

Issue VI, January 2010

MAENDELEO DIALOGUE

Democracy in Tanzania



“...indeed despite sustained efforts to address the country’s economic and social problems, one half of all Tanzanians today are basically poor and one-third lives in abject poverty...”

48 YEARS OF OUR FIGHT AGAINST
POVERTY, IGNORANCE AND DISEASES:
HAVE WE ATTAINED OUR GOAL?

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MAENDELEO DIALOGUE:

**48 YEARS OF OUR FIGHT
AGAINST POVERTY,
IGNORANCE AND DISEASES:
HAVE WE ATTAINED OUR
GOAL?**



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi
CUF	Civic United Front
CHADEMA	Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo
KAS	Konrad Adenauer Stiftung
MKUKUTA	Mkakati wa Kukuza Uchumi na Kupunguza Umaskini Tanzania
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
SAU	Sauti ya Umma
TADEA	Tanzania Democratic Alliance
TADIP	Tanzania Development Initiative Program
UDSM	University of Dar es Salaam
TADIP	Tanzania Development Initiative Program

PREFACE

ON attainment of juridical independence in 1961, Tanzania declared total war against three development problems: poverty, ignorance and diseases.

And on marking 48 years of independence in line with its Maendeleo Dialogue series, Tanzania Development Initiative Program (TADIP) in collaboration with Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS) organized a one day dialogue to assess achievement attained in the fight against the country's three declared development enemies.

This publication is the outcome of that dialogue which was held on December 12, 2009 in Dar es Salaam.

Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS) was founded in Germany after the Second World War. KAS is a German political foundation whose work aims at promoting and protecting democracy, good governance and international relations. To meet her objectives, KAS works with partners, who are registered Tanzanian Civil Societies.

TADIP is an NGO formed by Tanzanians who are committed to the socio-economic and political development of their country. It was formally registered. TADIP Vision is to see a developed society that is informed, free and democratic and its Mission is, promoting dialogue through advocacy, Networking and Empowerment.

APPRECIATION

THE production of this work is a result of collaborative efforts by TADIP and KAS. We would like however, to extend our appreciation to all those who took part in the dialogue, for without them, nothing of the sort could have been produced. We would like to specifically recognize the leading role played by Mr. Shukrani Mbirigenda from the Institute of Development Studies, University of Dar es Salaam who moderated the Dialogue together with two paper presenters Mr. Ansbert Ngurumo and Mr. Edward Kinabo.

INTRODUCTION

SINCE independence in 1961, Tanzania has been preoccupied with three development problems: ignorance, poverty and diseases. National efforts to tackle these problems through centrally directed development plans initially resulted in a significant improvement in per capita income and access to education, health, water and other social services.

Thereafter however, these gains could not be sustained mostly because of policy weaknesses. Indeed despite sustained efforts to address the country's economic and social problems, one half of all Tanzanians today are basically poor and one-third lives in abject poverty. A country that in the 1980s attained a literacy rate of 84% today has an army of 13 million people who cannot read or write. In the health sector the situation is equally very gloomy. Concern with quality of health care services is widespread among the public and health staff alike.

It is in this context that Tanzania Development Initiative Program (TADIP) in collaboration with Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS) organized a one day dialogue titled: **48 YEARS OF OUR FIGHT AGAINST POVERTY, IGNORANCE AND DISEASES: HAVE WE ATTAINED OUR GOAL?**

The objective of the dialogue was to assess the success of the fight against the three development problems since independence.

It is very clear from the proceedings of the dialogue that the country has not only failed to get rid of the three declared enemies, but has created more enemies like corruption (*ufisadi*), self-aggrandizement and inefficiency. All these have to be grappled with.

There is a combination of factors that explain the country's failure to tackle the declared enemies. They include natural and self made conditions like drought and unfair international trade, respectively. However, to large extend most of the contributing factors are home made in particular the very nature of social and economic policies pursued by the post colonial authorities and the manner in which public resources were managed or mismanaged.

First, on attainment of political independence, the post -colonial state become the principal actor in socio-economic development, emphasizing the state-centered approach. Second, the integration of our country into the world capitalist economy as producer and seller of primary products was further intensified, despite the unfavorable terms of trade. Thirdly and equally important, the use of unlimited state power without restraint was extended; where as the issue of people's participation and accountability to the people was ignored. These methods of governance set the state and society apart in the sense that, the majority of the people were alienated as policies pursued by the state did not take into account the concrete social conditions and interests of the people. It is here the issue of governance (management of public affairs) arises

The good governance agenda is a response to the failure of development approaches tried since independence.

