., File 2665. P. 93; Ibid., File 2914. P. 3; Ibid., File 5017. P. 2; Ibid., File 5245. P. 9.

²⁵ Ibid., File 2914. P. 34; Ibid., File 3184. P. 4, 9. (In Russ.)

²⁶ Ibid., File 2665. P. 16, 55, 61, 63, 90, 92, 113; Ibid., File 2914. P. 3, 5, 33; Ibid., File 2666. P. 3–4, 6, 10; Ibid., File 5017. P. 2, 17; Ibid., File 5245. P. 12, 15–17. (In Russ.)

²⁷ Ibid., File 2665. P. 29, 92, 46, 106, 112, 137–138; Ibid., File 2914. P. 15, 34; Ibid., File 3184. P. 4, 9; Ibid., File 3545. P. 2, 13, 55. (In Russ.)

To overcome the shortcomings of the Tanzanian educational system, Soviet teachers actively applied the pedagogical methods of the Soviet school of education²⁸. They introduced oral questioning, blackboard answers, individual work with pupils, written tests and examinations, systematic problem solving, practical work, problem-solving using local material, and the use of visual aids, filmstrips, and diapositives. Soviet teachers organized extra classes to work with pupils who were lagging behind and introduced extracurricular thematic study groups to facilitate deeper understanding of the subject being taught.

Thanks to their diligent and highly successful work, the Soviet teachers earned the respect of their pupils, their Tanzanian colleagues, and the school administration²⁹. The local teachers frequently asked them questions not only regarding their respective subjects but also with regard to socio-political and cultural matters, studied Soviet teaching methods carefully, and willingly used them in their teaching practices. The school administration practically did not interfere in the teaching process and did not hinder innovation, especially the use of Soviet teaching methods and pedagogical techniques.

SUPPLYING TANZANIAN SCHOOLS WITH TEACHING EQUIPMENT AND MATERIALS

Tanzanian schools suffered from a constant lack of teaching materials and equipment throughout the period of presence there of the Soviet teachers. The report of the fifth methodological seminar in Dar es Salaam on December 25–27, 1979, noted the very poor equipment of chemistry, biology, and physics laboratories and classrooms³⁰. The instruments in the laboratories were not functioning and could not be repaired for lack of spare parts. In some cases, there was no equipment at all. For this reason, conducting practical and laboratory work was extremely difficult. There were no specially equipped mathematics classrooms at all. The only mathematical equipment available to the teacher was a ruler, a compass, a protractor, and a triangle for working on the blackboard.

The report specifically highlighted the acute shortage of school furniture³¹, with up to 60% of chairs, tables, and benches having become unusable.

In addition, against the background of the worsening monetary, financial, and economic crisis in Tanzania in the late 1970s, there was a shortage of writing paper for tests and examinations³², and by 1979, there was only enough paper for examinations.

The situation with textbooks was no less challenging³³. In addition to problems with the quality of textbooks and their compliance with the curriculum, schools often lacked sufficient quantities. In some cases, there was one textbook for 3–6 pupils. The situation with visual aids was even more deplorable.

²⁸ Ibid., File 2665. P. 7, 15, 18, 46, 49, 107, 112, 138; Ibid., File 2666. P. 4, 43; Ibid., File 2914. P. 4, 14, 34; Ibid., File 3545. P. 2, 13, 55; Ibid., File 5017. P. 5, 38, 54; Ibid., File 5245. P. 17. (In Russ.)

²⁹ Ibid., File 2665. P. 7, 14, 17, 25, 104; Ibid., File 3545. P. 7, 35; Ibid., File 2666. P. 44; Ibid., File 2914. P. 39; Ibid., File 4000. P. 15; Ibid., File 5017. P. 19. (In Russ.)

³⁰ Ibid., File 4000. P. 14. (In Russ.)

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid., P. 13. (In Russ.)

³³ Ibid., P. 12–13. (In Russ.)

