

Full Length Research Paper

Political leadership and the future of Tanzania: a historical-theological examination

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The paper aimed at examining the historical development and the role of political leadership in Tanzania, using historical sources as well as presenting a theological interpretation and commentary on the past, present and future political spectrum in the country. It is a paper which came up with four main findings: in Tanzania there is no clear connectivity between the current political leadership and the future aspirations; political leadership and economic development in the past have been done haphazardly by political leaders and economic planners; most political strategies in the country have failed to take off because they are mostly theoretical rather than practical; and social maladies like corruption and unaccountability are some of the factors behind the failure of development initiatives in the country. Political leadership in Tanzania has passed through a number of economic plans introduced in the form of ideologies (e.g. socialism and the African mode of capitalism) and politico-economic reforms such as nationalization, privatization, structural adjustment, and globalization. Tanzania's Development Vision 2025 was accorded specific attention in the paper, to see how it fits in the historical-theological analysis of political leadership in the country. In the light of the main findings and in its historical-theological context, the paper approached the theme from evangelicalism and a few recommendations were made as the way forward.

Key words: political leadership, political history, political pluralism, the future of Tanzania.

INTRODUCTION

Tanzania is one of the African countries which since independence have had no comprehensive future plan for politico-economic development. Even in other African countries, despite an earnest desire to make the present relate meaningfully to the future it has proven difficult to translate theory into practice. For instance, talking about the case of Namibia, President Sam Nujoma asserts that his government is very successful in formulating policies but very unsuccessful in implementing these policies (Nujoma, 2000:1). African political leadership has in most cases ended in failure because despite the numerous philosophies and political theories which have existed for

many years, 'African policy makers and students of politics' are faced with a difficult task of studying the human being (Kamera, 2001:93) as well as laying a concrete foundation for human progress. In most cases future strategies have largely been experimental and huge amounts of funds from internal and external sources have been spend on future development endeavors but unfortunately end with futility and frustrations. Moreover, political leadership seems to be concerned mainly with immediate personal gains rather than national interests which in the long run would bring about a better future for the ordinary citizens.

The Problem

There is a gap or discontinuity between the current political leadership in Tanzania and the future plans of the country. This is caused by the tendency of leaders to work as stooges of the former colonial masters, multiplication of political hypocrisy and mockery, as well as the culture of leadership opportunism (Killam and Rowe, 2000: 220-221). So many political strategies have been established by the political machinery in the country but very few seem to have borne fruits. In Tanzania and elsewhere in Africa nation-state politico-economic strategies proved a failure because, as the historian Basil Davidson puts it “the first generation of African leaders failed to re-establish vital inner links with the poor and the dispossessed [of Africa] . . .” (Davidson, 1993:291). The five decades of political independence have witnessed political reforms, numerous socio-economic slogans, and ideological inclinations but so far the citizens of Tanzania feel that satisfactory objectives are yet to be realized. Up to the 1990s and beyond, the country persisted being dependent on foreign donors and loans and as years go by Tanzania is overburdened by both external and internal debts – the budget for paying debts is bigger than the budget for important issues like education and health (Nugent, 2004: 345).

Research Question and Hypothesis

The paper has been operating with the following research question: ‘What is the role of political leadership in shaping a better future in Tanzania?’ As Neuman explains, a research question enables a researcher to learn, comprehend and describe a group of interacting members (Neuman, 1994:331). The researcher was very much assisted by this research question because the Tanzania politicians he investigated have many things in common and they interact in various ways.

To operate hand in hand with the research question, a research hypothesis was formulated. As Stephen Weidenborner and Domenick Caruso explain, a hypothesis is “your prediction [as a researcher], made sometime before reading the sources, as to what your research will reveal about the topic; that is, what answers you expect to find for the major questions raised by the topic before. . . [T]his ‘educated guess’ helps you find exactly the information you need, as quickly and efficiently as possible, by keeping your attention focused on a limited number of specific aspects of the topic” (Weidenborner and Caruso, 1994:3).

The hypothesis was the assumption that good and dedicated political leadership will produce a better country for the future generation. Just as it is stressed in the ongoing campaigns for various reconstructions – be they political, social or economic – it was believed right

from the beginning of the study that leaders in Tanzania must regard as their responsibility the task of bringing effective politico-economic change in the country.

Theoretical Framework

In Tanzania many people do not involve themselves in the political leadership practiced in their country, believing that it is not right or safe to meddle in politics. This situation causes a lot of problems in the entire attempt to use political leadership to mould a better future. A big number of Tanzanians have not been encouraged to venture in politics. Furthermore, many policies are tailored by egoistic politicians and in most cases these policies are neither implemented profitably nor geared towards a better future. Through using a political leadership framework, the political scenario in Tanzania as well as disclosing how it relates to the future is put on the table and analyzed for the benefit of building a better country in the future.

Basic Concepts

A few concepts or terminologies used in the paper need definition. These are ‘political leadership’, ‘political history of Tanzania’, and ‘the future of Tanzania’.

Political leadership

Political leadership means leadership as exercised by the group known as politicians – persons whose jobs are concerned with politics, especially as elected members of parliament (*Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, 7th Edition, 1122). From this understanding, the people concerned with public affairs or running of chieftdom, state or government can be regarded as political leadership.

Political history of Tanzania

Political history of Tanzania includes all the records of political activities or events of Tanzania. This particular history remains a crucial part in the history of Tanzania even at this time when the country faces the challenges of building a better future.

The future of Tanzania

The future of Tanzania connotes the coming days or weeks as well as the coming months and years of the country. It is the coming period which Tanzanians can

divide into big portions of time and come up with things like future decades, future centuries and future millennia.

'Political leadership' and 'the future of Tanzania' are crucial and interrelated terms in the sense that one of the things expected from the political leadership is to build a better country. In the 1960s and 1970s Nyerere and his colleagues envisioned 1990s and 2000s as the crucial 'future of Tanzania' and the Tanzanians who live in the first decade of the 21st century may regard the 2025s and the 2050s as the 'future of Tanzania', depending on their expectations. The political leadership and the country's future are so interwoven that they cannot be discussed in isolation.

Background and Nature of the Paper

Political ruling elite in Tanzania includes presidents, prime ministers, members of parliament, regional and district commissioners, as well as the ten-house cell leaders of the earliest years of socialism in the country. These leaders form a particular aspect of political leadership which is accorded a particular investigation in this paper. Their administrative performance and political initiatives have influenced and will continue to influence the general equilibrium of the country, positively and negatively. Evolving against this background, the paper – step by step – has acquired its current dimension.