Very briefly, good governance refers to a well managed state, mobilized society and productive private sectors interwoven together.

Indicators of good governance include:

- Transparency and accountability
- Effective public administration
- Judicial independence
- Rule of law

- Respect of private property
- Observance of human rights
- Independence of civil society
- Accessibility of public office and public officials to citizens;
- Free media

On the contrary, poor or bad governance indicators include:

- Poor service delivery
- Lawlessness
- Corruption
- Violation of human rights
- Rule bending
- Discrimination
- Red tape and inaccessibility of public office and officials to citizens
- Secrecy, selective and limited information access to the public
- Lack of accountability
- Concentration of power in few hands

There is now a general consensus that the country's failure to tackle the declared development problems during the 48 years of political independence has more to do with poor governance, rather than lack of resources and other factors. The argument is that both internal and external resources have suffered from maladministration and that ordinary people were not benefiting because of corruption (*ufisadi*), and hence the cry for transparency and accountability or democratization of citizenary governance.

CHAPTER I

THE OFFICIAL OPENING

THE dialogue was officially graced by TADIP Director, Mr. Elijah Okeng'o. In his opening speech Mr. Okeng'o reminded the participants that there is a complex relationship between governance and economic development with underlying political systems.

In Tanzania he said questions related to the triangular relationship have attracted the attention of policy makers. There is also a growing awareness that problems of governance, public policy and economic performance are interconnected.

Thus a solution to one set of problems may often be found in the solution to another set, meaning it is wrong to assess them in isolation.

He said as the country marks its 48th year of independence the topic of the dialogue was picked deliberately to assess as to how much we have achieved in alleviating poverty, ignorance and diseases.

The TADP Director thanked the sponsors of the event, which is KAS, saying the forum provides an interactive exchange of ideas on how better development issues could be tackled.

On his party KAS country team leader Mr. Richard Shaba, acknowledged the presence his former teacher, Mr. Silvester Masinde who is the current vice chairman of Board of Trustees of CHADEMA.

He then briefed the participants what KAS stands for. He informed the delegates that Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS) is a German political foundation. It operates in more than 120 countries worldwide. The Foundation's headquarters are situated in Sank Augustin near Bonn and in Berlin. It started operating in Tanzania in 1964.

Konrad Adenauer, the first Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany's name and principles are KAS's guidelines, duty and obligation.

To meet its objectives, KAS works with other partners like TADIP who are registered Tanzanian NGOs. Her civic education programs aim at promoting freedom and liberty, peace and justice. They focus on consolidating democracy as well as on developing cooperation.

The KAS country team leader recalled that on attaining her political independence in 1961, Tanzania declared war against poverty, diseases and ignorance. Yet 48 years later, these three enemies are very much present and have even created additional enemies like violation of human rights with impunity.

He noted that there were more ignorant people today than before, and because of that, it is more difficult to get their basic rights.

With regard to governance, Mr. Shaba said it was important to discuss governance issues because the emergence of social classes with few very rich and many paupers, was a direct product of poor governance. There is therefore a need to talk candidly about all these developments.

CHAPTER II

PAPER PRESENTATIONS

THE opening session was followed by paper presentations under the moderation of Mr. Shukrani Mbirigenda, a Lecturer at the Institute of Development Studies, University of Dar es Salaam.

The first presenter was Mr. Ansbert Ngurumo, Deputy Managing Editor, Freemedia Group.

He began his presentation by touching on economic trends, saying when the fourth phase government came into power in 2005; inflation stood at 6% but was now hovering at 13%. Politically, he said the system has come to a dead end under tutelage of a regime, which is equally exhausted. Poverty is widespread to the extent that people were asking what is the meaning independence.

He recalled the daunting task the post independence government under the late Mwalimu Nyerere faced. Very few hospitals and doctors, 80% out of the 9 million people could not read or write in any language, and only 11 % had access to safe water.

However, the first phase government was able to meet the challenges squarely to the extent that when Mwalimu Nyerere retired in 1985, 84% of the country's population could read, write and count. Sadly 48 years after political independence the population has fallen back to ignorance of the 1960s, he said. This means, according to Mr. Ngurumo, Tanzania is moving backward instead of moving forward.

He reminded dialogue participants that Tanzania under Mwalimu Nyerere was able to make remarkable achievements because it had a vision built around the pillars of Arusha Declaration. Tanzania is going backwards now because it has no vision after abandoning Arusha Declaration without alternative path.

Given the abundance of resources, he said we should be sufficient in food, yet today millions of people go without proper meals.

In his assessment, the fruits of political independence of this country were being enjoyed by foreigners while local people have been turned into slaves in their own country. He also intimated that in Tanzania, less than two million have bank accounts.

