Tanzania vs. Kenya: Truth or Fiction?

The resent article on the Economist Magazine comparing Tanzania with Uganda and Kenya has generated an interesting debate that deserves a space in *The TANA DIGEST*. Among the comments circulating on the TANA Yahoo Group, two had contrasting opinions on the factual nature of The Economist content. At the permission of Samuel Bukambuzi, his comments have been reproduced in this newsletter with the title assigned by the Editor and minor editing. At the request of the Editor, Awadhi Kyande has expanded his earlier comments into a full article for this newsletter. The original article from The Economist is also included without any modification. The two contrasting opinions are followed by a separate article on the subject providing an impartial analysis of the position of Tanzania in the East African Community and any other international free trade block that Tanzania may decide to join in the future.

Waiting for that Great Leap Forward –Worries About One of East Africa's Steadier Economies

Source: The Economist May 7, 2009

THE country already gets 40% of its government budget in aid, but now it wants even more foreign cash to help it through the economic downturn. How much is enough? Tanzania's president, Jakaya Kikwete, smiles grimly. "We're trying to bring down our dependency, but we're grateful for what we receive."With 44m people, Tanzania has often been given the benefit of the doubt simply for being the gentler twin of harsher Kenya, which has 40m. What it lacks in dynamism it makes up for in placidity and a common national identity. It is unlikely to fall apart at elections or any other time. Its founding party of independence, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM, the Party of the Revolution), formerly the Tanzanian African National Union, known as TANU, still suffocates the country's ragtag opposition parties with its size and ponderous propaganda. Mr Kikwete is a CCM man; his breakthrough job was as the youthful head of political indoctrination for Tanzania's armed forces. He will almost certainly be returned to office with a big majority in elections next year. He still charms would-be investors with his sales patter. Yet those who set up shop in the country are often disappointed. Tanzania, many complain, is a "slow" or even "terrible" place to do business—and "ungrateful" for foreign aid or investment. Even its boosters admit it is wrapped in red tape and lacks skilled workers. Almost everyone says Mr Kikwete is spending too much time burnishing Tanzania's image abroad and not enough fixing problems at home. Last year he chaired the African Union. In any event, he hopes that aid will keep Tanzania afloat long enough for its economy eventually to make a great leap forward. Shiny new buildings even in provincial towns, along with new roads and water projects, signal optimism. Politics are stable. A rowdy separatist movement in the island of Zanzibar is quiet for now. By Tanzanian standards there is a new sense of urgency. The energy ministry says it wants tenders "immediately" for a power station to cover a paralysing shortfall in electricity. Mr Kikwete turns up unannounced at state-owned outfits such as the port and the railways to demand efficiency and rail against corruption. He has also lambasted the country's "Wabenzi" (those who drive a Mercedes-Benz). But Mr Kikwete turns mournful when he spells out the effects of the global recession: missed government revenue targets; a cancelled sovereign-bond issue; projects for a nickel plant and a vast aluminium smelter put on hold; revenue from coffee down; cotton hit even harder; tourism suffering as well. An exception is gold, with new finds still to be exploited and the price holding up fairly well. Tanzania may already, in some respects, be falling behind. A recent Chinese state visit failed to bring much investment. The government in Beijing thinks Kenya, not Tanzania, is the gateway to the mineral wealth of Congo. Tanzania's two main railways are rickety. The port of Dar es Salaam failed to pinch business from Kenya's port, Mombasa, when Kenya was in turmoil a year ago. No one seems to know how Tanzania's main port will hit its target of a tenfold increase in goods traffic by 2030. Tanzania is not even spending all the aid it is given. Last year, $2.4 billion of pledged funds were not disbursed. Tanzania must also decide whether to integrate more closely into the East African Community (EAC), which includes neighbouring Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda and Uganda. It has dragged its feet over opening its borders and moving towards a common currency, though it recently insisted that a common market would get going next year. It suspects Kenya of using the EAC as a way of grabbing arable Tanzanian land on the cheap. And the country's tiny middle class fears being swamped in a common market by better-qualified Kenyans and Ugandans. Moreover, the world crisis may bolster old socialists in the CCM who want a return to *ujamaa*, a failed model of rural collectivisation propounded by Tanzania's founding president, Julius Nyerere. That would set it back even further.

Tanzania: The Nation in Disarray

Samuel Bukambuzi

First of all thanks a lot Pasian for posting this because I love the fact that it tells nothing but the truth. Yes some of this may not sound as good as you wish it should but guess what, I will take this article over silent. I am not going to repeat the whole article, but I will go over some of what has been said in here. Do you want to tell me that the Tanzanian budget doesn't depend on

foreign aid. Yes it does. Now is that a big deal? Probably not! The problem with this is how the money is spent. If you go back a few months, there was a video that was about Economic forum which was held in Tanzania. In that forum they talked about the foreign aid that was promised to African countries particularly Tanzania. There were a lot of complaints about this promise not being met, however, there was no mention of how is this money is being spent, and how is it benefiting the people who need it the most. Particularly, I am talking about accountability. I have yet to hear any prosecution over misusing of the public funds. If that young man who slapped the former president has already been sentenced to a year in prison, which took about a month the case to be heard in the court of law, how long does it take to prosecute someone who is being accused of stealing billions of public funds? Let me guess those committees that are probing on who is at fault and all that stuff, aren't they getting paid or spending money somehow? Where is that budget coming from? When did they become investigators? Why not pay professional investigators to do the job instead?

