

THE PUBLISHING INDUSTRY, THE
IDEOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK AND
FOREIGN AID IN TANZANIA

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CONTENTS	ii
Abstract	iv
List of Tables	vi
Abbreviations	vii
Acknowledgements	ix
CHAPTER ONE: DEVELOPMENT AND PUBLISHING	1
Introduction	1
Tanzania: A Brief Background	4
Theoretical context	7
The role of publishing in Developing Countries	14
The publishing industry in Tanzania: An Overview	24
The structure of the study and sources of information	29
CHAPTER TWO: STATE AND ECONOMY	39
The state debate in Tanzania: A summary of major arguments	39
Change of focus in the debate	42
Change in the Economy 1961-1990s	43
CHAPTER THREE: EDUCATION	76
The Arusha Declaration and Education for Self-Reliance	82
The Musoma Resolution and Universal Primary Education (UPE)	84
Education for Self-Reliance and its economic basis	88
The impact of the economic crisis on education	91
Financial crisis in running the University of Dar-es-Salaam and inadequacies of Government budget allocation	110
Donor influence on education	116

CHAPTER FOUR: THE PUBLISHING INDUSTRY	124
Pre-Independence period	124
Independence and publishing	126
The Arusha Declaration and the Book trade	135
The Institute of Curriculum Development (ICD)	139
Scholarly publishing	147
Private sector publishing	150
Printing and distribution	152
Professional Associations in the Book trade	167
CHAPTER FIVE: LIBRARIES	169
School Libraries	172
The present position of School Libraries in Tanzania	176
The University of Dar-es-Salaam Library	180
CHAPTER SIX: FOREIGN AID INFLUENCES ON PUBLISHING	194
The 8th IDA Education Planning and Rehabilitation Project	197
SIDA's Proposed future school book provision system	201
The Book Management Unit (BMU)	211
The new Government policy on production and distribution of school/college books	215
CHAPTER SEVEN: COMING TO GRIPS WITH THE PUBLISHING INDUSTRY IN TANZANIA	220
Socialism and Self-Reliance	221
Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP)	227
Choice of the Theoretical Context	231
CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	235
BIBLIOGRAPHY	239
APPENDICES	252

ABSTRACT

The process of development in Tanzania is examined by focusing on the development of the publishing industry. The development of the publishing industry is located within the policies of the Tanzanian state since 1967.

Two models of educational publishing: state monopoly and the liberalized and privatized model are contrasted. The study utilized the dependent development perspective within the context of the Arusha Declaration of 1967 and the introduction of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) by the World Bank and the IMF; and the signing of the Tanzania-IMF agreement of 1986, and the events that followed.

Internal and external factors responsible for the development of the publishing industry in Tanzania are analysed. These factors interact, firstly because Tanzania's economy is determined by external forces; and secondly because one of the main thrusts of the SAP has been to shift resources from public to private ownership and to lower protection to encourage competition.

The study argues that Tanzania's post-colonial development attempts and those after SAP have been linked with initiatives and active participation of institutions in foreign aid allocation as well as the development of policy formulation, despite the policy of socialism and self-reliance. The new policy on production and distribution of school/college books legitimizes the SIDA proposal.

Also argues that small publishers form an essential and potential dynamic force of the publishing industry. The relative low investment capital and operational manageability provide incentives for the development of Tanzania's publishing industry. A mixture of state and a privatized model is proposed. Priority should be given to the strengthening of existing publishing houses and the revitalization of the Tanzania Elimu Supplies (TES), probably in conjunction with local capital.

Concludes that Tanzania's economic crisis should not be used as justification for simply transferring publishing to donor agencies such as SIDA. The principles of the World Bank and SIDA are the same: it is their time-scale for change and area of emphasis which differ. The study questions the interest that SIDA might have in providing such large scale aid with little direct return, and argues that SIDA's direct influence over the education system is part of the political struggle over who controls the education system and the whole education process in Tanzania.

LIST OF TABLES

- Table 2.1 Number of Ujamaa Villages and population, 1967-1979
- Table 2.2 Trends of food imports between 1971 and 1980
- Table 3.1 Employment in selected professions by race in 1962
- Table 3.2 Financial contribution from different sources 1980/81 and 1982/83 as percentage of the Education development budget
- Table 3.3 Government expenditure on Education, 1975-1990
- Table 3.4 Expenditure of the Ministry of Education on different levels of education
- Table 3.5 School fees
- Table 3.6 Labour turnover of Academic Staff at the University of Dar-es-Salaam(excluding the MCHS), formerly the Faculty of Medicine)
- Table 3.7 University budget for the period between 1984/85 and 1990/91
- Table 3.8 Development budget for the University of Dar-es-Salaam, 1986/87 to 1990/91
- Table 4.1 Book supplies needed for Primary Education(Based on 1987 figures)
- Table 5.1 University of Dar-es-Salaam Library acquisitions(including grants) 1975/76-1989/90

ABBREVIATIONS

ASP	Afro-Shiraz Party
BEST	Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania
BMU	Book Management Unit(BMU)
CCM	Chama cha Mapinduzi
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CODE	Canadian Organization for Development through Education
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DUP	Dar-es-Salaam University Press
EALB	East African Literature Bureau
EAPH	East African Publishing House
EAPL	East African Publications Limited
ERB	Economic Research Bureau
ERP	Economic Recovery Programme
ESR	Education for Self-Reliance
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICD	Institute of Curriculum Development(renamed The Tanzania Institute of Education)
IDA	International Development Association
IMF	International Monetary Fund
NAP	National Agricultural Policy
NBC	National Bank of Commerce
NDC	National Development Corporation
NESP	National Economic Survival Programme
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for International Development
NPC	National Printing Company
OGL	Open General Licence
PATA	Publishers' Association of Tanzania
PMO	Prime Minister's Office
PTA	Preferential Trade Area
RDA	Ruvuma Development Association
SADCC/SADC	Southern African Development Coordination Conference/Southern African Development Community
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SAREC	Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with Development Countries

SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
SMP	Southern Paper Mills
SUA	Sokoine University of Agriculture
TANU	Tanzania African National Union
TES	Tanzania Elimu Supplies
TKAI	Tanzania Karatasi Associated Industries
TLS	Tanzania Library Services
TPH	Tanzania Publishing House
UDASA	University of Dar-es-Salaam Academic Staff Assembly
UDSM	University of Dar-es-Salaam
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UPE	Universal Primary Education
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
UWAVITA	Umoja wa Waaandishi wa Vitabu Tanzania(Tanzania Writers' Association)

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CHAPTER ONE

DEVELOPMENT AND PUBLISHING

INTRODUCTION

The printed word is a key to knowledge and communication; and in the case of developing countries, to the creation of a sense of history and nationhood. The provision of books and other reading materials is important to education and to the development and maintenance of literacy. Books are therefore an indispensable cornerstone in education; and a country's book industry has to be considered as an essential industry in terms of national development planning.

This study analyses the process of development in Tanzania, focusing on a case study of the development of the publishing industry. Publishing does not develop in a political or economic vacuum: its development will be conditioned by the political, social and economic environment. This study locates the development of publishing within the policies of the Tanzanian state in rural development, agriculture and education since 1967.

Specifically the study will firstly analyse the internal and external factors which have constrained publishing.

These internal factors include the policies and programmes of the Tanzania Government since the Arusha Declaration of 1967,

including nationalization, Education for Self-Reliance (ESR), villagization, Universal Primary Education (UPE), the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), and the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP).

The external factors include the activities of those organizations known as donor agencies. These organizations have intensified their activities, especially after 1986 when Tanzania signed an agreement with the International Monetary Fund(IMF). The policies of the World Bank (through the International Development Agency- IDA) and bilateral donor agencies such as the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) and their influence on publishing in the light of Tanzania's policy of socialism and self-reliance are examined.

The role and influence of the World Bank and bilateral donor agencies must be seen against the background of the economic crisis and the failure of the post- colonial state to bring about meaningful sustainable development. On the other hand what was the impact of the World Bank, the IMF and other Western institutions upon Tanzania's ability to plan and implement its own balanced and integrated development strategy, consistent with the Tanzanian reality? The effect of this impact is demonstrated by the way in which Tanzania was forced to slowly abandon its socialist policies. Structural adjustment or economic reforms in Tanzania were introduced in a context of economic crisis and on the basis of promises and threats from donors led by the IMF and the World

Bank (See Chapter two).

Secondly this study will compare two models of educational publishing and distribution; that is the state monopoly model which became operational in 1967, and the privatized and liberalized production and distribution model which became operational in 1991. Privatization refers to the selling of publicly- owned enterprises (parastatals), including industries, banks, etc, most of which have been operating with negative net returns, to the private sector (Due 1993:1981). Liberalization refers to the relaxation of government controls so that government agencies no longer control certain production, marketing, transport, prices and foreign exchange allocations, etc (Ibid.). Liberalization and privatization went hand in hand. These twin policies introduced a liberal market economic system. But the issue considered here is the ability of a weak and fragile economy of a country such as Tanzania to evolve a strong market economy in competition with the operations of developed market economies of developed countries.

The World Bank and other agencies have long been established in many countries, including Tanzania; and educational development is just one part of their activities. The beginning of the world food crisis of mid 1970s saw finance capital's keen interest in food production (Nyerembe, 1984:8). The World Bank committed some US\$7 billion of international capital, apparently promising that this would serve the hungry

poor (Tandon:1981:5). ¹

Tanzania: A Brief Background.

Tanzania is the largest country in Eastern Africa. It has an area of 642,623 square kilometres and a population of more than 23 million people (according to the 1988 census), with an annual population growth of 3.3%. Average life expectancy is 53 years, which is above the average for Sub-Saharan Africa. Only 6% of the population live in towns. It has about 120 ethnic groups, speaking different languages. Due to such diversity of languages, people from different ethnic groups use Kiswahili or English for communication. Kiswahili is a mixture of Bantu languages and borrowed words from other languages, such as Arabic, English, Portuguese and German. It is the official language at national level, while English is used for international communication, and at institutions of higher learning. English is still the medium of instruction at post-primary education level.

Agriculture dominates the economy, providing about 50% of the GDP and 85% of employment. Manufacturing contributes only 5% of the GNP, and is dominated by activities in the public sector. Principal exports are coffee, cotton and tea. GDP growth rate was 5.2% per annum between 1970 and 1978. Given a population growth rate of 3.3%, per capita income has been

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See also Dinham and Hines who provide a detailed analysis of the role of big business in Africa's agriculture. At the end, the book looks at Africa's increasing dependence on transnational supplies and large scale food production schemes. The book also shows the link between forces originating in the industrialized economies and the deepening of hunger in Africa.

increasing at 2%.

The legal entity called Tanzania is a union between Tanganyika (mainland Tanzania) and the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, formed in April 1964. Tanganyika received its independence from the British trusteeship in 1961 under the leadership of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). This party later became Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) in 1977, when TANU and Zanzibar's ruling party, the Afro-Shiraz Party (ASP), merged to form a single party (CCM). Julius Nyerere, the first leader of TANU was also the President of Tanganyika (later Tanzania) from independence in 1961 until 1985 when he voluntarily stepped down as President. He also resigned as Chairman of the ruling party (CCM) in August 1990.

Under the leadership of TANU, and later CCM, Tanzania society had been distinguished by its articulation of socialist goals. The Arusha Declaration of 1967 gave the country both political and development strategies and directions in social and economic aspects. It was at one level a direct response to the country's inability to attract foreign capital for development, and at another to her internal political difficulties (Mueller 1980:488). Under the banner of Socialism and Self-reliance the Tanzania Government declared an intention to build a socialist society. The policy of socialism and self-reliance logically led to an increased concern for rural areas where 94% of the population live and work.

The Arusha Declaration was built upon two analytically and presumably distinct pillars: firstly, the construction of socialism and secondly, that of self-reliance. The purpose was to restructure the country's inherited economy and to cut links of dependency with the international capitalist system. As a result of the Declaration, Tanzania became the centre of a major debate on the precise nature and path of development. Tanzanian society has been a laboratory for a variety of experiments in social engineering following the Arusha Declaration (Campbell and Stein 1991:2). Debates on the nature of the state and the policies and experiments attempted by Tanzania are examined in Chapter two. The analysis of these debates and experiments is important for the understanding of Tanzania's movement towards and then away from the policy of Socialism (Ujamaa). The policies of Ujamaa provide the political and ideological framework within which the publishing industry and foreign aid influences are discussed. Briefly some of the policies and programmes which will be discussed are:

- (i) Nationalization;
- (ii) Education for Self- Reliance;
- (iii) Rural collectivization through Ujamaa (Socialist) villages;
- (iv) Villagization programme;
- (v) Universal Primary Education (UPE); and functional literacy programmes;
- (vi) Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP); and

(vii) The Economic Recovery Programme (ERP).

The policy of Education for Self-Reliance (ESR), first published in March 1967, was the first post-Arusha Declaration statement on education. It described how the system of education had evolved since independence. ESR criticised the existing system for creating an attitude that was not conducive to socialism. A key component of ESR was the stated desire for Universal Primary Education (UPE). In 1974 the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) National Executive meeting passed what came to be known as the Musoma Resolution. This resolution decreed that within three years arrangements must be complete for making primary education accessible to all children of school going age (TANU 1976:4). This took the government, parents and publishers by surprise. The resolution therefore laid down the basis for a new legislation on education to be enacted in 1978. ²

Before examining the factors in detail, it will be useful to firstly survey and develop theoretical models of development in the international context, and to specifically examine the Tanzanian situation.

THEORETICAL CONTEXT

Modernization theory originally arose after the Second World

²

The 1978 Education Act repeals Education Act No. 50 of 1969. It provides legal mandate for the formulation, promotion and execution of the national policy on Education.

War and became the dominant form of analysis in the 1950s and the 1960s. Intellectually the idea of modernization grew out of the traditional-modern dichotomy which was prominent in the 19th Century social thought.

According to the modernization perspective, the change from traditional to modern was to occur through the diffusion of capital, technology, values, institutional arrangements and political beliefs from the west to traditional societies.

The first substantive challenge to the modernization theory came from a number of Latin American intellectuals working within what came to be known as the dependency tradition. An important point of departure for the dependency approach was the rejection of the notions inherent in the modernization theory: first, that European and US development on one hand and Third World underdevelopment on the other were separate phenomena. Secondly, western contact and influence were necessarily beneficial for Third World.

Frank was one of the driving forces behind the early development of the dependency school, and outside Latin America, the dependency school has been more or less identified with him. In his book entitled Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America, published in 1967, Frank provided an analysis of the economic history of Brazil and Chile. He came to the conclusion that 'development and underdevelopment are two sides of the same coin'. Thus,

according to Frank, it was the incorporation into the world capitalist system that lead to development in some areas and underdevelopment in others.

The dependency analysis originated among Latin American social scientists as a response to development problems on that continent. The approach has been transferred to Sub-Saharan Africa in effort to explain a number of problems in African political economy (McGowan 1978:194). It served as a development ideology in countries like Tanzania after 1967, although the dependency-inspired policy of Ujamaa did not solve Tanzania's economic problems, as will be discussed later.

Shivji (1990:50) argues that the Tanzanian independence movement which was led by the petit bourgeoisie lacked a theoretical and ideological vision of the post-independence future. The theoretical premise and the policies of the colonial period were reinforced. The prescriptions of the modernization theorists found their policy expression in the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) Report which laid the basis of the First Five Year Development Plan (See Chapter two). These modernization theories had a very short life span in Tanzania; that is between 1961 and 1967. As the modernizing elites were busy with modernizing themselves by accumulating property and indulging in conspicuous consumption, the masses were further impoverished and integrated in the world market. The adoption of the

Arusha Declaration in 1967 brought into focus one fundamental question: the role of the ideology of socialism in national economic development. Analysis of this question provided a critique of modernization, and effectively provided the theory of dependency.

Dependency theorists argue that backwardness and poverty are a result of long-term imperialist exploitation, beginning with slavery and now manifesting itself as neo-colonialism. The traditional and the modern sectors of the economy were two sides of the same coin: underdevelopment. Radical or revolutionary disengagement (delinking) from imperialism and a move towards self-reliance were proposed as a solution. As Shivji (Ibid:54) notes, dependency theories, for a while, provided a powerful theoretical tool and a critique of multinational corporations, among other things. The dependency theories also inspired some useful research which exposed the role and relations of the multinationals in Tanzania. This thinking was dominant between 1967 and the 1980s. But dependency theory was structuralist: it failed to show processes and therefore failed to integrate its understanding of imperialism into class relations and the character of the state (see Chapter two).

This study is undertaken within the context of Tanzania's political, social and economic development since the Arusha Declaration, taking into account the effect of the policy of socialism and self-reliance up to 1986 and the events that

followed. The basis of development was supposed to be the use of domestic, rather than foreign resources. The study uses a 'dependent development' perspective in its analysis of the results of the changes in the nature of Tanzania's political economy both after 1982 with the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), and ultimately in 1986 when the Tanzania-IMF agreement was signed. This agreement marked the beginning of a new era, with the IMF and the World Bank insisting on liberalization and privatization.

This perspective suggests that foreign capital and social forces within African states often collaborate to stimulate economic expansion in sectors like industry, mining and export oriented agriculture (Bradshaw and Tshandu, 1990:233). This collaboration takes place through a triple alliance among multinational corporations (MNC), local capital and the peripheral state (Bradshaw 1985:196). Foreign capital has prompted the expansion of state involvement in the economies of Africa south of the Sahara because local capital is weak.

Such collaboration takes two forms:

(i) protection of foreign capital by African states, through the enactment of protective tariffs and import restrictions, since this reduces potential competition and therefore enhances the profits of investors (Bates, 1981);

(ii) formation of joint ventures between African states and foreign capital where host governments retain majority ownership and multinational corporations control managerial

positions (Seidman, 1970; Bradshaw, 1985). These ventures provide security to foreign investors and provide African states with access to technology and capital from external sources. The state's dependency is increased through cooperating with economic institutions, based in the core countries, especially Multinational Corporations(MNC) and now donor agencies (see Chapter six).

Bradshaw and Tshandu (1990:234) argue that although countries undergoing dependent development are still underdeveloped, they are not the helpless pawns claimed in classical dependency theory. Developing states can actively bargain hard with foreign investors and lenders as will be shown in the Tanzanian case. This does not mean that African countries are free from the constraints of economic dependency, for they are still highly dependent and there is a limit to which they can negotiate. In other words, this new form of dependency does not show an improvement over the classical forms. The forces that brought about Africa's socio - economic underdevelopment over the past two hundred years still continue to undermine the efforts of its people towards political and socio-economic self- determination, although the actors and tactics have changed with the dominance of the IMF, the World Bank and donor agencies.

For present-day Africa, two issues relevant to this study, are critical in influencing development within the international system: the nature and role of African states, and the

struggles between the international financial institutions such as the World Bank and IMF, and African states over structural adjustment as the Tanzanian case will show.

These issues give rise to a form of neo-colonialism, characterised by a heavy burden on external debts, the consequent need for foreign exchange and the insistence of international financial institutions (and donor agencies) on what is called 'policy conditionality'. This means international organisations will only lend money if governments agree to changes such as devaluation, subsidy withdrawal, privatisation of public enterprises, etc.

As will be shown in Chapter two, Tanzania's experience reflects the growing coordination of these international financial institutions in imposing policy conditionality during the period of structural adjustment.

Although no country can be totally free of external constraints in the formulation of national policies, the requirements described above, and the manner in which SAP was introduced, raise very sensitive issues concerning the freedom of 'sovereign' states to decide and implement their own policies. For example, apart from savings from export earnings, Tanzania has relied on aid and direct foreign investment to provide the bulk of the resources needed for investment to sustain economic growth, despite the Arusha Declaration of 1967, which emphasised the policy of self

reliance.

Foreign capital flows, particularly development assistance, grew rapidly from under 20% of the total capital development investment in 1967 to over 70% in the 1980s. Since 1982 total aid flows, net of technical cooperation grants, have exceeded recorded export earnings.

With the shift in the composition of aid towards import support, which began in 1982/83 and accelerated under the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) discussed in Chapter two, disbursements have become important not only for investment funding but also for the financing of intermediate and consumer goods imports.

Import support, which began by a number of bilateral donors as a crisis response to constraints facing all sectors, has become a systematic feature of the aid programme, running at around US \$ 380 million per year (World Bank 1991:121). With falling export earnings, Tanzania is in debt and is actually a net exporter of funds to the lending organizations through the repayment of loans.

THE ROLE OF PUBLISHING IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Although the literature on developing countries is vast, studies on the development of publishing in developing countries, and in Africa in particular, are far less numerous.

In a series of authored or edited studies Altbach (1985:2), considered that publishing has lagged behind other developments in education. In an earlier study, Altbach (1974:450) had outlined what he saw as the common themes in any discussion of publishing in the Third World:

(i) the 'infrastructure' of publishing, such as printing facilities, supplies of paper and editorial expertise has hardly been developed;

(ii) book distribution is a serious problem in rural areas and this has inhibited the establishment of a strong indigenous publishing industry in many countries;

(iii) relatively little regional cooperation or book trading among Third World countries takes place;

(iv) language remains a key problem, and publishing in indigenous Third World languages has often been slow;

(v) problems of cultural and intellectual dependency are still critical to some Third World countries, notably the impact of multinational publishers who have their headquarters in developed countries, the role of foreign aid programmes and the general domination of the world book trade by Britain, France, and the USA (and to some extent, the USSR) have had an effect on publishing in the Third World;

(vi) Third World governments have given little attention to

books and publishing;

(vii) publishing is a complex enterprise and it is difficult to generalise about it; problems of children's books are different from those of school books, which in turn are quite different from those of scholarly publishing.

Altbach (1985:2) also observes that publishing has international implications and relationships. Translations, copyright issues, and the role of multinational publishers are all international issues. Possibilities of regional cooperation in publishing and book distribution also have international implications.

In developing countries, publishing is closely linked to the education system, and the educational sector is the largest purchaser and user of books. One basic assumption about the relationship between publishing and educational development is that each affects the other. Since publishing in developing countries depends on the institutional infrastructure of education and libraries to provide the basic market for books, both general and scholarly, it is at the mercy of government policies regarding libraries, the price of paper, copyright policies, the purchase of books and issues of national languages. These are some of the areas of direct government involvement in relation to publishing.

Governments in many developing countries have become directly

involved in book production with policies ranging from total monopoly over the production of books to subsidies to private publications.

The most common form of involvement has been in textbook production, through nationalisation of textbook publishing at both primary and secondary school levels. These monopolistic and centralised policies have had the effect of undermining the economic viability of the private publisher. According to Altbach (1974:463), this can have widespread and possible counterproductive implications for the publishing industry, and perhaps in the long run, for the intellectual life of the nation. The Ministry of Education in Tanzania, like its counterpart in Kenya, has been warned about the dangers inherent in monopolising the process of writing, publishing, buying its own books and distributing them since this cannot serve the interest of either publishing or education at large (Chakava, 1992:126). This does not give room to individual authors, publishers and distributors to engage themselves in the book trade.

Sheikh (1989), commenting on the main factors which determine the growth of the publishing industry in developing countries, notes that factors such as the system of education, the existence of many languages and scripts, printing and distribution, the economic situation, social and cultural environment and the political scene are major determinants.

But more generally in economic terms, the governments of many African countries have been obliged to carry out economic, fiscal and social changes in order to receive loans from the International Monetary Fund/World Bank. The economic recovery plans or structural adjustment programmes that have been demanded have come in for much criticism. Anyaoku (1989), reviewing IMF/World Bank policies considers that they have never been successful. He argues that, despite major reform efforts during the 1980s, the average inhabitant in most of Sub-Saharan Africa had no more income and could buy fewer imported goods than in 1965. As Bradshaw and Tsandu (1990:247) show, there have been more than seventy-five protests throughout the world against austerity measures imposed by international lenders since 1976. The countries concerned include Ghana, Liberia, Sudan, Zaire and Zambia.

In Tanzania unrest was on a small scale, and mainly confined to the Universities, as the country was grappling with the difficult measures imposed by the IMF. The small scale nature of the unrest in Tanzania was due to lack of militant trade unions, and the historical nature of the development of politics in Tanzania i.e. a one party state which became a one man show (Nyerere). There were complaints from staff and students about the absence of democracy and accountability, and the decline in the proportion of funding allocated to education and corruption in the bureaucracy, both of which affected living and working conditions. This is described in more detail in chapter three.

Fewer analyses have been made of the specific effects of World Bank policies on publishing. Maack (1986:9,14), commenting on the role of external aid in West African library development, notes that aid to cultural or education agencies, such as schools, research institutes, libraries or book development programmes, is subject to political considerations. Imported books are useless unless their content is appropriate to the needs of the Third World countries and donations represent 'growth without development'.

Aid, therefore, becomes a form of neo-colonialism; it serves to perpetuate both cultural and economic dependence, and reinforces the centre-periphery relationship. As Mushi and Kjekshus (1982) put it, aid can be developmental if it lays the foundation for its future rejection that is to say, if it can be used in a way that leads to a self-reliant and self-sustaining economy. Don and Barbara Dodson (1971:62) argue that to establish an indigenous publishing house is an act of liberation and therefore a necessity.

It is important to note that the World Bank is becoming the largest single donor of aid to education in developing countries. In examining whether aid to education in developing countries is of use, Hurst (1981:119) identifies three broad views: (a) external aid to education is highly beneficial in developing countries; (b) aid to education is largely irrelevant to the main problems, but it could be made more useful; (c) aid to education is irredeemably irrelevant,

or actually harmful to the interest of developing countries. He concludes that the World Bank education policies, like its policies in health, population and rural development, are good for business, but that there are very major limits to the effectiveness of aid to education both domestic and global (ibid).

Case studies of publishing in developing African countries

According to Nwankwo (1992:152), the missionaries who were pioneers in the education enterprise in Nigeria did not encourage the local production of textbooks, thus laying the foundation for the low level of local textbook production today. Discussing the problems facing book production and the publishing industry in Nigeria, Iwe (1990) notes that publishing is a relatively new development which is beset by many problems. These include lack of finance, lack of trained personnel and lack of government participation in the book industry. This has resulted in overdependence on foreign books.

Describing the nature of the book industry in Ghana, Nyarko (1988) notes that problems there are due to a weak manufacturing base, unstable currency, high costs of raw materials, limited reading public and poor distribution facilities. Evaluating the progress made in library service

provision in Ghana, Alemna (1989) concludes, among other things, that materials in University libraries are mostly outdated and of no academic or research value, and that most special libraries, thirty years after independence, are struggling to survive.

Lack of reading habits has been cited as one of the problems of the publishing industry in Africa. Chakava (1984) identifies three main obstacles to reading development in Africa: language, illiteracy and undeveloped readership. Although it is correct that the undeveloped state of publishing is both a cause and a result of the low level of readership on the continent, this analysis calls for further specific case studies to justify the argument, because Africa is not homogeneous. Chakava also argues correctly that the problems are so intertwined that they need to be approached within a broader framework of national development policies.

Kaungamno (1984), commenting on the situation in Tanzania, holds that the problem of the lack of reading materials in primary and secondary schools, colleges and institutions of higher learning is due to lack of foreign exchange.

Scholarly publishing

Scholarly publishing includes research reports, specialized academic studies, textbooks and the like. It is of small but critical importance to the publishing enterprise. It

contributes to the advancement of knowledge, to policy making, to intellectual communication and, particularly in developing countries, to the interpretation of theories of development. Unfortunately intellectuals and academics in Third World countries do not have appropriate working conditions, incomes or leisure time to support active scholarly writing (UDASA,1991). As part of the economic relationships established during the colonial period, there is a general orientation of many Third World intellectuals towards the west, and they prefer their works to be published in London, New York, or Paris. Added incentives are the better distribution services and perhaps the income that foreign publications bring.

Another problem concerning scholarly publishing in developing countries is institutional. Universities in these countries do not in general reward research and scholarly publishing. Masha (1986) urges the need to stress creative writing and relevant research and the provision of rewards for such works. A local publisher stimulates publication of materials which might otherwise lie in researchers' files. It also helps to bring a research- mindedness to the University and can stimulate more writing and publishing and therefore lower the dependence and the impact of foreign books and journals.