Turning to education, he said Tanzania has a fleet of scholars who are good at echoing (copy cats) foreign phrases but lack logic education, which is the engine of creativity to solve local development problems. Part of the problem, he said was the use of inappropriate language. He suggested to revisit the education policy in order to decide on which language to use in our schools. A language appropriate for imparting knowledge to current and future generations.

With regard to health, he said it was strange that the very people who determine priorities in budget allocation, are the ones who travel abroad for treatment while the poor majority depend on dilapidated local health facilities and services. He said the practice was discriminatory and should be condemned. Does it mean the health of the so-called leaders matter most than ordinary citizens? He queried. “Tanzania is a country with public hospitals without drugs, but surrounded everywhere with pharmacies stocked to the brim with drugs. It is a paradox”. He said.

As a way forward, Mr. Ngurumo called upon Tanzanians to revive the fighting spirit of the nationalism days. A fight directed to oppressive systems and poor leadership.

Mr. Ngurumo would want to see a generation of fighters, he said Mwalimu Nyerere's generation was made up of fighting nationalists and not passive subjects. He would also want to see the overhaul of the existing structures that do not serve the interest of ordinary citizens, but foreigners in partnership with local self-serving political crooks.

The second presentation was made by Mr. Edward Kinabo. He began by asserting that it was wrong to assess development by simply going back to history. Instead, he said people should assess development in terms of how they have used available resources to bring about change in the form of development throughout the 48 years of political independence.

Similarly, he said ignorance does not only mean inability to read and write as it was in 1961. Today, he said ignorance also means inability to use electronic tools, like computers. Thus coming to age of a nation, according to Kinabo, should be measured in terms of how the available resources have been harnessed to spur development.

He expressed his disappointment that 48 years after independence when Tanzanians were supposed to be talking about computer literacy, 20% of the country's population still cannot read and write. Likewise, he said, 48 years after independence Tanzanians were still dying from malaria, whereas in countries like Cuba malaria is history.

Mr. Kinabo was very categorical saying grand corruption (*ufisadi*) was the main cause of underdevelopment in Tanzania. While per

capita income at independence stood at USD 2 it is now less than USD 1, and that one quarter of the population live below the poverty line.

Mr. Kinabo told the participants that although for the past ten years economic growth has increased from 6% to 10%, yet it has not percolated down to the common man. He wondered why should 12 million people live below the poverty line when the economy is doing well.

Explaining the irony, he said the growth has been experienced in the construction, mining and tourism sectors while agriculture where 80% of the population depends upon for their livelihood has remained stuck. He said there was an urgent need for the country to set its priorities right, meaning to invest more in agricultural sector.

He went on to say that part of the problem is our failure to set priorities and budget discipline. He cited the shillings 21 billion which was set aside for farm inputs and yet studies by REPOA indicates that the inputs never reached farmers. Apparently they landed in private hands and sold across our border.

Strangely, the same government has now come up with *Kilimo Kwanza* initiative without even analyzing why past projects like *Siasa ni Kilimo* have failed.

In this regard Mr. Kinabo was quick to point his fingers at leaders, saying the biggest hurdle to economic development in this country is bad leadership, we are performing poorly especially in supervision and follow ups.

With this kind of leadership that behaves in a ‘business as usual’ manner, he noted, it will take another 48 years to move Tanzanian

from where it is today. “Tanzania is actually going backward instead of going forward”. He emphasized.

According to him, with only a few months remaining before MKUKUTA Programme come to end, there is nothing to boast of. Again the problem is bad leadership.

Revising the yawning gap between the rich and the poor Mr. Kinabo said inequalities was the biggest challenge facing this country since independence, warning that all military coups and revolutions starting from the French Revolution of 1879, are triggered by social differences and hence social insecurity and injustice.

He also highlighted discriminatory tendencies being groomed by the incumbent government, whereby top leaders are treated abroad while ordinary people are served by local health facilities with very little to offer.

The worst thing, according to him is the Political Leaders Benefits Pension Act of 1999. Under this provision top political leaders are paid up to 80% of their job salaries upon retirement. And after death, their family members continue to enjoy the benefits.

According to him this Act is not only discriminatory, but it is one the laws that are draining the national economy. He recommended that the law be scrapped outright.

After the two presentations, dialogue moderator, Mr. Mbirigenda invited representatives from political parties to expound on their party policies related to poverty, ignorance and diseases.

The following is summary of what political parties representatives had to say.