It was largely through the efforts of Soviet teachers that Tanzanian schools were supplied with educational equipment and tools, including textbooks, exercise books and methodological manuals in English, charts, diapositives, filmstrips, etc. This was done in three ways: sending educational equipment and materials to Tanzanian schools with new batches of Soviet teachers, repairing old materials and equipment, and making new teaching tools in practical classes organized by the Soviet teachers.

The supply of educational equipment and materials to Tanzanian schools through seconded Soviet teachers was carried out through the direct mediation of the USSR Ministry of Education and the Mission to Tanzania³⁴. There is no information in the archival materials about a precise scheme of how it was organized. Judging by the available data, first Soviet teachers, who had worked previously or arrived in Tanzanian schools, would make a request to the USSR Ministry of Education stating the need to send educational equipment or materials to a particular Tanzanian school. Subsequently, through interdepartmental correspondence, the USSR Ministry of Education and the Mission to Tanzania would decide on the timing and process of delivery. In the final stage, the necessary equipment was brought to Dar es Salaam and distributed to the Tanzanian schools where Soviet specialists were teaching.

In some cases, Soviet teachers brought teaching equipment and materials on their own initiative³⁵. In many documents, it was explicitly stated that seconded specialists should bring as much teaching material and equipment as possible. Therefore, it can be assumed that the teachers were aware in advance of the shortage of teaching equipment in Tanzanian schools and took it in accordance with the recommendations or instructions from their sending agencies.

Despite such a way of supply of educational equipment and materials, Soviet teachers often had to make or repair them themselves³⁶. Teachers had to make visual aids, exercise books, illustrations, posters, and other equipment by hand. In other cases, for these purposes, specialists organized practical classes, during which, under the guidance of teachers, pupils were engaged in restoring laboratory equipment, repairing old textbooks, and also making visual aids, problem books, and models.

An interesting case describes the organization of the educational process by Soviet teachers at the Moshi Technical School³⁷. Following the fourth methodological seminar of Soviet teachers in December 1977, the school introduced new textbooks and a mathematics teaching program based on the recommendations of Soviet specialists. This example, though the only one, may give us an idea of a fourth possible way of supplying Tanzanian schools: through the decision-making of Soviet teachers at methodological seminars.

CONSTRUCTION OF TANZANIAN EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE USSR

The USSR assisted in the construction of educational institutions in Tanzania. However, it should be noted that archival materials provide very little information on this

³⁴ Ibid., File 2665. P. 110; Ibid., File 4000. P. 3, 18; Ibid., File 4580. P. 6, 14. (In Russ.)

³⁵ Ibid., File 2666. P. 79; Ibid., File 2914. P. 3; Ibid., File 3545. P. 32. (In Russ.)

³⁶ Ibid., File 2665. P. 59, 139; Ibid., File 2666. P. 66; Ibid., File 2914. P. 13; Ibid., File 4000. P. 14. (In Russ.)

³⁷ Ibid., File 3545. P. 31. (In Russ.)

issue of Soviet assistance. There is some information about the construction of the Mbeya Technical College with Soviet assistance in the first half of 1980.

The exact date of the start of construction of the college is not indicated in the sources. But in the report of the mathematics teacher S.B. Toporkov on his work in the school town of Umbwe from January 1983 to December 1984, it is mentioned that Soviet technicians were building a technical training center in the town of Mbeya³⁸. In the recording of the conversation between V.S. Golomysov, an expert of the Mission to Tanzania, and O. Kahiarara, Commissioner of the Department of Recruitment and Distribution of Foreign Specialists of the Ministry of Education of Tanzania, which took place on July 16, 1986, it is mentioned that the college was still under construction³⁹. However, the transcript of the conversation between V.S. Golomyslov and O.H. Buanachery, Chief Secretary of the Ministry of Education of Zanzibar, dated 4 December 1986, indicates that six Soviet teachers were already working at the Mbeya Technical College at that time⁴⁰.

