The Arusha Declaration was made by Julius Nyerere on 5 February 1967, outlining the principles of *Ujamaa* (Nyerere’s vision of socialism) to develop the nation’s economy. The declaration called for an overhaul of the economic system, through African socialism and self-reliance. The villagization program, implemented in 1973–1976, sought to transform the pattern of rural settlement by congregating the rural population, which previously had been resident predominantly on dispersed family smallholdings in nucleated villages of sufficient size to be efficient (in bureaucratic terms) units for the delivery of services. Involved in this plan was the idea that the new villages could also become the basis for a socialist system of production.

Because of their impressive communicative potential in communities, *baliingi* became targets of appropriation by the TANU government. By the time of the Arusha Declaration, Nyerere’s governmental policies had turned toward the use of music competitions to promote official cultural values. These were held sporadically at four rounds at each of the village, district, regional, and national levels. Adjudication criteria, initially developed by the British for East African schools, were subsequently elaborated on by the Nyerere government, and fine-tuned at the local level for each performance. For example, during one 1967 festival, participants were expected to come up with songs praising the revolution, the nation, and the politics of self-determination (*Mkutano wa Mwanza Music Festival* 1967). Any festivals with official affiliation to the government were subjected to censorship, ‘to make sure that all songs had to do with the history of the development of political consciousness in our nation’1 (*Nyimbo za Wanafunzi za

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1 ‘Makusudi ya ombo hili ni kwamba nyimbo hizi ni za kihistoria katika maendeleo ya kisiasa na jamii ya taifa letu’.
Local music organizations in Mwanza like TUNNU, whose members were made up of primary and secondary school-teachers, advised school choirs with concise rules for how to play and what to wear: ‘(...) ili kuleta mapinduzi ya haraka kwa ndugu zetu wacheza na waimbaji’ (‘[...] so to speedily bring the revolution to our comrades who are singers and players.’) TUNNU also held independent noncompetitive music festivals that used similar criteria to bring out a pleasing standard in the music (Mkutano wa Mwanza Music Festival 1967).

In 1977, the CCM was formed from a coalition between TANU (from the mainland) and the Afro-Shirazi party (ASP, on Zanzibar). It sought to establish a socialist democratic state by encouraging self-help at all levels of society. The politics of the CCM were built on those principles laid down in the Arusha Declaration. Cultural events, which included dance performances, contests, and festivals, were organized by the regional government agencies. The Tanzanian government also encouraged and sponsored music competitions between the workers of various cooperatives for the sake of morale. Cooperatives in Mwanza that sponsored registered music groups included Victoria Investment, Mwatex (Mwanza Textiles), and Pamba Ltd. The Mwatex organization, described in one letter as a kind of model workers’ recreation site complete with netball, darts, and table tennis facilities, took pride in the fact that its workers understood the importance of cultural heritage (Afisi Utamaduni Mwanza n.d.):

Utamaduni katika kiwanda unayo sura nzuri, wafanyakazi pamoja na wananchi wa sehemu hiyo wamesimuka vya kutosha na wanaelewa umuhimu wa michezo wa utamaduni kwa ujumla katika maisha bora ya Watanzania. (Cultural heritage, in our factory, has made a pleasant appearance, as workers together with the people who live in this area have really stirred up plenty of pleasant thought and inquiry in this regard, and they understand the importance of musical heritage in general for the better life of the Tanzanian citizen.)

The Mwanza Cotton Board, which operates eleven ginneries in and around the Sukuma region, sponsored music competitions for prizes

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2 Tafrija ya Umoja na Nyimbo na za Utamaduni, or ‘Cultural Heritage Celebration of Song and Dance Togetherness’.

3 Mwatex became well known as an innovator in the bugobogobo ‘magembe’ dance technique (see also Chapters VIII and IX).