Mr. John Lifa Chipaka, President of TADEA said his party has a policy document which is valid for five years after which is reviewed. He did not elaborate what does the policy says on poverty, ignorance and diseases.

Instead he reminded the participants to forget about *Ujamaa*, which he said it failed even in Russia and China.

He said the Arusha Declaration was a personal idea of Mwalimu Nyerere, saying he did not consulted anybody in formulating the Declaration.

Mr. Silvester Masinde Vice Chairman of Board of Trustees of CHADEMA, informed the participants that his party is built on two pillars, namely democracy and development.

Tanzania he said was going backwards not because of shortage of land, natural resources or people, but rather due to poor policies and leadership.

He said there was no improvement in peoples' welfare mostly because of lack of proper education and technology know how. He stressed that presently, the country's natural resources were being harvested without benefiting the people. This is because of poor leadership.

He informed dialogue participants that to talk about good policies as CCM does, was mere polemics because the ruling party has never defined clearly what concepts like good policies actually mean. He asked participants to clarify what does 'good policy' mean in the present system.

Mr. Masinde reminded participants that however good a leader may be he cannot deliver in a system that is defective and ineffective.

“When President Mkapa came to power he was labeled Mr. Clean. After the end of his tenure in office, he is blamed of presiding over a corrupt and ineffective system”.

The CHADEMA Vice–Chairman underscored the importance of having in place a properly functioning political system. The current centralized system, inherited by the post colonial government, is not delivering and therefore needs to be overhauled.

He said CHADEMA has come out with *majimboism*, which according to him, empowers people to determine their own development. He cited economic achievements by cooperative movements in the Lake zone, Kilimanjaro, Mbinga and Rungwe before independence, saying such self initiatives were killed when centralism was adopted by the incumbent party and its government. The majimboism policy, according to him, is geared to give freedom to people to decide what is appropriate for them according to available resources and needs.

SAU Dar es Salaam Regional Secretary, Mark Kibogoyo, said Tanzania was reeling backwards because the leadership had been hijacked by gangs of looters. “We are being ruled by bad people” he said. Adding that this country will stabilize once the current rulers are removed from power.

Mr. Rweyunga from PPT –Maendeleo echoed what the TADEA president had said. He was also of the opinion that this country was being run by thieves.

He also recalled that even Arusha Declaration was shrouded in theft through the nationalization of private properties. He criticized *Kilimo Kwanza* saying it was old wine in new bottles as it was not different from *Siasa ni Kilimo* of the *Ujamaa* days which also failed to deliver.

The issue at hand, he said, is not political polemics, but rather accessibility of peasants to markets for their produce without restrictions. According to him, peasants were facing a lot of hurdles in selling their crops including banning them to sell food crops to neighbouring countries.

He equally criticized the inbuilt culture of suppressing poor people by the top leadership. He would like to see concerted efforts in modernizing peasants and empower them to stand up for their rights against bully leadership. The lasting solution according to Mr. Rweyunga is to get rid of the incumbent party and its entire leadership.

Dotto Malela from CUF said the root cause of ignorance and diseases, was poverty. He went on to say that poverty was man made. It is condoned by the ruling regime so that it can rule for ever. He said poverty in Tanzania is a product of poor leadership. Citing a case of Morogoro where the leadership was arresting people who make charcoal, but industrialists who are polluting the environment are not.

CHAPTER III

PLENARY DISCUSSIONS

After paper presentations and policy briefs on governance, the afternoon session was devoted to plenary discussion.

Mr. Chagulani (UDSM) responded to one participant who had claimed that today's youth were only interested in making money and get rich quickly by stealing. He said that, students in higher learning institutions were studying under horrible and frustrating conditions. Such conditions he said were a breeding ground for revenge, including unpatriotic tendencies and theft of public funds. He suggested to TADIP to undertake a study as to why students talk of looting public money even before they get employment. He said, being aware of what was going in the corridors of power; it is natural that they too would follow suit when employed. If you live in a society where the public sector is manned by selfish and greedy leadership, it fair to do the same. He said.

A participant from Rorya - District lamented that in Tanzania parents are forced to bribe teachers in order for their children to pass examinations, saying if this trend was allowed to continue, Tanzania is heading to become an illiterate nation. Part of the problem he explained, is that Tanzania has been infiltrated by *Nyang'au* (man eating hyenas), It has become a man –eat- man society, warning that if no steps are taken to contain them in ten years time, this country will be another Rwanda. The old man did not mince words by saying CCM is party of hyenas and is likely to plunge the country into bloodshed if not ejected out of power soon.