To break the monopoly power of the industrialised countries, it seems useful for journal publication to be expanded in the Third World, as part of the construction of a network of

intellectual institutions that can help in the dissemination of information (Altbach and Kelly,1978:317).

The role of exports and of regional cooperation in scholarly publishing is of extreme importance. In developing countries very little attention has been given either to exports or to possible regional cooperation in book publishing. An export potential exists especially for countries which publish in Western languages. Regional cooperation initiatives such as the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), now Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern Africa (PTA) can increase the market for books without significantly increasing costs. Since Third World countries are the products of historical power struggles which still continue, any move towards regional booktrade must take into account the following :

(1) SADC members are part of the world capitalist system, in which underdevelopment and dependence are still major characteristics; and

(2) any move to restructure colonial underdevelopment on a regional basis must take into account the diversities prevalent among SADC member countries' (Ekingo,1987:56).

Altbach (1992:21) comments that regional cooperation is difficult to implement, although it remains important. Africa, and SADC and PTA in particular, cannot effect

meaningful economic and social transformation and development through regional cooperation if the internal economic, social and political structures in their respective countries remain externally moulded.

Accelerated economic and social development of SADC countries based on reduction of dependence on South Africa and on self reliance was the major objective of the SADCC Declaration in which the only guarantee for the success of initiatives on regional basis was the dependence on efforts of the people and governments. Ekingo (ibid:79) notes that:

'though the Declaration also contains an appeal for external cooperation and international support, this was merely a supporting effort and not a determining and dependent variable in the overall development strategy for the region'.

The end objective of the Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern Africa is for the member countries to become a common market and eventually an economic community. There is therefore a need for studies to examine the place of the book industry within the regional framework of SADC and PTA, especially now that apartheid has been dismantled in South Africa.

THE PUBLISHING INDUSTRY IN TANZANIA: AN OVERVIEW

In Tanzania the shortage of educational, children's and

general books is real. The demand for books for libraries and for the general public outstrips output.

Delegates at the TANU party biannual conference in 1975 urged the Tanzania Government to prioritise book production. This was because the country was pursuing a functional literacy campaign aimed at eradicating illiteracy, in order to raise the economic and cultural level of workers and peasants. There was also a need to cope with the Universal Primary Education (UPE) Programme which had 1977 as the target date for its implementation. The introduction of UPE led to the expansion of primary school enrolment. Between 1974 and 1975, standard one (aged 7-8) enrolment rose from 247,627 pupils to 433,210 (Bikas and Kinunda 1977:83), an increase of 75%.

Side by side with this increase in student numbers was the demand for entirely new books that would reflect the aspiration and culture of independent Tanzania. The Tanzania Library Service (TLS) Board Act (1975) made the Board responsible for sponsoring literacy campaigns and with promoting, developing, producing and distributing books and other reading materials for the general public.

Originally Tanzania was a great importer of books and other reading materials, and the major source for this was Kenya. This is because the East African Publishing House (EAPH) and the East African Literature Bureau (EALB) had their headquarters in Nairobi. Also the United Kingdom-based

multinational publishing companies, such as Oxford University Press and Longmans, while they had some branches or agents in Dar-es-Salaam and Kampala, had Nairobi as their regional base. In this case the publishing enterprises were East African in name, but Kenyan from the view point of publishing decision-making and financial control.

The arrangement worked well because the East African countries were a single market with no customs barriers. There was a common educational and examination system, so the same titles could serve the whole region. In this case the book trade was one of the casualties of the political developments in the region, first with the closure of the Kenya/ Tanzania border in 1976 and then with the East African Community breaking up in 1978. This brought to an end a fairly successful model of regional cooperation at a cultural level and in particular in the field of book production and distribution. When the East African Community collapsed there were no structures in place in either Tanzania or Uganda to enable EAPH and EALB branches to function (Bgoya 1992:170). The East African Literature Bureau (EALB) split up and the Tanzania section became the Eastern African Publications Limited (EAPL).

Whether Tanzania's publishers would have developed sufficiently to compete with their Kenyan counterparts had the East African Community survived is difficult to judge. The break up of the East African Community was a major blow to Kenya's export trade which at its peak had averaged 25% of

their turnover (Chakava,1992:124-25).

The Tanzania Publishing House (TPH) was formed in 1966 by Macmillan, in partnership with the Tanzania Government. Its establishment was supposed to be a long-term strategy to disengage from foreign publishers and therefore to conserve foreign exchange. The Tanzania Elimu Supplies(TES) was established in 1967, as a subsidiary of the National Development Corporation(NDC), to act as an alternative to private suppliers of educational materials who were charging exorbitant prices. The Institute of Education(later the Institute of Curriculum Development-ICD and now again the Tanzania Institute of Education) was charged with writing manuscripts for primary school books. With these developments, textbook production and distribution was firmly in the hands of the government. This briefly explains the initial involvement of the state bureaucracy in the publishing industry through monopolisation of planning and implementation.

By mid 1970s, TPH can be said to have engaged in educational publishing. It was not only producing a number of primary school textbooks, but also utilising the profits it got from its educational publishing activities to publish general trade titles.

Complementing the work of TPH was a fairly thriving network of bookshops. By the late 1970s there were about 83 bookshops in

Tanzania, each serving on average about 250,000 people (Bgoya,1984:27).

The decline in the national economy in the 1970s brought about widespread corruption and rampant profiteering through hoarding and price hiking. Government reaction to such profiteering came in the form of a confinement policy in 1981 which restricted business in printing materials to TES. However, it was not realised what would happen to bookshops and booksellers once the ability to trade in textbooks, exercise books and stationery was removed from them. The decision to make TES the sole importer of books from foreign publishers sealed the fate of most bookshops. The confinement policy went hand in hand with the policy of recommended books.

A World Bank (1988) random survey of fifteen rural primary schools in Tanzania reported that the average availability of textbooks for pupils in primary grades one to seven was eleven textbooks per thousand pupils. The report also showed that in a four year period, approximately 1% of the required textbooks for secondary schools had been made available. Examples of the critical situations cited were those pupils taking form four literature examinations without having a copy of the prescribed textbook, and those taking science examinations without any access to the single standard textbook.

The economic crisis which began in the 1970s had an effect on education in general. There was a dramatic decrease in funds

available for the purchase of books as government priorities shifted away from education. This will be discussed further in chapter Three, but before examining Tanzanian educational policy in detail, it is first necessary to explore the overall pattern of economic and state development over the period. This will allow us to locate educational policy within this wider context.

STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY AND SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Having outlined the major theoretical models of development, (and particularly the two theories of dependent development and policy conditionality), and having briefly described the Tanzanian context, it is now necessary to outline the key issues that will be examined in various chapters of the thesis.

The study is divided into eight chapters, which together analyse the issues related to publishing, the ideological framework, and foreign aid in Tanzania.

This first chapter outlines the aims and objectives of the study, the context within which the study was undertaken, background literature, background to the study, and research methods: data collection , data analysis and presentation.

Chapter two examines in greater detail the various development policies that have been pursued and implemented by the

Tanzanian state. It analyses the involvement of the state bureaucracy in the socio-economic development through its monopolisation of development planning and implementation. It provides a background to the economic crisis that led the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), and from this, the intensification of donor activities and influence especially after 1986. It also provides the political and ideological frameworks within which the publishing industry and foreign aid influences are later discussed.

The third chapter examines the development of education in Tanzania after the Arusha Declaration with special reference to Education for Self-reliance (ESR) and the Musoma Resolution and the Universal Primary Education (UPE) Programme. The impact of Tanzania's economic crisis on education is also discussed. Education policy has been a major element of all of Tanzania's development policies, from independence to the present day. But the policy is of particular significance in the analysis of the publishing industry, because of the crucial role played by the demand for locally produced texts in educational contexts.

Chapter four moves from this to examine the development of publishing in Tanzania. The manner in which the Tanzania Publishing House (TPH) was established, and its relationship with the book trade in general after the Arusha Declaration form the core of this chapter. Also discussed is the position

of the Institute of Curriculum Development(ICD) as part of the state monopoly model of publishing and its effects on publishing.

Together, chapters three and four demonstrate the trends education have on publishing, and also the converse effects of publishing trends on educational development. The nature and supply of textbooks in any country is determined by the state of the publishing industry, including printing capacity, availability of paper, and the distribution network, the presence of competent authors, and by the education system.

The fifth chapter examines the library situation in Tanzania with special reference to school libraries and the University of Dar-es-Salaam Library. The importance of analysing library provisions is because they form an integral part of the publishing industry, and also provide a teaching and learning resource. It is argued that the efficacy of investing in textbook provision must be questioned if it is not supported by at least a minimum school library provision.

The sixth chapter analyses foreign aid influences on publishing, with special reference to the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) and the World Bank's 8th IDA Project. The Tanzania Government policy on the production and distribution of school/ college books issued in December 1991 is also examined. This policy is important because it gives official backing to the SIDA proposal and the

World Banks's 8th IDA Project.

Chapter seven provides a summary of major findings and highlights how major issues discussed in the thesis can be taken forward. The eighth chapter forms the conclusion of the study.

Data on which this analysis is based

The literature on political and economic development and underdevelopment was examined in the United Kingdom and Tanzania between April and November 1991, and January to March 1992 respectively. This provides the theoretical framework of the study. The field work was conducted in Dar-es-Salaam, Arusha and Morogoro Regions between April and October 1992. Data was obtained through documentary sources, supplemented by interviews.

Primary sources

In order to establish more precisely the relationship between Tanzanian publishers, bookshops, libraries, aid agencies and the Tanzania Government permission was sought to examine different files and documents available in Tanzania.

Documentary sources included publishers' files, documents in the Ministry of Education, Institute of Curriculum Development, the Book Management Unit, the policy document on

the production and distribution of textbooks for schools and colleges issued by the Government of Tanzania in 1991; and the East Africana Collection of the University of Dar-es-Salaam Library. These documentary sources provided both qualitative and quantitative data.

(i) Publishers's files

Four publishers provided useful examples of the variables concerned with the production of textbooks. These were the Dar-es-Salaam University Press (DUP), the Tanzania Publishing House (TPH), the East African Publications Limited (EAPL), and the Institute of Curriculum Development (ICD) of the Ministry of Education and Culture.

Information collected concerned the relationship between DUP, TPH and the EAPL with the Ministry of Education and Culture as the main purchaser of reading material; debts; and general problems facing the publishing houses. This information was obtained from annual Company plans for various years (TPH, EAPL), and from annual reports and minutes of board meetings (DUP).

(ii) Bookshops' files

The University of Dar-es-Salaam Bookshop was the major source of information, and some of their financial reports were obtained. Other bookshops were privately owned, and this made it difficult to obtain the financial reports. Procurement policy and minutes of board meetings for the University of

Dar-es- Salaam Bookshop were also consulted.

Information collected concerned problems of obtaining books, both local and foreign publications; sources of funding, especially for the University of Dar-es-Salaam Bookshop; and problems of obtaining foreign exchange from the Bank of Tanzania to purchase foreign publications.

(iii) Ministry of Education and Culture

Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania (BEST), issued by the Ministry, provided a general quantitative performance of Tanzania's education system. From the Institute of Curriculum Development information concerning its establishment and functions was obtained, as was varied information from annual reports. From the Book Management Unit information was gathered concerning its establishment, functions, sources of finance and relationship with the Mzumbe Book Project. Also consulted from the Ministry were the World Bank document: the 8th IDA Project Document; SIDA's document on the proposed future school book provision system in Tanzania; and the Tanzania Government policy document on the production and distribution of school/ college books. Some of the above documents were internal government documents, including confidential ones.

(iv) University of Dar-es-Salaam

The East Africana Section of the University of Dar-es-Salaam

Library provided background literature on Tanzania. The Library Acquisition Department provided essential statistics about acquisitions, both local and foreign; book donations and grants over the years; and sources of funds/ grants and donations. The Bursar's office provided information concerning the level of funding from the Government and from external sources.

Interviews

Interviews were held with publishers; bookshop personnel; officials in the Book Management Unit and the Mzumbe Book Project, both under the Ministry of Education; authors; and primary and secondary school teachers. Interviews were semi-structured: that is the interviewer had a general set of questions to be asked for each category of respondents. Issues to be covered were sent to respondents well before the actual date of the interview. Where an individual answer provided insights into an aspect of the problem not covered by a question, then the issue was pursued further. Supplementary questions were asked where appropriate and the interview schedule modified. This helped to obtain the respondents' definition of the situation, and increased understanding and perception of the issues involved. Guiding questions were prepared for publishers, bookshops, authors and primary school teachers (Appendix 1 (a) to (d)). Interview notes were taken and summarised at the end of the interview. Interviews took between one hour and one and a half hours.

To whom administered and issues covered:

(i) Publishers: the Director and the Publishing Manager of the Dar-es- Salaam University Press; the General Manager and the Publishing Manager of Tanzania Publishing House; the Acting General Manager of East African Publications Limited; the official in- charge of publications at the Institute of Curriculum Development (ICD).

From DUP, TPH and EAPL personnel issues focused on general information on the publishing house, the policy on production and distribution of school/ college books issued by the Tanzania Government in December 1991 as regards the development of publishing in Tanzania, issues concerning foreign aid influence through the 8th IDA Project and SIDA's Proposal, economic and trade liberalization and the effect on publishing (for example as regards competition from international publishers). The interviews with ICD personnel concentrated on its mode of operation.

(ii) Bookshops: Bookshop Managers at the Cathedral Bookshop in Dar-es-Salaam, University of Dar-es- Salaam bookshop, Kase Bookshop and East African Booksellers (Arusha). Also the Accountant, Sales Officer and Storekeeper, University of Dar-es-Salaam Bookshop.

Issues concerned the effect of the operations of the Tanzania Elimu Supplies on the development of bookshops and problems of

procurement; the new policy on the production and distribution of school/ college books; and general problems facing them, such problems of obtaining foreign exchange from the Bank of Tanzania.

(iii) Ministry of Education and Culture:

Head- Book Management Unit.

Issues involved relationship between BMU and the Mzumbe Book Project, all under the same Ministry, focusing on the prospects for sustainability after the 8th IDA funding is over.

(iv) The Mzumbe Book Project

Graphic Manager, who was the Acting Project Manager.

Issues raised concerned the background to its establishment; who funds it; its relationship with the Ministry of Education and Culture; and the level of books produced.

(v) Authors (10)

These were mainly University lecturers and Secondary School teachers. Issues discussed concerned the educational language policy; economic/ trade liberalization; liberalization of production and distribution of textbooks in Tanzania. Also raised were issues concerning the relationship between the Association of Book Writers (UWAVITA) and the Publishers Association of Tanzania (PATA).

(vi) Primary and Secondary school teachers (5 schools, 10 teachers)

Issues discussed concerned pupil/ book ratio in various classes/ subjects in primary schools; the existence or non-existence of a library; and teachers involvement in the ICD panels in the preparation of textbook manuscripts.

Data analysis

Notes from interviews were classified and cross-referenced by respondent and topic for interpretation and detailed analysis. All these issues showed some relationship. Since most of the data was mainly qualitative, including opinion and fact, it was not suitable for routine forms of statistical analysis. The analysis of the documents also constituted an analysis of qualitative data. The two forms of analysis and the two forms of educational publishing provided an integrated analysis of the situation, which in turn contribute to a deepening and/ or extension of analysis of publishing, the ideological framework and foreign aid, and the implications for the development of publishing in Tanzania.

CHAPTER TWO

STATE AND ECONOMY

As has been observed, the provision of books and other reading material is important to education, and that a country's book industry has to be considered as an essential industry in terms of national development planning because of its close association with information and innovation, dissemination and education.

This chapter examines and evaluates the development policies that Tanzania has pursued and implemented since 1961. The publishing industry cannot be analysed without reference to Tanzanian development policies in areas such as rural development, agriculture and education. The publishing industry does not develop in a political vacuum, and its development is conditioned by the political, social and economic environment in which it is located. As part of this, the chapter will show the shift in Tanzania's development strategy from the desire to build socialism to a free market oriented model. This provides important insights into the constraints and problems of publishing.

The state debate in Tanzania: A summary of major arguments

In order to understand Tanzania's movements towards and away from the policies of Ujamaa, one needs to begin with the

debate on the nature of the post- colonial state. The state was at the centre of these movements, and the debate which emerged in the early 1970s was concerned with the particularity of Tanzania's development strategy following the Arusha Declaration in 1967.

Shivji (1976) writing from the dependency perspective saw the Tanzanian state as one which operates in a peripheral-capitalist society and, by its position, is subordinate to the metropolitan state. Saul (1979) and Resnick (1981) provided a critique of this view, regarding Tanzania as a state which is neither socialist nor capitalist, but in an intermediate stage. They argued that it could develop in either direction, depending on the inclination of the faction in power. Should a regressive pro-capitalist faction have the upper hand, they could lead the country in a capitalist direction; while a progressive, revolutionary faction could lead the country towards socialism.

Stein (1985) saw the Tanzanian state as being neither socialist nor capitalist, nor even poised somewhere in between. He argued that the state was leading the country towards a totally new mode of production, the bureaucratic mode, in which the bureaucracy will emerge as the ruling class, bound together by the common ideology of modernization. While the bureaucracy plays some role in linking the agricultural sector to the world market, it is largely motivated by self-interest, and not merely fulfilling the

requirements of international capital.

The analyses offered differing interpretations of the Arusha Declaration and its professed policy of socialism and self-reliance. The debate was whether the policy was really socialist or not, and, if it was not, how it embodied such radical measures as nationalisation of the major means of production. This nationalisation gave the state, through parastatal enterprises, control of a major portion of the industrial sector. However, decision-making remained unplanned and uncoordinated.

The parastatals remained at the mercy of foreign technical experts, or of management agreements with the former multinational corporations' owners. Most of the parastatals that were established (with the exception of finance, trading and sisal estates) were placed under the umbrella of the National Development Corporation (NDC), acting as a holding company. This developed into an unwieldy conglomerate, with interests ranging from beer, cement, timber, textiles, cashewnuts, tourism, livestock, diamond, publishing, meat packing and construction to estate agriculture. At the peak of its activities the NDC was controlling 40 subsidiaries and 25 associate companies including TPH. One major characteristic of the companies under NDC was that they were highly centralised bureaucratic organizations. The NDC failed to decentralize decision-making to branch level, and became less and less capable of handling the large volume of business with which it

had been entrusted. As a result Tanzania Publishing House (TPH) was transferred to Tanzania Karatasi Associated Industries (TKAI) in 1980.

Change of focus in the debate

By the 1980s the focus of the state and development debate had moved as conditions had changed. The economic crises, first in 1974/75, and later from 1979 onwards, had shown the vulnerability of the country's economy and had shaken the confidence of the class in power. The government had to appeal to more resourceful classes, drawn both from the local private sector (Chande 1986) and from international capital (Coulson 1982:286). Alternative analyses of the Tanzania economy emerged, changing the focus from the interpretation of the Arusha Declaration to a more fundamental questioning of the country's economic policies. As early as 1978 some analysts had begun to argue that Tanzania was revising its policies in favour of market oriented one. Commentators now began to probe the state's actions and activities, in order to explain its peaceful retreat from interventionist policies and towards the open acceptance of market-oriented policies with a growing bias towards privatization (Shivji 1985:13, Holmquist 1983).

By 1986 the situation had changed further, and the government was ready to conclude an agreement with the IMF. Attempts to

involve the public in this development were seen as obstructive (Daily News, May 1986). The changing debate over the role of the state in the economy in Tanzania reflected changes in the material conditions, particularly economic conditions, obtaining in Tanzania. A detailed analysis of these changes and issues is necessary to identify the resultant changes in educational policy, and hence changes in the publishing industry.

CHANGES IN THE ECONOMY, 1961-1990s

Pre-Arusha Declaration period (1961-1966)

This period can best be described as the period of modernization based on the 1961 World Bank (IBRD) report on Tanzania. At independence the Tanzanian Government inherited a backward and weak economy. Neither the agricultural nor the industrial base were strong. Cash crop production of commodities such as coffee, tea, cotton and sisal dominated the economy. All industrial activities taken together (manufacturing, processing and construction) contributed only 13% of the GDP. Tertiary activities and services had a share of 27% of GDP. Most of the productive forces remained traditional, where division of labour was based on sex and dependent on household production. Although in some cases productive output from agriculture had increased, the agricultural sector had neither been improved nor had it been transformed.

After independence, there was no indication as to how the government might transform agriculture. The first Development Plan (1961/62 to 63/64) was not comprehensive. The independent government had just taken over, and there was very little data to guide planning. The government had to base the development plan on the information contained in the 1961 report of the World Bank mission, which had originally been requested by the colonial administration. Having reviewed previous strategies, the mission advised the new government, which listened carefully. This World Bank development model required:

1. Further integration of rural dwellers (the peasantry) into the world capitalist market through the intensification of export crops: cotton, coffee, tobacco, tea, cashewnuts, pyrethrum, etc.
2. Raising land and labour productivity in the rural areas so as to increase the production of cash crops, thereby integrating the peasantry into the commodity market.
3. The establishment of import substitution industries as well as industries to process agricultural products for export.

What was being suggested was the shifting of selected peasants to completely new areas, with the aim of creating new villages

where the peasants could be more easily introduced to modern techniques of agricultural production. The aim was to create artificial conditions, where a package of technology in the form of machines (tractors, and in some cases combine harvesters), various inputs and administrative and management staff could be imposed. Peasants were expected to be mere producers with little or no say in the management of settlements which were supposed to be heavily capitalised. The aim was to transform these settlements into highly commercialized capitalist enterprises specializing in the production of export crops for the metropole at the expense of the production of food crops for local consumption.

Given this objective, it was obvious that the main orientation would be on cash crop production, because there was a need both to repay loans and to meet the targeted Tsh 3,000 per capita income. Since crops like maize, sorghum, cassava or millet were considered to be subsistence crops, they could not be included in the list of the main crops to be produced under these schemes. Even if these subsistence crops had been considered as cash crops, their return per hectare (in monetary terms) was such that the targeted income could not be realized, particularly given the unorganized marketing of subsistence crops at that time. On the other hand, most of the cash crops were fetching higher prices with better organized marketing.

During the First Three Year Development Plan (1961/62 to

63/64), the Ministry of Agriculture produced a foundation plan, with most of the money allocated to staff recruitment, agricultural training, research services and planning. Only about a tenth of all the money allocated to agriculture was to be spent on extension services concerning cash crops. There was no specific mention of the encouragement of subsistence food grain production. The emphasis was on cash crops such as tea, coffee, tobacco, rubber, sisal and cotton, while food production was taken for granted. Even after independence, Tanganyika continued to practice the same colonial agricultural policies.

The First Five Year Development Plan (1964/65-69/70) that followed was largely a continuation of the previous Development Plan. The notion of the "Improvement Approach" was broadened into the "Transformation Approach", which envisaged the creation of village settlements on a wider scale. Concentration remained on cash crop production for export, although now some emphasis was also put on production of rice and beans, mainly for urban dwellers. The production of sorghum, millet and even of maize were largely left to the subsistence sector.

One major event in relation to food marketing, and hence to food production was the establishment in 1963 of the National Agricultural Production Board (NAPB), which was given the monopoly of grain marketing (including price setting) across the whole country. This was seen as a positive move towards

organized food markets, which it was hoped would stimulate the commercial production of food grains.

This was the first state intervention in the food production sector. The NAPB was a grain-marketing board and umbrella organization for the marketing cooperatives. But this had a negative impact on peasant farmers, because marketing cooperatives incurred greater administrative costs. The NAPB became very unpopular, especially in areas where peasants did not grow export cash crops and derived their cash income from sales of grain and other food crops, as in the Kigoma, Dodoma and Singida districts. In 1973 the NAPB was superseded by the National Milling Corporation (NMC), established originally as a grain milling corporation in 1963 but now expanded to include grain collection and distribution.

By 1966 the government policy of rural transformation had proved a failure and was abandoned. Also by the same year, Tanzania was in serious socio-economic and political crisis. Misunderstandings with Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, and the USA were preventing the flow of foreign industrial investments and foreign aid to finance agricultural, industrial and other projects. New strategies and a new direction became imperative. The Arusha Declaration of 5th February 1967 has to be viewed against this background.

Post- Arusha Declaration

(i) 1967-1973: Rural Collectivization through Ujamaa Villages
The Arusha Declaration of 1967 marked a radical shift from the previous policies and approaches to development. Under the

banner of socialism and self-reliance, Tanzania had declared its intention to build a socialist society. The commanding heights of the economy, which included industries, banks, insurance companies, and the export and import trade, were nationalized. In the rural areas, a new policy in the name of socialism and rural development was initiated. The theoretical assumption behind this strategy was that villages would be established on the basis of traditional ways of living, a way of life in which people lived together, worked together and distributed the society's products equally (Nyerere, 1968:351). It was believed that, although capitalism had made inroads even in the rural areas, the penetration was not sufficiently deep to have destroyed the fabric of the old society. So the challenges of Ujamaa were essentially confined to the peasant mode of production.

Given this theoretical assumption, and that earlier settlement schemes failed partly because of the over-involvement in the management of the village affairs by outside forces, this new strategy emphasised spontaneity and voluntarism. It was assumed that it would be easy to reintroduce the traditional ways of living, that is, the pre-capitalist relations of production. It was also thought that the most difficult task would be that of introducing modern ways of production and thereby modernizing the traditional society. This was very different from the solutions adopted in most underdeveloped countries, such as Kenya, of backing richer farmers at the expense of peasant producers. The Arusha Declaration coincided with the publication of Second Five Year Development Plan (1969-74), whose objective was to effect integrated rural development leading to a socialist society.

One of the reasons for this move towards collectivization was its alleged superior efficiency when compared to small-holder agriculture. It was assumed that collective agriculture would lead to improve yields and to higher productivity through specialization, the division of labour, the adoption of more

advanced technology, the fuller utilization of labour, and the more effective and lower cost of provision of such services such as extension advice and marketing. But as observed earlier, capitalism had thoroughly penetrated Tanzania, though in various forms. It was therefore unrealistic to expect that collectivization would be unproblematically accepted in the subsistence areas. The process of capital penetration in these areas had already led to the individualization of the processes of production, exchange, distribution and consumption. No amount of persuasion, through politicization or otherwise, would have achieved success.

The first two years after the Arusha Declaration saw a limited development of ujamaa villages and communal production by people who, for various reasons, responded positively to the new policies. In view of the failures discussed earlier, the Second Five Year Development Plan argued against concentrating attention on those limited areas which were capable of quickly moving to complete ujamaa (Second Five Year Development Plan 1969:27). The plan instead emphasized the need to incorporate all parts of Tanzania into the mainstream of socialist construction. Presidential Circular No.1 (1969) ordered all government departments to give preference in their investment policies to new villages.

Within the general framework of the Second Five Year Development Plan (1969-74) and the policy paper Ujamaa Vijijini (1967), it seemed that, at least in theory, more emphasis was being put on food production than before. Rice and wheat were the first priority, as a result of the involvement of multinational corporations in the food sector, and maize and other grains were a second priority. It was assumed that efficient food production would release some of the peasants' production potential and resources to other economic activities.

Presidential Circular No 1. of 1969 had another significance:

it emphasised the role of state farms as a means of raising production, and the Second Five Year Plan was revised to include the development of 40 state farms under the Ministry of Agriculture. In July 1969, with inadequate preparation, investment was begun in fifteen of these state farms (Coulson 1982:25). All proved extremely unprofitable. It was intended that these state farms would augment agricultural production, through direct participation in production and by aiding communal farms. The sudden appearance of this policy in 1969 can be interpreted as that the President no longer saw communal farms as the only acceptable way of raising agricultural production (ibid:26), and was thus a measure of distrust of the peasantry.