The objective of the Tanzanian education system was to develop national personnel for agriculture and related industries, as well as to foster political enlightenment⁴¹. The aim was to move from an agrarian to an agrarian-industrial economy. Secondary technical schools, which provided training for technicians and skilled labourers, played a special role in solving the problem⁴². Although technical institutions were very important to the Tanzanian Ministry of National Education, they were far fewer in number than general education institutions.

By 1975, there were only three technical schools in Tanzania—in Moshi, Ifunda, and Mtwara⁴³. In an effort to establish new technical schools and to strengthen existing ones, the Tanzanian Ministry of National Education established a new type of school—a full six-year technical secondary school. One of the first such institutions was opened in 1976 in Tosamaganga township. The construction of technical colleges that provided a full secondary education, one of which was Mbeya Technical College, also served the same purpose.

PROBLEMS OF SOVIET AID TO TANZANIA AND THEIR POSSIBLE CAUSES

Although the USSR actively assisted Tanzania in developing its secondary education system, problems pertaining to teaching methods and the provision of secondary schools persisted steadily throughout the entire period of cooperation.

The fifth methodological seminar of Soviet teachers provides an illustrative example of the persistence of such problems⁴⁴. The general content of this document demonstrates that, despite the efforts of Soviet teachers, many shortcomings of the Tanzanian teaching system remained in 1979. These included an insufficiently thought-out subject curriculum, a shortage of textbooks and their poor quality, poorly equipped laboratories

³⁸ Ibid., File 5017. P. 25. (In Russ.)

³⁹ Ibid., File. 5245. P. 54. (In Russ.)

⁴⁰ Ibid., File 5451. P. 2. (In Russ.)

⁴¹ Ibid., File 2914. P. 50. (In Russ.)

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid., P. 51. (In Russ.)

⁴⁴ Ibid., File 4000. P. 5–19. (In Russ.)

and classrooms, and a shortage of teaching hours for subjects. In 1980, all of the above-mentioned problems persisted and were consistently mentioned in most of the Soviet teachers' reports⁴⁵.

The cause for all these problems is not explained in the methodological seminar report or in other archival materials, but it can be assumed that it is directly related to the socio-political peculiarities of Tanzania at that time. It is highly probable that the Tanzanian leadership's emphasis on the active development of the primary level of education to the detriment of the secondary and tertiary levels played a significant role in the persistence of these problems [Gribanova 2022: 167].

The fact is that as early as 1969, the task of achieving universal primary education by 1989 was set [Gribanova 2022: 165]. The introduction of free compulsory primary education began in 1977. The intensification of primary education was carried out to the detriment of secondary and higher education, which contributed to the aggravation of the "bottleneck" problem in the Tanzanian education system. As a result, with a dramatic increase in the number of primary schools and a much slower increase in secondary schools, a significant gap was created between the number of students enrolling at both levels. For example, while 12% of primary school leavers were enrolled in public secondary schools in 1969, the figure was only 3% by the early 1980s [Gribanova 2022: 167].

Nevertheless, even when the aforementioned issue in the Tanzanian education system is taken into account, it still requires an explanation as to why secondary education schools were poorly supplied with teaching equipment and materials. This is particularly relevant in the context of Soviet aid to the development of secondary education in Tanzania. Despite the existence of a number of ways for the Soviet side to supply Tanzanian secondary schools, a specific question arises: why did the Tanzanian side never make a request for centralized assistance in supplying secondary schools, though throughout the entire period of Soviet teachers' work, almost all secondary schools continued to have the same problems with shortages and malfunctioning of teaching tools? It is not possible to provide a definitive answer based on the available archival materials, but there is some information that indirectly points to the significant influence of Tanzania's Ujamaa socio-economic policy on the aggravation of the education problem.

As early as 1967, President Julius Nyerere and the TANU leadership adopted a policy of self-reliance as part of the Arusha Declaration [Kavina 2022: 20–21]. The essence of this policy was that every worker, and every work collective, every organization had to rely on their own efforts in dealing with financial issues. First of all, everyone had to rely on real sources of income and only then on subsidies, grants, and other aid from the state.