Mr. Victor Kimesera from CHADEMA recalled the late Premier Edward Sokoine when on being appointed said the government has gone on holiday, today it is the leadership that has gone on holiday. Mr. Kimesera said he was horrified by the docility of Tanzanians who keep quite even they are stepped on. Where is the fighting spirit of those years? He asked.

He said CHADEMA was working very hard to revive the fighting spirit of *wananchi* so that they can use their mass power to kick-out the “thieves” from power. He said the *wananchi* have to wake up from their slumber and fight for change. The lauded Tarime people for their fighting spirit, which enabled them to remove CCM leadership from power.

John Mallya of Tumaini University reminded participants that after independence the philosophy of *Uhuru na Kazi* (Freedom and Work) was indeed put into practice and it worked. Unfortunately today slogans remain disputable as exemplified by education to mean buildings without teachers, books and laboratories. Speaking philosophically, he said ignorance after independence was directed at an adult who could not read and write. Today ignorance should be directed to the leadership. Recalling Mao’s saying that leadership should reflect the direction, in which the society should aim at. He wondered what does President Kikwete’s globe trotting phobia means to ordinary people. With regard to a culture of begging from donors for everything, he said it was a shame for country that supported the liberation struggle in Southern Africa to beg for mosquito nets from President George Bush. Tanzania cannot develop in this way. It needs new breed of leaders with clear philosophy; he said. He equally joined the call for a new vision with clear identifiable national interests that all Tanzanians must defend.

Another participant revisited the electoral system saying in a country falling back to ignorance, electorates need an alternative way of electing leaders. Leaders ready to deliver.

Another Participant called for self re-examination on how to better the existing political system, instead of thinking on turning our back to it.

Participant from UDSM said 48 years of independence are characterized by massive poverty, ignorance and diseases everywhere. The problem in his view is preparedness saying the present generation must stand up to fight for the fruits of freedom, including to make tangible changes;

One of the participants from Political Party spoke of CCM's acrobatics in rigging elections. She said the incumbent party had over 120 tricks of retaining power. If the opposition wants to win the forthcoming elections, we must brace up for a fight and prepare ourselves properly.

Participant from the private sector said violation of leadership code by public leaders is what has led to empty promises or half cooked services. This is characterized by school building without adequate education, hospital walls without trained personnel and medicines.

Silvester Masinde urged the government to improve professionalisation of education system, saying the country is yearning for professional educators instead of mere employees who are easily manipulated those in power. He said the education system must be geared to empower citizens for self reliance. Mr. Masinde himself a professional teacher also stressed that investment in primary education is the duty of the state.

Deo Munishi said there is no harm to go back to self reliance. Explaining that you cannot talk about *Kilimo Kwanza* while the local markets are flooded with apples from South Africa and rice from Vietnam.

Zesweda from graduate of University of Dar es Salaam lamented on the manner in, which education system has been allowed to collapse saying it is very strange that people care about jobs instead of professionalism or specialization.

A representative from KIMAKI Women Group was very specific, by saying poor leadership is a major cause of poverty, and our failure to contain diseases and widespread ignorance. She wondered how a country manned by Ministers with fake degrees can develop. She called for the overhaul of the current constitution to cope with the prevailing socio-economic and political environment. Furthermore, she called for massive civic education so that citizens can have the ability to vote wisely.

Another recommended for the overhaul of the Constitution with clear cut separation of powers, checks and balance including having Ministers outside confiele of the parliament. She insisted that Ministers and parliamentarians should carry party posts. He would want to see opposition political parties extend their presence down to the grassroots in the rural areas. Turning to civil society organizations, he challenged them to empower communities with civic education, and strongly oppose state oppression especially of weak civic groups.

Antony Komu of CHADEMA decried the creeping culture of begging for everything. He said Tanzania has to invest in priority areas and stop wholesale begging from donors.

The dialogue moderator, Mr. Mbirigenda underscored the importance of national interest saying these must be protected at all cost.

With civic education, he noted it was possible to use people's power to vote out office non-performing and self serving leadership.

He cautioned against the use of force to eject incumbent party from office stressing that it is important to nurture a democratic culture instead of resorting to undemocratic actions.

As to why even academicians were abandoning their career to vie for political positions, he said that political carrier is seemingly paying much more than professional jobs.

In their response to issues that emerged from the plenary discussion, Mr. Ngurumo repeated his original position by stating that Tanzanians need to make difficult decisions if they want to move forward; that is, the use of people's power.

With regard to Mr. Chipaka who endorsed a culture of satisfying self interest. Mr. Ngurumo differed. He said Tanzania need to preserve national values instead of abusing public trust by stealing public funds and other resources.