Secondly, Kenya is becoming more and more popular over Tanzania. People prefer going to Kenya for business, investments, vacations etc. Does this surprise anybody? I don't think so! If it does, maybe it is time to wake up. Talks to those foreigners who visit Kenya ask them why they go there. The common answer is that they are going to see Zanzibar, Kilimanjaro, the Masai etc., the very attractions that are in Tanzania. We are so asleep that our national parks and mountains are being used to advertise Kenya. Last time somebody asked me where was I from and I said Tanzania, and that person asked again “is that is an island close to Jamaica”? “Is that in the Caribbean because I never heard of it”?

Third, CCM raised me so I can never abandon it. Guess what! Kikulacho kinguoni mwako! Yes, that is how it is. May be it is time to try something new. The very successful business man is that one who takes chances and risks. If you are scared of taking chances and risks most likely your chances will be limited and that is exactly what is happening right now in Tanzania. If the leaders can figure out the new way of investing using current techniques instead of same old system that has been there for the past 50 years, we can make a more significant development in many areas, such as education, healthcare and trade. What do these leaders learn whenever they get the chance to go abroad? The reason people choose the public sector is to serve the country, meaning the very people who put you in power and not to be served by the people who put you in power, which is what is happening in Tanzania.

Fourth and lastly, I don't support this East African Community nonsense that has no benefit to Tanzania. If anything these other countries are trying to cash in from our natural resources. Let’s face it Tanzania has more natural resources than any other country in the EAC as far as I know. By the way I haven't done any research about this. I am just saying this from my instincts. If I am wrong on this, please somebody correct me. The common currency! Are you kidding me under whose control? I guess by so called "better qualified Kenyans and Ugandans" because they think Tanzanians are not educated, which is not the case. I believe the majority of Tanzanians are well educated may be not as well as our neighbours, which is mainly because of the Tanzanian politics that got so much on the way to the point that the majority look dumb except the few who have been in system since the colonization era. That is why I believe it is time they let the young generation engage fully. Let me ask the very simple question why aren't the Tanzanian politicians proud of retiring, why keep hanging on until there is nothing to hang on? I know somebody said the University of Dar es Salaam is the best in African, and if that is true, no wonder we the Africans are being regarded as uneducated by the rest of the world. No offense though, just the truth as it will set us all free. I love Tanzania so much and I will always will, but sometimes I wonder, how much does Tanzania Loves me.

East African Community: Kenya is Vexed on the Land Issue

Awadhi Kyande

The article on the magazine ‘Economist’ posted on the TANA has prompted a debate. The writer could not identify him/herself. There are many similar articles circulating in the newspapers and internet attacking Tanzania. Recently Gitau Warigi a well known journalist in Kenya posted the article on Kenya newspaper which sparked heated debate and exposed the hidden rivalry between the duos. Apparently Gitau has been a mouthpiece of Kenya government when she wants to express her grievance. The article on Economist magazine carries similar sentiments.

It is imperative we examine the allegation with probity and transparency. The accusation by an anonymous writer that Tanzania is a recipient of donor’s funds is undisputed. Post independent donors have given millions of dollars to help the country. However, I don’t agree with the notion that the government has misused the fund all the time. There are areas we made progress, for example, The Nordic countries funded the Kibaha education center, which is still delivering health and education services to millions of people. Hydro dams like Mtera, Nyumba ya Mungu, the national power grid, water and infrastructures are few to mention. Misappropriation of donor funds started with the emergency of large scale corruption during the third phase government. This was the time donors decided to channel their money through agencies like SIDA and USAID to avert the embezzlement and government bureaucracy.

It is disgusting that 40 years post in dependency 40% of the budget is funded by donors. Despite the vast natural resource and supports from friends, we have not made significant progress in achieving the people's expectations. Dilapidated healthy facilities and schools are examples. The problem is mismanagement by the government, which is a typical character of African states. Nigeria a member of OPEC has received 360 billion dollars in foreign aid since 1963 but still its people live in deep poverty. Therefore, Tanzania is one of many countries that mismanage public funds.

The writer in Economist magazine lashed on the president of Tanzania as vanity and trout doing nothing to his country. I could agree because no justifiable reason for the president to fly to Zimbabwe every time to convince Mugabe to share power while people spoke clearly that no more tyranny in Zimbabwe. The president could spend time to mend the broken fence around his house as CUF and CCM have failed to reach consensus so far. The president should halt Maasai vs. Luguru fight in kilosa and step up on agriculture instead of begging rice from Thailand while Ruvu, Rufiji, Ruaha basins remains only habitats for the hippos and warthog. On the other side, the situation could warrant him to fly because we are bordering 8 countries four of which are politically unstable with the potential to create refugee crises that are costly for Tanzania. The allegation for the president flying too much should never be spoken by Kenya since his 'trout ' brought peace, now Kenya can speak, write and assail comfortably. It is Tanzanian voters who will hold the president accountable for his actions not Kenyan journalists.

The question is why Kenya is fiercely attacking Tanzania on its internal affairs? Is it because she wants to assume a powerhouse status in a region? Let me reminds readers the origin of the East African Community (EAC). Early in the 960s the Tanzanian president Julius K. Nyerere, commonly known as *Mwalimu* (the Teacher) proposed the East African (EA) Federation even offering to defer Tanganyika's (the present mainland Tanzania and Mafia Island) independency for the same. Kenya rejected the idea and among the people voted against the motion was Mwai Kibaki, the current Kenyan president who was then the Member of Parliament for the Makadara constituency. Mwalimu again proposed EA COMMUNITY in 1967. The community was created, worked well but was then dissolved in 1977 simply because of Kenyan greed under President Jomo Kenyatta and Charles Njonjo. Kenya claimed that she was superior within a community and could stand alone economically. In the wake of EA collapse Tanzania and Uganda suffered because major economic means were confiscated by Kenya. The northern neighbors have never ever spoken about this. No journalist from Kenya will ever write about this millennium blunder, instead they talk about Ujamaa (Tanzanian socialism) and Mwalimu Nyerere as reasons for lack of significant economic progress in Tanzania. No leader or journalist from Kenya has ever defined the kind of cooperation the EAC wants, except insisting on the free movement of people and LAND.