It appears that the aim of the state was to promote the production of commercialized food crops such as rice, wheat and maize, while the traditional food stuffs such as millet, cassava and sorghum were given a low priority. This, in part, explains why most of the state farms that were established during this period were planted mainly with wheat and rice. The lack in planning for the production of the popular grains and non-grains consumed by the majority of Tanzanians again demonstrates that production of these crops was taken for granted.

Apart from a few voluntarily-formed settlements such as those organized by Ruvuma Development Association (RDA), formed in 1962 as part of the spontaneous cooperative settlements in Ruvuma region, most of these settlements ran into difficulties and were abandoned. In contrast, the Ruvuma Development Association (RDA) demonstrates a committed attitude on the question of food production. Coulson (1982) notes that:

The 16 villages of the RDA were closer to the President's writing of 1967 and 1969 than any other village in the country - begun as small groups of committed individuals, and not only their food crops but a large part of their

food requirements were communally grown.

The State plan had stressed the importance of producing crops that would allow the realisation of surplus value on the world market, such as cotton or coffee and the use of these export earnings for consumption and/or investment outside producer control. On the other hand, the Ruvuma Development Association stressed those crops which producers consumed directly, that is food crops. It should be noted that RDA's strategy was not against export crops per se, but to play down the role of cash crops at the early stages of communal villages' organization. The RDA also stressed activities which would give direct and immediate benefits to villagers, and which would create new skills. The Government finally disbanded the prosperous RDA in 1969 because of its failure to adhere to the State's policy of increasing coffee production, thus denying the state the control of surplus value. As Coulson (1982:26) argues, this was another significant event of 1969.

The disbanding of RDA serves to illustrate the extent to which the State was not serious about addressing the problems of food shortages. It can be argued that resources for socialist construction are the people themselves and not the State. People must transform their own lives in their collective struggle to change the circumstances that have oppressed, limited and exploited them. Development cannot be achieved by destroying initiatives of the masses to organise themselves through associations independent of the state. This point is

important in view of Tanzania's stated development policies across a range of activities, including education development and the development of functional literacy.

There are several lessons that could be learned from the disbanding of the RDA. Appropriate technical choices had been identified, not from abroad, but in Tanzania itself through the work of the RDA. These lessons include:

a) raising food production by using donkeys, oxen, small tractors etc; varying crop patterns; increasing the use of manure, compost, fertilizers, pesticides and improved seeds and so on;

b) establishing basic industries, such as brick making, sheet metal work and rope making at village level, (Von Freyhold 1979:30-31).

The major advantage of RDA's initiatives were that they provided economic development in which neither lack of markets nor lack of capital was the major constraint. It can be argued that Tanzania needed to expand food production, not only for local consumption, but also for the fast expanding urban population. How to achieve this remained the major question.

By the early 1970s the party (TANU) had become disenchanted with the state of agricultural production. The National

Executive Committee (NEC) of TANU meeting at Iringa in January 1972 formulated the famous Iringa Declaration - 'Agriculture is Politics' (Siasa ni kilimo). This policy paper set out the desire to modernize agriculture through the application of science and technology, including the use of tractors and ox-ploughs and the application of fertilizers and insecticides. The Declaration also called for regional and district specialization of agricultural production. These steps were expected to raise agricultural productivity and production.

Following the Agriculture is Politics policy, TANU published proposals to move towards irrigation in 1974 prompted partly by the 1972-74 drought and partly by concern over the excessive dependency of Tanzania's agriculture on the vagaries of weather.

(ii) Villagization policy and its effects, 1973-1979

The period 1973-1979 was one of great rural movements of people into defined villages. This villagization programme coincided with the worst food-production crises Tanzania has ever experienced. In November 1973 Nyerere proclaimed that 'to live in villages is a must' (kuishi vijijini ni lazima). Nyerere later believed that there was no possibility of transforming rural agriculture without more militant measures. In the series of operations which followed, millions of people were moved to new village sites, a policy which heralded a partial return to modernization theory and was evidence of the state's frustration at the slow pace of establishing Ujamaa

villages. It also indicated a shift in the State's attitude towards peasants. Mueller (1980:211) notes that:

Peasants were regarded not as proto-socialists, but as thorns in the state's side, whose problems were based fundamentally on their traditional outlook and unwillingness to change.

Table 2.1 shows the effect of this policy on the growth of the sizes of the Ujamaa villages.

Table 2.1 Number of Ujamaa Villages and population, 1967-1979.

Year	Total no. of villages	Village Population	Average Population /Village	% of total population
1967	536	150,000	280	1.5
1970	1,956	531,200	272	5.3
1971	4,464	1,545,240	346	15.4
1972	5,556	1,980,862	357	19.8
1973	5,628	2,028,164	360	20.2
1974*	5,008	2,560,472	511	23.5
1975	6,944	9,140,229	1,316	70.4
1976	6,745	13,067,220	1,937	81.6
1977	-	-	-	-
1978	7,768	13,847,600	1,782	86.4
1979	8,200	13,905,000	1,695	86.9

*Some villages were amalgamated during the reorganization this year to conform with the stipulated minimum number of homesteads (kaya) per village, which was 250 families per village.

Source: Maendeleo vijijini, Waziri Mkuu, Dodoma (Rural Development, Prime Minister's Office, Dodoma), quoted in Nyerembe(1984: 66).

By 1979 practically all rural Tanzanians were living in fairly large planned villages of at least 250 families each. Force was commonly used, and there were serious effects on agricultural production. Specific case studies are required to justify the argument that villagization had serious effect on agricultural production. Although communalization of agriculture was the clear aim of villagization, the government also argued that it would make it easier to provide essential services such as education, health and water supplies. Villages have thus come to act as "public agencies", that is vehicles for providing public services to the rural population.

Against this, it can be argued that these collectivization and villagization processes were impediments to increased rural production and productivity. Implementation was hasty and disorganized, coercive and its effects traumatic. Many regional and district officials tried to complete the programme rapidly, to boost statistics and appear more efficient, and thus to please their political masters. The scheme was very unpopular and exacerbated the already poor relations between the State and peasants.

Collectivization and villagization so badly undermined the peasantry and their entire economic life that peasant opposition was aroused, leading to the curtailment of agricultural production. By increasing the risk situation of the peasants, villagization forced the peasants to adopt a

defensive posture and they withdrew from surplus production. By August 1974 the Government was forced to import thousands of tonnes of food grain to offset a shortfall in production. There was population dislocation, poor advance preparation of settlements and a sheer waste of existing agricultural knowledge. Settlers were often unfamiliar with the climate and environment of the new areas (Hyden 1980). The shortfall in food grain production was blamed on drought, high costs of machines and oil. Table 2.2 shows clearly the burden of importing food grain to the national economy since 1971.

Table 2.2 Trends of food imports between 1971 and 1980. (000 tons in millions Tsh.)

Years	Maize		Rice		Wheat	
	Volume	Value	Volume	Value	Volume	Value
1971	22.8	16.6	10.2	10.2	19.0	9.1
1972	-	-	-	-	-	-
1973	12.2	2.7	0.7	10.2	12.0	-
1974	254.7	251.9	71.2	267.8	102.7	95.9
1975	231.4	285.7	64.0	239.5	157.5	191.2
1976	58.8	66.4	8.8	25.4	6.0	23.4
1977	40.3	73.8	30.3	96.5	22.9	47.4
1978	-	43.8	54.3	150.3	72.2	93.3
1979	-	-	6.8	15.4	-	-
1980	269.0	421.0	84.2	313.7	16.0	78.8
Total	890.2	1256.7	330.5	1129.0	413.6	509.1

Source: L.A Msambichaka 1981:69

This data is indicative of Tanzania's food dependence problem. Food imports have persisted throughout the 1970s and have been increasing in the 1980s. Food imports for 1980 exceeded the food imports of 1973/74 and 1974/75 when Tanzania had experienced unprecedented food crisis. As Table 2.2 indicates, between 1974 and 1980 food imports cost the country more than Tz.sh. 3000 million, and according to Coulson (1982:260), food imports between 1974 and 1977 exhausted Tanzania's foreign exchange holdings during 1975. A substantial amount could have been served and utilized for other development projects.

Tanzania had planned in the First Five Year Development Plan (1964-1969) to be self-reliant in food by 1981, but by that date unfortunately was even less self-reliant than before. The food crises have strengthened the multinational corporations (MNC) in agriculture and the food aid agencies which were/are in business to change the dietary habits of Tanzanians as shown by the wheat imports; wheat is for urban consumption. But it is important to note that, because Tanzania is large and climatically heterogeneous, not all parts of the country can suffer from lack of rainfall or from floods at the same time. The diversity of Tanzania's ecology is one of the strongest safeguards against total national famine.

The need to import cereal grains in the mid 1970s weakened the base of the politicians, though this was restored somewhat by

the economic recovery and military victory of the late 1970s (Samoff, 1987:358). That political base was further weakened by the failure to meet demands for both basic food and consumer goods in the 1980s or, rather, this reinforced the political claims of the technocrats(ibid.).

Although investment in the smallholder sector was limited, production increased largely as a result of local initiatives and the creative use of resources during the nationwide 'Self help' rural development drive to build roads and other essential services. The increase in food production, and the low food imports during the 1960s can be attributed mainly to improvements initiated by peasants. But there is a limit to this production, because of the peasants' (smallholders) modest capital inputs and the persistent use of family labour and archaic means of production such as the hoe. Increased investment in this sector would most probably have improved performance even more.

The peasant agricultural sector is capable of increasing its output: its low productivity is a result of its primitive methods of small scale nature. Raising productivity would address three major problems: the hunger of the whole population; the dependence of the people on the nation for food supplies; and the over-reliance on food aid and imports.

Given that Tanzania's agricultural sector is capable of increasing output, the question of the organization and

mobilization of the peasants becomes of tremendous importance. But attempts by finance capital to control and direct peasant production culminated in the balkanization of Tanzania; each region being under a different country's technical assistance team. For example, Kilimanjaro to Japan; Lindi to Finland/Britain; Mara to World Bank; Mbeya to NORAD; Morogoro to The Netherlands; Dar es Salaam to CIDA etc. This balkanization is also reflected at the University of Dar-es-Salaam's teaching departments and research institutes.

(iii) The "Economic Crisis" Period 1979-1983 and the signing of the Tanzania-IMF agreement in 1986 to the 1990s

Even after the 1974/75 food crises there were no fundamental policy changes. Between 1978-82 there was an accumulation of domestic and external problems, including a decline in production in almost every sector of the economy. Shortages multiplied. The National Economic Survival Programme (NESP), the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), the National Agricultural policy of Tanzania, and the National Food Strategy all emphasized the production of cash crops as a way out of the crises.

Having been disbanded in 1976, marketing cooperatives were re-established. The National Agricultural Policy and National Food Strategy were introduced by external organizations. For example, the National Food Strategy was drafted mainly by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) (Mascarenhas 1985:3).

This period was characterised by Tanzania approaching the major donor countries with requests for increased aid of US\$ 200m and a redirection of aid to immediate import support. The country's leadership was cautious in this, and expected a negative response. Major donors were not prepared to grant Tanzania emergency assistance, presumably since extraordinary support might have aggravated political relations in Sub-Saharan Africa (Financial Times 26-4-79).

Despite being a major recipient of foreign aid, Tanzania, through its policy of non-alignment, continued to maintain a high degree of political autonomy. Foreign aid provision was balanced among a variety of donors, and therefore no donor gained enough influence to exert political pressure. The change of loans into grants by the country's major creditors in 1978 can be seen as the apogee of Tanzanian diplomacy (New African 1980:5).

The immediate replacement of transport and machinery was necessary to improve export performance, because of over utilization of capacity during the war. Extraordinary financing for this became necessary. Because bilateral negotiations were unsuccessful, the level of credit had to come from the IMF.

Divergent ideological positions over such a loan began to emerge in the Tanzanian leadership. Although the Minister of Finance supported an agreement with the IMF, the majority of the National Executive Committee were hostile to the Fund.

There was an open criticism of the IMF from the then President, Julius K. Nyerere, who saw the IMF's economic projects as being directed against poor peasants and workers. In a 1980 New Year address to foreign diplomats Nyerere castigated the IMF, claiming it was taking advantage of Tanzania's economic crisis in order to replace its Ujamaa policies with capitalist-oriented ones.

Tanzanian diplomacy moved towards a more radical outlook, and this further antagonized major donors, who were unwilling to assist Tanzania against the interests of the IMF (Daily News 2-1-1980). The main point of disagreement was devaluation: the Government wanted a relatively small (5-15%) phased devaluation while the IMF was demanding a 50-70% devaluation. However, this state of affairs was different from 1974, when Tanzania faced some political reservations about its socialist model: at least this time, there was some sympathy.

In the event, IMF did not insist on devaluation, and this made President Nyerere's objections redundant. The IMF loan became a political rather than an economic compromise, although it is difficult to draw a line between the two. The agreement was also significant for IMF, given the position of Tanzania as an influential member of the non-aligned movement. It was following this, that in April 1980 Tanzania negotiated, a long-term interest-free loan, untied to specific projects with the World Bank under the Structural Adjustment Programme. The agreement was achieved in September 1980. This loan had been blocked during the controversy over devaluation (Bierman and

Campbell 1989: 73). The understanding with the Fund was unfortunately short-lived and the agreement was suspended after a single drawing (Holman, 1982). This necessitated another round of negotiations in June 1981, despite Nyerere's criticisms.

In May 1981 the Government had been forced to adopt emergency measures as a result of the deteriorating economic situation, the public disagreement and frustration with the IMF and the World Bank's introduction of a National Economic Survival Programme (NESP). This programme did not succeed in solving Tanzania's crisis. This failure is explained by Loxley (Quoted in Kiondo 1991:26):

It relied principally upon directives to state entities and moral exhortation to peasants and workers. But directives per se were of little value in a situation of acute goods shortages and the mobilization of workers and peasants on purely political basis was by, 1981, almost futile in Tanzania.

The targets of this programme were unrealistic and did not provide a coherent plan for mobilizing resources and people (Wangwe 1987:151).

A new programme known as the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), was devised in 1982. SAP involved measures to reduce the spending and direct economic involvement by the state, to move towards market allocation of resources and provide an enabling environment. The Minister of Planning maintained that the SAP would enable Tanzania to revive the economy

without prejudicing Tanzania's policy of socialism and self-reliance. There was a real contradiction in this, because the SAP anticipated substantial IMF and World Bank loans over a three year period (Bierman and Campbell, op. cit: 76). According to Cheru (1989a:59), the successful implementation of SAP depended to a large extent on the ability of the Tanzania government to borrow an estimated \$400 million a year out of its total annual foreign exchange requirement of \$1.2 billion. This in fact was the major cause of its failure, since the anticipated support from external donors was not forthcoming, Tanzania having failed to meet basic preconditions, especially the margin of devaluation.

But the SAP did initiate a number of economic reforms: these included the stimulation of exports through the devaluation of the currency, by 12% in March 1982 and then by 20% in July 1983 (Biermann and Wagao 1986:144).

Other reforms that were part of the SAP included cutbacks in government expenditure, reduction in the rate of monetary expansion and the improvement of efficiency in the parastatal sector (SAP 1982:3).

The SAP 'confirmed that there was a broad general agreement between the World Bank and Tanzania on principles although not on the exact magnitude of public sector expenditure cuts and the price adjustments' (World Bank 1990:81) According to Stein (1991:95) the SAP was largely an attempt to strengthen the economic structure of the State through tighter control of

financial flow.

Bilateral donors had been generally sympathetic to Tanzania's economic policies up to 1982, after which date they began to side with the IMF and the World Bank. From 1983 a number of countries, including West Germany, Britain and the USA, tied their assistance to Tanzania on condition that an agreement was concluded with the IMF. Foreign commercial banks were also reluctant to commit money to Tanzania until an agreement with IMF had been reached and the country had adopted what they considered policy measures 'appropriate' to the private sector (Cheru, 1989:91). It can therefore be argued that Tanzania's self-imposed structural adjustment programme did not succeed because of external blackmail.

Tanzania's major mistake was that the structural adjustment policy focused on generating foreign exchange from expanded agricultural production, but the prospects for this were by no means certain in view of the declining potential of the economy. Also, as it has been shown above, the successful implementation of the adjustment programme depended upon the capacity of the government to attract external assistance. This expectation was mistaken, because:

- 1 All the elements in the economic crises were not caused by the shortage of foreign exchange. At the centre of the economic predicament were external shocks, the under-utilization of capacity of existing institutions, infrastructural flaws, the management

of human resources, and problems with financial and managerial discipline (Cheru, *ibid.*). The reason that peasants in Tanzania had withdrawn from cash crop production was not because of the shortage of foreign exchange, but because parastatals and crop authorities had failed to provide them with necessary incentives such as consumer goods, social services and other inputs. Transport and marketing systems, which directly affected agricultural production, needed complete rehabilitation. Crop marketing and distribution remained key problems of the Tanzanian economy, as they had been for almost two decades (Therkildsen and Semboja 1992:1109).

- 2 It was unrealistic to depend on external capital to solve the economic crises as there are no 'free meals' in the international political and economic environment.

The structural weakness of Tanzania's political economy had been exposed. By 1984 the pressure on Tanzania from donor countries was mounting, and significant reforms in the direction of liberalization were announced in the 1984 budget (Kiondo 1991:27). These included the abolition of subsidies on maize flour (the major staple food) and on fertilizers, the reduction of the number of commodities on the price control list, and the further devaluation of the Tanzanian currency (Biermann and Wagao.1986:146).

Of greater political significance was the liberalization of trade allowing people with their own foreign currency to import goods and sell them at market prices and retain up to 50% of the foreign exchange obtained in order to import commodities allowed for sale in the country. According to Kiondo (ibid:28), this arrangement not only became the central dynamic force behind the current liberalisation movement, but it also provided for the compromise between the government and the IMF on the long debated issue of currency devaluation.

These reforms were a signal to the IMF and the donor agencies that Tanzania was now ready to cooperate: the major source of disagreement between the government and the IMF had been removed by devaluation. They also seemed to reconcile the government with the domestic business community, which at one time had been called, behind the scenes, an 'economic saboteur'. The foreign exchange probably came from illegal export of gold, diamonds, trophies and other commodities. The Government invited them to invest capital and to import duty-free those commodities which were not locally available. Having secured this victory under the banner of liberalization, the 'economic saboteurs' gained support in the party and the government, thereby helping forge the alliance with the IMF and the World Bank (Kiondo, ibid:29).

By June 1984 the reform movement had begun to shift from an externally-oriented process to one that was taking domestic roots, impossible to stop or change, because this would confront both external and domestic pressures.

The IMF and World Bank had managed to lead Tanzania to slowly abandon its model of socialist development. In August 1986 Tanzania, under the new political leadership, signed an agreement with the IMF, after Tanzania had launched its three year Economic Recovery Programme (ERP). ERP, prepared in close cooperation between the World Bank and Tanzanian authorities was later used as a basis for reaching an agreement with the IMF in August 1986. SAP and ERP were essentially the same programme. From 1986 onwards, the ERP had the support of IMF and the World Bank. This ERP defined the nature and scope of the reforms that were to be undertaken by Tanzania and signified a change of direction in development policy. The major goals were:

to provide incentives to agricultural and other producers, and to reduce the gap between demand for, and supply of domestic and external resource. Key policies are producer prices, exchange rate adjustment, partial liberalization of the trade regime, and institutional reforms to rationalize public sector operations and improve economic management (URT, Programme for Economic Recovery 1986:14).

The IMF agreement of 1986 was the official turning point in trade and economic liberalisation. The agreement re-routed Tanzania's development path towards the IMF and the World Bank guided structural adjustment.

The goals and key policies enshrined in the ERP form a starting point of any discussion of the current political-economic reforms in Tanzania. We shall discuss briefly each one in turn.

(1) Agricultural reform

Changes in the agricultural sector have had profound effects on Tanzanian society, since this forms the core of the political economy. Official policy had rested on the establishment of Ujamaa Villages, based on communal property and communal work. Any reform in this area might undermine the security of the peasantry. The reform of Agricultural sector had its roots in the Tanzania National Agricultural Policy (NAP) of 1982; covering all aspects from modes of cultivation to land tenure, agricultural marketing, pricing, credit and financing.

The policy for land tenure system, is that the allocation of land for agriculture must be on a long term basis for a minimum period of thirty three years, and that land users be provided with ownership title deeds. This addressed the issue of security in land ownership, because in the past private farmers could easily lose their land to villages or the government. To effect this, the policy seeks to establish:

"an atmosphere of confidence and security in order to attract investment in agriculture
(TNAP,1982:xiv).

This would allow individual farmers to secure title deeds for their farms (rather than the villages), but the policy also means that villagers' property might easily be bought by

absentee landlords who would leave the land idle.

Concerning agricultural marketing, the policy aims to:

(i) rationalize major food crops so as to maximize internal trade between cooperative societies and unions; and liberalize distribution to consumers, thereby limiting the National Milling Corporation (NMC) to supply urban food for selected commodities.

(ii) large operators to buy and sell directly from producers and consumers respectively (ibid:xi). This policy liberalizes the distribution of food crops, which was formerly a monopoly of the National Milling Cooperation (NMC).

Because these reforms were not taking place in a political vacuum there were bound to be some disagreements between the Government and the Party leaders. There were those who wanted to remain true to the spirit of socialism, and those who pushed for reforms (Kiondo 1991: 31). Uncertainties persisted despite considerable reforms towards decontrol. For example, the Ministries of Agriculture and Livestock Development and of Local Government and Cooperatives issued a joint statement towards the end of 1987 banning private businessmen from purchasing agricultural products directly from peasants: 'institutions allowed to buy crops directly from peasants are cooperative unions and primary societies only' (Daily News Nov. 21, 1987:1). Although agricultural producers are no longer

bound to sell their products only through state trading agencies, they are still required by law to distribute them through designated state institutions. These policy oscillations and inconsistencies indicate that reforms are not fully planned.

The National Agricultural policy insists that producer prices should reflect both changes in the cost of living index and production costs, and that subsidies on consumer food prices should be discouraged. These reforms had far-reaching effects.

The Policy also predicated agricultural improvement on the imposition of an alien land leasing system, based on individual tenure, and permitted the leasing of some village land. The National Food Strategy was implemented in a piecemeal and uneven fashion that favoured the urban centres at the expense of rural areas. While the policy document emphasised regional self-sufficiency, in practice food production plans concentrated on stimulating the "big four" Southern Regions of Ruvuma, Rukwa, Mbeya and Iringa to produce surplus cereals. Investment in these regions had increased in the 1970s: they had been allocated the bulk of credit facilities and improvements to infrastructure and from 1973-75 had received 33% of all fertilizer used in Tanzania (Mhina and Munishi 1990:151).

Tanzania Socialism, which had been equated with one-party rule and nationalization, has become quite compatible with the

further penetration of international capital. The structure of the industrial sector, and plans of the National Agricultural Policy to invite foreign capital, point in one particular direction for Tanzania in the 1990s and beyond. The Tanzania Government was forced by the IMF and other donor agencies to hand over the activities of failing parastatals to foreign capital instead of making these public parastatals more efficient and profitable. The best solution to the problems of the inefficiency of parastatal organizations would have been to strengthen their management capabilities instead of replacing them with foreign controlled institutions. For example, the return of the British-based multinational, Lonrho to repossess the tea plantations will have profound effects on land ownership and distribution. Tanzania Shoe Company has been sold to Bata from whom it was previously nationalized, the Tanzania Tea Authority has been sold fully to Brooke Bond, and the Kagera Sugar Company is becoming a joint venture with Booker Tate, a UK company (Due, 1993:1983). The publishing industry has also been part of this, and this will be pursued in Chapter six.

(2) Devaluation

Devaluation had acted as a stumbling block in the development of Tanzania-IMF relationship for some time. The IMF had maintained that the Tanzania shilling was over-valued, and therefore that any serious economic reforms must start with devaluation. Tanzania maintained that massive devaluation of the shilling was not healthy for the economy, because it could

be inflationary and destabilising. Since 1986 Tanzania has conceded to the IMF condition.

In June 1986 the shilling was devalued from its former value of shillings 17.00 to 1 US\$ in 1985, to 64.00 to 1 US\$ in 1987 to 99.00 in 1988, and to 450.00 by 1993. These devaluations make it difficult to undertake any planning, whether middle or long-term. They increased the prices of raw materials such as paper; and increased the cost of imported books. As in most developing countries, Tanzania's publishing is extremely dependent on imported machinery, paper, plates and even ink. Where paper, for instance, can be, and is produced locally, the other requisite raw materials have still to be imported.

(3) Trade Liberalization

The role of private entrepreneurs in both internal and external trade has been enhanced. Reforms have meant that private entrepreneurs can now both import and distribute their imports.

The IMF agreement became a licence for the commercial elements to obtain access to foreign exchange to import goods. Most imports were previously confined to the Board of Internal Trade (BIT) group of companies for importation and distribution. For instance, HOSCO (Household Supplies Company) used to enjoy the monopoly over the importation and distribution of household items, but these can now be imported and distributed by private entrepreneurs. NAPCO (National Pharmaceutical Company) has lost its monopoly over the supply

the distribution of medical drugs, although interested private entrepreneurs do have to obtain approval from the Ministry of Health before importing and distributing them. Goods identified as necessities are allocated by the Ministry of Trade according to quotas determined for the needs of each region (Kiondo 1991:34).

Private entrepreneurs with their own foreign exchange could import goods and sell them at market prices. Most of the goods imported were in fast-moving areas such as clothing and perfumes. Goods such as books were not favoured by private entrepreneurs. As a result some of the bookshops were turned into shops selling perfumes and sports gear.

(4) Parastatal reforms

Cheru (1989a:65) notes that the efficiency of state economic institutions in Tanzania has not been satisfactory because of their lack of managerial and organizational ability.

Reforms in this area were directed towards reducing the size of the Government and improving the operation of the parastatals. The number of parastatals were to be reduced, either by selling them to private operators or by liquidating them. Twelve companies of the Tanzania Sisal Corporation were sold to private entrepreneurs by 1987 while nine other parastatals had liquidated (Kiondo 1991:36). Other reforms in the parastatal sector included the transfer of activities previously performed by crop authorities again to

cooperatives.

This is the current situation of economic reform in Tanzania. It is important to note that these reforms, and the IMF agreement which led to them, took place when the ruling party (CCM) had been greatly weakened in its capacity for mobilization: membership was stagnating or declining; and disillusionment was widespread. Forces of liberalization had already gained support in the Party and the State, demonstrating that the nature of economic reforms in Tanzania is not only determined by the IMF and its allies (both external and internal to Tanzania), but also by the interests of the state bourgeoisie (Kiondo 1991:40). Unfortunately the producers have no influence in the struggle over the direction which the reforms are taking. Any reform means burden-sharing, and it is quite clear that those who influence the direction of reform will certainly pass on the burden to those who have no say.

Reforms concerning cutbacks on public expenditure affect the under privileged more than those with resources. For example, the reintroduction of school fees in 1984 means lower educational prospects for children of the poor. High rates of inflation undermine development activities across the board. Development from above, often implemented by force (for example villagization) and pushed by external donor agencies like the World Bank and the IMF in the last 30 years, resulted in a state dominated and externally dependent society. This sets the context for the next chapter, which discusses the

Tanzanian education system from 1967 and the changes which have occurred within the social, economic and political realities of Tanzania. Since education and publishing depend on each other, this chapter forms the necessary basis from which the publishing industry can be discussed.

On the whole, it can be argued that the economic orientation (from a socialist to a capitalist orientation) brought changes in the kind of debates in existence and hence, the kind of publications produced given the nature of researches and consultancies pursued.

CHAPTER THREE

EDUCATION

On independence Tanzania inherited a colonial three tier system of education : one for Asians, one for Africans and one for Europeans. European and Asian schools were superior and privileged compared to those of Africans, in terms of facilities, teaching staff, buildings and enrolment (Roy- Campbell,1991:202). In 1960 there were 431,056 Africans in primary schools, 16,317 Asians and 2,097 Europeans. The ratio to total population were 1:23 for Africans and 1:7 for non-Africans (Kahama, et al 1986:176). Racial inequalities were more pronounced in secondary schools.