The paper is historical in nature and in terms of scope it deals with the political development of Tanzania from the colonial era, down to the present day and beyond. So depending on the nature of the paper, the researcher employed historical approach that included both written and oral history of past and present political leadership in Tanzania.

Aim and Significance of the Paper

The objective of this paper is to investigate the historical development and the role of political leadership in Tanzania, using historical sources as well as presenting a theological interpretation and commentary on the existing political status quo in the country. It is a paper which examines the role of political leadership in Tanzania, from the historical-theological perspective. The past and current political leadership in Tanzania is examined, with the intention of making suggestions for building a better country. It is therefore the concern of this paper to remind politicians in Tanzania of their responsibility to implement wisely and supervise effectively the different development policies made in the country.

The paper's significance lies in the fact that, as it is witnessed everywhere in the country, politicians involve themselves in everything as well as taking an upper hand even in realms or professions they should not tread on.

The paper is significant because it focuses on political leadership in Tanzania and how this particular leadership relates to people's hopes and expectations for the future. What the paper strives to achieve is important in the sense that good and responsible leadership is necessary in the attempt to make Tanzania a better society for the coming generations.

Despite the fact that many Tanzanians are discouraged by the politico-economic stagnation, still there is hope. Jesse Mugambi (the Kenyan veteran theologian known worldwide for his initiatives in the Theology of Reconstruction), talking about 'The Future of the Church and the Church of the Future in Africa', observes that Africans are in great need of hope and they should not be deflected from a firm commitment that in faith they can cultivate a better tomorrow and that if they work with God nothing will be impossible (Mugambi, 1991: 30). Like Mugambi, Tanzanians can talk about the 'future of the political leadership in Tanzania' and 'the political leadership of Tanzania's future', something which will put them in the mood of polishing the present-day political leadership in the country and energize the kind of leadership they aspire to establish in the coming years. Real political leadership in Tanzania is expected to be ready to face the ever increasing challenges, with sincere politico-economic innovation and future-oriented renewal, social transformation and visionary reconstruction.

Methodology

Research Procedure

A specific procedure was followed in the course of doing research for the paper. This procedure enabled the researcher recognize and fix the sample size as well as being able to gather and analyze the information obtained. The investigated population consisted of Tanzanian politicians and the research was done through analyzing written documents on political leadership in Tanzania, engaging in group and individual discussions, observing politicians' behavior or mannerisms in private and public functions, as well as participating in unstructured interviews conducted in the form of normal conversations. The paper employed a historical and theological approach which highlights Tanzania's politico-ideological tradition.

Research Design

Research design is "the conceptual structure within which research is conducted; [and] it constitutes the blueprint for the collection, measurement and analysis of data" (Kothari, 2009: 31). The research for this paper was done in Kilimanjaro, one of the northern regions of Tanzania,

between January and February 2014. Qualitative method was employed to learn as well as comprehend the current political leadership in the country and its impact on the future. The research was based mainly on secondary data obtained from books (published and unpublished), journals, newspapers, as well as electronic or data-based sources.

Sampling Procedure and Sample Size

Sampling procedure “is the process of obtaining information about an entire population by examining only a part of it” (Kothari, 2009: 152). That is why sampling means ‘people sampling’ in the sense that it involves, first *population* which is the target group expected to be the subject of the research; and secondly *sample* which stands as the actual group from whom information is collected (Punch, 2011: 251). Sampling procedure is “the selection of research participants from an entire population, and involves decisions about people, settings, [and] events” (Blanche and Durrheim, 1999: 49). The sampling procedure enabled the researcher use a small group to understand a bigger group of political leadership as well as operating with a particular theory to arrive at a universal phenomenon.

The population sample size was limited to Kilimanjaro Region and this particular region was chosen to be representative of the other regions of Tanzania. About twenty political leaders were examined. These included five retired members of parliament, five former ten-house cell leaders, five current members of parliament (three from the ruling party and two from opposition parties), two retired diplomatic attaches and three former permanent secretaries. This kind of sampling was purposely used because, as it is stipulated by Saunders et al, the researcher wanted to be able to get a concrete answer for the research question as well as meeting his research objectives (Saunders et al, 2000:174). The researcher participated in conversations with these people, without even knowing that they were being researched upon. This means that he involved himself in unstructured interviews with these people, to get the information he wanted.

Previous Research and Literature Review

Concerning previous research, it is good to confess that this paper is not the first one the scene. There is an interesting corpus of literature on the current political leadership in Tanzania but there are few serious studies which indicate how this particular leadership shapes or affects the future of Tanzania. There are occasional studies on Arusha Declaration and on the ups and downs of Tanzania as a one-party state. Furthermore, there are

official and timely statements like *The Bagamoyo Statement* and national compass (*Dira ya Taifa*) issued by Churches to address the country’s shattered economy as well as restoring Tanzania to proper development dimensions (Mkude, 1995: 15-21).

In the post-independence era, Nyerere’s bulk of speeches and writings get an echoing in what is examined in this paper. In Nyerere’s writings, the citizens of Tanzania are repeatedly called upon to participate in the democratic awakening, to put in place democratic rule in the coming days. In Tanzania, democratic participation in formulating economic policy got strong impetus in the first attempt on Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) exercised in the country from 1982 to 1985 (Shimwela, 1995: 33).

From the early days of independence to the period of Arusha Declaration in 1967, the first priority in Nyerere’s development policy was developing the citizens. For example, in a speech delivered in June 1966, he said that “what matters is not how much economic development we have in the next two or three years, but what kind of life our people will be able to lead in the more distant future – say in the year 1980 and after” (Nyerere, 1966: 10). Interpreting the objective of Arusha Declaration, Nyerere reiterated what he said on 5 August 1967, that “the purpose of all social, economic, and political activity must be man; the creation of wealth is a good thing, but it will cease to be good the moment wealth ceases to serve man and begins to be saved by man” (Nyerere, 1972: 316). What Nyerere warned against is exactly what is happening today in many areas of the country – instead of wealth serving people, people serve wealth.

A document which elaborately deals with a topic similar to the main concern of this paper is Tanzania’s Vision 2025 which is preceded by two other visions, namely, Political Independence Vision and Arusha Declaration Vision. This document, despite its popularity, has been subject to sharp criticisms. For example, Ernest Mallya’s critique entitled “A Critical Look at Tanzania’s Development Vision 2025” is a treatise which cannot pass unnoticed. His approach, though pessimistic in taste, is a notable contribution to the future conception on socio-economic development (Mallya, 2002: 1). With that short note on literature review, let us now delve into the main aspects of the paper.