In 1990 the leaders of EA decided to revive the EAC toward political integration. So far the cooperation is not known to be Federation, Union or Confederation. United States has federal government, Europe has Union and Canada adapted Confederation. Every set up has a specific protocol to determine the mode of cooperation. Do we know the mode of cooperation EA want to adopt? The first step of cooperation was to have a common market on tariff of goods and free movement of people. This is to be accomplished by 2013. Then EA accepted Rwanda and Burundi to join on the assertion that they could solve their stupid endless genocide within the EA blocks. Suddenly Kenya and Rwanda established their own cooperation by expunging work permit. President Kagame a chair of the EAC leaders now under the influence of Kenya proposed that the decision on EAC to be voted on majority. This is against the protocol which states that any decision vetoed by one states is null. Tanzania and Uganda rejected the move by Rwanda, Burundi and Kenya who colluded to have majority vote and move the land issue on voting. This was the first Kenya's move on land issue. Kenya used a back door to suggest that the IDs should be legal traveling documents instead of passport knowing that her people will sneak and grab the land. This was rejected because the EA passport failed to save the purpose, therefore ID which could be made in Kariakoo are worthless. It was the second failure on Kenya side. Finally Kenya proposed permanent resident and after 5 years citizenship on the same motive. Tanzania rejected because she has borders with 8 states, therefore passport is a valid document for the country security. Since then Kenya is vexed with Tanzania stance. They have gone nut on media to portray Tanzania as an obstacle toward integration. What Kenya does not understand is that the collapse of EAC on their hand was a lesson to Tanzania and Uganda and any move should be cosset approached to avert the fiasco.

THE LAND

The land ownership in the five EA member states differs. Tanzania land is owned by the government (public ownership), Kenya adopted private ownership where a tycoons could possess 50,000 acres ready to shoot the indigenous as it happened to Lord De la Mare who has been incarcerated for 8 months for two murders involving citizens trespass in his farm. Uganda land ownership is communal, Rwanda and Burundi has no policy on the land. Tanzania has vast arable land and population per sq Km is less than any other state. Land is a sensitive issue which has caused trouble in the world. Kenya election triggered the longtime grievance of land distribution and the Koffi Annan commission terms of reference was to ensure that the question of land distribution in Kenya is addressed.

Tanzania insists that investors are welcome on condition that land is government property and the lease is on 99 renewable terms. Apparently, Kenya would want to force Tanzania to abandon her law and adopt theirs. The EA summit convened in Arusha recently has ruled out the issue amid the fear that more harm will be done than benefit. Currently there is a bickering between Kenya and Uganda over 1 Sq Km Migingo island in Lake Victoria. Had the land issue been a simple one, the wrangling between the two countries would not have happened.

ELUSIVENESS

Kenya is trying hard to change the motion by not addressing the core issues like why the 1967 EAC collapsed on their hand, why should we adapt their land ownership scheme, why the EA should not focus on infrastructure and trade rather than land. Instead they turn the page that Tanzania is scared of competition from elite Ugandans and Kenyans. Tanzania does not fear competition as purported by our neighbor. What we fear in terms of job is tribalism. Once a general manager is Kikuyu then Tanzania will never be employed not because of qualification but tribalism. So what Kenya call competition we call tribalism. In term of education, Tanzania has high literacy level in Africa. Our universities are ranked in top 20 universities in Africa and higher in global ranking than Kenya according to world universities council. Kenya has big number of graduates but that does not reflect the quality. The criteria used to categorize universities are; Research and publication Performance of graduates when pursuing education outside their universities Academic qualification for professors and tutors students. So what Kenya is proud of is having hotel managers, English teachers and artisans who can speak fluent English. The English has not been able to reduce illiteracy level in Kenya than what Kiswahili does in Tanzania. The Assertion that the university graduates from Tanzania are risible as claimed is shocking and the one who thinks so is absolutely uninformed. Kenya has more fake professors, three 'professors' who have been teaching in Kenya for years recently were expelled from Dodoma University.

POVERTY

There are 350,000 children in Kenya towns and cities walking with bags of human excreta in exchange for money on street. Illiteracy level speaks more on Kenya wealth than it does in Tanzania. Nairobi is ranked in B class of the most dangerous city in the world reflecting crimes. Kibera is a biggest slum in the world, why should it be there? Mombasa residents live in abject poverty with the highest school dropout rates the in EA. Kenya receives donor's fund in exchange for security. American military base in Mombasa tells it all. The EA countries should unite, however, the process must be gradual, transparent and with verity. Selfishness will make the history repeat. Kenya should stop verbal attacks rather outline the strategies for the way forward. We need to improve infrastructure, harmonize trades, education and health system to meet the new century demand. The process of EU took over three decades yet it is incessant, so ours with fragile situation in the region must be cosset approached. The tricks of misusing the media as practiced by Kenya will create inimical and mistrust.