The content of colonial education also functioned to reinforce the racially and class based colonial structure. The few highly trained Africans were supposed to administer or work in the lower levels of the colonial bureaucracy. The majority of the Africans were given training in agriculture, simple mechanics and carpentry, under the guise of "Education for adaptation". This system of education relegated Africans to the lowest rungs of the education ladder. What was the impact of this system of education?

First, very few Africans got access to formal education. For example, in 1960, 16.5% of the 6-11 ages, 14.1% of 12-17 ages, and 0.4% of the 18-29 ages Africans were enrolled in formal education institutions (Omari et al,1982:24,27).

Second, the colonial system of education enhanced regional differentiation. Since most schools were built by missionaries, they tended to be located in places where missionaries and European settlers were dominant. Areas like Kilimanjaro, Bukoba and the Southern Highland Regions had more schools than other regions due to the role they played in the colonial economy. According to 1965 figures, 85% of the school age going population in Kilimanjaro, 57% in West Lake region but only 25% in Shinyanga were enrolled in government primary schools (Sumra, 1986:143). This system laid the foundation of class and regional inequality we see in Tanzania today.

Third, the majority of Africans received education of a very low level. The first manpower survey conducted in 1962/63 revealed that over 86% of all jobs that required University education were in the hands of non-Africans, and out of a population of 10 million, there were no African architects, African engineers or African geologists (Msekwa and Maliyamkono, 1979:24). Table 3.1. illustrates the point.

Table 3.1 Employment in selected professions by race in 1962

Profession	African	Asian	European	Total
Architects	0	2	9	11
Civil Engineers	1	22	61	84
Mechanical Engineers	0	6	46	54
Surveyors	1	1	92	94
Physicians	16	11	108	135
Lawyers	2	11	44	57
Veterinary Doctors	9	1	35	45
Geologists	0	0	41	41
Zoologists	1	0	11	12

Source: Pratt, C. Critical phase in Tanzania 1945-1968. London: CUP, 1976 p.92

Table 3.1 shows clearly that on the eve of independence Tanzania was confronted with a serious problem of a lack of skilled or trained Africans who could take over positions held by non-Tanzanians. In 1962 only one-third of the senior government posts were held by nationals. The question of training skilled manpower to manage the post-colonial state and the economy became the most important post-colonial educational policy. Two issues were apparent. One was the question of integrating the school system, aiming at providing equal opportunity for education for

everyone. The second was the question of manpower planning, and the question of Africanisation. By 1962, Tanganyika African National Union(TANU) had formulated a clear policy on this issue and three issues were established for the Civil Service and Government employment.

1. every employment opportunity was to be filled by a local appointee, and resort should only be made to recruitment outside if no suitable candidate of any race could be found locally.
2. in the case of new appointments to the service, African candidates from Tanganyika were to be considered first.
3. only if no suitable qualified Tanganyika African candidates were available should other candidates be considered.

This made the reform of the colonial education system inevitable. Reforms came into two phases: the first phase was described in the First Three Development Plan(1961-1964) and extended in the First Five Year Plan(1964-1969). The second phase was described in the Arusha Declaration and the policy of Education for Self-Reliance (ESR).

The first phase sought to redress the effects of the colonial heritage by abolishing racial segregation in schools and

secondary school fees in 1964. The legislation on racial integration of school was enacted in 1961 and enforced in 1962. The act aimed at changing the education system from a loose, racially based system of education to a unified national system suited to the principal requirements and aspirations of the new government (Msekwa and Maliyamkono,Ibid:12). The ordinance planned expansion of formal education within the framework of a single system for all pupils of all races and religious denomination (Ibid). The two major administrative innovations introduced by the 1962 Education Ordinance were:

1. the integration of the tripartite racial school system, and
2. the upgrading of local government powers and responsibilities over primary education.

No child was to be deprived of entry to any school, regardless of its historical establishment, either on the basis of race or religion. These measures were to fulfil the objectives of:

self sufficiency in trained manpower by 1980. This meant a carefully planned expansion of education. To have an economic function, the purpose of government expenditure on education in the coming years must be to equip Tanganyikans with the skills and knowledge which are needed if development of this country is to be achieved (Nyerere,1977).

Admission to the University of Dar-es-Salaam rose from 14 students in 1961/62 to 778 students in 1966/67 (UDSM Admissions Office).

Although profound achievements were recorded during this first phase, as time went by, the difficulties inherent in the concentration of resources in an elitist education became more pronounced. This is illustrated by education funding in the 1960s. Since education expansion was not followed by economic growth and expansion, there was as a result a pool of school graduates who could not be absorbed in employment by the economy. The type of education provided for rural primary school provided school leavers who became interested in migrating to urban areas in search of white collar jobs. This rural-urban migration intensified the reserve army in the urban areas, and therefore worsened the conditions of life in urban areas. Roy-Campbell(1991:204) argues that the emphasis on training administrative personnel to service the bureaucracy was at the expense of training for agriculture and rural development, and that this was due to the failure of the independent state to transform the colonial relations inherited at independence, both at the level of the economy and education.

Education produced pupils who had a disdain for agricultural work, with their sights set on gaining access to privileges which they saw the ruling elite enjoying(ibid). This exacerbated divisions in society which were no longer racial in nature but of class. Recognising the weakness of these post-colonial policies, and the nature of the problems experienced during the first six years of independence, TANU opted for the socialist path. The impact of the Arusha Declaration will now be examined.

The Arusha Declaration and Education for Self-Reliance

Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) was the first post-Arusha Declaration policy statement on education. It called for changes in the system of education inherited from colonialism, and also in the content of what was being taught and the attitudes which developed as a result. ESR advocated the introduction of a system of education which paid great attention to Tanzania's social and political objectives. It called for education to develop a sense of self-responsibility in the process of liberation through self-help, within the meagre resources the nation possessed.

Some of the major issues raised by ESR, according to Bikas and Kinunda (1977:77-78) were :

1. the need to develop a curriculum which met the needs of the majority to enable them to live happily in a socialist but predominantly rural society, and also to enable them to contribute towards the improvement of life in the rural areas;
2. the need to integrate education with life and the community;
3. the need to integrate education with manual work and production; and

4. the need to instil in students attitudes of self confidence,creativity, problem solving and scientific outlook and the need to encourage the development of an enquiring mind and ability to think for oneself.

The period that spreads across the last two years of the First Five Year Development Plan (1964-1969) and the second Five Year Development Plan (1969-1974) was characterised by serious efforts to implement this policy. After the villagization programme, a policy was instituted of building a primary school in every village.

The initial policy was to provide access to a basic education for all members of society, but this was to be implemented within the inherited structures which had reinforced, and would continue to reinforce, divisions.

There was no mention of how reading materials could be provided, given the anticipated rise in enrolment. The prime thrust of the ESR was to make agriculture an integral and core part of the curriculum, because Tanzania was a rural economy which depended on agricultural production.

Linked to this emphasis on agriculture was the effort to make primary education an end in itself, and not a preparation for secondary school education. For this reason the entry age for primary school was raised to 7 years and above so that school leavers would be old enough (at 14 years and above) to engage in

productive work in the village. It was assumed that primary school pupils would learn enough about agriculture to enable them contribute towards agricultural production. The principles, achievements and contradictions of this policy are well documented especially by Mbilinyi (1979) and Hirji (1973). It is important to note that the villagization programme provided a very important condition for achieving at least the initial stages of Universal Primary Education (UPE) Programme, which will now be discussed.

The Musoma Resolution and the Universal Primary Education Programme (UPE)

Universal Primary Education (UPE) was a key component of the Education for Self-Reliance (ESR). Given Tanzania's material poverty, deriving from a low level of productive forces and a lack of infrastructure, it was true that it could take a long time to achieve UPE. The Second Five Year Development Plan (1969-1974) proposed a progressive increase in standard one enrolment, and that the percentage of primary age group for which primary education could be provided be increased from less than 50% in 1969 to universal entry by 1989.

UPE was originally planned to be phased over 20 years, but in 1974 a TANU National Executive Meeting passed what became known as the Musoma Resolution, which decreed that within three years arrangements must be completed for making primary education accessible to all children of school-going age. But Mbunda

(1979:93) notes that there were only places for 53% of the school age children in 1973. Despite the Musoma Resolution, no plans were made to ensure the availability of reading materials as a result of the expansion in enrolment.

UPE, originally targeted for 1989, was therefore brought forward to 1977. As a result, enrolment in primary one nearly doubled. In order to open access to children from poor families, primary school fees were abolished in 1973. The standard four examination was removed in order to allow an uninterrupted full seven year primary education for every child who entered primary one. To redress regional inequality, backward areas with higher population growth rates were given priority.

The directive came despite the fact that Tanzania's material poverty mitigated against the type of expenditure which would be necessary for universal services. It was thought that such problem could be solved by merely passing resolutions at TANU Party Conferences (Omari et al, 1982: 39). This is a clear example of how attempts at ideological legitimation forced the leadership to make certain decisions without regard for the educational infrastructure and economic consequences (Roy-Campbell, 1991).

There was no indication that the economic situation of Tanzania had improved between 1969 and 1974 sufficiently for UPE to be achieved in just three years. By 1977 the primary school enrolment had increased significantly: from 753,114 in 1967 to

2,194,213 in 1977. The basis for the attendance at school of all primary aged children was already laid, particularly after the 1978 Educational Act no.50. By 1986 the number of primary school enrolment had risen to 3,155,812. Since each village had a primary school, the majority of the pupils did not travel far in order to go to school. This is a likely explanation for improved school attendance, but a great deal more was expected of the primary education than mere attendance. The proportion of girls as percentage to total enrolment increased from 40% in 1976 to 50% in 1986. These increases had far-reaching implications on the book publishing industry, which will be examined later.

The number of secondary schools, both private and public, increased significantly. By the mid-1980s there were 181 secondary schools of which 85 were government and 96 were private schools. This was an increase of over the 62 secondary schools at independence in 1961, and the 102 secondary schools in 1967 when the Arusha Declaration was announced.

The introduction of UPE necessitated a new programme for training teachers outside colleges. A one-year crash programme for grade "A" (Form Four leavers) teacher training instead of two years and a double intake system (per year) were introduced in all Teacher Training Colleges.

Enrolment of Grade "A" teacher trainees therefore increased from 846 in 1975 to 3,071 in 1986. Enrolment for Grade "C" teachers dropped from 1,344 in 1975 to 584 in 1986 (URT, MoEC: 1989:73),

precisely because more emphasis was now on training form four secondary education leavers as Grade "A" teachers.

While efforts were being made to reform primary education, Nyerere, in his capacity as President of Tanzania, had announced that the year 1970 was to be the year of Adult Education. This was seen as crucial to the rural development plan which involved moving people in the rural areas to ujamaa villages and rural transformation through functional literacy programmes. In order for the peasants to be more productive in these villages, they needed to be functionally literate.

As Table 2.1 has shown, by 1974, there were more than 5,000 Ujamaa villages, with more than two million people, as opposed to 1,956 villages in 1970 with 531,200 people. This project was given a high priority and it later outweighed the primary education budget of the Ministry of Education. There was an enrolment of about 5 million in literacy classes, and more people sitting for literacy tests in August 1977 than the whole child population in primary schools (ILO, 1978:198). This was a gigantic undertaking. As a result of this programme, the illiteracy rate fell from 75% in 1970 to 27% in 1977, and was recorded as 15% in 1983, and 10% in 1986 (BEST,1990:35).

The use of primary and secondary school graduates in functional literacy programmes made it possible for the majority of Tanzanians to have a basic education. But how was this possible given Tanzania's economic situation?

Education for self-reliance and its economic basis

Since independence in 1961, Tanzania has been receiving foreign assistance for educational development. Table 3.2 gives an example of this for two particular years.

Table 3.2 Financial contribution from different sources 1980/81 and 1982/83 as a percentage of Educational development budget

Source	1980/81	1982/83
Tanzania (internal sources)	27.8	35.3
Sweden	34.2	23.2
IBRD (World Bank)	5.0	17.2
Denmark	10.4	13.3
Federal Republic of Germany	3.6	4.5
UNICEF	1.0	1.8
Norway	4.1	1.0
Others	13.0	3.7
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Ministry of Education: Development Budgets 1980-1983

As Table 3.2 indicates, more than 70% of the education budget between 1980 and 1982 was financed by foreign contributions from different countries and organizations, even after the introduction of Education for Self-Reliance (ESR). The two largest sources, which provided between 15-25% each of the education budget for 1982/83, were the World Bank (a multilateral agency) and Sweden (a neutral country). This was part of Tanzania's diversification policy, but how much

structural and socialist change the two loan/ aid sources encouraged remains an issue. While it is clear that this external support has sustained educational expansion it is questionable how this educational system could be self reliant while it depended primarily on foreign assistance. Financial donors have an impact upon the direction a particular policy takes. It is difficult to coordinate educational projects with divergent objectives and resource conditions, which is why there has been a tendency towards the establishment of new institutions instead of expanding existing ones or utilizing them to capacity.

Aid is often tied to a particular conception of development. Many aid packages include the importation of foreign personnel, carrying with them their own ideas of appropriate development for Tanzania (Roy-Campbell, 1991:208). This is a contradiction to the policy of self-reliance, which emphasised building from within, using mainly internal resources.

Self-reliance based on foreign assistance creates conditions for it to be undermined by lending agencies, as was seen in the economic crisis of the 1980s, which was examined in Chapter two. The whole question of the influence of foreign aid on publishing will be discussed in Chapter six.

Impact of the Economic crisis on Education

The overall crisis discussed in Chapter Two had a severe impact on the education sector. The government was forced to cut its budget on education as part of its programme to minimize government expenditure. In a study on the impact of the structural adjustment programme on education and health, Tungaraza (1991) identifies the following features in educational development and provision in Tanzania in this period:

1. a continuous decline in education policy development;
2. the quality of education in the country fell progressively;
3. enrolment of students at all levels of education in proportion to population growth declined;
4. a rapid establishment of private secondary schools through self help schemes; and
5. a severe shortage of education facilities such as buildings, manpower, books, desks etc.

If the expenditure on education is taken as an indicator of how the crisis has affected education, it can be noted that

the government was spending proportionally more money on education in the 1970s and even before, than in the 1980s.

Education represented around 14% of total government expenditure in the 1960s and remained at that level until 1977/78. Table 3.3 shows how this proportion has declined.

Table 3.3 Government Expenditure on Education (million Tz.sh.)
1975-1990.

Year	Total budget	Ministry of education allocation	%
1975/76	5968.2	842.0	14.1
1976/77	7404.5	1006.7	13.6
1977/78	9131.2	1327.0	14.5
1978/79	13035.9	1472.5	11.3
1979/80	14413.0	1612.8	11.2
1980/81	14895.0	1737.7	11.7
1981/82	18316.1	2258.6	12.3
1982/83	18993.0	2554.0	13.2
1983/84	21460.9	2502.6	11.7
1984/85	27438.4	1795.1	6.5
1985/86	39764.4	2321.2	5.8
1986/87	53300.6	4227.1	7.9
1987/88	77667.9	4168.2	5.8
1988/89	118672.0	5659.3	4.8
1989/90	114248.7	8322.0	5.9
1990/91	160000.0	10537.0	6.3

Source: 1. Ministry of Education: Basic Statistics. 1985-89, 1986-1990

2. Education for all: Meeting basic learning needs to the year 2000. Tanzania National Document August, 1989.

Table 3.3 shows that the relative expenditure on education as a whole was more than halved from 14.1% in 1975/76 to 6.39% in 1990/91. Whereas in 1970/71, 13.6% of government expenditure went to education, and 7.05% to the military, in 1986/87 only 5.8% went to education, and 9.05% going to the military (Galabawa 1991). The overall decline in education expenditure can also be observed in the various sectors of education. Whereas in 1980/81 the expenditure on primary education amounted to about 60% of the recurrent budget of education, the trend declined to 56.8% in 1987/88 (Tungaraza 1991).

Realising that there were some deficiencies in Tanzania's education system, a Presidential Education Commission was set up in 1980 to examine the situation and recommend ways of consolidating or reforming the system. Its report was made public in 1984 (URT:1984). Most of the recommendations concerned the structures of educational expansion, curriculum development and the provision of educational materials. These recommendations, according to Samoff (1987:358), were developed and presented in terms of attention to the (academic) quality of education, its costs and its training roles rather than in terms of education for socialist construction, or for redistribution or equality. Some of the problems experienced by the educational system have resulted from the imbalances of expenditure on education as seen from Table 3.3.

The imbalances can be seen at three levels: overall financial

allocation to education in the national budget, the financial allocation to particular levels of education, and differences in the capacities of Local Governments to finance primary education.

It is difficult to judge the total decline, because since the mid 1980s most of the capital and development budget and part of the recurrent budget of primary education was under the control of local governments whose contribution is not reflected in the central government figures. Local governments also receive money from the central government. Primary schools are controlled by local government authorities, while the Ministry of Education and Culture is responsible for primary educational policy.

Although local governments receive money for educational purposes from the central government, those funds have sometimes been diverted to other expenditure items. The Minister of State in the Prime Minister's office warned District Executive Directors against making such diversions:

Councils would lose credibility before the people if the trend continued, funds including those for salaries, had sometimes been put to other use. (Sunday News 4 October 1992:1).

The Minister of Education and Culture (Sunday News, 11.11.1992) also blamed falling of standards in educational provision and poor state of primary schools on local authorities. It can be argued that falling of standards in educational provision is not simply a budget question, but is linked to the priorities of liberalization (Roy-Campbell, op.

cit. : 209).

It is a contradiction that a country which has declared the goal of Universal Primary Education (UPE) and insists on the significance of education allocates so little funding to education. This anomaly is even more apparent when one considers the allocation of funds to different levels of education in Tanzania.

Table 3.4 shows that the Ministry of Education expenditure on primary education at the beginning of 1980s was much less than that of other levels. The estimated cost per student in 1982 was Tsh. 780 for a primary school pupil, and Tsh. 85,524 for a University student (Quoted in Roy-Campbell 1991: 210). This level of expenditure on primary education reflects the low status of primary education. It is a contradiction that a system which sought to elevate primary education to be complete in itself, and not simply a preparation for further education, maintains this difference in the allocation of funds for education, especially when the number of students enrolled at different levels is taken into account.

Table 3.4 Expenditure of the Ministry of Education on different levels of education 1980-81 (Tsh'000)

	Recurrent	Development
Primary Education	77,325.0	300.0
Secondary Education	196,116.3	59,035.0
Teacher Education	1,691.0	41,680.0
Adult Education	2,858.0	43,250.0
Higher Education	183,193.7	60,204.0

Source: Siwale, T. Hotuba ya Waziri wa Elimu kuhusu makadirio ya Fedha kwa mwaka 1980/81 Dar-es-salaam, Ministry of Education Printing Unit 1980. (Quoted in Roy-Campbell, Ibid. 210).

The pyramidal structure in the allocation of fund to education is reversed in terms of numbers of students and schools. By 1985 there were 10,175 primary schools, 199 secondary schools and two Universities (BEST 1986). With almost 1000 times as many primary school students as University students and an institutional ratio of 500 to 1, educational priorities in Tanzania clearly need serious review. This tendency is reinforced when student enrolment numbers at the three major levels of education are compared.

The allocation of funds to different levels of education that has been described shows the government's continued interest in the production of high level administrative personnel to service the inherited state apparatus. The government policy perpetuates the colonial education system, despite the policy of education for self-reliance. This is discussed below.

Primary Schools

Making primary education universal was not without problems, at the levels of physical structures, numbers of teacher and resources available. Difficulties of class room space, shortages of desks and chairs, and reading materials are found in most schools.

The quality of primary education has deteriorated to such an extent that there are fears that it is turning out illiterates (Lillis 1990:421). For example, the 1986 standard IV examination, which was re-introduced in 1983 as a measure of pupil performance, showed poor results. Out of 395,700 pupils who sat the examinations, 141,200 (ie 35.5%) failed with marks below 25%, and another 12% did not respond to questions (Ibid).

An inadequate supply of textbooks is another major reason for the falling educational standards in Tanzania (Daily News 4/9/1991:3). The extent of the problem of inadequate textbooks is a major concern of this study, and is discussed in Chapter Four.

In 1980 there were 4 pupils per desk, and by 1988 this problem had intensified. With a student-teacher ratio of greater than 60 to 1 in some classes (BEST 1990), it was not possible to seat the majority of students. For example, in 1986 Dar-es-salaam city council had 136,600 primary school pupils and a

shortage of 50,500 desks (Lugala 1990). It is difficult to imagine how the transfer of knowledge can take place under such conditions. By June 1989 there was a shortage of 741,600 desks, 160,200 chairs and 120,200 tables in primary schools in the whole country. This means that sitting on the floor in overcrowded schools had become a common phenomenon.

The proliferation of after school tuition classes was one consequence of the poor teacher-student ratio. Teachers took advantage of the competitive nature of the education system. By the end of 1980s after-school classes had become big business in Tanzania, with classes up to 40 students, and sometimes taught by the regular class teacher.

In one study, it was found that 77% of primary school teachers and 76% of secondary school teachers interviewed earned additional incomes from other activities (World Bank,1991:18). This was an economic necessity with the erosion in real wages. The time and effort required for adequate teaching in formal schools were endangered by this. The gaps in the teaching and learning process of primary school pupils will continue, the morale of teachers will go down, and so will that of the learners.

In 1989 pupil absenteeism was approximately 60% in the Shinyanga and Dodoma regions (Bureau of statistics /Planning Commission: 1989). Factors responsible for this include lack of interest in formal education by parents, and their

inability to fulfil such school requirements as paying school fees. Some parents also prefer to use the labour of their children in income-generating activities. The peasant can not only withdraw from cash crop production, as the case of villagization has shown, but can also withdraw his child from school so that he has extra labour within the family. Children themselves do not attach much value to formal education because they see the hardships experienced by their friends who went through the formal education, such as lack of reading materials and sitting on the floor for years, and also the lack of employment possibilities.

Although the official policy is that children should not be barred from school for not paying their fees, some schools have tried to exclude such students. User fees for primary education were re-introduced in 1984/85. Teachers face a dilemma when students miss classes to do petty business in order to earn school fees. If stopped, students might genuinely be unable to pay fees and drop out of school. But to condone this encourages poor attendance (and hence poor performance), and also opens up possibilities of such behaviour spreading to cases that are not genuine. Asked why students could either be excluded or not allowed to sit for examinations because of non-payment of fees, the Principal Secretary to the Ministry of Education of Culture replied:

We are under the Ministry of Education. We merely implement a Government directive which says no candidate should be allowed in the examination room if he/she has not completed paying fees. (Daily News, 30 April 1989),

A major issue is the level of fees for primary school pupils. Each parent is obliged to pay 200/= per pupil. This amount is too high and impossible for most peasants. Parents already contribute labour for building schools and teachers' houses through self-help in national building activities. In Dar-es-Salaam, for instance, a child cannot enter standard one without paying Tsh.300 as a contribution for the purchase of desks. Primary school registration in Dar-es-Salaam costs an additional Tsh. 200/= to 3,000/=.

These are major contradictions in Tanzanian's education policy. Tanzanian's economic reality has endangered the concept of making primary education complete in itself. The economy, based on cash crop production with hand hoes, has not been significantly transformed. Social differentiation which the policy of education for self-reliance sought to eliminate, still persists. For example, students who are not selected for secondary education after primary school still see themselves as failures. The major effect of this is that many of the children in the rural areas who are not selected for secondary schools migrate to urban areas. Whereas in 1964, 20,348 students completed primary school of whom 26.1% were selected for government secondary schools, in 1988 there were 347,978 primary school leavers, and 4.5% ie 15,675 were selected for government secondary schools (BEST 1990:11).

Secondary School Education

Unable to adequately finance secondary school expansion, the

government has argued that such expansion was not necessary. However, the mushrooming of private secondary schools across the country has been a result of the limited access that primary school leavers have to government secondary schools. Although privately managed, private secondary schools are public institutions and operate within the rules established by the Ministry of Education and Culture. As Samoff (1987: 344) shows, curriculum, class size, examinations etc must conform to the Ministry policy and, like government schools, these schools are subject to inspection: a private-public partnership.

Between 1986 and 1990 the total number of public secondary schools increased from 95 to 125, an increase of 31.6% while the number of private secondary schools rose from 124 to 213, an increase of 71.7% (BEST, 1990). In 1992 there were 158 public secondary schools, a further increase of 26.5%. The quality of these schools is poor and school fees are high. The rise in the number of private secondary schools has increased access but not equity.

It has, however, increased the ratio of girls to boys³, a move towards the elimination of gender inequalities in secondary and higher education, which is one of the policy goals proposed by the Presidential Commission on Education.

³ See Budget Speech of the Minister for Education and Culture, 1991/92, p.7.

The problem of insufficient number of relevant books has been observed at primary, secondary school and University levels. This research revealed the absolute dearth of reading materials in the schools, and where available, books were often out-dated and sometimes of a higher level than the pupils can understand, as observed at Kigurunyembe Secondary School in Morogoro Region. This is because most of the books are obtained through donations so that teachers do not participate in the selection process. During field work for this study, visits were made to some secondary schools and the absence of desks and chairs in many class rooms was also striking. Students have to stand during lessons or share a chair with a classmate.

Regional inequality of educational provision was a feature during the colonial period. The distribution of schools was unequal, as cash-crop producing areas were endowed with more educational resources. Despite efforts to redress the situation, the problem still persists. The location of private secondary schools is less subject to government influence. For example, in 1980 Coast and Mtwara Regions had five secondary schools each and no private secondary school, but Kilimanjaro had nine public secondary schools and twenty five private ones (Kahama et al, 1986: 34). In 1992, Dar-es-Salaam had 25 public secondary schools, and 14 private or voluntary owned schools and Kilimanjaro region, whose population is 5.3% of the total population of mainland Tanzania, had 12 public secondary schools, plus 44 private and voluntary organization owned

schools.⁴

In an attempt to redress regional inequalities, a quota system has been introduced to guide form one selection in public secondary schools. This system assures secondary school places to all regions. But with more than 60% of the country's secondary schools being private or owned by voluntary and other non-governmental organizations (NGOs), with less influence from the Government, the quota system alone has failed to provide complete regional equality. This means that the official policy of reducing regional and social inequality through educational policy has been watered down. It is evident that the ability to pay fees excludes many from private schools and it follows that on average private school students will come from a higher social background. Also the re-introduction of school fees for government secondary schools effective July 1987 (See Table 3.5) may have, in the context of the Economic Recovery Programme and on the advice of the World Bank and the IMF, reduced the number of those entering government secondary schools. The payment of fees, though it is part of cost sharing, has adverse impacts both on the ordinary Tanzanian and the country's development as a whole. Also the government decided to make its new secondary schools day rather than boarding schools.

⁴ Information obtained from the Ministry of Education and Culture, DSM. There were 158 Government owned secondary schools and 227 private ones by June 1991.

Table 3.5 School fees

Day secondary schools without meals	Tz. sh. 300
Secondary schools with meals	Tz. sh. 700
Boarding secondary schools	Tz. sh.2000
Technical colleges	Tz. sh.2500
Others schools except University	Tz. sh.1500

Source: Ministry of Education, Budget Speech, 1987.

Day students in government secondary schools in 1991 paid Tzsh. 5000 per year, boarders paid Tzsh 8000. Fees for private secondary schools were approximately Tzsh 20,000 (Samoff 1994:157). Despite these shifts, the government remains the largest source of funds for education.

The University

The objectives and functions of University education in Tanzania should be seen against the socio-economic history, problems, present and potential human and material resources, as well as the popular needs and development aspiration of the broad masses of the citizenry. Its aim should be the attainment of a people-responsive, internally integrated self-sustaining socio-economic development and gradual elimination of dependence and underdevelopment.