Political Leadership in Pre-colonial Tanzania

Local rulers in Tanganyika were leaders whose political leadership excelled, to the amazement and horror of foreign intruders. Colonial political leadership refers to the kind of leadership seen in Tanganyika in the entire period the country was under colonial domination, immediately after the Berlin Conference (1884/85) to the Independence Day (9 December 1961). Like any era of

history, it was a period with success and shortcomings and directly or indirectly it has always been affecting the future of the country. In the pre-colonial era political leadership was manifested in the activities of three agents: explorers, missionaries and traders.

Despite the fact that in the pre-colonial period life in Africa was characterized by economic backwardness, ethnic clashes, social anarchy, and terrible diseases, from the traditional African society Africans “inherited concepts of equality, democracy, and socialism” (Nyerere, 1972: 228). This indicates that Africa in the pre-colonial era was not all that dark as some people tend to argue.

The inter-ethnic and inter-kingdom rivalries which prevailed in the pre-colonial societies in Tanganyika were political in nature in the sense that the local chiefs or monarchies fought one another to acquire power, control, and status just as it happens in some areas of modern Africa. It is very unfortunate that politics in modern African states and nations is mainly struggle for power – power to control and dominate; power to rule and exploit. Political power in Africa “is overvalued, and the struggle over it is brutal, intense and ruthless” (Otieno and McCullum, 2005: 146).

Contrary to the people who assert wrongly that there was no politics in Tanganyika before the coming of foreigners, historiography-oriented research indicates that there was strong political leadership in the pre-colonial monarchies or kingdoms. Leadership styles impacted on various issues in the society were inherent in the political strategies of different local leaders such as the *watemi* (in western and north-western Tanganyika), the *wamangi* of Kilimanjaro and the *wafumwa* of North Pare. Therefore, chiefdoms were initial sources of the kind of political leadership which highly affected the future societies. Ruling tactics such as the ones employed by political strategists like Mbega of the Kilindi family in Sambaaland can be of much help for Tanzanians in their endeavor to build a stable and more prosperous future (Kimambo, 1997: 29). The actual situation during this period made the political leadership of that time fail to relate meaningfully with the future aspirations of the people. However, in some areas of the country, the pre-colonial era was a period with success and shortcomings and directly or indirectly it has always been affecting the future of the country.

Political Leadership during the Colonial Era

Colonial political leadership refers to the kind of leadership seen in Tanganyika in the entire period the country was under colonial domination. Tanganyika became a German colony (*Deutsche-Ostafrika*) almost immediately after the Berlin Conference in 1884/85. The kind of leadership adopted then has been a political

compass with a great influence on many sectors in the country down to the present day.

In the German period, political leadership looked at immediate interests and gains, making the local people live in uncertainty as far as the future was concerned. The German rule did not bother to prepare the local people to face the challenges of the future. There were no committed economic planners, something which rendered the country, the rural areas in particular, backward in terms of economic progress. Illiteracy was not arrested and diseases continued taking a heavy toll on the local people.

In some areas of Tanganyika, the local people staged formidable resistances against colonial land grabbers. One such resistance is the one known as ‘Meru Land Case’ led by Mr Japhet Kirilo, a local land activist from Meruland in Arusha, who went to the United Nations headquarters in New York in defense of his people’s land (Kirilo, 1969). These days there are many land conflicts across the county, for example the Loliondo Land Saga which has caused terrible conflicts and grudges between the local people and the so-called foreign investors. Land conflicts are fuelled by greedy politicians and their foreign allies who want to own the whole land for themselves and their children.

Colonial masters in Tanganyika did not treat the local people in a good way. For example, the German government forced people to pay taxes and those who refused to pay these taxes were punished severely. Sometimes the people forced to pay taxes organized resistances against the colonial masters, to defend their dignity as Africans (Kimambo, 1971: 5-10). The people who failed to comply with the orders of the colonial government were hauled into prisons and others fled their home areas to avoid the punitive measures waged by the ruthless colonial masters. It was the colonial government which forced the people of Tanganyika to participate in the First World War. The war had bad effects such as destabilizing families, causing hunger, and disrupting mission work in the country (Lema, 1982: 124). Young people in Tanganyika, against their will, were recruited to fight against the enemies of Germans; peasants were robbed of their grain supplies so that the German soldiers could get food; and local people’s economy and education was highly disrupted (Mahali, 2006: 188).

Karl Peters – a German traveler-cum-administrator who was so rude that he was called *Mkono wa Damu* (bloody hand) – made tricky treaties with local chiefs in the mid 1880s, something which made the chiefs and their subjects lose their land. Mary Townsend, narrating about the two decades of German rule in Tanganyika, says that the local person was highly exploited and treated with much cruelty. The colonial master robbed the local person of his “lands, his home, his freedom, and often wantonly and cruelly of his life . . . his continuous and fierce revolts were but the tragic witnesses to his

wretchedness and helplessness” (Townsend, 1930: 273). The colonial leadership led to mass killings of innocent people like the ones mowed down during the *Maji Maji* [water, water] *Rebellion* (1905-1907)¹ It was also the colonial government which hanged local chiefs like Meli in Chaggaland and Abushiri in Zigualand as well as deporting the local chiefs who appeared a threat to the colonial rule (Stahl, 1964: 289).

Political leaders should make sure that they read and practice the wisdom packed in history because without understanding what has made Tanzanians reach where they are today, it is utterly impossible to build a better tomorrow. Talking to a young man, Winston Churchill (a great British soldier and enigmatic statesman) said that history should be read by everybody because all secrets of leading a state are found in history (Hume 1995, xv). Jorge Luis Borges says that without history books, history would perish (Borges, 1993). If everything is found in history as it is noted by Churchill and Borges, then the entire concept of historical development of political leadership in Tanzania carries utmost relevance. Politicians in Tanzania should enable citizens to understand their history as a nation – where Tanzanians have come from, where they are, and where they want to go. In the opinion of Winston Churchill, if a nation forgets its past it has no future (Hume, 1995: 43).

Political Leadership in the Post-colonial Period

Post-colonial political leadership is the kind of leadership seen in independent Tanzania. Tanganyika gained political independence on 9 December 1961, after being a German and British colony for about 75 years. The main factor underlying the struggle for independence was getting rid of racial discrimination, economic exploitation, political oppression, cultural degradation and educational disregard.