Tanzania a Country in a Spinning Wheel and its Position in the East African Community

Deogratias Rweyongeza

One of the many beautiful patriotic songs that Tanzania had after independence up to the end of Julius Nyerere's presidency has the following sections when translated from Swahili: "*Looking at the map, you will see a beautiful country with many rivers and valleys suitable for grains/crops. Without hesitation, I proclaim that this famous country is Tanzania".* It then proceeds by asking a question *"how our times would have been if Nyerere had not liberated our country from slavery"*? At the end the song has a pledge *"defend me (Tanzania defend its people) and I will defend you (people defend Tanzania) to death".* For those who know this song, the tune is beautiful. The song begins by acknowledging the beauty of the country and its richness in natural resources, show pride for having liberated it from the British colonial rule and promise to defend it at all cost. This Tanzanian understanding of sovereignty has generally guided its foreign policy and consequently its approach to economic development. Tanzania has not hesitated to go to war with neighbouring countries particularly Uganda and potentially Malawi when these countries challenged its territorial integrity; severing diplomatic ties with some European countries when their actions were considered oppressive to some African neighbours or challenged its own choice of alliances with other countries; completely refusing to trade with South Africa because of apartheid, occupation of Namibia and part of Angola, and its involvement in civil war in Mozambique even though the countries directly involved in these conflicts were trading with South Africa and even receiving economic and humanitarian aid from South Africa. Since its independence, Tanzania has always considered itself as an integral part of Africa seeking to unite the continent through regional trading blocks such as the East African Community, SADCC, PTA and others as a way of countering what it sees as unfair trade practices by western countries, particularly Europe and North America. Because of this strong bond between Tanzania and Africa, why would Tanzania be accused by Kenyans of being an East African Community (EAC) sceptic as an article in The Economist may lead some of the Tanzanians to believe? If you look at the existing free trade blocks such as the European Union, NAFTA in North America

or ASEAN in the Far East, it's the larger countries such as USA in NAFTA, Germany and France in EU that championed the creation of these free trading zones. Why then would the largest country in EAC be afraid of trading freely with its smaller cousins? In this article I analyse the potential benefits and drawbacks for Tanzania if it joins a free trade agreement with Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi.

To begin with, I should distinguish between political unions among neighbouring countries and free trading agreements among countries. Although I am not sure how far Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi intend to go in cementing their newfound relationship, it may be good to make a brief comment on the possibility of a political union. A **federation** is a permanent union of semiautonomous states where previously independent political blocks (call them states, provinces or countries) unite under one larger central government (call it a federal government) while maintaining some degree of autonomy to function as governments for certain matters within their own jurisdiction. Such unions are motivated by a desire to become politically, economically and militarily stronger on a global perspective than small individual components of the federation would possibly be. Good examples of federations are Canada (union of provinces), USA (union of states) Russia (union of republics), and Germany (union of states). Other federations include Australia, India, China, Brazil, Argentina and Nigeria, just to mention a few. The United Republic of Tanzania would have been a federation if the Government of Tanganyika was retained or re-established. As this list indicates, there is strength in the federation. A quick survey of countries in the world shows that, except France and some other few countries, all economically, politically and militarily powerful countries are federations or some types of unions. A sad experience though is that improperly constituted federations or unions constituted through cohesions without demonstration of clear benefits ultimately break down (for example, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and USSR).

If EAC intends to eventually become a federation, it is important to consider how functional this federation would be. Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi are tribal states where politics goes along ethnic divisions. Is Tanzania willing to share in ethnic conflicts it has avoided since it was founded as a country? Tanzania has its own hidden sectarian divisions between Christian and Muslims, which opportunistic incompetent politicians would like to exploits and which if not properly controlled is likely to tear the secular state apart. The same problem exists in Kenya but at a much smaller scale. Would Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi, which fair well religiously like to share in potential religious troubles of the future? Uganda does have sectarian problems of its own between Catholics and Protestants, which is the Northern Ireland types of politics left by the British colonial rule that has faded over time. For Tanzania, which currently has the strongest internal unity in EAC, the post independent slogan "*Uhuru na Umoja*" (translated "*Freedom and Unity*") that is inscribed on the countries emblem has worked for all things, except religion. There are also potential language problems between these countries, that is, English and Swahili in Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda vs. French for Rwanda and Burundi. How are these differences going to be integrated in the daily functioning of the federation? Even old and advanced countries such as Canada and Belgium are still divided along language differences. In hindsight I would say that even with good intentions, the chance for a strong lasting East African Federation is currently unlikely until meaningful unity within member countries is first established.

Unlike political federations, free trade agreements simply means streamlining trade policies to allow unrestricted movement of goods and services among countries. It may require harmonization of product and service standards to ensure that traded products and services have the same quality, free movement of people within the trade block, free movement of labour in the private sector, and if necessary but not always a common policy on how to deal with countries and individuals from outside the trading block. Administration of these regulations may sometimes require that some loose political union be established (e.g., the European Union) with some sort of a government. Nevertheless, member countries do not lose their autonomy and being a member of the union does not automatically make you a citizen of all member countries. In this case for example, the European Union is just a union not a country like the USA or Canada. If desirable, these trade blocks may even adopt a single currency to make trading between them even easier. Despite large cultural and political differences between member countries in EAC, free trade is what they need to advance economically and buffering themselves against forces of global trade where all of them are minuscule players and their economic standing in the world is not likely to change any time soon. In the remaining part of this article I analyze the challenges Tanzania face in a free trade with other members of EAC. My analysis centres on land, movement of goods and services, movement of labour, immigration and a common currency.