Mr. Kinabo on his part underscored the importance of responsible citizenship and leadership. Given the poor leadership we are currently witnessing, he said it was important for the people to wake up and eject it from office come next elections.

CHAPTER IV

MAIN ISSUES RAISED IN PLENARY DISCUSSIONS

Main issues raised during plenary discussion can be summarized as follows:

There is an urgent need for a national debate on the country's vision with clear definition of national interest, which all political parties must stand to protect, regardless of their ideological differences;

Problems of governance, public policy and economic development are interconnected, thus it is wrong to assess them in isolation;

The fruits of political independence are being enjoyed mostly by foreigners in cohort with selfish leaders, while local communities have been turned into slaves in their own country;

The current political structures should be overhauled as they serve the interests of the powerful few in partnership with foreigners, instead of the ordinary people (wananchi);

Tanzanians should wake up and fight for their basic rights, and make sure power wielders are accountable for their actions or inactions;

The country has a lot of scholars who are good in echoing foreign phrases but lack education logic, which is the engine of creativity in our struggle to solve development problems we are currently facing.

Tanzanians are yet to be convinced that the endless trips abroad made by their globe trotting President; are beneficial to the nation. With the current level of corruption, there is no chance for ordinary people can disentangle themselves out of poverty;

Tanzanians should revive the fighting spirit of the liberation (nationalism) as witnessed during the era of straggle for independence. We must fight against local tyrants.

CHAPTER V

DIALOGUE RESOLUTIONS

At the end of the dialogue, participants adopted the following resolutions;

1. Since independence in 1961 Tanzania has been pre-occupied with three development problems namely poverty, ignorance and diseases. Yet, despite trying all development approaches at her disposal, it has failed to break make tangible achievements mostly because it has embraced an oppressive structure, which is inimical to development;
2. Tanzanians are poor, ignorant and unhealthy because they do not command power to decide the kind of leadership they want. Post colonial leadership has never given them freedom to chose who should lead them;
3. There is an urgent need to overhaul the current structures since they do not work in favor of the mass. The reign is dominated with the powerful few in partnership with foreigners;
4. Considering that states are basically suppressive institutions, it is the duty of the civil societies to provide civic education to communities in order to uphold their civic rights;
5. There is a need to overhaul the current Constitution so that there is clear cut separation of power, as well as checks and balances among the Executive, Judiciary and Parliament.

Also to recall powers by voters of unresponsive elected leaders at all levels;

6. Education is a vital development tool. However to be so, it must be grounded on local values, norms and language that can facilitate effective learning. It must always be geared to empower citizens to be economically self reliant;
7. The current education policy needs to be reviewed to cope with the reality on the ground (down-to-earth);
8. Language is key to development. Tanzanians need to be clear, which language should be used in imparting knowledge in schools. This is vital if we want to develop fast;
9. Tanzania has no effective vision and lack leaders with national interest. It is important to set a national vision and identify national interests that all (despite party differences) leaders must defend at all cost;
10. The ruling party and its leadership is infested with white collar criminals (*mafisadi*). Tanzanians should get ready to fight and defence of the fruits of their political freedom;
11. The Political Leaders Benefit Pension Act of 1999 is intended to drain the drain to national economy, it is also discriminatory. It is therefore recommended to be reviewed extensively;
12. There is discriminatory practice in accessing health services. Whereas our so called leaders are treated abroad, poor people die in neglected local health facilities. All forms of discrimination should be fought ruthlessly;

13. Tanzania will never develop through foreign aids. There is an urgent need to shackle off the begging culture which is inbuilt in the leadership psyche. We must also set our her priorities right;
14. The lack of nation vision means this country cannot make rational and independent decisions to advance its national interests. We must realize the fact that external forces have no any interest in our national development. There is a need to define our interests and our vision.
15. The tendency to recycle policies is an indicator of bankruptcy of ideas of the current leadership. People's power is called upon to remove the current leadership out of power through the ballot box.
16. Tanzania is facing leadership crisis mostly because of greedy and self-serving individuals who are using their proxy in power to amass wealth at the expense of the majority. Time has come to redress this practice;
17. The yawning income gap between the very rich few and majority paupers is a fertile breeding ground for insecurity and injustice and breakdown of peace in the country. There is a need to impart knowledge through mass education so that our citizens can hold the leadership accountable.

CHAPTER VI

OFFICIAL CLOSING

In a brief closing remarks TADIP Director, Mr. Elijah Okeng’o showered praise to KAS for sponsoring the dialogue for the fifth time.

He said given that all past dialogues have been held in Dar es Salaam, it was high time to explore possibility of organizing the sixth dialogue upcountry – Mwanza, Mbeya or any other venue.