Immediately after lowering the Union Jack and hoisting the flag of independent Tanganyika, there was a calculated motive to shake off all remnants of colonial

¹ According to historical accounts on the *Maji Maji Rebellion*, prior to the uprising the Africans who lived in Southern Tanganyika (around a place named Kibata) went to a local witchdoctor called Kinjekitile Ngwale who told them that while fighting in the war they would simply say ‘*Maji! Maji!* [Water! Water!] all the times the enemy troops fired bullets and automatically the bullets would change into water. Unfortunately, things were quite the opposite because when the German soldiers fired bullets from their guns the local fighters were killed in big numbers, a situation which made them totally defeated in this particular uprising, considered by historians and nationalists as the first organized and united local resistance against colonial domination in Tanganyika (Sahlberg 1986, 70).

rule – remnants like the colonial education which “corrupted the thinking and sensibilities of the African and filled him with abnormal complexes” (Abdou Moumini, quoted by Rodney, 1989: 273). More schools were started, more dispensaries and hospitals were built and dedicated developmental initiatives were witnessed all over the country. For security purposes Tanganyika mainland merged with Zanzibar on 26 April 1964 (a move which later on gave birth to Tanzania) and on 5 February 1967, the historic Arusha Declaration which put all means of production under public ownership was announced.

Role of Socio-political Slogans

Julius Nyerere, in independent Tanzania, mobilized people into action by his simple and brief slogans such as *kazi ni uhai* (work is life), *kupanga ni kuchagua* (planning is choosing), *ubepari ni unyama* (capitalism is beastliness), *uhuru na kazi* (freedom and work), and *siasa ni kilimo* (politics is agriculture). These political maxims appealed to many people but nowadays they seem to be forgotten, especially by the younger generation which does not know the history of the country.

The slogans coined by Nyerere aimed at enhancing nationwide economic and political progress by eradicating colonial imperialism, unraveling aspirations of nationalism, and bringing about dedicated political reforms. These slogans considerably assisted in the important task of forging the newly-independent country into a nation, and despite the fact that in one way or another the old problems persisted, Nyerere’s ambition was to accomplish within only ten years what the colonial masters had failed to do for more than seven decades (Cliffe, 1997: 239-241).

Despite the sensation caused by the slogans coined by Nyerere, political leadership largely remained isolated from the people, something which made them fail to act as a compass for the future development of the country. Economic and development planning was still done recklessly, without vision and far-reaching strategies. This kind of naivety is witnessed even today and it will continue being a common feature in the country’s political leadership. Nelson Mandela’s patriotic and visionary appeal (quoted by Mary Benson) is as relevant to political leaders in the post-colonial Tanzania as it was to South African politicians and nationalists, way back in 1952 – “We have to analyze the dangers that face us, formulate plans to overcome them and evolve new plans of political struggle” (Benson, 1994: 39).

During the post-colonial period great achievements as well as terrible blunders were made. The new development of events in independent Tanzania was largely experimental. There was decentralization, nationalization, and introduction of universal primary

education which was a source of great pride when it was initiated in the 1970s but which became a great menace and a source of disappointment by 2000 (Nugent, 2004: 345). In many areas of the country Ujamaa (socialism) was introduced and people were convinced to live in Ujamaa villages. Nyerere and his ruling team propagated socialist policies but in the course of time the socialist machinery reached a dead end. In 1978/79 the country went into war with Uganda, a short-lived war but the one which plunged Tanzania into terrible economic-political horrors.

Following the failure of socialist initiatives new politico-economic practices like privatization of the major means of income and giving room for foreign investors were sanctioned in the country but so far there are no substantial returns. The country was characterized by parochial thinking and parochial planning and this socio-economic parochialism has been one of the factors which rendered defunct many industries and factories started in the country since independence. Due to mismanagement, both small and large scale enterprises in the country collapsed, making life in the country tough and unbearable. Political leadership in the country was oblivious of the fact that without productive industries the society is doomed to economic woes because the industrial sector generates income and employment and industrial development promotes economic development (Kapunda and Mbogoro, 1989: 147).

Fate of One-party State

Tanzania, under the good leadership of Julius Nyerere, gained worldwide fame as a one-party state. Contrary to other newly-independent African countries which were torn apart by things like nepotism and tribalism, Nyerere managed to steer his country into celebrated unity and self-reliance. Within a very short time he established himself as one of the leading African political philosophers, enjoying mass support and appreciation. His well-conceived socialist policies transformed Tanzania into a classless society, opposed to all forms of racism and exploitation (Hallett, 2005: 609-610).

Being a one-party state, Tanzania put into practice non-alignment policies until the 1980s and 1990s when strong winds of political change began blowing in the western hemisphere. During this period "it was clear that the nation-state model was not functioning well in Africa. It was a flawed model and political independence did not redress the situation" (Otieno and McCullum, 2005: 143). With the collapse of the former Soviet Union and the historic merger of East and West Germany in 1989, the changes taking place across the world affected many African countries, including Tanzania.

In the early 1990s the pressure for democratic change was so strong that in 1992 Tanzania yielded to political

pluralism and about 12 political parties were formed. These parties worked hand in hand with CCM – *Chama cha Mapinduzi* (revolutionary party) – which had been formed in 1977 as a result of merging the Afro-Shirazi Party of Zanzibar and Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) of Tanzania mainland. The first multiparty general election where 13 political parties contested (Nugent, 2004: 413) was conducted in 1995 and CCM emerged winner, contrary to the expectations of many people.

One-party government rose and fell in Tanzania due to socio-political and socio-economic factors aimed at effecting economic change and exercising political liberalization. The country existed as a one-party state which prided at one-party politics but in the course of time the pride evaporated because after only thirty years it was realized that most Tanzanians were merely naïve or inactive participants in the political game. Like swallowing a bitter pill, multiparty system was adopted in the country. The system of one-party politics began to phase out, creating a better socio-economic wellbeing as well as more democratic political systems where Tanzanian citizens ceased being mere detached spectators and become active or inside participants in what reflected their will. Political pluralism was a warning to Tanzanian political leaders to stop thinking and deciding for the people. The early 1990s multiparty politics in Tanzania passed across a very important message to political leadership in the country – avoiding the danger and folly of creating "an environment where the majority of the people are passive observers who just wait for things to happen" (Kilaini, 1995: 11).