EAC and Land

Understandably so, the other two articles in this newsletter have rejected the idea of free access to Tanzanian land by citizens of other countries in EAC. Land is not a movable good or service and therefore it cannot be freely traded like agricultural crops, minerals and forest products that are produced from it. More importantly, land ownership is a sovereignty issue and potential source of conflicts between people and countries everywhere. Many disagreements and even conflicts between countries involve land claims, e.g., Canada, USA, Russia, Denmark and Norway in the Arctic, Russian and Japan, Israel and

Palestine, Ethiopia and Somalia, Britain and Spain in Gibraltar. In short, who control your land control your sovereignty. Like all other foreign investors, members of EAC should be welcome to invest in land development in Tanzania under the same procedure applied to investors from the rest of the world. This does not require change in land tenure system where for Tanzania land is public property and anyone who owns land indirectly in perpetuity is considered to have leased it from the Tanzanian government. Much of the economic inequality among citizens in Kenya is because the British colonial land ownership system was not changed after independence. The political elite simply switched from being independent/freedom fighters to "black settlers" imposing themselves on the people they were allegedly fighting for. The problems in Zimbabwe are largely due to unsolved land ownership problems between natives and naturalized settlers. The question is do the political elite in Tanzania understand the intricate process involved in free trade negotiations without allowing unrelated issues such as land ownership to creep into the process?

Movement of Goods and Services

Of the five EAC countries, Kenya has the largest and more modern manufacturing industrial base. Although the industrial disparity between Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda is largely a product of colonial history where Kenya was treated by the British as the main base of their colonial administration in East Africa, it was ballooned by the post independence socialist policies in Tanzania and military dictatorships in Uganda. With the preservation of an economic system dictated by market forces in Kenya as opposed to state planned monopolistic economy in Tanzania, Kenya maintained and probably expanded a manufacturing industry that recognizes that to be successful in trade you need products of better quality, an efficient supply system and better customer services than your competitors. Until the early 1990s, Kenyan goods smuggled into Tanzania were a delicacy well-regarded at the same level as European goods. European and Asian goods imported by Kenyan and Ugandan firms and then smuggled into Tanzania through northern border regions were worshipped in Tanzania. While this economic period may have passed and has quickly been forgotten by quick to forget Tanzanians, it has left a trade capability gap between Tanzania and Kenya that Tanzania has to do more to bridge or reverse. Kenya is already known outside the region as a trader and producer of quality goods than Tanzania and these differences are not going to change overnight by Tanzania simply sitting down and complaining to history.

Until few years ago, manufacturers, suppliers, shopkeepers, hotel attendants, and the like were the bosses in Tanzania instead of the customers being the bosses. This attitude of poor customer service can leave a long-lasting impression, especially to foreigners and devastate economic sectors such as tourism. Last year I downloaded the tourism report prepared by the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism in Tanzania. It showed that foreign tourist interviewed complained that Tanzanian hotel attendants and other similar employees were rude and unprofessional. It also indicated that only less that 5% of tourists coming to Tanzania did so from the advertising efforts of the Tanzania Tourist Board. The remaining 95% came as a result of references by their friends who had visited Tanzania before. Until three years ago, websites for some of the Tanzanian High Commissions in western countries had large pictures of High Commissioners and their spouses on the front pages and a link to the CIA Factbook as the only source of information about Tanzania. The CIA Factbook is the website of the US State Department (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) that provide a profile of all countries in the world just to inform the Americans of what to expect when they visit a country. It provides warnings against travelling to certain countries and if they chose to travel, advises them to be careful for things such as AIDS and other diseases, robberies and terrorism. Early this year, there was an advertisement in Canadian television channels including here in Edmonton about tourism in Tanzania. This advertisement from Tanzania Tourist Board was well done but unfortunately it aired only for few weeks and I am not sure if it still exists somewhere. This points to a nation not well prepared for competitive trade as it prepares to enter into free trade agreements. Therefore, for movements of goods and services, Kenya will be the winner. The other four countries will be consumers of Kenyan goods as they learn to operate in the market-based economy.

Labour Movement

The free trade or common market and integration of economies of the five countries would allow people to take jobs in all member countries, which inevitably results in labour competition. However, this labour competition would affect only the private sector, because non-citizens of any country have no right to compete for public jobs. Because of the differences in the size of the private sector in the region, one would think that labour competition would affect Kenya the most. Likewise, because of language barrier (French), Rwanda and Burundi would be the least affected, since English speakers from Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda would not be able to work in Rwanda and Burundi. The article in the Economist argues that the small Tanzanian middle class is afraid of better qualified Kenyans taking Tanzanian jobs in the event of economic integration. This declaration, which suggests that Kenyans are better qualified for jobs than Tanzanians of the same level of education appear to have agitated some of the Tanzanians at least those in Edmonton who have commented on the Economist article. Because of my limited knowledge about the system of

education in Kenya, I am not able to compare the quality of education between Tanzania and Kenya. Nevertheless, I am not aware of Kenya having more prominent international scholars than Tanzania at least in areas of expertise I am familiar with. This suggests that at the international level, Kenyans may not be better trained than Tanzanians at the same level of education. Thus, to determine whether or not Kenyans are better equipped to take jobs in the integrated economy than Tanzanians, one need to look beyond a degree certificate, which is exactly what I will do in this article.