He said TADIP aims at supporting local communities to address development problems.

He also extended appreciations to dialogue participants specifically those who traveled from up country to attend this important event. With these remarks he declared the dialogue closed.

APPENDICES:

Appendix 1: Paper presented

48 YEARS OF OUR FIGHT AGAINST POVERTY, IGNORANCE AND DISEASE: HAVE WE ATTAINED OUR GOAL?

Presenter: Ansbert Ngurumo, *Deputy Managing Editor, Free Media Ltd*

Introduction

Assessing our country's progress in the fight against ignorance, poverty and disease for the last 48 years is not a very easy task. But it is not an impossible endeavour. Throughout this period, Tanzania has gone through four phases of government leadership under four presidents – Julius Kambarage Nyerere (1961-1985), Ali Hassan Mwinyi (1985-1995), Benjamin Mkapa (1995-2005) and incumbent Jakaya Kikwete whose tenure started in 2005. Of all these four, it was Nyerere who expounded the notion of the *three major enemies* the nation faced at independence. We sought to liberate ourselves from classical colonialism because we were poor, ignorant and without proper health security. Forty eight years later, we are still using Nyerere as a yardstick as we ask ourselves if we have a success story to narrate. Our success or failure is determined by the fact that we are either victors or victims of poverty, ignorance and diseases.

A foundation from humble beginnings

Shortly before retirement in 1985, president Nyerere reminded parliamentarians of the biggest task his government had, and which had been highlighted in his first presidential address to the nation in December 1962. It was about building a united nation on the basis on human dignity and equality. The independence that Tanganyika (later Tanzania) attained could not be meaningful without promoting and dignifying these ideals.

At independence, the country's population was relatively low – estimated at nine (9) million. But the infrastructure was lacking in every aspect. Nine million people were scrambling for health services in 98 hospitals, 22 rural health centres and 975 dispensaries. The entire country had 12 doctors! Of the entire population, only 11 percent had access to clean and safe water. With an illiteracy rate of 80 percent, Tanganyika did not have a single university in 1961, but there were 11,832 secondary school students and 186,000 primary school pupils. With time, an average annual income for a common Tanzanian was increasing steadily from Sh. 510 in 1964 to Sh 557 in 1966 and Sh 680 in 1978. In 24 years of Nyerere's rule, some positive steps were evident. For example, in 1985, when he retired, over 80 percent of the people were able to read and write. But the next 24 years after his retirement have witnessed a complete reversal of the trend, with illiteracy rate back at 80 percent in 2009.

In 1985, 20 Tanzanian shillings were worth one Great Britain Pound. In 2009, the same pound is equivalent to 2100 shillings, at a time when an average annual income of Tanzanians is less than one dollar a day per person, close to what it was in 1978. Yet we know that Sh 680 of today is less than what Sh 10 of 1978 was worth. When the fourth phase government came into power in 2005, inflation stood at 6%. In 2009, we are talking of 13% inflation. As we speak now, less than two million Tanzanians (out of 45 million)

have bank accounts – another indication of citizens’ loss of grip of economic prosperity. One would have expected 48 years to be a maturity age for any nation, but with Tanzania, these have been five decades of negative growth - going backward instead of moving forward. Almost half a century after independence, at a time when a big chunk of our budget depends on donor funding, we are still not convinced if we have political independence, let alone economic independence. And this is a nation that used to champion self-independence as an integral ideal of our educational philosophy.

The pride of being among the poorest nations

Whatever Tanzania was able to achieve in the first 24 years, it was because the nation had visionary leadership built around the pillars of The Arusha Declaration whose aim was to build a self-reliant society, led by people of integrity; responsible and accountable leaders. It was expounded then, and it is still accepted today, that Tanzania’s development hinged upon four pillars: *people, land, sound politics and good leadership*. We are blessed with all these elements. Yet, because of the country’s lack of visionary leadership, we have failed to utilize them properly. And since we abandoned the Arusha declaration in 1992, we have put nothing in its place as an officially alternative vision for Tanzania. We have not added quality to our human and material resources. No wonder we have millions of people going without food in a land of plenty. Instead, we have paved a way for foreigners to reap the fruits of our independence as indigenous Tanzania remain enslaved in their own country for lack necessary skills, quality education or financial capability.

In 48 years, the population has grown from nine million to over 45 million. Tanzania is a huge country with fertile land and enormous natural resources, but a number of its people still go without enough, safe food and without decent shelter. We have not

used these resources to accommodate and serve the ever-growing population. The resources have been misused, reflecting a bigger problem pertaining to leadership and politics of this country. Very unfortunately, after 48 years of independence, Tanzania remains listed among “the world’s poorest nations.” Can we claim to have fought bravely and victoriously against poverty?