A socio-political fact is that the political foundation laid down by Nyerere and his colleagues has made Tanzania what it is today and what it is going to be many years to come. Furthermore, the past-present political leadership spearheaded by Nyerere will very much affect the future of Tanzania – positively and negatively.

Tanzania's Development Vision 2025

Background to Vision 2025

The much talked about Vision 2025 is worth discussion. Since its inception in the mid-1980s, this over-ambitious document is the third major future plan for the country and it is considered by many people as a means of bringing about great and useful results in the first quarter of the 21st century.

Tanzania's past impediments were the underlying factor of Vision 2025 because the government's past experience reflected the fact that the country had no clear direction, a situation which dictated a long-term development plan. Some of these impediments are the donor-dependence syndrome reflected in the dependent

and defeatist development mindset; poor economy and little capacity for economic management; as well as an implementation syndrome which for many years has proven ineffective

(<http://www.mof.go.tz/mofdocs/overach/th%20tanzania%20development%20vision%2025.doc>). Social evils such as discrimination, oppression, exploitation, suppression, racism, and neo-colonialism cannot be detached from political leadership because they are indeed caused by bad governance and political irresponsibility. According to Nyerere, one of the obligations of the government right from independence is to “eradicate all types of exploitation, intimidation, discrimination, bribery and corruption” (Nyerere, 1989: 21). It is very unfortunate that to date the government has not been able to carry out this duty.

The main objectives of Tanzania Vision 2025 are high quality livelihood; good governance and rule of law; and a strong and competitive economy. For the realization of this particular vision there is a need of development mindset, empowering culture; and competitiveness. The end results of these driving forces are essential things such as peace, stability and unity; good governance; well-educated society; as well as a stable economy that can compete with other economies (http://mkombozi.org/publications/factsheet/2007_11_20_factsheet_vision2025.pdf).

The Vision 2025 strategies which were determined to fill up the development gap by the end of 2025 sound logical and great but ironically they are more or less similar to the policies of The Arusha Declaration which had failed completely, despite the frenzy it stirred up in 1967 when the declaration was announced under the visionary leadership of the late Julius K. Nyerere, popularly known in Tanzania as ‘Father of the Nation’.

According to a study made by Benno Ndulu (currently the Governor of the Bank of Tanzania), the leading factors behind the chronic economic stagnation in Tanzania are declining GDP, inflation, poor agricultural and industrial production, high interest loans, and trade imbalance (Ndulu, 1989: 158). Ndulu further notes that there have been futile efforts to modernize and diversify the country’s economy and that the weak structure of Tanzania’s economy inherited from the colonial period has not demonstrated much change since independence (Ndulu, 1989: 171). It is necessitated by the fact that political leadership seems incapable of shaping a good or prosperous future. For example, since independence politicians have been bragging to eradicate three enemies – poverty, disease and ignorance – but to the surprise of everybody the enemies are on the increase.

Political leadership in Tanzania causes so big frustrations that the country fails to establish plausible policy which acts as a strong foundation for future development plans. Needless to say, bad political leadership brings about escalation of social problems

which mar broad development issues in Tanzania and elsewhere – problems such as discrimination, corruption, poverty, injustice, and embezzlement. Political leadership fails to stamp out poverty due to social inequality as well as lack of human rights and social justice, as it was once pointed out at a joint consultation between WCC, World Bank and IMF (Mshana, 2004, 3). Rogathe Mshana is of the opinion that the barriers of poverty eradication are caused mainly by unequal distribution of resources and human inequality (Mshana, 2004: 3).

Development Plans

Some Tanzanian scholars interpret Vision 2025 using the five-year development plans adopted in Tanzania since the 1960s. One such scholar is Humphrey Moshi (a lecturer in the Economics Department of the University of Dar es Salaam) who apportions Vision 2025 into three five-year development plans. These are 2011/12-2015/16 (Unleashing the Growth Potential), 2016/17-2020/21 (Nurturing an Industrial Economy), and 2021/22-2025/26 (Realizing Competitiveness – Export-led Growth). Highlighting Tanzania’s Long-term Development Plan, Moshi points out six guiding principles: wide-spectrum growth, macro-economic stability, ability to compete, national unity and cultural heritage, good governance and accountability, plus economic, social, and environmental sustainability (http://ncp2015.go.tz/docs/tdv_2025_and_Long-term_Perspective_Plan.pdf). Development plans should go together with good governance. Nyerere pointed out four pre-requisites for development – people, land, good policies, and good leadership (Nyerere, 1967: 29).

James Wolfensohn (once the President of World Bank) said pointedly how African leadership have been promising putting in place good governance and sustainable development and that they would improve “governance in judicial and financial systems, and to fight corruption” (Wolfensohn 2004, 14). Quoting Archbishop Carey, Wolfensohn states that the role of any institution is to “deal with the issue of poverty . . . the issue of equity . . . the issue of injustice...” (Wolfensohn, 2004:13).

Past Failures

The rationale behind Vision 2025 was the fact that for many years Tanzania had failed to realize her socio-cultural and politico-economic potentials due to chronic dependence on foreign donors, inferiority complex in matters pertaining to development, sluggish economy, bad governance and policies implemented incompetently. The socio-economic development failure made Tanzania bow to the demands of money-lending firms like the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank for

socio-economic reforms
<http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/i-dep/unpan002404.pdf>).

Most political leaders in the country have been manifesting lip loyalty to serious social issues expected to shape the future. History and sociology bring to the surface the fact that most promises made on political platforms do not materialize because African politicians tell a lot of lies. Keto Mshingeni, supports Nikita Krushchev (a candid Russian leader) who in 1960 made a very true observation – “Politicians . . . promise to build bridges, even where there are no rivers” (Mshingeni, 1960: 1-4). One thing which has considerably contributed to the failure of most plans in Tanzania, just as it is elsewhere, is the fact that most politicians are not sincere – most of their speeches are empty and myopic. Instead of seeking solutions to difficult issues, politicians make unfulfilled promises to difficult issues. Abdulrahman Babu (former Minister of Economic Affairs and Development Planning in Tanzania) – in the postscript written in one of Walter Rodney’s books – says with great remorse, that all the cultural-economic development experiments done in various African countries have been carried out at the people’s expense. Despite the fact that over the decades these experiments have been borne by the poor people, none of them have produced any positive results (Rodney, 1989: 311).