There are two stages of skill development that a person has to go through to be qualified for a particular job. The first stage is a formal university or college education that one can prove to have received by providing an authentic certificate. Because my intention is not to compare the quality of education between Tanzanian and Kenyan education institutions, I will not comment on whether or not a Kenyan graduate is better than an equivalent Tanzanian. The second stage of skill development is work experience, which is an application of the knowledge gained from the university or college classrooms. This is a very important stage and arguably the most trait employers look for and on which job promotion is based. The post-independence economy in Tanzania was exclusively state planned with jobs being allocated on patronage basis. At least for a short period I worked in the Tanzanian public sector in the early 1990s, introduction of a new idea, which would suggest that you were more likely to be assertive than submissive in defending your ideas would earn you a transfer to a remote part of the country. At best, it would earn you an empty desk at the ministry headquarters without defined duties for your position. This tactic was particularly used to silence western and other foreign-trained Tanzanians to bring them to the same fraudulent work ethics as bureaucrats of lower education levels occupying top positions through patronage appointments. Undoubtedly, this has and continue to ruin professionalism of Tanzanians, because financially and in the interest of their families it is safer to be submissive than assertive even if the latter would benefit the country. One would agree that the private sector, especially one with western links like that of Kenya operates differently from the public sector mode of operation I have just described for Tanzania. In such a private sector, qualifications and jobs are better matched, innovation is encouraged instead of being used as a weapon against and employee and accountability is demanded by the employer rather than being given as gift to the public by unscrupulous bureaucrats in the state planned economy. Therefore, we can expect that at least in the first few years of economic integration, Kenya will have more professionals who understand the demands of the public sector than Tanzania. This implies that a significant private sector jobs in Tanzania will likely be taken by Kenyans.

Command of the English language is probably the greatest weakness locally educated Tanzanian experts have when it comes to competing for private sector jobs in the EAC. Specifically, this problem will be felt in foreign owned companies with foreign top executives, and where communication and documentation is mainly in English. It has long been understood in Tanzania that colonial-educated Tanzanians have a stronger command of English than post-independence Tanzanians. Tanzanians also acknowledge that Kenyans and Ugandans have a better command of spoken English than Tanzanians, although they do so with strong accents than Tanzanians. Nevertheless, it is better to communicate with accent than not communicating effectively. Overemphasis of Swahili over English and lack of understanding by post-independence Tanzanian governments that language is key to education success is the only cause of Tanzanian English language problems. Tanzanians are not only incompetent in English but also in written Swahili. Anyone who is sensitive to grammatical mistakes will quickly notice poor written Swahili in Tanzanian Swahili newspapers accessible on the Internet. This linguistic incompetence in both official languages is rooted in the poorly planned Tanzanian secondary education system where English and Swahili are taught only in elementary schools and junior high schools (commonly known as *Ordinary Level of Secondary Education* (O'Level)). For high school (commonly known as *Advanced Level of Secondary Education* (A'Level)), English and Swahili are taught only to students intending to pursue linguistic careers. In this education system, Tanzanian students stop learning languages at a stage when they are not mature and linguistically competent enough to plan and write an English or Swahili essay.

Although some government officials and well-off Tanzanians have recently recognized this weakness by sending their children to Ugandan and Kenyan boarding schools, International Schools in Tanzania, and Tanzanian private Christian Schools administered by nuns and seminaries, no effort has been made to reorient the entire education system for all children in public schools. In North America where English is the mother tongue, all students learn English from elementary school to high school and cannot be admitted to the university without an acceptable pass in English. How a Tanzanian student for which English is the third language is able to drop English after junior high school and still be expected to work and communicate in an English speaking environment is a mystery.

There is a myth among most Tanzanians that competence in English language like that displayed by colonial educated Tanzanians, Ugandans and Kenyans is not a measure of intelligence. This assertion by Tanzanians is frequently made to dispel the possibility of being considered academically inferior to Tanzanian old-timers, Kenyans and Ugandans. Yes, linguistic competence is not a measure of intelligence but mastering the language is extremely important. Humans are rational and social animals. We think and make our ideas and arguments known through the use of language. Whether our arguments are

logical or illogical depends largely on the way we present them through the use of language. It follows that anyone who cannot craft a sound linguistic statement cannot argue logically and therefore is unlikely to win a debate. Lawyers use well-crafted languages to dilute the evidence and convince the jury to acquit obvious criminals, priests and pastors use well-crafted language to convince people that God exists and thus continue to come to church every Sunday, and politicians use language to get elected even if the promises they make look practically unattainable. Because your potential employers have no way of proving that the information you provided in the resume is true and indicate your ability to do the job, they call you for an interview to physically measure the strength of your arguments and articulation of ideas around the subject of interest. To the extent that you are knowledgeable about the subject of interest, you still need language to pass an interview.

There is something intriguing about Tanzania identifying itself with Swahili. Although it is often argued by Tanzanians who advocate unlimited use of Swahili in all spheres of Tanzanian life including academics that a single language was key to national unity, there is no evidence to show that ethnic rivalries were widespread before Swahili became the national language. Guided by these misconceptions, Tanzanians are quick to create Swahili words to replace English ones as soon as they emerge. For example, the Internet is called *Mtandao*, although if translated correctly *Mtandao* translates to Network not Internet, Email is called *Barua Pepe* which translates literally in English as a Flying Mail, and the website is called *Tovuti*. To ordinary Tanzanians, replacement of English terminology with pseudo-Swahili equivalents allows them to engage the technology that would otherwise be inaccessible due to language barriers. However, pseudo terminology is like a sword that cuts both ways. On a positive side it bypasses a language barrier that would otherwise leave most of the Tanzanian population far behind the ever dynamic information technology. On the negative side, it blinds unsuspecting Tanzanian professionals from moving at the same pace and direction with the rest of the world.