The irony of our education and health services

During the first 24 years of independence Tanzania championed what was known as ‘Education for Self-reliance’ as stipulated by Mwalimu Nyerere in 1967, meant to link the formality of education to real life of individuals and society. It was a vision for the type of education that would impart skills, knowledge and attitudes necessary for students’ work and business life. It was education for everybody – poor or rich. The main criteria for someone’s academic progress at any level, was one’s academic ability. Something went wrong after Mwalimu Nyerere’s retirement. New criteria were silently, but practically, introduced to make it ‘education for the rich.’ Education became a costly commodity - inaccessible by poor Tanzanians (the majority) and available to very few well-to-do individuals. Gradually, it became a matter of quantity rather than quality and, as of now, people’s education is assessed by certificates, not the quality of knowledge, skills and attitudes acquired.

This notion has highly contributed to a rise in forgeries of educational certificates and institutionalized leakage of examinations every year. As a result, despite an increase in the number of universities and colleges, Tanzania has a fleet of scholars good at echoing academic phrases but lacking in educational logic. As a system, we are lacking in creativity and practical education. The system of education has remained unchanged for decades despite public outcries for a change to accommodate new trends – which would

demand a complete overhaul of the education policy, and probably take the nation back to its roots, the original notion of education for service, in an improved version.

In the process of overhauling the education policy, Tanzanians need to adopt an appropriate language of instruction. As it stands now, Kiswahili is the language of instruction in primary schools while English is the language of instruction at secondary and tertiary levels. But it is a psychological and pedagogical disappointment to both our kids and our teachers; because the majority of Tanzanian kids do not have a comfortable background in English, and many teachers – even English teachers – are not competent in English. Without competency and confidence in the language of instruction, it is absurd to expect students to comprehend lessons, gain skills, become knowledgeable, pass examinations and be useful in society. If they have got to pass, and have certificates to vindicate their pass mark, they can do anything to obtain good marks – fake or authentic. This is where the problem of cramming answers, cheating in exams or forging certificates begins. It is our challenge to decide and use an appropriate language of imparting knowledge and skills to our students, now and in future.

Like education, the health services in the last 24 years favour those who can afford to pay the ever-rising medical expenses. Many of the country's public hospitals are in bad shape; and it is strange that the very people who determine our health priorities in the government budget never make use of our health system. They seek medical services abroad while the poor depend on dilapidated local health facilities. This is a discriminatory practice between the leaders and ordinary citizens. But what makes them so special in a country that used to propagate equal opportunities for all in the name of equality of human beings? We may need to do a further research to establish

this fact, but I believe Tanzania is the only country with hospitals without drugs but surrounded everywhere with private hospitals and pharmacies stocked with drugs to the brim. What a paradox!

Conclusion

The last 48 years have not been the years of progress in the fight against the nation's three major *enemies*. And with corruption on its rise, Tanzanians are facing the fourth enemy – the biggest – due to our failure to vanquish the three other enemies. Tanzanians must fight to rebuild their country and revive the nationalistic spirit, by which we will be able to change the oppressive system and dislodge weak and irresponsible leaders from power. It means overhauling the existing systems and structures that do not serve the interests of ordinary citizens, through democratically acceptable means; and stop political crooks from partnering with foreigners, posing as investors, to serve their selfish ends. And if Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) has not been able to institute the goals of the revolution it was set to address, the people must find a better way of revolutionising the country's economy and politics with or without CCM in power. If we do not want to spend another 48 years in abject poverty, ignorance and disease, we must take action now.

MAENDELEO DIALOGUE

Democracy in Tanzania

48 YEARS OF OUR FIGHT AGAINST **POVERTY, IGNORANCE AND DISEASES:** HAVE WE ATTAINED OUR GOAL?

Since independence in 1961, Tanzania has been preoccupied with three development problems: ignorance, poverty and diseases. National efforts to tackle these problems through centrally directed development plans initially resulted in a significant improvement in per capita income and access to education, health, water and other social services.

Thereafter however, these gains could not be sustained mostly because of policy weaknesses. Indeed despite sustained efforts to address the country's economic and social problems, one half of all Tanzanians today are basically poor and one-third lives in abject poverty. A country that in the 1980s attained a literacy rate of 84% today has an army of 13 million people who cannot read or write. In the health sector the situation is equally very gloomy. Concern with quality of health care services is widespread among the public and health staff alike.

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