As far as Tanzania’s Vision 2025 is concerned, there are great hopes in connection with what is expected to be achieved by 2025. However, to make Vision 2025 a reality Tanzanians should be empowered, a competitive spirit needs to be injected into their country’s economy, good governance and the rule of law should be practiced in their society and the education they get must be geared to problem-solving. This sounds impressive but a very important question is yet to be asked – is that possible, bearing in mind the negative experience the country has gone through since independence in 1961? Aware of the decadence of leadership in Africa, Gaudens Mpangala asserted emphatically that Africa “needs the type of social and economic development that will ensure rapid economic growth and eradicate poverty” (Mpangala, 2000:127). And Cleopa Msuya, once the Minister of Finance in Tanzania, speaking during the 1985/86 Budget Speech, confessed that economic hardships facing most African countries, including Tanzania, “frustrate or even wipe out the major development achievements which have been achieved over the last quarter of a century of our national history . . .” (Msuya, 1985: 4).

Vision 2025 amid Social Malpractices

Vision 2025 appears a convincing plan but one wonders whether it will be fruitful with the increasing culture of

corruption and implementation of ill-conceived policies. With the current political irresponsibility and fake democracy, the objectives of Vision 2025 sound more of a wishful thinking than a reality in Tanzania, a country which is passing through transformations – the future of which is difficult to predict.

Immediately after independence, Tanzania engaged in a major politico-economic policy referred to as ‘development plans’. The first three development plans were the most important because they paved the way for the kind of developmental direction anticipated in Tanzania as a free nation. The first one was a Three-year Development Plan 1961-1963 and it was followed by two Five-year Development Plans 1964-1968 and 1969-1974 respectively. Despite the great optimism placed on these plans they did not bear the expected fruits such as eradication of poverty, disease and ignorance; minimizing import of finished goods and increase export of agricultural and industrial products; self-reliance in food and personnel; and freedom from the slavery caused by foreign debts and loans.

Evidently, The Arusha Declaration was nationally-celebrated but as we have said, it finally failed. What was expected from The Arusha Declaration is what nowadays politicians and economic theorists call ‘Big Results’. Instead of big results the consequences of The Arusha Declaration were economic frustration, political misguidance and educational deterioration, just as it is witnessed today. The egoistic and short-sighted spirit which strangled the motto of The Arusha Declaration – socialism and self-reliance – is the same spirit characterizing the people who tailored Vision 2025.

Admittedly, there is no simple solution to deep-rooted problems like the ones facing Tanzania today and any candid person would agree with Julius Nyerere who once said that “there are no miraculous answers to our problems” (Nyerere, 1979: 12). It is therefore unrealistic to think that all problems facing the country would be solved by the end of 2025 as it is simplistically stipulated in Vision 2025 because terrible social maladies like corruption and misuse of public funds are now becoming accepted cultures. However, if sincere and immediate measures against corruption and irresponsibility would be taken, there is some hope at the end of the tunnel. For the realization of the plans envisioned in Vision 2025 four crucial things should be borne in mind: quality education, responsible government, sustainable food and medical care, proper urban planning and infrastructure, as well as wise utilization of natural and human resources.

Theological Interpretation of Political Leadership

Theological interpretation of leadership means looking at leadership through the spectacles of religion and in the context of our paper religious interpretation of political

leadership means explaining political leadership in the framework of basic Christian principles.

Whenever interpreted theologically the political leadership in Tanzania falls into one of the two realms as far as Luther's theory of the two kingdoms is concerned. According to Martin Luther (the German reformer who is historically considered the founding father of Lutheranism in the 16th century) God has two kingdoms – the Church and the state. Luther taught that a Christian belongs to the Church (the realm of grace brought about by Word and Sacrament) and to the state (the realm of law and order), explaining that the state and the Church are God's work of creation and redemption. Martin Luther's ethic of the two kingdoms challenges Christians to participate in state activities, including taking political leadership responsibilities. By 1529 Luther was totally convinced that no Christian could live in isolation from secular authority and obligation. With his fellow reformers, Martin Luther worked day and night to reform 'public organization and policy' and the two-kingdom ethic was a political catalyst and stimulation for action (Gritsch and Jenson, 1976: 180-186). From this perspective, taking Luther's theory of the two kingdoms as a point of reference is quite beneficial at this time when Tanzanians want to make political leadership reforms for a better future.

There are people who argue that Christians should not involve themselves in politics because politics is a secular exercise. The fact is that no sensible Christian would isolate himself/herself from politics because politics is indeed a part and parcel of the Christian calling. All Christians, from the evangelical viewpoint, should participate in politics because Christian discipleship and politics are inseparable entities. A person who discourages followers of Christ from involving themselves in politics is short-sighted and unbiblical because "the Christian should lunge into practical political activity as deeply as his personality and talent will permit" (Linder and Pierard, 1973: 20).

Having briefly explained Luther's theory of the two kingdoms we need to ask a very important question in connection with political leadership. Are political leaders born or made through training? While opening a police training college in Dar es Salaam, a few days after he had opened other important buildings – a TANU building meant to be rented for the educational activities of the University of Dar es Salaam and the buildings of Kivukoni College – Nyerere disagreed with the deceptive claim that leaders are born. According to him "there is no man living whose qualities of leadership cannot be improved and developed by training" (Nyerere, 1966: 124). He added that the qualities of a competent leader is "the ability to think logically, the capacity to express himself clearly and concisely, [and] mastery of his job which enables him understand fully the implications of his decisions . . ." (Nyerere, 1966: 124). Jesus Christ kept on

teaching and training the people who wanted to take the responsibility of leadership in the Christian ministry, and from this perspective schools and colleges become institutions of utmost importance. Having leaders, political leaders in particular, who have not received any training as we see it increasingly happening today is equally dangerous for the future wellbeing of the country.

Let us now go to the main theological concepts alluded to in this particular sub-section: Biblical, spiritual, ecclesiological, and religious interpretations.

Biblical Interpretation

Biblical interpretation connotes leadership explanation in the framework of the Bible, the holy book of the Christian religion in its two major parts: the Old and New Testaments. As it is evident to many people, the Bible is full of political precepts in so far as political leadership is comprehended. For instance, Amos was so irked by political misdirection in his time that he defiantly warned the people or leaders who oppressed and crushed the needy (Amos 4:1). Micah's remarks are to the point: The Lord "requires of you . . . to do justice and to love kindness" (Micah 6:8). Justice and preventing oppression should be a prerequisite for a just Tanzania in the future. Another Biblical interpretation of leadership (as we read from Matthew 20:24-28 and Mark 10:42-45) is that a real leader of the people should be ready to be the servant of the people and not a master – these days we see leaders who pose as masters and not as servants of the people.