Everyone would agree that when it comes to protecting national identity and culture, France is probably the best among developed countries. Recently, France has succumbed to the forces of information technology that is largely conducted in English by mandating that all its students learn English. The emerging large economy of India is driven by the USA investment aiming at utilizing cheap labour of highly educated professionals who are fluent in English. The Chinese economy is powered by western investments mostly from the USA. That is why Chinese are working hard to learn English. Many countries in Western Europe require their students to learn English as a second language. Because of the global influence of the USA and Britain and their smaller but innovative cousins Canada and Australia, English is the leading language of technology, education and trade. I wonder how an economically small country like Tanzania would protect itself against English and yet expect to develop with the rest of the world.

Therefore, with their good English and lesser commitment to protect Swahili against all odds, Kenyans will be better positions to secure jobs in multinational companies than Tanzanians with similar level of education but poor English. It should be remembered that it is in these multinational companies where high paying jobs are as opposed to low paying jobs in the Tanzanian public sector where the medium of communication is Swahili and the level of documentation is poor.

Common Currency

I should acknowledge that I am not an expert on monetary issues and thus poorly equipped to rationally analyze matters related to a common currency for the EAC. However, logical analysis can be made as to whether Tanzania would be better off with its current shilling or with the EAC common currency. For conspiracy theorists, a common currency rings in bells of loss of sovereignty as the pictures of presidents of member countries are removed from coins and banknotes. However, it is the purchasing power of the currency not the picture on banknotes that determines its value. A currency with only the giraffe is as good as that with the president's picture. Kenya has a much stronger currency that fluctuates little whereas Tanzania has a weaker currency known for its erratic fluctuations and large banknotes with values in the thousands. Thus, Tanzania would benefits from a common currency in many ways. Free trade with a single currency in EAC would eliminate the need for currency exchange and thus makes transactions easier. As long as most of the trade is among EAC member countries, fluctuations in the value of the currency against the US dollar and Euro would not affect trade in the region. This is evident in the European Union where the change in the value of the Euro against the US dollar does not affect their imports and exports, because much of the trade is among member countries. In contrast, in the integrated economies of USA and Canada, the rise in the Canadian dollar against the US dollar limits the ability of Canada to export its goods to the USA by making Canadian goods more expensive to Americans. It can also be expected that a single currency under the watch of all member states would bring a better monetary system than the existing one in Tanzania.

Immigration

Immigration is a sovereignty issue and has a national security component. Member countries of EAC have individual rights to dictates who can enter their countries and the types of documents needed to do so.

The need to control immigration goes beyond movement of people within the EAC. With many borders, most of which with non-EAC countries, Tanzania has more responsibility to ensure security of its borders than other countries. Inevitably, this requires that Tanzania maintains its independent immigration policy to deal with countries other than Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi. In the age of international terrorism, there is also a need to assure countries other than EAC (e.g., westerners) that Tanzania is secure against terror, their investments are secure and that foreigners should visit the country without fear. This can only be guaranteed if Tanzania has a full control of movement of foreigners in and out of the country.

Is the Economist Wrong?

The author of the article in the Economist raises important issues that Tanzanians themselves are supposed to identify, analyze and find solutions before it is too late. Those who feel offended by the article do so not because the issues raised are untrue but because they have been raised by an outsider. The truth is that Tanzania has a lot of weaknesses in its education system, professional ethics, customer services, the economy and general governance. These structural weaknesses combined with widespread corruption and an emerging high crime rate will make it harder for Tanzania to compete with countries like Kenya, which already has basic infrastructure and human capital to operate in a competitive market economy.

Like a mouse in a spinning wheel, Tanzania knows that it should advance fast economically but does not know to get there. It privatises state factories to promote efficiency and productivity but gives them to companies with no good record for honesty and success in business. It increases the number of universities by eliminating certificate and diploma colleges, which are better suited to the current Tanzanian economy dominated by small businesses that most likely will not employ university graduates. It increases the number of universities while abandoning or downgrading primary and secondary education in public schools that are sources of students for these universities. As the beautiful song at the beginning of this article shows, Tanzania knows its economic potential but does not know how to bring it to bear.

Poetry and Stories

From Lands of the Night: Part I

Tololwa M. Mollel

Since their introduction in Africa, religions of Islam and Christianity have existed side by side with traditional indigenous spiritual belief systems. Examples of these traditional systems which are older than Islam and Christianity are plenty. One of the most common examples is the belief in the ancestors. Most ethnic groups in Tanzania and elsewhere on the continent traditionally believe that ancestors hold the power for good or ill over the living and revere and honor them as a result. Individuals and families—even of Christian or Muslim faith—may find themselves appealing to the ancestors for help in times of need. Belief in the ancestors may also at times involve belief in the powers of traditional healing and healers. For this story, which I have set in contemporary Tanzania, I was inspired by my reflection on this mixed and complex reality in the greater part of Africa, and by the recognition of our human need to believe in a force beyond, and greater than, ourselves -- whether expressed through Christian, Muslim or other faiths, or through African ancestor beliefs and traditional healing.