The University is situated at the apex of the education pyramid, comprising a very small proportion of the student population (ie 0.1% in 1985) compared to primary schools' 96.8% in 1985 (Roy-Campbell 1991:214). The University is important for the purpose of ideological legitimation and manpower training and development. Since the problems of society could not be kept out of the university, a number of student struggles with the state have occurred. The 1978⁵ and the 1990/91,⁶ University student crises are noteworthy. As with other areas of society, students were disenchanted by the banning of their independent organizations and the setting up of the state sponsored organizations like MUWATA (Muungano wa wanafunzi wa Tanzania), under the auspices of the TANU Youth League, later under the youth branch of Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM). Also students raised issues about the social ills of society such as corruption, mismanagement, etc.

With the deepening economic crisis facing the University, external influences have gained a steady footing. Most faculties and many departments within faculties are associated with European or American Universities through Link programmes which involve receiving equipment such as computers and teaching materials from overseas Universities. Also there are visits by Tanzanian academic staff overseas and visits by academic staff from the link Universities to the University of

⁵ See Kanywanyi, J. UDASA Newsletter no. 10, February 1990. Also Peter and Mvungi (1985) who provide a lucid discussion of the development and banning of different student organizations. See also Kangero (1990) on the 1978 student demonstrations.

⁶ See footnote 5 above, especially UDASA Newsletter, no.10.

Dar-es-Salaam. Similar to the RIDEPS (Regional Integrated Development Projects) noted in Chapter two which parcelled out different regions of Tanzania to different donor agencies and donor countries, different departments/faculties at the University have been "parcelled out" (balkanized) to different countries: for example the Faculty of Engineering to West Germany and Switzerland, Department of Foreign Languages and Linguistics to Britain, Department of Education to Canada and Britain, Economics Department to Sweden and the USA.⁷

A clear example of the influence of external Universities is seen in the Economics Department's strong backing for Tanzania's entering into an agreement with IMF (Roy-Campbell 1991:215).

Cooperation of research among academics is internationally acceptable, but this has to be genuine sharing. Due to material poverty, some Third World countries are quite susceptible to offers of assistance which will increase their material well-being while compromising their independence.

The mission of the University focuses on teaching, research and service to the community, but many factors have hindered the fulfilment of this over the years. These include:⁸

⁷ Information obtained from the Links and Project Unit, Office of the Chief Academic Officer, University of Dar-es-Salaam.

⁸ Proceedings of the Workshop on 'Alternative strategies of funding the University', held on Saturday 7th March, 1992 at Village Motel, Kimara, Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.

- a. the economic recession, and
- b. the diminishing education budget.

Though the University of Dar-es-Salaam has between 1970 and 1990 produced 13,190 undergraduate in 16 degree programmes and 1,703 postgraduates in 8 programmes, and the local teaching staff has grown from 112 to 745, the quality of teaching over the years has been affected by progressively diminishing resources.

Inadequate teaching materials (books, journals, laboratory equipment), as the case of the Library and the bookshop will illustrate, lack of teaching space, and unattractive personal emoluments and incentives have all created an unattractive environment for teaching and learning. Students have been denied the opportunity to broaden their intellectual outlook and to deepen their levels of analysis.

The lack of adequate resources led many departments to stop reviewing their academic programmes, although they knew that these programmes lagged behind rapid scientific, technological and social change. Many programmes are not therefore adequately preparing the students for the current demands of the employment market.

Unattractive salaries and incentives have led many teachers leaving the University for work elsewhere. Between 1977 and 1992 about 100 members of academic staff have left the

University, as illustrated by Table 3.6.

Table 3.6 Labour turnover of Academic staff at the University of Dar-es-salaam (Excluding the MCHS and formerly the faculty of Medicine) by 1992

Faculty	Professor	Associate Professor	Senior Lecturer	Lecturer	Assistant Lecturer	Tutorial Assistant	Total
Science	8	2	9	5	4	-	28
Arts & Social Sciences	3	5	8	5	-	-	21
Engineering	2	1	9	4	4	-	20
Commerce and Management	-	-	4	3	4	3	14
Law	-	1	2	3	1	-	7
Institute of Resource Asses.	1	1	-	1	1	1	5
Library	-	-	1	-	1	1	3
Total	14	10	33	21	15	5	98

Source: Proposal for basic Needs Incentive Scheme for Academic Staff of the University of Dar-es-salaam. Adopted with modification from Musoke(1990)

Those who have remained invest more time and efforts in consultancy work, informal sector activities such as keeping poultry, piggery and cattle, driving taxis and pick-ups or supervising petty business, often during office hours. Once these patterns are established, they are difficult to reverse.

This has far reaching effects on academic publishing and education in general.

The financial crisis in running the University of Dar-es-Salaam and inadequacies of Government budget allocation

The financial crisis facing the University of Dar-es-Salaam must be seen as part of the general crisis affecting the whole education sector in Tanzania. This crisis was inevitable, given the rapid expansion of demand for education on one hand, and on the other the reduction in the supply of resources geared towards education, demonstrated earlier. Natural population growth, the successful campaign for UPE and the greater awareness of the value of education contributed to expanded demand for education. The net effect has been to increase demand for educational facilities such as classrooms, teachers, books and stationery and other necessary requirements. Globally, international economic trends have been unfavourable to the supply for education. The major factors responsible for retrenchment have been discussed.

The trend in development expenditure suggests that the allocation to higher education has increased markedly over the 1983/84-1987/88 period, while the allocation to secondary education has fallen (Galabawa 1991:52). But in real terms the budget for higher education has been falling progressively when the shilling is converted to the dollar. For example the budget for University education declined between 1978/79 and 1989/90 by 35% (UDASA 1990). The amount of money allocated to the University has not corresponded to its requirements. There is a gap between what the University requires and what

it receives from the government. As Table 3.7 indicates, between 1988 and 1990, the allocation was on average 49% below the required amount.

Table 3.7 University budget for the period between 1984/85 and 1990/91 (In million Tz.Shs.)

Year	Amount requested	Amount approved by government	Difference /shortfall	percentage
1984/85	375,779	272,464	103,315	27.5%
1985/86	418,957	325,882	930,752	22.2%
1986/87	503,421	445,555	578,657	11.5%
1987/88	821,838	501,059	320,779	39.0%
1988/89	1,325,487	801,322	524,165	39.5
1989/90	2,417,696	1,302,701	1,114,994	46.1
1990/91	4,801,596	2,003,770	2,979,825	62.1

Source: Bursar's office, University of Dar-es-salaam. August 1990 adopted with modifications from Musoke, 1990

The decline in higher education financing has led to increased foreign dependency. Foreign assistance to higher education has come directly in monetary terms, and also in the form of experts, equipment, buildings and staff development/training, and in many cases as part of the link programmes. By 1984, foreign dependence on development expenditure on education was between 75% and 80% (Galabawa, op. cit.:51).

External dependence by the University is illustrated below.

Table 3.8 Development budget -University of Dar-es-salaam
in Tsh.(000) 1986/ 87 to 1990/ 91.

Year	Amount Solicited			Amount Obtained		
	Domestic	External	Total	Domestic	External	Total
1986/87	96,000	539,900	149,900	18,136	35,500	53,636
1987/88	148,698	46,700	195,198	96,000	39,198	135,198
1988/89	145,250	276,555	421,805	37,100	210,600	247,700
1989/90	255,500	726,920	982,420	51,000	26,467	77,467
1990/91	328,330	875,800	1,204,130	118,500	381,000	499,500
Total	973,778	1,979,875	2,953,453	320,736	692,765	1,013,500

Source: Bursar's office with modification from Musoke, Ibid

As Table 3.8 indicates, between 1986 and 1990, external support accounted for about 70% of all development expenditure at the University of Dar-es-Salaam.

The financial problems experienced by the University were the major factor in the 1990 University of Dar-es-Salaam student crises, which led to the closure of the University for eight months. Students complained about inadequate allowances given to them, the diminishing allocation of funds to Universities, the low salaries paid to lecturers and the lack of employment opportunities after completion of their studies (Daily News 16/4/1990). In 1991 some students of the Institute of

Development Management Mzumbe (IDM) were expelled for similar reasons.

The foremost issue raised by the students was the declining allocation of resources in the budget to education from 13.6% in 1970/71 to 5.9% in 1989/90. Even if local government expenditure is included, there has been a decline to an average of 10% over the period between 1988 and 1991 (UDASA 1991:5). During the same period, primary school enrolment in Tanzania doubled and many specialized institutions were established. Unfortunately the Ministry of Education cut a greater share of the University budget. So in 1989/90 when education estimates were reduced to 22%, the University's budget was slashed by 55%.⁹ This raises the question whether Universities should not be placed under an autonomous body such as a University Grants Committee.

The second issue raised by students was a direct result of the cuts in the education expenditure:

(i) practical training has been reduced or eliminated;

(ii) the book allowance of Tsh. 10 - 15,000 was quite inadequate given the average cost of a book to be Tsh. 5000. The students estimated that an amount of Tsh. 35,000 was required.

⁹ The Ministry of Education and Culture Budget was cut from Tz. sh.9 billion to 7 billion, while the University's budget was reduced from Tz. sh. 2.4 billion to 1.3 billion.

(iii) Higher education allowance: The students wanted to peg this to the minimum wage.

The third issue concerned the declining standards of living of the University lecturers and their exodus which has been shown in Table 3.7. This has reduced the teaching capability of those who remain, who are under-paid and exhausted, and have to moonlight in order to survive.

The fourth set of issues were those of corruption, accountability and democracy. Students argued that the cause for the rapid spread of this was the lack of accountability, not only to the appointing authorities, but especially to the people they are supposed to serve (UDASA 1991:5). This was seen by students as a major principle of democracy.

Local Government Authorities were cited by University students as examples of corruption. A major objective of the Local Government Authorities is to function as a grass-root organ of democracy. But corruption, irresponsibility, and the theft and embezzlement of funds collected from the poor workers and peasants have become widespread.

Dar-es-Salaam City Council was cited as a leading example of the failure of Local Government Authorities in the country (UDASA *ibid*:16). Since 1986 over Tz.Sh. 870m had been stolen from public institutions, with Tz.Shs. 302,375,426 stolen from

the National Bank of Commerce (NBC), followed by Tanzania Elimu Supplies (TES) (Daily News, April 14, 1988). This has significant implications on the provision of social services such as primary school education.

Finally, students raised a number of general national issues: garbage dumping at Tabata, low minimum wages and producer prices, the widening income gap in the country, the Uniflote ferry scandal and the Bank of Tanzania fire which had been hushed up. As citizens of Tanzania, students had all the rights enshrined in the constitution to express an opinion on any public issue. In the heat of the crisis some government leaders and journalists questioned the right of the students to raise and discuss national questions, on the pretext that they were not members of parliament.

The University of Dar-es-Salaam main campus was closed from May 12 to December 31, 1990. Student's education was interrupted, and they were denied their right to earn a living during that period. They were publicly castigated without an opportunity to defend themselves. The whole academic community, and ultimately the nation, lost an academic year.

The Mroso Commission, appointed to investigate the crisis, vindicated the students and heavily criticised the government's handling of the situation (UDASA: 1991). The report suggested that the students had good reason to lose confidence in the government and the youth wing of the ruling

party (CCM), which had dominated the students since their autonomous student organization was disbanded in 1978. The student struggle with the state must be seen as part of the of the struggle against World Bank policies and the IMF conditions discussed earlier.

Donor influence on Education

This section examines two particular aspects of the way which donors have influence on education: the World Bank policies; and the Tanzanian educational language policy, which have both also had an impact on publishing. Three particular aspects of the World Bank policies: adjustment, revitalization and selective expansion are briefly examined here.

(a) Adjustment

Adjustment involved diversification of the sources of finance. In practical terms for public education, this meant the adoption and implementation of policy packages which lead to cost-sharing measures in public education. For example, parents were required to contribute to educational provision, while formerly this was a government responsibility. Another example, at University level, was the government stopping student travel allowances in March 1991. The introduction of these cost-sharing policies has brought problems:

Students of Sokoine University of Agriculture (SUA) have dissolved their leadership and formed a special committee to replace it, for what they termed the betrayal of their common

stand on cost-sharing. The students decided that cost-sharing policy is unacceptable because the logistics of its implementation were impossible (Daily News 20 Jan, 1992).

The implementation of cost-sharing was also questioned by UDASA members, who argued that although cost-sharing in higher education was inevitable, the timing and mechanism of implementation left much to be desired (UDASA Newsletter Feb.1992:17). They proposed that the policy of cost-sharing start with new entrants, who would be given adequate notice, to allow both students and parents to prepare themselves: 'it will allow all parties concerned enough time to do a thorough study of the implications of this policy' (UDASA ibid).

Adjustment policies also include* the liberalization of provision of education. The government is expected to tolerate and encourage non-governmental and voluntary organizations participating in the provision of education. This can be seen in the mushrooming of private secondary schools during the last few years.

Questions arising from this concern the kind of schools being established, who is behind them, the quality of education they offer, and how they obtain textbooks/reading materials, given the dilapidated publishing industry in Tanzania? The 1978 Act will have to be amended to assure private schools that they will never be nationalized, so as to encourage private organizations to invest in education.

b Revitalization/rehabilitation

The World Bank also advocates taking advantage of the current capacity of education and training system to strengthen the development and implementation strategies in education, and to manage the sector more effectively and efficiently. In order to implement this the World Bank gave Tanzania a credit of US\$67.1m for the education planning and rehabilitation project through the 8th IDA Project.

c Selective expansion

The World Bank argued that selective expansion of educational services can only succeed if adjustment and revitalization have taken hold. Areas identified for expansion by the Bank are:

1. The programme leading to Universal Primary Education

The World Bank's view is shared by the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA) whose major reason for supporting primary education is that they consider primary education to be fundamental for development, locally and nationally, and is the main means for promoting equity (DANIDA,1992:17). This argument is also contained in the Tanzania National Document, Education for all: meeting Basic learning needs to the year 2000. This document suggests that:

the next move is to eradicate the remaining illiteracy rate and ensure full primary education for all school age children, improve the quality of basic education and emphasize science and technology as we approach the year 2000 (URT,1989:ii).

According to Samoff (1987:359), the recommendations of the

Presidential Commission on education of 1982 correspond to the current dominance of a more technical - administrative ideology and a less political perspective in national politics supported by most of the current educational advisers to Tanzania, especially the World Bank, UNESCO and DANIDA.

2. Distance learning education programmes which involve expansion of enrolment in selected subjects

This looks at alternative methods of providing education to accommodate increases in primary school leavers, with a view of shifting most of the burden for learning to students themselves.

3. Training programmes for those already in the labour force

This training should serve school leavers and those who have had no exposure to formal education.

All these three areas require both a well planned education system and an efficient publishing industry in book production and distribution.

4. Research and post-graduate education

The World Bank argues that policies which aim at expanding the country's capacity to produce its own intellectuals to fill the higher scientific and technical position must be given

priority under the policy of selective expansion.

Educational language policy is the second major influence that donors have on education. While there have been attempts to question the process of knowledge production inherited at independence, the language policy remains one of the least developed areas of the education policy in Tanzania. The conflict surrounding Tanzania's educational language policy can be explained by examining the involvement of the British Council and the Tanzanian State bureaucrats.

Language reflects the level of consciousness and history of a society, thus the choice of the language to be used is extremely important. As Ngugi (1986:4) puts it:

the choice of language and the use to which it is put is central to people's definition of themselves in relation to their natural and social environment, indeed to their entire universe. Hence language has always been at the heart of two contending social forces in Africa of the 20th century.

It is within this framework that Rubagumya and Lwaitama (1990: 42) argue that the language policy has to be placed within the framework of a wider political and economic context of society. Sensitive to this reality, the Tanzanian party and government adopted Kiswahili as a national language after independence, and as a medium of instruction in primary schools. Debates on whether the medium of instruction should be changed continued throughout the early 1970s, and the Second Five Year Plan (1969/70-1973/4) addressed the class

implication of the language policy in the use of Kiswahili or English:

We have a system where the medium of instruction in primary schools is Kiswahili, while in secondary schools it is in English. This constitutes an educational problem and potentially a dangerous situation. It will create a class of those educated in Kiswahili medium and another educated in English medium. It will render secondary education irrelevant to problems of the masses. It will not be justified to continue to offer secondary education in English (Quoted in Rubagumya (ed): 26).

In 1982, the Presidential Commission on Education initially recommended the use of Kiswahili as a medium of instruction at secondary school level by 1985 and at University level by 1992. The Institute of Education (later the Institute of Curriculum Development and now the Tanzania Institute of Education), the body charged with curriculum development, therefore began producing some textbook manuscripts in Kiswahili. But in August 1983 the Minister for Education announced that English would continue to be the medium of instruction for some time to come (Uhuru 8 August 1983). To justify the government's rejection of the commission's proposal, the Minister said: 'we must learn from foreign nations and in order to do so we must use English to promote understanding (of what is learnt) in schools' (ibid.:75).

In this statement, the Minister rationalises the continued use of a 'colonial language' as a medium of instruction at secondary and higher education levels. According to Roy-

Campbell (1991:217), this decision was yet another example of the political oscillations and the arbitrary way in which very important decisions have been made and the depth of the internal struggles over the liberalization of language and ideology in Tanzania. Results of this decision are not without dramatic effects on publishing, as the case of the 'Music Education for Secondary schools' manuscripts in Chapter Four will show.

It is important to note that this was happening at the same time that Crippier and Dodd were carrying out a British government-funded study (Crippier and Dodd, 1984). The Crippier and Dodd Report recommended establishing an English Language Support Project with a total budget of about £2m, covering four years (1987-1991), and involving a great amount of capital and investment in personnel. This project arose from renewed interest in the 1970s debate about the effectiveness of English as a medium of instruction at secondary and tertiary levels. The project's purpose was to improve English teaching in secondary schools through syllabus development, teacher training and the provision of books. The British government's offer to invest in improving English in schools came at a time when popular sentiment in Tanzania was moving towards Kiswahili as a medium of instruction at secondary school level and beyond.

It should be evident, even to the British government, that switching to an indigenous language as a medium of instruction

in Tanzania's education system would be a step towards the decolonization of knowledge. The project seemed to be a deliberate attempt to ensure that the cultural reproduction in Tanzania is not totally beyond British influence. The British Council also promotes the sale of British publishers: a switch to a local language would affect the market for these books, and Britain would sell fewer books.

The issue of education language policy provides a vivid example of the struggle to determine the nature of cultural reproduction, both at internal and external levels. It also, as will be illustrated in Chapter four, has a direct impact on publishing.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PUBLISHING INDUSTRY

This chapter examines the relationship between the publishing industry and the education sector and the way in which the former is dependent upon the latter. It discusses how publishing was introduced in Tanzania, and in particular the relationship between the Tanzania Publishing House (TPH) and the Ministry of Education. It then examines how the book trade developed after 1967, and shows how government policies, for example, the establishment of the Institute of Curriculum Development (ICD) and the Tanzania Elimu Supplies (TES), have affected the development of the book trade in general.

Pre-Independence Period

Tanzania has a short history of publishing. For many centuries writing using Arabic scripts was the practice on the East African coast. About 20,000 manuscripts, in both Kiswahili and in Arabic have been collected and preserved at the University of Dar-es-Salaam (Bgoya 1992: 170). In 1875 Bishop Steere established the first printing press in East Africa (Chachage, 1991: vii) at the University Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) in Zanzibar. Other early presses were the Free Town Mission Press in Mombasa in 1887, the Tabora Mission Press (TMP) at Tabora in 1890 and Magila Press in Tanga in

1905 (Ibid). Missionary Presses began publishing papers and books in Kiswahili, and a complete Bible was published in 1891 (Ibid: viii). By 1914, the German colonial government officials in German East Africa were able to communicate with village headmen in Kiswahili and this proved of great value to the British when they took over Tanganyika in 1918, after the First World War. Missionaries continued standardizing Swahili between the two World Wars, following a meeting of the East African Governors called by Governor Cameron in 1925.

This meeting proposed Kiswahili be made the lingua franca for the four territories, of Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar. The Inter-territorial Swahili Language Committee was formed in 1930 and charged with the responsibility of standardizing the orthography and dialectical forms of written Swahili (Whiteley, 1969: 79).

With Britain occupying the four countries in East Africa, most printing and publishing activity was concentrated in Kenya, a settler colony with many European readers. During the colonial period, educational needs were expanding, but these were fulfilled by publications produced in Britain. School books used in Britain were imported with little or no adjustment for different needs in the colonies.

Apart from the missionary presses and the Government Printer, publishing in Tanzania is considered to have begun with the establishment of the East African Literature Bureau (EALB) in

1948 and the East African Publishing House (EAPH) in 1965. The EALB was formed by the East African Colonial Governments, with the aims of publishing books for both an educational and a general readership; producing popular magazines to promote and encourage African authors; establishing lending library services; and developing procedures for efficient book distribution (Chachage op cit, X). The EAPH was established by the East African Institute of Social and Cultural Affairs, and made a considerable contribution to literature in East Africa. By 1974 it had published a collection of books and shown a lead in both Kiswahili and English, although this was a secondary objective because most of the early EALB authors were colonial administrators or British scholars (ibid).

The EALB and EAPH were both based in Nairobi, which became East Africa's publishing centre. While they had branches in Dar-es-Salaam and Kampala, these only acted as sales offices and as scouts for manuscripts, and no editorial work was performed there.

Independence and Publishing

This section examines the manner in which the Tanzania Publishing House (TPH) was established and its relationship with the Tanzanian Government thereafter. British based publishing companies, such as Longman (1950), Oxford University Press (1954) and Macmillan (1966) had established their subsidiary organizations in East Africa by or soon after

independence. Publishers and authors publishing for the school market obtained large financial rewards but this lucrative market was mainly controlled by foreign publishers. The education system, as discussed above, remained colonial even after independence. Chachage (op. cit. xii), for example argues that the literature syllabus in secondary schools and at the University of Dar-es-Salaam was dominated by Shakespeare and the English poets, and that it was not until 1972 that an "Africanized" literature syllabus was produced.

For ten years after independence most books for education were published outside Tanzania. Publishing in Kiswahili was boosted by the adoption of Kiswahili as the national language in 1962, by its use as the medium of instruction in primary schools from 1968, by the introduction of the first Kiswahili University course in 1968 and by the establishment of the Department of Kiswahili at the University of Dar-es-Salaam in 1970. A circular in 1974 directed all government officials "to use Swahili in all official communications between Swahili speakers and to use English only when addressing expatriate non-Swahili speakers" (Bgoya 1984:4).

The Tanzania Publishing House (TPH) was established in 1966 as a joint venture between Tanzanian's National Development Corporation (NDC) and Macmillan Educational Publishers, the NDC being the holding company. This was a pattern adopted by Macmillan in several newly independent African Countries (Chachage 1991, Bgoya 1992). As Hutchinson (1979: 228) notes,

the contract for a primary Mathematics or English course for Tanzania could be worth several million shillings; and therefore being in partnership with the government parastatal made it easier to "make friends with the Ministry of Education Officials". It was expected that the establishment of TPH was the first stage in a strategy towards disengaging from the monopoly position of foreign publishers.

The intention was that the publication of books would be cheaper, that foreign exchange would be saved, and that the decision of what to publish would no longer be in the hands of foreign publishers. This was not the case, as this study will show.

The formal reasons for which TPH was formed were among others: (TPH 1992):

'(i) To carry on the business of publishers, booksellers, newspapers and journal proprietors, advertising agents, printers, bookbinders, designers, and draughtsmen and as agents for the sale of books, journals and other publications,

(ii) To carry on the business of dealers in, and suppliers of, stationery, writing materials, teaching aids and other equipment and materials for use in schools and other educational establishments and as agent for sale of such equipment and materials;

(iii) To make experiments in connection with any business or proposed business of the company, and to apply for or otherwise acquire in any part of the world any patents, patent rights, licences, protection and concessions which may appear likely to be advantageous useful to the company, and to use and manufacture under grant or licence or privileges in respect of the same, and to expend money in experimenting upon and testing and improving or seeking to improve any patent, invention or rights which the company may acquire or propose to acquire;

(iv) To enter into any agreements with any Governments or authorities (supreme, municipal, local or otherwise), or any corporations, companies, or persons that may seem conducive to the company's objectives or any of them, and to obtain from any such governments, authorities, corporations, company or persons any charter, contract, decrees, rights, privileges and concessions which the company may think desirable, and to carry out, exercise and comply with such charters, contracts, decrees, rights, privileges and concessions.'

The agreement between NDC and Macmillan was that Macmillan would manage the TPH, and that TPH would publish all of the primary school textbooks written by the Institute of Education, later the Institute of Curriculum Development (ICD) and now the Tanzania Institute of Education for the Ministry of Education (Bgoya 1992: 170). Profits were to be shared, after Macmillan had been paid management fees and commissions

for advice on editorial, production and other functions (Ibid). The local and foreign shareholding ratio was 60:40 (Bgoya 1984 (b): 85). It was agreed that Macmillan would:

(a) advise the company on its organization and the appointment of staff;

(b) edit and advise on manuscripts; and

(c) assist in the processing of all manuscripts with particular regard to format, quality of paper, printing and binding, and cost of production (Hutchinson, Ibid).

This put Macmillan in control of the whole operation. The Principal Secretary of the Ministry of Education was Chairman of the Board of Directors of TPH, and through this Macmillan was able to exert influence, to ensure that the most lucrative primary school manuscripts were given to TPH to publish. But this did not always happen, for example when TPH lost the Primary English Course to Longman. A.C Mwingira, who was the Principal Secretary in the Ministry of Education after 1968, pointed out that the new draft agreement was not in the interest of Tanzania, concluding that:

All in all, this agreement binds TPH to Macmillan, but in no way does it bind Macmillan to TPH. Macmillan only stands to win handsomely. In many matters, Macmillan have virtual 'carte blanche' to write their own terms, though admittedly this depends to some extent on the General manager being

'sympathetic'.¹⁰

Despite this, the new agreement was signed in October 1968 unamended, although it took effect from January 1969. There were lessons to be learnt by Tanzania in any future agreements.

Realizing that Macmillan was overpricing the books published by TPH, the Ministry of Education decided in 1971 to reprint primary school books without using the TPH, despite its own lack of publishing skills. The government thus took on not only the development of curricula and syllabi, but also writing, editing, illustrating, storing, distribution and financing of school textbooks. Some of the tasks were devolved to government parastatals, more or less under the control of the Ministry of Education. These measures in effect constituted the establishment of educational publishing organization within the Ministry, a development often supported by donors such as UNICEF, SIDA etc. But a consequence of this has been that relations between TPH and the Ministry of Education have been strained ever since this decision. Despite several meetings between Ministry Officials and TPH, there has been no evidence of cooperation, and the Ministry continued not to place orders for TPH titles (TPH 1973). Between 1972 and 1981 TPH did not publish any new textbook for the Ministry of Education.

¹⁰ See Hutchinson, Robert (1979), p.230. This article also provides examples which illustrate how Macmillan made easy money. The article is instructive in any understanding of the neo-colonial strategies, tactics and blood sucking contracts used to exploit TPH.

The conflict between TPH and the Ministry which dates from this time had far-reaching implications for the publishing industry in Tanzania. In 1971 Macmillan were still selling books such as Uraia(Citizenship), containing colonial flags and pledges of allegiance to the British monarch, and worse still they published a short biography in Kiswahili of the then Vice President, A.A Karume, with the Tanzanian flag appearing upside down on the cover (Hutchinson 1979) and when this was discovered the book was withdrawn with thousands of copies unsold.

Macmillan effectively withdrew from publishing in Tanzania in 1971, although the agreement between NDC and Macmillan was not terminated until 1975. TPH became a subsidiary wholly owned by the NDC when Macmillan's share were bought out. This was in line with the nationalization programme discussed in Chapter Two. TPH was transferred to the Tanzania Karatasi Associated Industries (TKAI) in 1980, under the Ministry of Trade and Industries. Eastern African Publications Ltd (EAPL) is also a subsidiary of TKAI. TPH and EAPL operate in many ways like private companies, since they are supposed to make profit and be self-supporting.