Assessing the status quo from the Biblical viewpoint, Tanzanians need to grow the seeds of love in their country, realizing that the hatred, despise and factions done in the pretext of socio-political and religio-cultural diversity will not take them far. Saint Paul narrates very well in one of his famous passages in the New Testament. "Love is patient and kind; love is not jealous or boastful; it is not arrogant or rude" (1 Corinthians 13:4-7). The kind of love mentioned by Paul in this particular passage needs to be seen in the political arena in Tanzania and in Africa at large. Politicians need the type of love which is patient and kind. Followers of different religions and various business people also need the type of love which is kind and patient. This kind of love would remove from Tanzania all sorts of jealousy and boastfulness which characterize most socio-political wrangles.

What should be seen in the activities of political leaders in Tanzania, in this era of political pluralism, is the kind of love which is not arrogant or rude. Instead of insisting their own ways as well as being irritable and resentful, Tanzanian political leaders are supposed to demonstrate the kind of love which does not rejoice at other people's mistakes. Understanding this truth, an honest political analyst states that "political pluralism is . . . expressed in

the felt need for political tolerance and multi-party democracy as necessary components of a democratic social and political life” (Petersen, 1994: 219). For quite a big number of politicians, politics is embraced as a religion and given the political scenario in the country most politicians seem to worship their political parties. When politics becomes one’s religion, one is indeed misled. Westerlund, quoting Neve’s definition of religion, says that religion includes “secular worldviews which lay claim to man’s highest allegiance. If a person’s ultimate concern for a political ideology has become ‘central’ and ‘transcends’ all other values in his personality it is ‘religious’ in nature” (Westerlund, 1980: 79). When a person’s commitment or allegiance to a political party or ideology surpasses his/her trust or love to God, then this particular party or ideology is doubtlessly his/her religion.

The numerous socio-cultural and politico-economic problems gnawing on the citizens of Tanzania need to be uprooted if Tanzanians want to realize their objectives for a better nation. From the Biblical perspective, they need to bear in mind the task placed on the shoulders of Prophet Jeremiah who was sent to nations and kingdoms to uproot and destroy all unprofitable things so that he could plant or build anew (Jeremiah 1:10). So many unprofitable things have been planted in various sectors in the country and to get a better future it is imperative to uproot all these things and build or put in place things which will bear good fruits in the future.

Spiritual Interpretation

Spiritual interpretation of leadership means assessing leadership from the perspective of human spirit rather than temporally. A spiritual interpretation of political leadership and how it relates to the future imparts a very concrete message. As it has already been realized elsewhere, one of the most obvious things in the society is the truth that nearly all socio-political problems today “contain moral and spiritual dimensions . . . [and no] evangelical Christian of any age group can ignore this” (Linder and Pierard, 1973: 58). As Sherwood Wirt (the editor of a popular magazine) once asserted, the social awareness of any person who is an evangelical in mind and at heart compels him/her to play his/her part in the society as a person who belongs to a team of humanity. Wirt goes on to say that it is the responsibility of an evangelical to seek eradicating poverty, pointing out injustice, fighting against perpetrators of corruption, and acting as a good steward in rooting out wastefulness (Wirt, 1968: 76). Wirt’s explanation is noteworthy because it is a modern interpretation of political leadership and what the public expects from this particular leadership.

Spiritual interpretation exposes corruption, one of the biggest problems in Africa. The Ugandan Roman Catholic

cleric, Cardinal Wamala (quoted by Mande), once described corruption as “‘contagious cancer’ which paralyzes many sectors in the society” (Mande, 1997:186). Wamala’s sentiments are supported by what is stated by J. Oswald Sanders, in his popular leadership manual, that a good leader is the one who possesses leadership qualities such as faithfulness, self-control, discipline, vision, humility, integrity, and sincerity (Sanders, 2008: 46-61). Tanzania needs political leadership possessing a far-reaching positive influence and integrity – leadership which implement the common objectives of the nation which in the future will bear lasting fruits: peace and order, social harmony, cooperation, and national prerequisites.

Terence Ranger, a social historian who has worked in Tanzania, is of the opinion that abundant life for every human being can only be possible if there is genuine “spiritual transformation, social reformation and economic betterment” (Ranger, 1987: 44). Politico-economic development in Tanzania would improve enormously, if people’s hearts are transformed and their social wellbeing reformed. When people’s hearts are transformed, social evils like corruption will decrease if not disappear. Transparency International, an anticorruption organization based in Berlin Germany, has recently declared that the best way for rooting out corruption from the society is to change people’s attitude of mind. This declaration is worth noting because most Tanzanians think that nothing can move without corruption.

Tanzanians may underrate corruption but the fact is that corruption is a social vice which underlies most problems we see in our society. Corruption and using shortcuts to acquire wealth is a style of life which destroys development (Mtata, 2013: 34). Unless corruption is eradicated, the country’s future is at stake. Corruption or bribery robs the righteous of their rights; it causes injustice and blindness on the side of the people entrusted with positions of responsibility. The Bible has a direct message or admonition to all Tanzanians, including political leaders. It warns people not to take or receive bribes because bribes blind the officials, and subvert “the cause of those who are in the right” (Exodus 22:8).

One of the qualities of good political leadership, inside and outside Africa, is “unquestionable integrity and political maturity” (Mande, 1997: 185). Throughout his political career, Julius K. Nyerere stressed that if at all we want a future where economic prosperity and human equality are orders of the day, we must make sure that the country is led by leaders whose moral integrity is unquestionable. According to Nyerere, “at all levels of leadership . . . we need good and honest men and women” (*The Daily News*, 23rd February, 1974, 1). It is from this perspective Nyerere used the phrase which gets an echoing in the Bible – a blind person cannot lead a blind person because both would fall into a pit (Matthew

15:14). Nyerere strongly believed that “to lead is to show the way, and you cannot show the path to others if you are lagging behind them” (Kaniki, 1974: 22).

One of the economic maladies which should be eradicated from Tanzania is stealing the national wealth, done by some senior officials in the country. For quite a long time now, people entrusted with high positions of leadership steal the national income and it is said that there are billions of money hidden in banks in the western hemisphere, mainly in Swiss Banks. A leading newspaper in the country has recently reported that since 2001 money amounting to 4 trillion Tanzanian Shillings has been scooped from the country by corrupt and greedy politicians, high-profile army officers, top bosses in various public companies, and senior government executives (*Mwananchi*, Friday, October 25, 2013, 10).