The same applied to schools. Students, employees, and teachers worked together in the school fields to sell their produce⁴⁶. Students also worked actively in workshops, fulfilling orders from various organizations and repairing agricultural machinery.

This economic policy contributed to the deterioration of the situation of secondary schools by depriving them of potential state support. While it is obvious that the Tanzanian leadership was not deliberately trying to destroy one of the pillars of national

⁴⁵ Ibid., File 5017. P. 2, 17, 29, 39, 55, 64; Ibid., File 5245. P. 9, 12, 15–17. (In Russ.)

⁴⁶ Ibid., File 2914. P. 52. (In Russ.)

education, a self-reliant economic policy, coupled with a focus on primary education, deprived secondary education institutions of a significant proportion of the state support they needed.

These two factors may provide a possible explanation for the existence of many problems in the secondary education system during the period 1960–1980, for which Soviet educators spent so much effort in helping Tanzania.

CONCLUSION

Soviet assistance to Tanzania in the field of secondary education had a positive impact on national secondary education. A key part of such aid was the regular secondment of Soviet teachers to work in Tanzanian secondary schools and colleges. Although the supply of Tanzanian educational institutions was a separate item of Soviet aid, it was carried out through the mediation of Soviet teachers working in the field. The USSR also provided technical and financial assistance for the construction of Tanzanian educational facilities, one of which was the Mbeya Technical College.

Nevertheless, the assistance provided by the Soviet Union was unable to satisfy Tanzania's educational requirements and compensate the excesses of domestic policies that exacerbated the problems in this area. The emphasis on the development of primary education and the self-sufficiency of public schools under the principle of self-reliance resulted in a stagnation of secondary education.

A review of the archival materials from the State Archive of the Russian Federation indicates that, while the USSR's assistance generally achieved its intended objectives, it was constrained by certain political developments within Tanzania.

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ПОМОЩЬ СССР В РАЗВИТИИ СИСТЕМЫ СРЕДНЕГО ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ В ТАНЗАНИИ В ПЕРИОД 1960–1980-х гг.

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Аннотация. В статье на основе документов Государственного архива Российской Федерации (ГА РФ) исследуется тема советской помощи Танзании в области среднего образования с конца 1960-х до середины 1980-х гг. Тема двусторонних отношений СССР и Танзании в области образования была выбрана, с одной стороны, в связи с растущей актуальностью исследований российско-африканских отношений во всех областях, а с другой – из-за недостаточной ее изученности в российской и зарубежной историографии. Анализ советской помощи Танзании предваряется обзором причин, по которым танзанийское руководство сделало такой запрос. Главными основаниями для просьбы о помощи со стороны африканского государства стали нехватка местных специалистов в области образования и левая ориентация танзанийского правительства. После длительных переговоров СССР и Танзания договорились о подписании в 1969 г. контракта о командировании советских преподавателей для работы в средних учебных заведениях этой страны. В рамках договоренностей СССР снабжал танзанийские средние школы и колледжи учебным оборудованием и материалами, оказывал финансовую и техническую помощь Танзании в постройке средних учебных заведений. Советский Союз столкнулся с рядом проблем, решение которых в основном легло на плечи командированных учителей. Как полагает автор статьи, стабильно возникавшие сложности, с которыми пришлось иметь дело советским преподавателям и ведомствам, были напрямую связаны с внутрисполитической ситуацией в Танзании, а именно с приоритетом начального образования и экономической политикой в рамках политики уджамаа. И хотя советская помощь достигала намеченных целей, под влиянием тенденций во внутрисполитической жизни Танзании носила весьма ограниченный характер.

Ключевые слова: СССР, Танзания, помощь в развитии системы образования, советско-танзанийские отношения, советские преподаватели, танзанийское образование, *уджамаа*

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