Macmillan's involvement in Tanzanian's publishing had significant consequences. Bgoya (1992) notes that, through the TPH, Macmillan set standard practices for the profession in Tanzania. The State monopoly model of educational publishing, which has been dominant ever since TPH was established, was

proposed by Macmillan and accepted by the Tanzanian Government. An analysis of the success or failure of this model must take into account the way in which TPH was established in Tanzania. TPH was not an internal development or a solution to a locally felt need. It was established through a top-down policy directive and designed and managed by a foreign management consultancy. As Bgoya (1992: 171) argues, the state of publishing in Tanzania is linked to the manner in which transnational publishers introduced it to Tanzania; the structures they set up, and the presence and influence they continued to put on the Ministry of Education in their strategies to maintain their monopoly and to maximise profits.

After being nationalised, the management of some parastatals often resented outside influence in the running of their firms, through such activities as auditing. TPH depended entirely on its own list of general titles and obtained no financial support from the government, or even overdraft facilities from the National Bank of Commerce (NBC) (Bgoya, 1984 (b): 89). The normal practice is that all parastatal corporations and government departments must be audited by the Tanzania Audit Corporation (TAC). This resentment of TPH is illustrated in the comment that they made in 1977:

Tanzania Audit Corporation (TAC) does not run TPH because it is not the organization established for the purpose. TPH management makes decisions on the basis of practical experience in the field. In a meeting of NDC group of companies with the Minister of

Industries, it was the general view that bureaucratism, lack of initiative and slavish obedience to directives conceived by arm-chair non-practitioners was a major constraint to the development of the industry in our country. At TPH we are attempting to do away with all pests (TPH 1977).

Parastatals had no clear-cut national plan to follow. It is doubtful whether TPH obtained clear objectives from either its holding company, TKAI or from the parent Ministry of Industries. But it can be argued that the major reason for disagreement was the wider relationship between the Ministry of Education and TPH. The Ministry of Education regarded TPH as a competitor in the production of text books, and not as a partner in publishing for education for the benefit of the nation.

The Ministry also contributed considerably to the deterioration of the liquidity problems experienced by TPH. Up to 1990, book orders from the Ministry were irregular and unreliable, and when orders were received and books consequently published and delivered to Tanzania Elimu Supplies (TES), payment was not effected early enough. The Ministry of Education owed TPH about Tz. Sh. 20m for books published in 1984, and payment was in small and irregular sums. The decision by the Ministry of Education to fix prices for books published by TPH, without regard to the profitability of the company, or even to its ability to meet its overhead costs, had a serious impact on TPH's finances. The TPH could not both pay its printers and continuously

increase the turnover of both books and revenue. Through the Ministry of Education, the government had abandoned its responsibility to TPH, a company it had established, in favour of another parastatal organization, the Institute of Curriculum Development (TPH 1992:9). This is examined later in this chapter.

The Arusha Declaration (1967) and the Book trade

As has been outlined in Chapter Two, the Arusha Declaration had far-reaching effects throughout the Tanzanian state and economy. These included various effects on the development of the book trade.

The dynamism of Tanzania's publishing industry was to a large extent a reflection of the educational revolution through the Education for Self-Reliance(ESR) initiative and support of the party and government, together with financial contributions from Sweden.

An increased social awareness was emerging from the party's and government's mobilisation of the population through the policies of socialism and self reliance. Added to this was the relative freedom from censorship enjoyed by publishers and authors, and the intellectual dynamism existing at the University of Dar-es-Salaam after the Arusha Declaration (Bgoya 1992: 174). Finally, Tanzania was the headquarters of

many African liberation movements, and this created a conducive atmosphere for discussion, debate and writing (Ibid.).

These debates were part of a wider debate on the essence of development, and were themselves a direct component of the growth of locally published books.

The University of Dar-es-Salaam became closely involved in the debates concerning Ujamaa (Socialism) and social development after 1967. Tanzania had attracted a large number of progressive expatriate scholars from the "traditional donor countries", but also from the Caribbean, from other parts of Africa, and from Socialist countries (Campbell, 1986:60).

Walter Rodney's How Europe Underdeveloped Africa (1972), and Issa Shivji's Silent Class Struggle (1974); and Class Struggle in Tanzania (1976) stand out as classic publications emerging out of these debates and discussions. How Europe Underdeveloped Africa (1972) is a pioneering study which used African history between 1500 to 1950 to analyse the political economy of underdevelopment. The Silent Class Struggle scrutinized TANU and the government's implementation of the national policies, arguing for disengagement from imperialism, and urging workers and peasants to control both political and economic life of the nation.

The Tanzania Publishing House, though a state publishing house did not have a policy of only publishing titles which

celebrated national achievements. Some titles did not reflect state achievements. Some titles did not reflect state thinking: Shivji's books are an example of this. The TPH found it politically useful to publish texts which were critical of state policy so to generate controversial discussions. TPH also published Bwana Myombekele (1980), the largest Swahili novel to date 617 pages long, 500 copies of soft cover and 300 copies of hard cover. This demonstrated a certain social vision by TPH. The manuscript had been rejected by many potential publishers as commercially not viable.

TPH felt that although this would not be a bestseller, but appreciated it as an invaluable source of historical, sociological and anthropological information. Although it was thought that the book's distribution would be limited to museums, libraries and a few higher education circles, it has proved to be a useful cultural document for Tanzania and for Africa. It won a "Special Commendation" for the Noma Award for publishing in Africa in 1982 (Gibbe, 1984: 4). As a socio-cultural document, it preserves the customs, practices and traditions of the Kerewe people as seen from the point of view of the ordinary 19th Century Kerewe speakers of Lake Victoria.

Similarly, the Tabora Mission Press (TMP) published Candid Scope's Honest to my Country (1981), a book rejected by many of the larger publishers because of its criticism of State policies.

Despite the freedom enjoyed by publishers and the dynamism existing at the University of Dar-es-Salaam, there were some instances of State intervention. The student journal, Cheche, through which students and teachers were developing some critical analyses was banned because:

"Cheche which is the Kiswahili translation of ISKRA (The Spark), the Leninist theoretical journal of the Russian Bolsheviks, tended to give the impression that Tanzania was building Russian Socialism and not the Tanzanian Socialism. Authorities stated that TANU and TYL had always been ideologically self-reliant and thus such borrowing from foreign ideologies could not be tolerated".¹¹

Even with the banning of Cheche, the progressive ideas continued to mature and be published, for example in Maji maji, the journal of the Youth League of TANU. Almost all University African Studies Libraries found it necessary to subscribe to it. Unfortunately the journal declined because of state intervention against progressive intellectuals, and the rigid control over representative student organizations after the 1978 student struggles with the state, as discussed above.

The state and party withdrew contracts from some expatriates to rid the University of foreign ideologies (Campbell 1986: 70). This, incidentally, raises the questions regarding the basis and substance of the University in Tanzania, which this

¹¹ Quoted in 'The State and Student Struggles'. In *The State and the Working people in Tanzania*, edited by Issa Shivji (1985). Cheche was the journal where Issa Shivji's, *The Silent Class Struggle* was first published.

study does not intend to critically discuss. Despite such State intervention, scholars like Shivji, Mapolu and others can still write and publish critical texts on Tanzania in and outside Tanzania.

The Institute of Curriculum Development(ICD)

The Institute of Curriculum Development(ICD), replaced the Institute of Education (formerly part of the University of Dar-es-Salaam) which was established as a parastatal organization by an Act of Parliament in 1975. The Institute of Curriculum Development was established by Act no. 4 of 1987 which repealed the Act of 1975. It was to serve as the National Curriculum Centre for Tanzania, with three major functions (ICD Act no 4 of 1987):

'(a) to develop curricula through the formulation of objectives and evaluation of courses of study on the basis of such objectives;

(b) to promote and or to initiate educational innovations and experimentation leading to the development of new curricula, forms of organisation and practice in consonance with the national policy, aims and goals of education;

(c) to collect and make available to the government and other public institutions in Tanzania, information on pedagogy, educational content and current technological

developments in education'.

The Institute is responsible for ensuring that the curricula for pre-school, primary, secondary and teacher education are relevant and effective. It is also responsible for monitoring standards of education through research and evaluation of educational programmes. One of ICD's major activities is preparing syllabi and instructional materials for schools and colleges. These include textbooks and teachers' guides/handbooks.

Mode of Operation

In the preparation, writing and editing of school books, ICD normally involves teachers and educator in the field and in various institutions. Manuscripts for various subjects are prepared, either through workshops or by commissioned writers. Whichever method is used, the subject specialist of the ICD is responsible for coordinating the writing of manuscripts. This shows how ICD represents a centralized and monopolistic system for the production of text books.

Although the ICD has produced a large number of books, many of which are of a high standard, the disadvantages of such a system are clear. Firstly, despite the best intentions, ICD has very little chance of identifying and contracting the best writers in the field because of its mode of operation. 'Know-who' will always be an important factor in the choice of the

would-be authors. Secondly, although those developing the curriculum at the Institute are experts in their fields, this does not necessarily mean that they are good writers. It is not necessarily true that the possession of a degree in English language enables a person to produce a standard three text book on the subject.

During the field work for this study it was noted that many of primary school teachers who were interviewed complained of being left out of the panels preparing manuscripts for primary school text books. Teachers are required to teach curriculum which they do not design, and to use textbooks in whose preparation they have not participated.

There is no opportunity for the development of creative curriculum from practice, or the development of teaching materials by those who are engaged in the day-to-day teaching. There is very little feedback from the class room to the curriculum developers (Mbilinyi, 1979: 222).

A third problem facing this monopolistic and centralized system is speed. ICD is a small institution with a very small staff. They are already overworked and it is quite impossible that they can produce all the syllabuses and the textbooks for all schools and colleges. Thus it was not until 1991 that the ICD produced the first new Kiswahili syllabus for primary schools since 1969. For 22 years Tanzanian schools have been using the same syllabus and the same course textbooks, despite

frequent complaints about the inappropriateness of these books. But if a commercial publisher had decided to produce a new series of text books for primary Kiswahili, these books would never be accepted under the present system. In other subjects no text books have yet been produced, for example, Health Education for primary I and II, yet the monopoly situation means that no other publishers can produce textbooks to meet this need. In the past few years, however, the Ministry of Education has shown a more positive attitude towards individual authors. This was when the higher officials in the Ministry were also writers, a situation comparable to the colonial period, when most of the authors were colonial administrators whose manuscripts were never questioned.

If ICD is unable to produce all the basic textbooks for primary schools, it is certainly not going to be able to produce books for higher levels. For example the draft of a course book for high school English was completed in 1983, but it had not been published by 1993. Recalling his experience at ICD, Moshi (1991) notes that it took five years to complete writing the pupils' books for primary English and another five to complete the teachers' guide, a total of ten years.

Secondary English teachers were unable to develop books and material, as they were awaiting the completion of the primary English course. As such, pre-testing was not done. It is quite possible that the syllabus will change soon, and this will render the series obsolete before it has ever been produced. This situation is caused primarily by the

constraints within ICD itself.

Table 4.1 illustrates the extent of the problem associated with state monopoly in the production of teaching materials including textbooks.

Table 4.1 Book supplies needed for primary education (Based on 1987 figures).

Type	Requirements	Available	Shortage	%
Exercise Books	108,000,000	28,000,000	80,000,000	74.07
Textbooks (teachers' guides)	46 titles	21 titles	25 titles	54.03
Text books (Pupils)	46 titles	37 titles	9 titles	19.56

Source: PECO¹² (Primary Education Coordination Office).

With the low quality of teachers produced from the Teacher Training Colleges, a shortage of more than 54% of teachers' guides must be addressed seriously.

It is within this context that the Dar-es-Salaam University Press (DUP) now plans to convince ICD to give it other manuscripts of set textbooks to publish (DUP Board paper 38.3.1).

Under this centralized system, even supplementary readers have

¹² PECO is responsible for coordinating and facilitating the distribution of primary school books. It was established in 1985 with Tanzanian and Swedish technical personnel.

to be approved by the Ministry of Education and Culture. Each book, after being read by six readers, is brought before a committee, the final one which includes all the Directors of the Ministry. These Directors are busy people, and it may be very difficult for them to find the time to meet together. It can therefore take years before even essential books are recommended.

Time delays may lead to allegations of corruption in the Ministry. A more open system would remove this possibility. Sometimes manuscripts get lost among the files.

A centralized system went hand in hand with its distribution system, the Tanzania Elimu Supplies (TES), another government institution.

Both as the designer of the curriculum and as the publisher of school books, the Institute of Curriculum Development has increasingly been unable to do the work it was set up to do. The Institute was given too many responsibilities in too many different areas, to be able to handle them all efficiently and effectively. The staff of the ICD are basically teachers, and no arrangements were made to provide them with even rudimentary training in textbook design and production. The Institute has also suffered from under-financing and understaffing. The problem is further compounded by the very high number of textbooks required (Table 4.1), and there is a need to reform the existing curriculum to ensure a lower textbook

requirement.

Control of the curricula is seen as a key element of national identity by most countries, not only in developing countries. In the long run in Tanzania the publishing function will have to be separated from the curriculum development function.

With many of the participants in the system of book production being new to the task, and with very little expert advice available, it is not surprising to find that these books which are produced often have some serious shortfalls. This was shown in the evaluation of primary school books conducted by the former Department of Education of the University of Dar-es-Salaam (now Faculty of Education) in 1987, funded by the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) and a subsequent pre-testing of primary school text books in 1989 by Nkumbi and Isengwa of ICD. These shortfalls included factual errors, a relative shorter life span, poor illustrations and page design, exercises generally considered insufficient, and the language used being higher than the targeted level.

The government has taken some measures to remedy the shortage of textbooks especially at secondary school level, by the formation of the Mzumbe Book Project (MBP). This project is supported by the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Canadian Organization for Development through Education (CODE) and Aktion Partne Schaft Dritte Welt, Karlsruhe, Germany (Mzumbe News letter No.1, August.1992). Another example is the

World Bank supported Book Management Unit (BMU) in the Ministry of Education and Culture. A discussion of both of these will follow in Chapter Six.

Changes in the curriculum

The development of curriculum depends on national policy changes. There have been three major curriculum reforms in Tanzania.

The first was during the post-independence period which saw the integration of the curriculum to accommodate the policy of desegregation and unification.

The second was a result of the policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance of 1967. This led to the development of the curriculum of education for Self-Reliance.

The third resulted from the Musoma Resolution of 1974. During this period the implementation of this resolution was emphasised.

Curriculum changes have always created a problem for publishing in Tanzania. These reforms have been designed to influence values and orientations through innovations in course content, the introduction of new subjects and syllabus, and changes in evaluation procedures. However, these changes always demand new or revised textbooks. For example, in

1983/84, the syllabus for primary school mathematics had already been printed when it was decided that traditional mathematics be reintroduced. The syllabus for primary and secondary school mathematics had to be rewritten as a result, causing considerable disturbance. There have been widespread complaints that ICD is responsible for too many changes of syllabus and textbooks, and that these have led to problems in mathematics teaching in Tanzania (Daily News, 12/10/1992).

In 1983/1984 ICD completed a manuscript called 'Elimu ya Muziki katika shule za Sekondari' (Music Education for Secondary Schools). This was written in Kiswahili, as it was believed at the time Kiswahili would be the medium of instruction in secondary schools. When this was decided otherwise, the Institute had to begin working on it again. The question of the educational language policy has also been briefly discussed as part of the influence of donor countries on education.

Scholarly Publishing

The Dar-es-Salaam University Press (DUP) was established in 1979. It is the only scholarly press in Tanzania, although teaching departments, faculties and institutes at the University of Dar-es-Salaam also produce some scholarly publications. DUP is made up of the Publishing and Printing Houses. The Publishing House publishes, distributes and sells academic monographs, textbooks for all levels of education,

and other books of economic, social, cultural and scientific interest, inside and outside the country. The University Press has about 42 University level publications on its list required for student use. University lecturers and professors contribute a great deal to the extension of knowledge, and so enhance critical thinking despite the economic hardships confronting them (Chapter three). Unfortunately DUP is unable to produce the books that they write without a subsidy, because:

(i) the market for such books is very small. Investing in such a project would give rise to high unit costs. This is related to the small number of students in Institutions of Higher Education in Tanzania. It is important that DUP becomes part of the regional book production and distribution network.

(ii) Student customers (and even members of the academic staff) cannot afford to purchase books if they are sold at high prices. This is related to the small book allowance provided to students, and the meagre salaries paid to academic members of staff, as discussed earlier. All this makes scholarly publishing difficult.

With the liberalization of textbook production in Tanzania, DUP has put more efforts in publishing for primary and secondary schools, where there is a bigger market. Profits from such undertakings should assist DUP in subsidizing

scholarly publishing, as DUP may concentrate on the school book market to the detriment of its major objectives. The Dar-es-Salaam University Press has established contacts with two Chief Zonal Inspectors of Education in the Northern Zone (Kilimanjaro, Arusha, and Tanga Regions) and the Central Zone (Dodoma and Singida Regions). DUP intends to deal with inspectors in these Zones, and ultimately to sell books directly to schools. Such a development would be in line with the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) proposal and the new policy on the production and distribution of school/ college books in Tanzania which will be discussed in Chapter six. DUP has also identified Bookshops in Moshi, Arusha and Dodoma to be its main distribution points in the regions.

DUP has consistently requested the Ministry of Education and Culture to subsidize scholarly publishing. For example, DUP requested a subsidy of Tz.sh.17 million in 1991 but no response was obtained (DUP,1992). There is a clear need to establish a special fund for supporting DUP in producing scholarly books.

A good number of textbooks recommended for use in secondary and tertiary education are required in sufficient quantities to consider the licensing of reprints. Tanzanian publishers could approach the original publishers and negotiate contracts for the right to reprint them in Tanzania. These books could be sold by local publishers into the education system. This

may be difficult because many original overseas publishers would prefer to sell their own books and reap the profit from this.

Private sector publishing

During the 1980s a number of small publishers emerged both as a result of the economic crisis facing the country and because of the great demand for books and the shortfall in supply. These were author-publisher and family based enterprises. Such informal establishments are defined as 'those which depend either solely upon labour of the head of the enterprise and his family, or also upon labour of a few casual workers who often possess particularistic ties to the master' (ILO, 1972:6). Their emergence can be seen as an expression of the internal dynamics of the Tanzanian society.

These informal activities are often undertaken out of necessity, not choice and are due to the decline of income from the formal sources caused partially by the economic crisis. Many of these small publishers have no proper offices or facilities to produce books of good quality. They work from home, and hence they are called 'Briefcase publishers' (Chachage, op cit:xv). Vuorela (1991) terms these 'survival activities', since most of these enterprises lack sufficient working capital for simple reproduction, never mind the expanded reproduction associated with a vibrant new class.

They can also be conceptualized as a wider economic response to a crisis.

There were 80 such independent publishers in Tanzania by 1978, but the number has increased to 172 by 1992. The publishing industry has managed to survive for a long period on these small publishers. This can be linked to the ability of informal enterprises to flourish in the hostile environment of state restrictions. Their productions are in many cases the work of young people, who depend for their living on a number of copies they sell. Their advertisements are usually through the popular press, and they sell their books through street vendors and informal contacts. In this case, informal activities are also important in terms of employment generation.

This small publishing sector is an important and potential dynamic part of the publishing industry which should not be overlooked. Any serious review of book production must include stimulating the productivity and expansion of this sector. The relatively low initial investment cost and their operational manageability provide an incentive for the development of the Tanzanian small scale publishing sector. Issues relating to any enterprise, such as credits, infrastructure, regulations and markets are extremely important to the development of the publishing industry in Tanzania. The major assumption is that the state can play an important role in influencing the development of the industry.

Printing and distribution

(a) Printing

Four parastatal publishers (EAPL, TPH, DUP, and ICD) which publish school books have been described. Most of these lack typesetting and printing facilities, and therefore rely on private commercial typesetters and printers.

Printers in Tanzania rely on paper produced in Mufindi by Southern Paper Mills (SPM), although this is more expensive than imported material and the quality leaves much to be desired. It is also subject to sales tax. The type and quality of paper produced, with its low brightness, inhibit the possibility of export.

The mill was established in 1985, with financial assistance from the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), the World Bank, the Commonwealth Development Corporation (CDC), Kreditanstalt fur Wieranfbau (KFW), Opec Special Fund, International Development Administration (IDA), Norwegian Agency for International Development (NORAD), Kuwait Fund and the Government of Tanzania. The Government of Tanzania, together with the National Development Corporation (NDC) and local banks, provided more than US \$ 50m.

SPM's production capacity is 60,000 tons of paper per year, but it has been running at 30% capacity (Daily News 10/7/1993), and has operated at a loss since it was inaugurated. The

World Bank, the largest donor in the \$250m (externally financed) project, approved the Mill even though it had many attributes the Bank saw as unfavourable and despite fairly low financial rates of return of 6.6-10.6% (World Bank:1978:42). The plant had a high foreign exchange component with an estimated 40% of all manufacture costs and 80% of all capital costs requiring foreign exchange (Sandwell,1979:iv).

It can be argued that the Mufindi Project was undertaken because the decision-making apparatus and source of investment capital, which were outside the power of the Tanzania Government, supported it. In other words, the project was arrogantly implemented and an example of conditional dependent development.

The Mill experiences transport problems, sudden electricity interruptions and a lack of adequate foreign exchange to import necessary inputs such as spare parts and chemicals. The Mill has been receiving considerable aid from SIDA. It was temporarily closed in April 1986 because of lack of orders. Its paper costs three times as much as imported material (Daily News 23/5/1986).

These problems at SPM have persisted and the government has now invited foreigners to invest in efforts to revamp the giant SPM plant, which halted production again in March 1993 due to financial and mechanical problems (Daily News

10/7/1993). The government had failed to raise the capital needed to run the plant. Inadequate paper and poor services provided by SPM have seriously affected the production of textbooks.

There are only two parastatal printing companies in Tanzania (Printpak and National Printing Company) which have the machinery capable of printing large print runs for schools. Most of this machinery was donated by UNESCO and UNICEF in 1972 to the Ministry of Education. The Tanzania-UNESCO Project 'Mpango wa Tanzania na UNESCO' (MTUU), was established as a department within the Ministry of Education for the purpose of editing and printing all textbooks originating from the Institute of Curriculum Development (ICD). It was thought that publishers could be dispensed with by forming a book production unit within the Ministry.

Although there are many printing presses in Tanzania, very few are involved in the printing of books. Most of them concentrate on office stationery, exercise books and labels. The National Printing Company (NPC) and Printpak, which have the capacity to handle large print runs, are under-financed, mainly because of out-standing debts and decreasing government subsidy. As a result, they find it difficult to replace machinery, order spare parts and maintain acceptable standards in printing. Limitations on foreign exchange makes it difficult for printers to obtain essential raw materials such as chemicals, films, plates and spare parts from abroad.

The procurement of publishing and printing materials have been adversely affected by the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). It is important to note that most of the printing materials are imported, and even when they are domestically produced, the industrial raw material inputs are imported. Thus following the currency devaluation packages that accompanied SAP, publishing and printing material prices rose dramatically.

The publishers' lack of working capital makes it difficult for the publishing firms to finance production of large quantities of school textbooks. Previously, when printers in Dar-es-Salaam were too busy to meet all the printing needs of the country, publishers such as TPH were allowed to have books printed outside the country, in Kenya in particular. In 1971 it was decided that all books should be printed in Tanzania. The arguments used to support this regulation were the conservation of foreign exchange and self-reliance. As indicated earlier, the Ministry of Education and Culture initiated the Mzumbe Book Project (MBP) to print books for schools to help alleviate the problem. There is a need to make use of the printing presses now used for news and leisure publications for educational purposes.

(b) Distribution

It is not enough to produce books: they must be available to those who need them. This requires the development of an

efficient distribution system. Production and distribution are intimately related.

Following the Arusha Declaration in 1967, the Ministry of Education decided to place the distribution of all books and other educational materials under the Tanzania Elimu Supplies (TES), confining educational materials to a single state-owned parastatal organization.

As noted earlier, TES was established in 1967 as a subsidiary of the National Development Corporation (NDC) because firstly, it was believed that private suppliers charged exorbitant prices; secondly, that there were delays in getting educational supplies to schools; and thirdly, it was thought that there was no standardization of those supplies (Bgoya 1984:28). With the aim of limiting costs to those of production, TES succeeded in reprinting textbooks that had been printed by TPH, thereby depriving its sister company of its own booklist (ibid). Even with this state monopoly in the distribution of educational materials, the problem persists. Prices have remained high and books are not reaching schools as regularly as was envisaged.

The Ministry of Education took over TES in 1973, following recommendations of McKinsey and Company Consultants on the decentralization of power in 1972. The government decentralization policy since then (Nyerere 1972) has been to transfer the responsibility for development planning,

management and resource allocation, generation and utilization from the centre to the regions and the districts. This notion of decentralization entails a partnership in the distribution of responsibilities between the Central Government, Regions, the Districts and communities. The exact nature of the financial partnership (Lillis,1990:423) can be defined thus:

(a) Central Government provides and funds teachers and materials;

(b) Local Government provides physical facilities and amenities and pupils' learning materials;

(c) Schools provide basic facilities and buildings;

(d) Communities provide support facilities;

(e) Parents provide additional textbooks and exercise books.

As a result of this decentralization policy, the purchase of primary school supplies became a responsibility of District Development Directors. Unfortunately this has never been one of their priorities, even though district and urban councils receive funds for primary education directly from the central government.

The role of the Tanzania Elimu Supplies is to distribute supplies from the centre to the regions and to provide

warehousing facilities . TES has been unable to handle large amounts of educational supplies because it lacked an effective infrastructure. It has experienced severe financial difficulties due to the shortage of working capital, outstanding debts, embezzlement, the failure of District Councils to purchase stock, poor roads and the lack of transport particularly at district level. All these factors have led to disruption in the supply of books in the country.

A World Bank study on textbook availability in 1988 revealed variations in the supply of textbooks even in adjacent schools. The current study confirms the same. For example, in Arusha Municipality, two primary schools two kilometres apart were visited. There were no textbooks for history at Meru primary school (with a class size of between 250-280), for standard V-VII, while Kaloleni Primary school had 10,2 and 30 textbooks respectively. There were similar situations in the schools visited in Morogoro and Dar-es-Salaam regions.

Distribution from regional headquarters to districts is made more difficult by the failure of the District councils to buy allocated stock and to provide transport for the collection of textbooks and stationery. About 30% of the primary schools have very difficult accessibility, and some lack adequate storage facilities. The administration and management of educational supplies is complicated by the confused responsibilities of the Ministry of Education and Culture

(MoEC), and the Ministry of Regional Administration and Local government, discussed previously.

Despite the above drawbacks, TES has become a nucleus of a nation wide distribution system. It has more than ten regional branches which serve as depots from which District Educational Officers can obtain their supplies. The proposed distribution system should build on this.

Bookshops are the main means through which books can reach the reading public. There was a fairly large number of bookshops in Tanzania, but only a few dealt with books in any reasonable quantity. Their number has contracted considerably as a result of the policy to confine the distribution of educational books to TES. Bookshops could not import books because of foreign exchange constraints. Some have resorted to selling small amounts of stationery and even sports gear. The proliferation of small publishers has created further problems for booksellers, because when purchasing stock, booksellers have to search for each publisher individually. As noted earlier, many of the small publishers have neither contact addresses nor produce or distribute publishers' catalogues.

Visits made for this study to Cathedral Bookshop in Dar-es-Salaam, Kase and the East African Booksellers in Arusha were disappointing. With the exception of the University of Dar-es-Salaam Bookshop, there were no textbooks, whether locally

published or imported. If bookshops are allowed to stock textbooks they will have an incentive to stock supplementary readers and other types of books required by pupils, parents and the general public.

The University of Dar-es-Salaam Bookshop (UBS) as a case study will be examined in detail. The University Bookshop, like any other bookshop, must be viewed both as one of the teaching and learning resources of the country, and as part of the distribution network.

The University of Dar-es-Salaam Bookshop (UBS)

The major function of the University Bookshop is to provide students and staff and the general public with textbooks, stationery and a wide range of background reading materials. Besides selling University level books, it also sells primary and secondary school materials. The Bookshop buys items for sale from both foreign and local suppliers.