On another level, I was inspired by my experience from my childhood and over the years with a certain type of stories – stories centered on the theme of enchanting music that is so irresistible that whoever hears it is compelled to dance to it. Such tales exist widely in Africa and the West Indies, and perhaps elsewhere. Some of them involve an obvious character like a musician or dancer. Most feature characters such as a bird, the hare, the tortoise, Ananse the spider, and the lizard, some of whom are tricksters. In one such tale from Haiti, a farmer holds a ceremony filled with song and dance for the ancestors, to ask for their help when his crops fail three years in a row. The loud music causes God to send, in vain, several messengers one after another to put a stop to it. The music, however, is so lovely and irresistible that these messengers, one after another, join in dancing to it. Finally, determined to stop personally the disturbing music, God makes an appearance at the ceremony, only to be moved to join the festivities, too. Using this Haitian tale as a springboard into a story of my own creation, I applied an African setting and entirely different situation – an ill and dying baby in place of a farmer's harvest. I couldn't think of a better immediate forum than the newsletter to share this tale with everyone and their children. The story is divided into two parts, to appear in two issues of the newsletter.

*Narrating the story in "**From Lands of the Night**" is a little girl named Ra-Eli who is the older sister of Samson, the ill and dying baby.*

When Samson fell ill and grew worse and worse and didn't get better in hospital, we took him to

a healer. Looking over Samson's wasted feeble body and then into his eyes, the healer glanced at me. "Only the ancestors can save your baby brother, little girl." He told my parents, "Hold a ceremony to honor your ancestors and ask for their help, a joyful ceremony filled with guests."

"Joyful?" my mother said. "How can we be joyful at a time like this?"

"A joyful ceremony it must be," replied the healer. "Nothing less would bring the ancestors from their lands of the night. Let's seek joy in hope. I'll spread word of the ceremony."

On the day of the ceremony, friends, neighbors and relatives help out. Delicious smells of cooking fill the air. By trucks, vans, scooters, bicycles and foot, guests pour into our yard. Night falls throbbing with music, which drowns out the city sounds.

Big drums *kutum-kutum-kutum-kutum antu-pom*

Smaller ones *patap-patap-patap-patap-tururu-*

Flutes *tiit-tiit-tiit-tiit-tiit-*

Xylophones *gidi-gidi-gidi-gidi-godo-*

Singers *aaae-aaae aaae-aaa!*

My father wanders through the crowd. He makes sure all have enough to eat and drink. My youngest aunt, whom I call Little Aunt, is in the house helping my mother with baby Samson, who has grown even worse. And I'm standing at our gate, dressed colorfully, my hair freshly braided, to help welcome guests. The darkness brings strange guests. An old man whose ears remind me of a hare. Two shy girls who look like nymphs. A dancing giant of a man in a mask. An old woman whose dress shimmers and winks with stars. My father, stopping by, speaks in my ear. "They come from lands of the night, Ra-Eli. The healer spread word, indeed."

Just then, out of the night appears the strangest guest. "It's not for the ceremony that I've come," she says when I welcome her. "I've been sent. By Mola."

I stare at the angel. "Sent … by God?"

"Yes. God – Mola," replies the angel. "Mola says your music is too loud. Mola can't rest, can't think. Mola sent me to ask: could you kindly stop?"

I tell the angel about Samson, and about the ancestors.

And I ask, "Would you please be our guest?"

The music has stopped. The angel hesitates but can't say no when my father, most graciously as we all watch, leads her to a seat in the yard.

She sits down politely, but she is not smiling.

From the crowd, I admire the angel. I admire her bangles and earrings, and her braids that are neat, jet-black and glossy — like mine. I have questions I wish to ask her but music, loud and magical, soon fills the night again.

kutum-kutum-kutum-kutum antu-pom

patap-patap-patap-patap tururu-

tiit-tiit-tiit-tiit-tiit-

gidi-gidi-gidi-gidi-godo-

aaae-aaae aaae-aaae!

The angel watches and listens. Her fingers begin to drum on her knee, *turu...turu,* to the music, *turu...turu...turu*. She sways her shoulders. She taps her foot, *kop…kop…kop.* Then she looks up in surprise, smiling as she rises, when dancers approach and ask her to dance.

More guests come, followed by another angel! Before I can welcome this angel, dancers skip up to him. He steps

back startled but watching the dancers, he's moved to dance too; first in small modest steps, then gradually in bolder steps, more and more joyfully, his long white hair flowing about.

One after another, more angels appear. One after another, all are moved to dance. Music sprays into the night, louder than ever.

Kutum-kutum-kutum-kutum antu-pom

patap-patap-patap—!

The ceremony comes to a stop when a dazzling light from a lamp bursts out of the night. In the sudden hush, we blink in awe and astonishment. At the gate, Mola dims the lamp and speaks.

(To be continued…)

What will the arrival of Mola mean for the ceremony, and to Samson?

*Catch the conclusion of "**From Lands of the Night"** in the next issue of the newsletter.*

Summer TANA Picnic

The TANA summer picnic is on August 15, 2009 from 3:30 p.m. to 7:30 p.m. at Victoria Park in the Edmonton River Valley. Victoria Park is located at 12130 River Valley Road and can be reached either from 105 Street or Groat Road. More information regarding the organization of this year's picnic will be sent out once planning is completed.

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Editorial and Submission of Articles

THE TANA DIGEST is an electronic newsletter published by the Tanzanian Community Association of Northern Alberta (TANA) based in Edmonton. Its objectives is to provide critical analysis of political, scientific, technological, educational and social issues that either affect the community or are of general intellectual interest designed to educate the community. While this issue of *THE TANA DIGEST* is dominated by EAC, the newsletter welcomes articles on local Alberta and Canadian or USA issues that are of interest to the Tanzania community in Edmonton. Although the newsletter is edited by *Deogratias Rweyongeza*, authors are responsible for the accuracy of the content of their articles. To submit your article, email: drweyongeza@shaw.ca