Another factor which can be interpreted spiritually is ethnicity or tribalism which elsewhere has caused horrifying incidents like the Rwanda genocide in 1994 where about 800,000 people are believed to have been killed (Nugent, 2004: 456). The Rwanda genocide was caused by political trickery and to prevent genocide in Tanzania all kinds of bad elements in the political leadership – bad elements like discrimination on the grounds of political parties, race, gender, age, and wealth. The social inequality caused by the widening gap between the haves and the have-nots in the country as well as the increasing religious intolerance are issues which must be addressed as soon as possible.

Ecclesiological Interpretation

When we talk of ecclesiological interpretation of political leadership we mean looking at political leadership from the viewpoint of the Church as a community of people who believe in Jesus Christ as their Lord and Savior. Thus, from this perspective, the Church is the body of Christ on earth. Viewing the Church as an ‘ecclesiological analogy’ a Swedish scholar says that the analogical understanding of the Church as a body of Christ gives “a hermeneutical framework when interpreting social, economical, and political contexts in which the Churches are living” (Brodd, 2008: xxiii). This ecclesiological understanding implies that political leadership in Tanzania has a big task of offering a meaningful and useful service in the society.

Interpreting the future of the Church in Africa, Jesse Mugambi says that if the Church wants to become a genuine ecclesiological body, she must identify herself with the suffering majority in all corners of Africa (Mugambi, 1990: 46). What Mugambi says about the Church of the future can be said about Tanzania of the future. All political leaders in Tanzania should make sure that they understand the suffering and afflictions of the people, so that they can immediately do something to rid

the future generations of the physical and psychological torture witnessed in almost all corners of the country.

In order to have a progressive future Tanzanians have to contemplate seriously on the political affairs which will affect or have impact on their lives, particularly the lives of young people. Tanzanians are supposed to examine political initiatives which will determine the day-to-day activities in the coming decades, centuries, and millennia. Some of the issues that need to be prioritized are democracy, poverty, unemployment, diseases, and poor education – issues which directly or indirectly victimize young people. Future prosperity, peace and socio-political stability are things which largely depend on how young people are treated today. Neglecting young people means walking towards a very gloomy destination because today’s youths are potential future leaders, both in the Church and in the secular society. A clear political road map for the future should be established, with young people allowed to be chief actors in the map.

Christian civil servants in Tanzania should be taught how to maintain their Christian roles and expectation in their respective areas of employment or occupation. Various Christians, in the government and private sector, should work and behave in accordance with the Christian ethics. As it is explained by Christopher Mwoleka², doctors and nurses should demonstrate sufficient fidelity, farmers should generously provide for their brothers and sisters, and teachers should prepare their pupils and students for responsible service or life. Road constructors must build roads to safeguard all road users, members of parliament should make laws as if they are making God’s laws, magistrates should protect people’s rights, shopkeepers should do fair trade which reflects divine love and honesty, and rulers or administrators should imitate God’s love and politeness (Mwoleka, 1976: 28).

Political leaders, from the Christian viewpoint, “must set a good example to the rest of the people in their lives and in all their activities” (Nyerere, 1972: 248) because all kinds of good work, teaching in particular, come from God; and knowing this, Luther asserted that every human occupation has honor in front of God (Luther, 1976: 246). On these grounds, politicians in Tanzania must understand that they are teachers of some sort and in their role as teachers they need to behave themselves. Teachers shape the aspirations of the nation in the sense that they can mould or demolish the society (Nyerere, 1972: 226-228). So the future of Tanzania depends very much on how teachers carry out their duties.

Tanzanians have to address the predicament of vulnerable groups such as women and children, refugees, orphans, political detainees, and victims of HIV/AIDS. They also need to address the whole issue of

² Christopher Mwoleka was a Roman Catholic Priest and a front-line supporter of socialist policies who worked in Western Tanzania in the 1970s and 1980s.

neo-colonialism practiced in the camouflage of business partners, Structural Adjustment Programs, globalization, loans, endless workshops and consultations, as well as influx of foreign experts, researchers, and volunteers. Kwame Nkrumah (the first President of Ghana and one of the founding fathers of Organization of African Unity in 1963) insisted unfalteringly that “peace in Africa could only be attained after the whole continent was free from colonial domination” (Chipenda, 1995: 26).

CONCLUDING REMARKS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The political leadership discussed in the paper and the relationship it bears on the future of Tanzania can be rounded up by two concluding remarks. The first remark is that since independence, quite a big number of development plans introduced to the scene have lacked dedication and a sense of direction. From the politico-economic viewpoint Tanzania has been operating like a vehicle without a strong steering-wheel and because of that most future plans have ended in vain. Poverty, disease and ignorance have been on the increase, and inflation is on the rise.

For more than five decades now, Tanzania has suffered lack of honest, transparent and sensible political leadership with initiatives which entail social strength and political stability for the future. Tanzania has been a platform of political leadership so shaky that most of the politico-economic objectives have not been realized sufficiently. Other barriers of development in Tanzania are social evils – the leading ones being unaccountability, corruption, nepotism, rigging, and unnecessary expenditure.

The second remark is that the political ethic adopted in the country has been more theoretical than practical. If a country like Malaysia became independent more or less at the same time with Tanzania, there is no reason whatsoever why the country’s development should be so stagnant. With all the resources – material and human – found in the country Tanzania should have become a developed country many years ago.

After these concluding remarks, a few recommendations can be made. First, political leadership in Tanzania should be examined from time to time so that the way forward can be clear and better understood. Politico-economic retrospection is of utmost importance and rethinking the pile of useless or empty political slogans should be accorded priority. Secondly, foundation for strong or stable future leadership has to be laid down now. This foundation for future development should be rooted in solidarity, patriotism, commitment, and self-sacrifice. Tanzanians should be united by love and cooperation and not divided by hate and egoistic politics. Thirdly, all people involved in political leadership in the country must be responsible and accountable. The

first group to be held responsible and accountable consists of all people found in the political arena – presidents, vice presidents, prime ministers, members of parliament, and permanent secretaries of different ministries. Fourthly, Tanzania needs faithful and punctual workers in all government and private sectors. Loiterers, rumor-mongers and looters of the national cake should be national enemies who should be uprooted from the country. The fifth recommendation is that political leadership needs the kind of love which instills positive belief, hope, and endurance among all people – irrespective of social position or economic status. It is this kind of love which is expected to blanket the politico-economic and socio-cultural realities in Tanzania, today and tomorrow, for ever and ever.

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