Before May 1982 there were no restrictions on importation of books. It was only after this date that books were imported under Open General Licence (OGL), issued to importers on request. The Open General Licence was supported with funds from the World Bank, IMF and several other donor countries. These licences had to be obtained from the Bank of Tanzania. The requests were not rejected outright, but there were often reductions in the value of the import order requested.

The economic crisis and the shortage of foreign exchange had far-reaching effects on book imports. Importation of books was smooth until 1983, when the bookshop could not obtain any foreign currency with which to purchase books. Apart from stationery, the Bookshop purchased locally very few of the academic books required by the University.

In principle the bookshop is not expected to have credit sales to students. Credit facilities, which should not exceed 10% of the creditor's salary in one month are extended only to University staff (UDSM 1992:186). Books of accounts show that the bookshop's debtors include students who have already graduated and left the University. The University Bookshop's liquidity position was much better when students' allowances were deposited with the University Bookshop.

In 1986 it was decided to give book and stationery allowances directly to students instead of channelling it through the University Bookshop and this has affected the bookshop sales negatively. This policy did not alleviate the students' book problem, because there were no alternative sources of University level books in the country. Students could not buy even the few recommended books available in the bookshop because they spent the money on other pressing needs, such as clothing. Total sales by the University Bookshop was Tz.sh.8,932,200 in 1985/86 as opposed to Tz.sh. 4,304,529 in 1987/88 (UDSM, FCM:1989), which is a decline of 51.8%. This situation has led to students mutilating and even stealing

library books and journals.

The Bookshop had accumulated a large dead stock of Russian, Chinese and other books. This was because departments changed course book requirements without informing the Bookshop, and this made many textbooks redundant (UDSM: A report of activities of the University of Dar-es-Salaam 1972/73, 1978/79).

Procurement

Since its establishment, the University Bookshop has been importing books from abroad, mainly from the United Kingdom. After 1983, the Bookshop had to apply for an import licence every six months.

The Open General Licence and the Import Licence management did not affect the procurement of books prior to 1982, because foreign currency was available and suppliers had confidence in the country. In this case the Bookshop was not required to open letters of credit in favour of the suppliers. Suppliers shipped goods after receipt of orders and payments followed later. However, in 1981 suppliers stopped credit facilities to the country in general, and shipment of goods was made only after receipt of either an irrevocable letter of credit or cash depending on the terms of the supplier. So from 1983 the Bookshop had to open letters of credit.

This arrangement greatly increased the time between ordering of books and receiving them, because of the long time it took the bank to open the letters of credit. In many cases these letters of credit had to be revised several times because prices of books changed between the time the quotations were issued and the time the letters of credit reached the supplier.

Between 1981 and 1983 the bookshop was not affected by this new system, because it still had stock from previous years, and it had UNESCO coupons which were as good as hard currency, and between January and June 1983 the Bank of Tanzania (BOT) allocated Tanzanian Sh 2.6m/= to the Bookshop (UDSM activities 1984/85). But after 1983 stocks began running low, and the UNESCO coupons were depleted. The Bookshop managed to alleviate the shortage by buying old books back from students who had completed their studies.

The Bookshop first applied for letters of credit in 1983 but these were not opened by the National Bank of Commerce (Foreign Branch) until November 1984. Then, due to serious shortages of foreign exchange, payment against this amount could not be effected (Ibid). Books eventually arrived in 1985 and 1986. During this period, the major problems were:

(i) the Bookshop management was inexperienced in the new procedures and did not anticipate that it would take so long for the letters of credit to be opened. Following up the

arrangements was inadequate;

(ii) the University administration did not intervene effectively to help the Bookshop, by speeding up the process with the Banks. It appears that the repercussions were not envisaged;

(iii) some of the letters of credit had to be sent back by the supplier because prices had changed in the two years it took (1983-1985) for confirmed orders to reach them; and

(iv) books arrived towards the end of the academic year and students did not buy them.

Between 1986 and 1989 no new orders from abroad were made.

New problems had arisen making it impossible for the bookshop to place orders with suppliers: These were:

(i) the Government required all importers to place full (i.e 100%) cash cover against the letters of credit at the time of opening them;

(ii) the University budget was being slashed each year by the government and it became very unrealistic compared to the needs of the institution;

(iii) the Tanzanian shilling began to be devaluated

progressively against the currencies of all major trading partners, and foreign currency was in short supply;

(iv) since 1981, when the Bookshop became self-accounting, it had not accumulated significant surpluses which could enable it to finance its own operations; and

(v) since stocks were depleted it meant that the quantities needed were very large.

The effect of the above factors was a tremendous increase in the cost of books, while at the same time reducing the purchasing power of the University. It also meant that the University was required to allocate a large sum of funds as a cash cover for a long period of time before the books arrived and were sold. This aspect is directly related to devaluation of the Tanzanian shilling discussed in Chapter two.

It was this inability of the Bookshop to supply books to students from 1986 that led the University to give students their book allowance in cash, so that they could look for and use alternative sources. However, as noted earlier, there were no alternative distributors who could fill the gap left by the University bookshop.

Most bookshops in Dar-es-Salaam and elsewhere in the country do not generally stock academic (University level) books, because of the limited market and the low profit margin

associated with academic books. Letting students receive their book allowances in cash has brought with it possible effects on the quality of study for under-graduates who will be studying without books. If the University Bookshop would no longer trade in University level books, students will continue using their book allowance for other purposes. The University library books would be further mutilated. Channelling the book allowance through the bookshop was clearly the best alternative. As a result of this the deposit of student book allowances with the Bookshop was resumed in 1991.

As a consequence, during the 1991\92 academic year, the Bookshop earned Tz. sh. 53,576,000 (UBS 1992: Board Paper 34.4.1). The reinstatement of this procedure has been a positive contribution to the University Bookshop effectiveness. This revised policy needs the backing of the University administration who must assist the Bookshop by converting this money into foreign exchange in sufficient time.

The relationship with other sections of the University.

The relationship between the Bookshop and other sections of University is encouraging. However there have been some problems with the Bursar's office:

- (i) transfer of accounts and stores personnel without

regard for the needs and problems of the Bookshop;

(ii) transfer of funds to the Bookshop has been done in small quantities and after long discussions.

At times the Bookshop had required its funds in a lump sum but the Bursar was unwilling to release the whole amount at once. For example in 1989, the Bookshop was given an allocation of UNESCO coupons worth Tsh 3m but it could not raise the local currency to purchase them.

(iii) the follow up of the letters of credit from the Bursar's side was very weak.

Also there were instances where the University central administration did not provide the necessary assistance to the Bookshop. On one occasion the Bookshop Manager wanted to go to Nairobi to buy books using UNESCO coupons. The University administration could not assist her to obtain a travel permit, and as a result she failed to travel and it took much longer for the books to be obtained. This partly demonstrates the effect of having an ineffective book trade.

Professional Associations in the Book trade

The past fifteen years or so have seen the formation of the Tanzania Writer's Association (Umoja wa Waandishi wa Vitabu Tanzania-UWAVITA) in 1979 and the Tanzania Publishers' Association (PATA) in 1987.

The two associations aim at promoting the writing, publishing, and distribution of printed matter in general. They were

established to try and resolve the problems of the publishing industry and have organized conferences, workshops, discussions and book festivals (Chachage op cit: xvi). Since they depend on each other for survival, one might expect the two to have a cordial working relationship but in fact this has never been case. There have been too many stories of writers being robbed of manuscripts and deprived of royalties. Several joint seminars have helped reduce the tension and both sides are now aware of each other's problems and this has enhanced their relationship.

Bookshops, which are one of the major links between the publisher and the user, are not included in the PATA and UWAVITA programmes. The formation of the Booksellers Association could strengthen their lobbying of the government and the party.

Larger publishers have from time to time complained about 'Brief case publishers' and bookshops as being the sources of their problems: they do not see them as partners in progress, but as enemies. Closer relationships and cooperation within the book trade would be an asset to the publishing industry, involving publishers, booksellers, authors and libraries. Libraries have a particularly important role to play in the availability of books to the public and as potentially major customers of publishers. Before examining the influences of external factors on publishing, it will be helpful to analyze the role and position of libraries in Tanzania.

CHAPTER FIVE

LIBRARIES

This chapter examines libraries, both as one of the teaching and learning resources and as an essential part of the publishing industry and the book trade in general. It examines the library situation in schools (primary and secondary) and the University of Dar-es-Salaam.

It has been argued previously that after independence there was a demand for entirely new books, that would reflect the aspiration and culture of independent Tanzania.

The introduction of Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) in 1967 called for education to adopt an ethos and style which could develop a sense of self responsibility in the process of liberation through self-help, yet within the meagre resources the nation possessed. Major issues raised by the ESR have been outlined in Chapter Three: the accessibility of books through libraries formed an important way in which such books could be provided for a wide readership.

Tanzania's pattern of library development, like all East African countries, has been heavily influenced by the British and American traditions of library development. The most important account on the early development of libraries in

East Africa was the Hockey Report of 1960 (Hockey,1960). Hockey not only produced a blueprint for library development, but also drafted the Tanzania Library Service Board Act of 1963 (Kaungamno and Ilomo 1979:43).

There are several types of library systems in Tanzania: those attached to educational institutions, the public library system, and the adult education centres located in the villages to provide support to literacy programmes.

Adult education programmes included programmes in mass literacy and functional adult education; academic courses based on the curriculum for primary, secondary, technical and professional education provided through evening classes for adults who had dropped out of full-time education; and correspondence and vocational courses.

Follow-up reading materials were required for these new literates so that they do not fall back into illiteracy. Because of its complex nature, the adult education programme required a strong and varied library support.

The libraries in Tanzania include:

(1) 30 Secondary school libraries in both private and public schools. (About 100 are to be rehabilitated and re-equipped as part of the 8th IDA Project discussed in Chapter six);

- (2) 40 Teachers College Libraries;
 - (3) 10 other College Libraries;
 - (4) 22 Public Libraries;
 - (5) 6 in major Training Institutions;
 - (6) 3 University Libraries; and
 - (7) 3000 libraries in Adult Education Centres in the villages
- (Mascarenhas 1992).

In broader terms, the Tanzania Library system can be divided into public and academic library systems.

The Tanzania Library Service (TLS) Board Act was passed in 1963 to promote, equip and develop libraries in Tanzania. By 1975 it was found to be inadequate and was replaced by the Tanzania Library Service (TLS) Board Act, which charged the TLS with the responsibility of sponsoring literacy campaigns and with promoting, developing, producing and distributing books and other reading materials for the general public. The Tanzania Library Services Board had under its jurisdiction all public libraries. 'Public libraries' were defined as 'all types of libraries to which a member of the public has or is permitted to have access' (Bgoya 1984:35). Other provisions of the Act related to legal deposit, the training of librarians, and the production and preservation of literary works, etc.(ibid.).

The Tanzania Library Service Board started its own publishing

activities in the late 1970s, concentrating on the production of books for the general public. Ilomo (1976:6) notes the unusual responsibilities given to the TLS, and argues that the dual role assigned to it, combining the traditional bibliographic services combined with book production, was unnecessary. He claimed that the Act gave TLS too many responsibilities, which it could not handle.

The University of Dar-es-Salaam Library was established in 1961. It is the largest national collection of research material. It is one of the legal depositories for materials published in Tanzania, including Government and University publications. Tanzanian materials form the core of the East Africana Research Collection, which also includes materials on the former East African Community countries (Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania) and on the Southern African Development Coordination Committee (SADCC), now Southern African Development Community (SADC), formerly based in Dar-es-Salaam. The Library comprises about 400,000 volumes and 2,800 titles of periodicals.

School Libraries

School libraries are teaching and learning centres where students and teachers further their education programmes. The school library has to be both comprehensive and up to date, and organized in a way appropriate to the needs of its users. The school library must exist as part and parcel of the school

with the aim of furthering the objectives of the school (Otike, 1987:413) and leading students towards a self-directed learning and establishing intellectual habits that last for life. The library is therefore important and central in the teaching and learning process. As an information centre, the library must provide students with materials and services for general information. A school library also functions as a recreational centre to stimulate reading not confined to examinations. This in turn stimulates pupils' interests in the library.

Tanzania's desire to provide adequate school libraries and to improve the standard of primary, secondary and teacher training education goes back to 1961 when Tanzania mainland gained its independence. This was made more elaborate with the introduction of Education for Self-Reliance discussed in Chapter three.

Some of the recommendations of the Hockey Report (1960) remain valid today:

1. the need to coordinate school libraries with the development of teacher training colleges;
2. the necessity of coordinating school libraries with the development of public library services for children run by the Library Board;

3. the inadequacy of school libraries, arising from lack of books;

4. the uncritical acceptance of books, and the need to train teachers in the principle of selection of books for libraries; and

5. the necessity of widening the horizons of students and teachers beyond the confines of set list of books and school textbooks.

The above recommendations became the basis for the Tanzania Government's request for UNESCO assistance. The UNESCO expert who arrived in Tanzania in 1968 identified problems of acute shortage of relevant reading materials, lack of acquisition and weeding policies, shortage of trained personnel and the out-datedness of stock, among other things (Nawe, 1989: 18). Only a few titles were published in Kiswahili, and those in English were not always relevant.

In order to have better organized libraries, the concept of model school libraries was developed. Each region had to have a model school library, which would demonstrate to others how a good library should be organized and function. These model school libraries were first established at Dodoma, Iringa and Mzumbe secondary schools, with the assistance of UNESCO. Since model school libraries do not exist in a vacuum, these schools in turn became model schools.

Although the UNESCO expert managed to organise the three libraries and set a good foundation for the future, financial and staffing problems meant that the original plans were not fully implemented.

Seeing the effects of these model libraries, the Ministry of Education adopted the policy of establishing functional school libraries in all schools that were to be built. This was implemented during the First Five Year Development Plan (1964-1969).

Accordingly, the plan of every new secondary school was to include an allocation of Tz.Sh. 10,000/- to provide for the new library. But unfortunately, no school has ever been closed for lack of a library building, let alone a school library. It is important to note that the policy was about secondary schools and not primary schools. Due to the nature of the implementation of the Universal Primary Education (UPE) Programme examined in Chapter Three, primary school library expansion was not planned. It was therefore difficult to implement the library policy at primary school level.

By the end of 1974, the Government decided that staffing of school libraries should be through the Tanzania Library Service, and that funding for school libraries should be channelled through it. The Tanzania Library Service was charged with the responsibility of providing the following

services (among others) in order to improve the standard of school libraries¹³.

1. Recommended books for secondary schools which appeared in book lists prepared by the Tanzania Library Services had to be sent to schools at regular intervals, to serve as guides or book selection aids,

2. The Tanzania Library Service had to cooperate with the Ministry of Education (its parent body) in the design of school libraries, especially those joint public/ school libraries which could be used by students and adults.

Given the central position given to the TLS, any effort to improve the standard of school libraries and education in general must involve a close relationship with TLS. The new policy on the production and distribution of school/college books, which will be discussed in Chapter Six is a case in point.

The present position of school libraries in Tanzania

The most important source of information on school libraries is the Tanzania Library Service (TLS) Act of 1975.

School libraries are not given the desired recognition and

¹³ See Kaunganno, E. E
'Libraries in Tanzania' in *Encyclopaedia of Library and Information Science*. Vol. 30, New York: Marcel Dekker, 1980 p.109.

attention in Tanzania. As Sturges and Neill (1990:137) argue, the school library service in Africa has been relegated to the last place on the scale of priorities; and even where it exists, it contains outdated books, is unorganised and inadequately staffed; and as a result its impact on the teaching-learning process is marginal.

No effective policy exists on school libraries at either secondary or primary school levels. The fate of school libraries is left in the hands of the headteacher. As a result, secondary school libraries differ greatly in size and organization. Virtually no library provision exists at primary school level. There are also marked differences between secondary school libraries depending on who is funding them. For example, Kigurunyembe Secondary School in Morogoro Region, which is a private secondary school, complained of serious shortage of textbooks. It depends on the school fees paid by students for the purchase of textbooks. The school fees are inadequate and any increase must be endorsed by the Government. On the other hand, Mzumbe Secondary School, in the same region, has a far better provided library, being a Government school and having been designated as one of the model schools.

There is insufficient general funding for schools from the Government and there is no separate budget for school libraries. While school textbooks are under-funded, supplementary and reference materials, that is school

libraries, are unfunded. The efficiency of investing in textbook provision, if it is not supported by at least a minimum school library provision, must be questioned. School libraries are an essential component in the teaching-learning process, and require financial investment. Most schools have no libraries or have inadequate libraries, and parents cannot purchase textbooks partly because they are not there.

The ad hoc measures taken by the Government to implement the Musoma Resolution on Universal Primary Education (1974) demanded an organised library service backup to maintain the quality of education. The provision of school library services, especially at primary school level, had to be made within the context of the Education for Self-Reliance Policy examined in Chapter Three.

School libraries, especially at secondary school level have only survived because of book donations. The Ranfurly Library Service (now the Book Aid International) is a major source of providing discarded and second hand books to Tanzania, as well as other developing countries (Sturges and Neill 1990:78), with TLS being the clearing house for the consignments to Tanzania. Other donors are the British Council and several missionary societies. While some of these donations are used, they have a negative effect on the library collections and the general development of the country's indigenous industry in particular.

Locally produced materials have a greater contribution to the development of libraries. Primary schools do not benefit much from these donations because they are written in English while the medium of instruction in primary schools is Kiswahili. But as the World Bank (1988) report reveals, the current low level of English in many or most of the secondary schools and colleges in Tanzania means that most imported text books would probably be too difficult for the majority of the students.

Access to wider reading material is crucial if primary education is to progress beyond a mere skill acquisition. Moreover, most teachers in Tanzania have not had access to effective and organized libraries and will therefore themselves have low expectations of the potential of a school library since they are products of the same educational system.

A school library has to be seen as an integral part of the education programme. The opportunities which school library resources can offer to both students and teachers are crucial in developing life long learning skills. School libraries should be revived in all schools where they once existed and established where they did not exist in order to supplement the teaching and learning provided in the classroom and to provide the necessary stimuli for a reading culture. But efforts to expand materials for library development are made difficult by chronic shortages of both capital and recurrent funds and a weak book industry all of which can be explained

by the critical economic crisis of the 1970s and the bias of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) of the World Bank against public sector services. These are socio-economic and political issues which need to be addressed.

The University of Dar-es-Salaam Library

The University is the highest institution of teaching and training, learning and research and must play a leading part in society. It is supposed to be among the leading institutions in the conceptualisation and identification of development and research priorities, and in the provision of solutions to socio-economic problems.

In Tanzania, the role of the University in national development can be seen as educating people for two purposes;

(a) to harness science and technology so as to boost productivity, and thus to improve the conditions of the people as a whole by the provision of more goods and services, and

(b) to provide a type of education that meets the defined ideals of the nation.

There is a general agreement that the aims and objectives of the library must be tied to those of the parent University. Neal (1971:1) argues that the University library must reflect the aims of the institution of which it is part. Gelfand

(1968:21-25) notes that University Libraries should be designed to support the role which has been assumed by or assigned to the University. He further argues that:

the fundamental role of the library is educational, libraries should not be operated as a mere storehouse of books attached to a reading room, but as a dynamic instrument of education. It should feed the intellect of students, encourage the research of the faculty, and invite all who enter its house to partake fully on its intellectual and cultural fare. In this context library use becomes a method of teaching taking its place besides the time-honoured lecture and the discussion group. The librarian serves as a teacher - guiding the student in the ways of investigation and research and the library actively serves the teaching and research needs of faculty (Gelfand, *ibid*:24-25).

This means that the library is itself an academic institution, and those entrusted with its management are part of the academic community. They are called upon to organise knowledge contained in books, microform and any other materials within the framework of the recognised academic disciplines. Librarians must, therefore, have a clear grasp of the methodology of research so as to satisfy current research needs as well as anticipated future ones and must be capable of providing the requisite bibliographical advice.

The importance of the role of the library and the bookshop both as teaching and learning resources and as part of the book distribution network, cannot be over-emphasised. Both the library and the bookshop have been affected by the shortage of foreign exchange to purchase necessary textbooks

and journals. Added to this are the foreign exchange restrictions imposed by the Bank of Tanzania. The problems affecting the University Bookshop have been discussed in Chapter four.

Like other African countries, Tanzania seeks to acquire the principal outputs of the major international publishers (Sturges and Neill, 1990:76). But there is a dependency on grants for the purchase of textbooks and this in turn has influenced the acquisition policies of many University libraries. The Library obtains books and other publications through a mixture of purchases, donations and gifts, exchanges and legal deposit. Purchases are made from funds allocated to the library by the University and from grants solicited by the University administration or the University Library itself.

Table 5.1 shows that no books were either ordered or received from external sources for the years 1979/80 and 1980/81; 1983/84 and 1985/86 and 1988/89. This was a result of the economic crisis, drastic cuts in the budget allocations and the fact that the support anticipated from external donors was not forthcoming, as discussed in Chapter two. Books received from external sources in 1981/82 were books ordered in previous years because the supply period is usually up to two years.

In 1989/90 the library obtained some assistance under the NORAD Import Support Scheme. Books were ordered through John

Menzies Library Services (UK) and UBS (India). The Library has benefited greatly from a number of British Council grants. One characteristic of the British Council grants is that books must be ordered from Britain. These grants have been made department -specific; that is funds are allocated to departments, although the actual ordering of the books is done by the Library. This has brought problems. Some departments claim that books on arrival should be sent to their departmental libraries. One department had this to say:

Our department is setting up an educational information room in which we are stocking up specific materials for our courses. We expect therefore that the books that you shall order will be located in that room in the Sisal House(UDSM, Faculty of Educ. Letter ED/AG/12 of 26 June 1986).

The library argued that it needed to build a single library collection which was accessible to all members of the University. There must therefore be a clear policy to avoid a tug of war between the Library and other departments.

In 1985/86 there was an outstanding request of 6,358 titles from departments, of which 2,370 were on first priority. The University Library hoped to receive a grant worth US\$250,000 from the World Bank through the Ministry of Education. This did not materialise. This could have enabled the Library to acquire more than 2,000 titles, thus fulfilling more than 80% of the users first priority requests (UDSM Library Annual Report, 1986/87). In the same year the Library expected to receive 552 titles published in the USA, worth US\$19,900 but

this proposal was turned down in favour of the request from the United States Information Service (USIS) Library in Dar-es-Salaam.

Grants expected from the Commemorative Association for the Japanese World Exposition (1970) through the Embassy of Japan, worth Japanese Yen 40,000 for the purchase of 104 titles and one from the Iranian Embassy worth TZ.sh.340,502.50 for the purchase of 314 titles were not fulfilled. These unfulfilled promises cost the library staff time, stationery and money in the course of preparing the orders. These are some of the ways dependence manifests itself at the level of library acquisitions.

The Periodicals Department has since 1985 benefited from the Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with Developing countries (SAREC). SAREC is the research arm of the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA). Between 1985/86 and 1993/94, SAREC's assistance rose from Skr.160,000 to Skr.1,800,000; an increase of about 1045%. The level of dependence established by this level of grant means that if this assistance was ever withdrawn the library would be severely disadvantaged.

Table 5.1 University of Dar-es-Salaam Library Acquisitions
(including grants) 1975/76 to 1989/90

YEAR	TITLES ORDERED		TITLES RECEIVED	
	Local	Foreign	Local	Foreign.
1975/76	873	4693	514	3618
1976/77	882	1971	620	1557
1977/78	1668	2068	1373	1966
1978/79	131	4222	129	3424
1979/80	243	Nil	243	Nil
1980/81	388	Nil	388	Nil
1981/82	90	316	82	649
1982/83	1854	Nil	1469	Nil
1983/84	700	90	610	66
1984/85	1686	Nil	1696	Nil
1985/86	1744	190	1554	Nil
1986/87	1495	198	1495	146
1987/88	861	342	570	291
1988/89	150	Nil	150	Nil
1989/90	106	769	198	788
Total	12,871	14,859	11,081	12,505

Source: Acquisitions Department, University of Dar-es-Salaam Library, 1975/76-1989/90.

Since 1988, due to the need to avoid duplication of journals and to increase the range of titles among Tanzania libraries, and to better utilize the Swedish grant through SAREC, four libraries: the University of Dar-es-Salaam, Sokoine University of Agriculture, the Library of Mpwapwa Livestock Research Institute and the Temeke Animal Research Institute, formally agreed to cooperate in journal acquisitions. This has increased journal titles acquired from abroad by at least 5% (Katundu, 1991). This project was engineered by donors and it

was originally planned for three years until 1991/92, although it has been renewed.

Donations and gifts are another source of library material. Inappropriate donations and gifts from charitable organizations, foreign governments and their agencies can make a library grow without actually developing (Maack, 1986). Library donations by governments always reflect the ideologies of the donor rather than those of the recipient. Donations and gifts consist of discarded old books from other libraries and individuals, some of which have failed to sell from bookshops and publishers. Most of these donations and gifts are never solicited. Table 5.2 shows the extent of donations to the University of Dar-es-Salaam Library.

Table 5.2. University of Dar- es-Salaam Library Book donations,
1975/76- 1989/90.

YEAR	TITLES		Total
	Local	Foreign	
1975/76	552	548	1100
1976/77	619	1744	2363
1977/78	951	638	1589
1978/79	364	276	640
1979/80	338	273	611
1980/81	332	327	659
1981/82	864	1459	2323
1982/83	835	777	1612
1983/84	413	208	612
1984/85	138	1877	2015
1985/86	943	1269	2212
1986/87	878	321	1199
1987/88	1330	3460	4790
1988/89	661	913	1574
1989/90	1095	1417	2512
TOTAL	10,313	15,507	25,820

Source: Acquisitions Department, University of Dar-es-Salaam Library Annual Reports, 1975/76-1989/90.

While it is assumed that donations ought to supplement purchases, it appears that donations are the major sources of library materials as opposed to purchases. The question is, what type of books are these donations. The major source is again the Ranfurly Library Service (UK), now the Book Aid International. The Office of the Vice Chancellor of the University of Dar-es-Salaam constitutes a major source of local donations, although most of them are obtained from

external sources. Local donations also include legal deposits.

Most of the donations do not enter the shelves because they are useless and irrelevant. But discarding them is always difficult because of the bureaucratic constraints within the University, which may require a Board of Survey to approve discards. There is also the need to portray a good image to donors. Most donations are costly in terms of staff time, space and money since they have to be cleared from the harbour. It is therefore important to learn to say 'no' to some of these donations. But it is also acknowledged that some donations and gifts have enriched the library collection with some specialised materials which could never be obtained through the normal book trade.

A close examination of purchases and donations on Tables 5.1 and 5.2 shows that there are more foreign donations than purchases. But all what this means is dependence on foreign publications. This shows an unequal intellectual exchange because, according to Sturges and Neill (1990:157), Africa's understanding of the world is formed by the knowledge made available from the industrialised countries, and its ability to interpret this knowledge is conditioned by the media through which the information is filtered. As a result, the world outside Africa does not know Africa in Africa's own terms (ibid.). This is not a healthy situation.

Aid to book development is more meaningful if it enables a country to develop its publishing industry so as to produce locally published material. A donation of desk top publishing equipment would be more valuable than most of the book donations.

While it is true that a developed publishing industry must exist to provide a backward linkage for the information service (Mchombu,1984:561), which means each one stimulating the development of the other. The library cannot rely upon the existence of a fully developed publishing industry(ibid.). The library must stimulate and participate in the production of publications, diversify its sources of finance and create conditions for self-financing. These publications must respond to a felt need, and not a mere adherence to international standards. They must be cheap. This means a changing role for the library in face of declining financial resources.

Locally produced materials in the library are limited to those obtained through the Legal Deposit Act(1963). This Act requires every printer of every book and other publication in Tanzania mainland to deliver at his own expense a perfect copy of a book or publication to the library of the University of Dar-es-Salaam within a month after the day on which it is first delivered out of the press. Also under section 5 (2) of the 1975 Tanzania Library Services Board Act, 'it shall be the duty of every person who prints or produces or causes to be

printed or produce in Tanzania any book or other literary work intended for sale or public distribution or exhibition, whether in consideration of any fee or otherwise, to supply the Board, free of charge, not less than two copies of such book or other literary work'.

The Legal Deposit Law does not include the Zanzibar Islands (which were a sovereign state until 1964 when they united with Tanganyika to form the United Republic of Tanzania). The lack of such a legal instrument until now means that there is no systematic collection of the Islands' literary output.

There is generally little systematic collection of 'grey' literature and documents produced locally by publisher, parastatals, seminars, government and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). According to Raseroka (1986:288), the systematic collection of locally produced materials is made difficult because:

1. It requires painstaking searches of documents, without the assistance of catalogues, and repeated follow up of producers of materials to ensure procurement. In the case of Tanzania this is confirmed by the nature of the publishing industry where a great number of small publishers exists. Poor communication about the availability of materials produced in Tanzania is another major problem. The Tanzania National Bibliography used to cover a greater proportion of the newly published materials. Chasing the publications

becomes difficult because most of the publishers do not have proper addresses, as described in Chapter Four.

2. Most of the publications fall out of print because of small print runs. Added to this is the fact that their demand is short-lived.

3. Governments refuse the circulation of information to local users and libraries by labelling it as confidential; but at the same time make the material accessible to foreign consultants and researchers.

The purchase of local publications is made difficult by the lack of printer' and publishers' catalogues. Only publishers like the Dar-es -Salaam University Press, the Tanzania Publishing House; and branches of foreign based publishing firms such as Oxford University Press produce catalogues. Occasionally lists of new books and reviews appear in the Daily News and Sunday News papers. The University of Dar-es-Salaam Library produces lists of Tanzania publications as part of the Library Bulletin and Accession list. The production of these lists has been irregular due to lack of funds.

On the other hand, even notable materials which come from University departments like the Economic Research Bureau (ERB) papers, Departmental papers, seminar papers and research reports sometimes do not get to the University Library. It not uncommon to find an ERB paper in a University library in

Sweden and not in the University of Dar-es-Salaam library. This is due to the nature of researches and consultancies which are always donor funded with conditions attached. As a result of all this it becomes difficult for librarians to build comprehensive local collections.

Library and publishing goals should be integrated. The two should develop simultaneously. It should be realised that adequate library provision at all levels of the education system provides the basic market in which local publishing can develop and thrive.

At a regional level, it is also difficult to know what exists in another country. A reorientation of collection development policies is crucial, with the publishing industry placed in its proper context. For example, the University of Dar-es-Salaam obtained NORAD Import support scheme in 1989/90. No survey of the extent of the availability of University level books in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) regions was done when the University of Da-es-Salaam Library obtained assistance from the NORAD Import Support Scheme.

Lack of coordination in the region leads to a lack of common curriculum, and therefore of lists of textbooks, and this limits areas of cooperation in book production and distribution in the region. If countries in the region decide to study the region, that is making the region a subject of

study at Universities and elsewhere, books will be produced about, and for the region. But as noted in Chapter one, Africa, SADC and PTA countries can not effect meaningful economic and social transformation and development if their internal economic, social and political structures remain moulded externally.

CHAPTER SIX

FOREIGN AID INFLUENCES ON PUBLISHING

It was shown in Chapter One that the World Bank and other donor agencies have long been established in many countries including Tanzania and have influenced areas such as education and food production.

In the case of food production, for example, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) committed Tanzania shillings 260m. of Canadian aid fund to plant wheat (Daily News 2/3/80:1 and 3/3/80:3). The project failed after spending US \$ 200m (British-Tanzania Society, 1994:15). This is because CIDA tried to develop high technology farms on areas unsuited for such advanced agricultural practices. This has been described as a 'giant mistake' and the wheat farms are to be recast for privatization (Ibid).

In the education sector, the World Bank has financed seven projects in Tanzania since 1962. In 1990, a total of US\$ 67.1m. in IDA credit was provided with an extra US\$ 23m. of co-financing from other donors (URT 1990:18). This came in the form of the 8th IDA Educational Planning and Rehabilitation Project. The International Development Association (IDA) is an affiliate of the World Bank. According to the Project document, the project would assist the Government of Tanzania in initiating the rehabilitation,

reform and revitalisation of the education sector (URT 1990:1). Textbook production was a vital component of the project. The broader aims of the project were the improvement of education quality and the strengthening of mechanisms to mobilise more community resources and support for education.

The Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) is one of the donor agencies which have dominated the education sector, and publishing in particular. Since the 1970s SIDA has been providing printing materials for the production of school textbooks and adult literacy materials. In rehabilitating the printing sector, SIDA provided the foreign exchange component to import spares and pay Swedish experts (Bgoya, 1992:176). This shows how textbook production in Tanzania has been dominated by foreign capital.

SIDA has produced a further proposal for the future school book provision in Tanzania which has been accepted by the Tanzanian Government. These two projects, together with the 'New Policy' on production and distribution of school/college books which became operational in 1992, are now examined in this thesis.

Publishing in Tanzania entered a new phase in the late 1980s. This was signalled firstly with the signing of the Tanzania-IMF agreement in 1986 discussed in Chapter two. Secondly, the Tanzania Government of the 8th IDA Education Planning and Rehabilitation Project and SIDA's proposal on the future

school book provision system. Thirdly, the publishing industry has been influenced by the new policy on the production and distribution of textbooks, whose theoretical basis is the ideology of privatization and liberalization based on the Tanzania-IMF agreement of 1986.

The Tanzania Government's new policy on the production and distribution of school/ college books issued in December 1991 is also analysed. This policy is important because it gives official backing to the SIDA proposal and the World Bank's IDA Project.

One characteristic of all project design in Tanzania has been that the design and appraisal of projects has been very much donor driven. While broader priorities and targets (such as rural water supply and primary education targets) have been set by the Tanzania Government, their translation into concrete projects have always been heavily dependent on donor initiative and technical inputs.

Under conditions of economic crisis, the publishing industry, library development and the education sector in general have been left in the hands of donor agencies. The government of Tanzania has failed to provide educational materials, and cannot even pay the publishers such as the Tanzania Publishing House. Donor agencies therefore appear to offer a solution, by providing funds to finance the production and distribution of textbooks. Commenting on the issue of dependence on

external funding on education in Africa, Samoff (et al, 1992:106) argue that external provision of assistance has become the centre of gravity for education and development initiatives.

The 8th IDA Education Planning and Rehabilitation Project

As noted earlier, the World Bank has become the largest single donor of aid in education to Tanzania. Of particular interest to this study is the 8th IDA project. This project was to assist the Tanzania government in initiating the rehabilitation, reform and revitalisation of the education sector (URT,1990). The World Bank had previously financed seven other projects in the education sector since 1962. These included:

(a) construction of primary and secondary schools;

(b) expansion of post- primary training aimed at equipping students with skills needed in the labour market;

(c) agricultural training; and

(d) accountancy training.

As Cooksey (1986) shows, in 1963 US \$ 4.6 million was lent for the expansion of general education and part of a 1969 loan of US\$ 5m. was for the same purpose. In 1976 a US\$ 11 million

loan included financing science laboratories and workshops in 15 secondary schools; and part of a 1980 loan of US\$ 45 million (co-financed by DANIDA) was earmarked for improving science teaching in secondary schools.

The 8th IDA project document admits that most of the projects were designed by expatriates with little awareness of the major difficulties faced by the government at the level of implementation (ibid). These projects were financed through loans and grants: a total of US \$ 67.1 million in IDA credit, with an extra \$ 23 million of co-financing from other donors (ibid). In the textbook sector, the project was involved with textbook development programmes, such as developing a series of textbooks, and support and reinforcement of development of libraries in primary, secondary schools and colleges (Teacher Training Colleges) and the University of Dar-es-Salaam Library.

The government of Tanzania has agreed to discuss and agree with IDA on the level of funds allocated to the Ministry of Education and Culture for textbook development, field testing and orientation each year (ibid). This shows clearly Tanzania's dependence on IDA for textbook development as opposed to local capacity building.

Like all other parastatals in Tanzania, education sector parastatals are inefficient. The Tanzania Elimu Supplies, the Tanzania Publishing House and the Institute of Curriculum

Development are cases in point. According to the IDA project document, the resolution of the problem of textbook production can only be possible if all publishing, printing and distribution tasks are decontrolled (Ibid:18). The parastatals should therefore be required to compete for contracts, thereby stimulating efficiency and high performance. This liberalisation of production and supply of educational materials is part of the Government policy of economic liberalisation contained in the Tanzania-IMF agreement of 1986.

The project should make a great impact on publishing, since a substantial part of the \$ 67.1 million will go into book production, to be administered by SIDA. This project is dependent on loan and this raises questions of sustainability after it is over.

As a result of the 8th IDA Education Planning and Rehabilitation Project, the Macmillan and Longman Joint proposal for publishing development and training in Tanzania was presented to the Ministry of Education and Culture in 1988. This proposal states that for the period of ten years there should be a partnership between Macmillan and Longman and the Ministry of Education and Culture. The idea should be to establish a publishing task force within the Ministry to cooperate with existing units in publishing quality textbooks in Kiswahili and English in sufficient numbers for Tanzania's schools (Bgoya,1992:183). This task force would have access

to international management, finance and publishing expertise with the ultimate objective of a self-reliant publishing industry by 1999 (Ibid.).

Some of the Macmillan and Longman's joint proposal are spelt out thus:

..... We are ready to offer the Ministry of Education a full publishing and production service on the development of new course materials, enter into a formal agreement with the Ministry for their publication. The conception and design of material, as well as the structure and components to be developed, would be planned in conjunction with the Institute of Curriculum Development. The Macmillan/Longman Task Force would supervise the workshops necessary for the planning and writing of the material and would be responsible for the overall coordination of the project (Ibid.).

This proposal can best be described as old motives, new methods. The problems of primary school publishing are not the result of a lack of trained authors or of publishing expertise.

It could be asked why Macmillan and Longman did not present their proposals before the World Bank loan was negotiated if they were genuinely sympathetic to Tanzania's situation. The formation of a Task Force within the Ministry of Education is the publishers' strategy to ensure that whatever is produced is automatically purchased by the Ministry which controls the 8th IDA funds. Macmillan and Longman are therefore motivated by the 8th IDA funds.

According to Bgoya (ibid:188), the cost of running the task

force was to be £206,000 in one year (1989-90), and £2,339,000 at the end of ten years and these costs would not be derived from the normal book trade. A very similar proposal was made to the Ministry of Education in Ghana. That agreement was cancelled when Lt. Jerry Rawlings led a coup. In the case of Tanzania, the proposal was foiled before signature (ibid). It is not difficult to see why: memories of Macmillan were still in the minds of the Tanzanian officials in the Ministry of Education and Culture (see Chapter four).

SIDA's proposed future school book provision system

Through SIDA, Sweden has played an important role in the field of education. Three sub-sectors have benefitted from SIDA's assistance. These are: adult/non-formal education, primary education and vocational/ technical training (Ishumi, 1992:266).

The SIDA proposal for textbook production, outlined above, has been accepted by the Government of Tanzania.

SIDA tries to deal with the entire infrastructure in which books are made available; that is, the new book provision will be supported by SIDA and other donors, both for book production, purchasing and distribution and for the development of the publishing industry.

specifically, SIDA proposes the following:

1. Five distribution models which can function simultaneously depending on various factors, mainly at the level of functioning at District Council level, publishers and the retailers and wholesalers.

2. Creation of a retailer network for the supply and distribution of school books.

This will have serious consequences on the Tanzania Elimu Supplies which has had the monopoly of distributing educational materials.

3. Decentralisation of school book funds to districts;

4. A merger of Tanzania Publishing House (TPH) and East African Publishing Limited (EAPL); and

5. Competition between local and international publishers.

Some of these proposals raise important issues and merit critical analysis.

SIDA's third proposal was that funds provided by SIDA and other donors to be used for book purchases will be allocated to districts instead of the Prime Minister's office (PMO)/ Ministry of Regional Administration and Local Government (MRALG).

SIDA argue that this will help avoid the problem of diverting funds to other purposes like the purchase of desks, exercise books etc., as has been the case. To go with this decentralisation was the corresponding authority to select and order school materials. This means blending foreign aid with a much greater dose of local institutional involvement to appear to be a project undertaken by the Tanzania Government, in other words, localising the SIDA support. This deepens dependency on SIDA aid in the education sector, with SIDA penetrating to districts/school level.

Not all local governments are corrupt and inefficient and it is essential that this direct aid approach to school book funds be given a pilot test. At least 10-20 districts need to be included. The pilot project would illustrate the extent to which the basic assumptions of the approach are valid and what additional measures are required. Also it may prevent the sudden nationwide introduction of ill-conceived and badly prepared measures which have been a characteristic of both Tanzanian and donor policy making.

The fourth proposal was about the merger of Tanzania Publishing House (TPH) and East African Publishing Limited (EAPL).

The management of this 'new' TPH/EAPL company will be handled by an international company, who should be shareholders during the transition period but should leave the country at the end of the period. Unfortunately the transition period is not

specified. It is also proposed that because publishing rights for most existing titles are owned by TPH and EAPL, the 'new' and restructured TPH/EAPL should be the intermediary 'caretaker company' while the development of the publishing industry is taking place.

The 'new' (TPH) / (EAPL):

(i) be privatised with government owning minority shareholding of not more than 20% and the rest of the capital be owned by private investors, which may include other publishers in Tanzania. (p.58); and

(ii) during the transition period be operated by a foreign 'caretaking' company with publishing background, possibly with Swedcorp. Swedcorp is a Swedish Government Institution for development of industry and trade in developing countries, through joint ventures. After the transition period, the 'new' TPH/EAPL should be taken over by Tanzania [private] owners, both regarding ownership and management(p.16).

It is logical that a foreign partner must have a minority share and not the other way round as the SIDA proposal suggests.

Although privatisation is one of the reform process needed in Tanzania, as Chapter two has demonstrated, the argument should centre on the strengthening of TPH and EAPL. Problems of state-owned enterprises are not of ownership of but of lack of finance, inappropriate control, and lack of clear goals,

motivation and a reward system for the enterprise. What is advocated here is basic company autonomy within broad government policy guidelines in which privatisation is viewed as an instrument of social and economic development.

The TPH/EAPL merger will bring four external influences: funding, management personnel, foreign consultancy and technology. As Timberlake (1985;8) argues:

advising Africa has become a major industry, with European and North American consulting firms charging as much as US\$180,000 for a year of an expert's time. At any given moment, Sub-Saharan Africa has at least 80,000 expatriates working for public agencies under official aid programmes. More than half of the US\$7-8 billion spent by donors goes to finance these people.

According to Hutchinson (1979:233), for two years (January 1968-March 1970), the TPH expatriate General Manager received Tz.sh.323.336/= (before tax), that is about Tz.sh.150.000/= per year, excluding the free use of a car and an exceptionally good house at a very low rent. The whole TPH running cost in 1968 including salaries etc., only amounted to Tz.sh.370.936/=. Thus 50% of the earnings of the two year old TPH went directly to its expatriate General Manager.

Foreign consultancies are geared to profit, and through this work, they contribute in various ways in increasing the contradictions in Tanzania. For example, according to Tschannerl (1979:100), when discussing the rural water supply in Tanzania, also funded by Sweden:

(i) the firm's employees bring to bear a capitalist framework in their analysis because of their personal background and the profit making aims of the firm;

(ii) they are likely to further the interest of monopoly capitalism in some indirect ways such as capital intensive equipment or sometimes directly via business contracts with other companies;

(iii) the firms take a narrow view of their task, doing nothing to increase the potential of their clients which would enable them to independently solve similar problems in future, unless this is specifically written into the contract; and

(iv) there is a belief that consulting firms can offer superior knowledge and expertise as compared to the Tanzanian staff leads to further dependency, because they are often called upon to perform tasks that can be done by local senior staff.

SIDA proposes that the 'caretaker company' will include the following expatriate 'specialists':

(a) manager and chief editor;

(b) administrative and Finance manager;

(c) Publishing specialist; and

(d) Distribution specialist and possibly a marketing specialist and a design specialist.

The outside experts/specialists are not the only source of knowledge and ideas. Experience gained by local personnel is equally important, and should not be ignored. Tanzania does not lack personnel and knowledge to the extent of contracting with the above expatriate 'specialists'. The contemporary problem is poor utilization of available Tanzanian manpower.

In a dependent situation such as this, questioning the consultants may mean upsetting them. As a result of not being questioned, they may be left with almost complete freedom of action, which can be disastrous. They will have the power to decide not only what to be published and by whom, but also who should get the contract to distribute the materials to districts and schools. The company management's major allegiance may well be to the shareholders who are external to Tanzania.

There is generally a close connection between the choice of financing and the source of equipment. In this case, foreign finance can be a potential source of technological dependence. Most of the equipment and spare parts will be imported from Sweden, which means a flow of capital back to its source of origin. The question will therefore be how to harness the managerial skills and technology without surrendering control.

The fifth proposal concerned Competition between local and international publishers. It may be too early to judge the extent of the competition between local and international publishers.

The most important fact about multinational publishers is that, besides being capitalist firms, they are large and may have a degree of monopoly power (Brewer 1990:261). Their emergence and significance cannot be adequately analysed at the level of the firm, but can be as part of a much wider process of internationalisation of production and of capital (Ibid).

All multinationals have a clear national base: each company has historical roots in a particular country, and in most cases its top management is recruited in its home country. A large part of its capital and production will still be located there.

On the other hand, local publishers are always small and undercapitalised, although they form an important and potential dynamic force of the publishing industry.

Through the policy of liberalisation, the Tanzanian Government has invited multinational publishers to participate in the new policy on production and distribution of school books, in much the same way as the National Agricultural Policy has invited Lonhro to come and repossess the tea estates (see Chapter

two).

It has been pointed out that local publishers form an important and potential dynamic force of the publishing industry. In this case, issues of credit and marketing need to be examined in order to assess the competition between local and multinational publishers.

(i) Credit

Most of the local and small publishing establishments finance their own expansion because they cannot obtain credit from banks: if they manage to obtain it, it is at high interest rates. As a rule, banks are always unsympathetic to the needs of small enterprises because they lack collateral. But for relatively big enterprises like the envisaged 'new' TPH/EAPL, local credits will normally be readily available to them.

Small entrepreneurs are at a disadvantage in accumulating resources for expansion. Even state lending agencies like the National Bank of Commerce, created to foster indigenous enterprises, will tend to favour the larger, the most influential and the creditworthy, although a small enterprise lending unit has been operating in the National Bank of Commerce since 1982. Unable to obtain bank loans due to high interest rates, the small business owners are in no position to bid for foreign exchange.

(ii) Markets

The Government may restrict competition with respect to goods and services of large firms via tariffs, trade licences and the tendering of government contracts. Those in small economic activities usually engage in unprotected and highly competitive markets. In this case profit margins are always low. As their expansion depends almost wholly upon ploughing back of profits, narrow profit margins make an escape from small scale production almost impossible.

The Government should therefore recognise the need for equality of opportunities for informal sector enterprises in the form of at least equal access to credit facilities, various inputs, training facilities and technology. This means not only that the Government and the formal sector should be more responsive to the needs of the informal sector. It also requires the creation of an appropriate policy environment (Sethuraman 1977:352).

It is impossible to imagine that local publishing will survive and expand without special assistance from the state, both in terms of credits and a share of the textbook market. But transformation can only be achieved with a shift in political power. The present State is part of the problem, and cannot be expected to be part of the solution.

While the Kenyan case shows that Longman and Heinemann, the

two largest commercial publishers, have come under the control of Kenyan nationals (Chakava 1992:130), one might ask how much control they actually have, given the nature of multinational corporations examined above. The parent companies in the United Kingdom still influence the decisions as to what to publish (Smith 1975:144).

If competition between local and foreign publishers has to be turned into an asset, then foreign publishers should be taxed. Funds obtained from this tax be invested in the development of the local publishing industry. Small publishers, who are the possible victims of the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) proposal should also be exposed to the kind of management practices envisaged on the 'new' TPH/EAPL company.

Besides forming the 'new' TPH/EAPL, another monopolistic enterprise, the World Bank and SIDA have, by the nature of their involvement in the book sector, established and funded the Book Management Unit (BMU) within the Ministry of Education and Culture. The BMU is an autonomous department/unit dealing with the World Bank/SIDA programme, which must now be examined.

The Book Management Unit (BMU)

The Book Management Unit (BMU) was established in 1990. It was given the mandate to manage school books for all levels of education, from pre-school books through secondary education

and teacher training education. The Unit operates under the Directorate of Planning in the Ministry of Education and Culture.

The Unit performs functions that can be divided into two:

(a) production and distribution of textbooks and teacher's guides;

(b) acquisition of school library books including supplementary readers and reference books.

The Unit, in cooperation with the Commissioner of Education's Office and the Institute of Curriculum Development (ICD), shares the responsibility for textbooks production.

Specifically, BMU oversees the publishing and/or printing, warehousing and distribution of textbooks. It supervises quality in stages of publication and printing. Contracts for publishing, printing and distribution are awarded through a competitive bidding as approved by SIDA.

The BMU also coordinates the donor funds for school-book support (SIDA, op.cit:73). The Book Management Unit is thus another monopolistic, centralised institution, whose formation is a consolidation of an already inefficient and discredited system. BMU ensures a minimum of local level participation and a maximum degree of control in its own hands.

The Book Management Unit (BMU) is entirely dependent on the 8th IDA loan and SIDA. This raises questions of sustainability and increased dependence on donor support. This issue is crucial if Tanzania's education has to survive. This shows the inevitability of continuing World Bank and SIDA support, since their withdrawal will mean a collapse of the education sector.

It is surprising to find that the Mzumbe Book Project (MBP) discussed earlier has no relationship with BMU, although they are both under one Ministry. The Mzumbe Book Project has the capacity to cater for 30% of secondary school science book needs (MBP 1992:1).

The Canadian Organisation for Development in Education (CODE) which is one of the Mzumbe Book Project's funding agencies, was initially involved in the supply of paper for the publication of the chemistry teachers' handbook, subsidising the transport of paper to the print shop and providing a range of books from other countries from which examples could be drawn. Between 1986 and 1990, CODE had invested about US\$ 322,700 in the project (Dyck, 1992:394). CODE plays a more catalytic role, and targets small scale and innovative publishing ventures. This is an example of aid which ought to be emulated by all other donors.

The practice of the Book Management Unit (BMU) and the Mzumbe Book Project (MBP) show how projects in the same Ministry are

not coordinated, and the consequent duplication and wastage of resources.

Obtaining support from different donors may mean that no single donor will gain enough influence to exert political pressure, and this also limits education planning and implementation capacity. The case of Sierra Leone is instructive. In the mid 1980's, the World Bank was supporting one textbook project; UNESCO, a second; and the European Community, a third; but all three running simultaneously and operating on different principles (Buchan 1992:360).

The economic crisis facing Tanzania should not, it is argued, be used as a justification for handing over publishing and education to donor agencies like SIDA and the World Bank. The negative implications of donor support to education and publishing are many. One of them is that these policies put Tanzania in a more dependent position. What interests does SIDA have in providing such a large scale aid, with little direct return? Political motives should not be underestimated: no aid is apolitical. SIDA's direct influence over various aspects of the education system represents a form of political struggle as to who controls the education sector in Tanzania.

The World Bank's 8th IDA project and SIDA's proposal have influenced the formulation of the new policy on production and distribution of school/college books issued by the Government

of Tanzania in December 1991, which became operational on 1st January 1992. This is now examined.

The New Policy on Production and Distribution of school/college books

The new policy arose from the SIDA proposal discussed above. The policy repeals circular EDTT/8/184 of 1970 of the Ministry of Education and Culture (Sale of textbooks produced by the Ministry of Education (MOEC, 1991). The new policy aims to transform textbook production and distribution to a completely commercial system. The policy applies to pre-primary, primary, secondary and teacher education levels (See Appendix 2).

The policy is divided into two major areas: short term and long term policy. In the short term, the Government will continue to play the role of the main actor in both production and distribution. The role of the Ministry of Education and Culture will be mainly production, and the Prime Minister's Office/ Ministry of Regional Administration and Local Government will deal with the distribution process. In the long term the Government is required to get rid of all production and distribution responsibilities, and retain the responsibility for curriculum development. Efforts are to be made to prepare the private sector to take full responsibility for the efficient production and distribution of school

materials.

The theoretical basis of this policy is the liberalisation and privatisation advocated by IMF, and the changing nature of Tanzania's politics since 1986. It is part of the recommended strategy of privatisation and liberalisation to provide an environment conducive to foreign direct investment.

Some questions can be asked about this policy. Firstly, concerning its status. The status of the policy document is not very clear: it has not been approved by the Parliament, and it is doubtful if it has been approved by the cabinet. It is just a ministerial document, not binding on other ministries and agencies. Secondly, the document does not provide a detailed strategy for the domestic resources mobilisation and utilisation. Thirdly, some of the sections in the policy merely repeat recommendations of the SIDA Consultative Committee, which appeared in the SIDA proposal.

Fourthly, the policy is silent on the position of school libraries in the education system; especially its relationship with the Tanzania Library Service Board Act of 1975.

Any effective textbook policy must take into account not only the provision of books required to the schools, but should also take into account the needs of the entire education system, including school libraries. The policy is supposed to be a link between the Tanzania Library Service Board Act, the

education policy and policies in sectors such as transport.

Taken together with these limitations, the policy has several significant aspects:

(a) for the first time, Tanzania is systematically moving to develop nationally produced secondary school textbooks: hitherto it has always been dependent on book imports; and

(b) the policy will in theory change the production and distribution of school and college books from state monopoly to a more liberal system.

The changes initiated by the new policy have further consequences, on Tanzania's educational development and publishing in particular. The Government of Tanzania has no control over the length and amount of donor funding. What would happen if funding was withdrawn? What are the possibilities of raising funds domestically; and what role can regional cooperation initiatives such as the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) and the Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern Africa (PTA) play in reducing dependence on the West? These are important issues, and their discussion and analysis call for further study.

The following quotation serves as a reminder to Tanzania. The World Bank document (8th IDA project, 1990:22) notes that:

....exactly how much will be achieved will depend on many factors such as the speed of implementation of the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP), the rate at which the Government is able to increase the proportion of the budget to education; the phasing of increase in fees and charges for students especially at the tertiary level; the extent to which donors continue to provide external support to education; and revitalisation of the various parts of the entire sector. Many of these factors are interdependent, for example the degree of external support to the sector may be expected to depend on the pace of policy reforms by the Government and not all are totally within the power of Government control.

On the other hand, Sturges and Neill (1990:93) argue that:

it is essential for Africa's library and information communities to struggle and avoid dependence on international publishing and bookselling companies to ensure that donor agencies do not set parameters of what can be done by the nature of the assistance they give.

This is the precarious position Tanzania has found itself in. It is not only an economic problem but also a technical and political one. The acceptance of the SIDA proposal is based on political pressure driven by the force and desire of privatisation and liberalisation.

One of the major implication of this dependence is that external funding agencies will continue to acquire unprecedented and unparalleled influence in shaping educational policy (Seidman and Anang (ed), 1992:290).

Having attained the dominant role in planning and formulating the school book project, SIDA will certainly maintain its control of the project through continuous monitoring and evaluation. State monopoly should not be replaced by private monopoly. There will be less competition for imported

equipment, and very little outside technical assistance will be invited. Since Sweden is one of the largest exporter of paper in the world, Tanzania naturally provides a ready market for Swedish paper. The aid provided by the World Bank and SIDA will be used to import paper from Sweden. Design and production norms will be imported from Sweden to Tanzania.

It is argued that the World Bank and SIDA conceal their political motives behind technocratic solutions, and that this deepens Tanzania's dependence on Western technology, finance and management. No aid is apolitical.

CHAPTER SEVEN

COMING TO GRIPS WITH THE PUBLISHING INDUSTRY IN TANZANIA

This study has analysed the processes of development in Tanzania, focusing on the development of the publishing industry. Publishing does not develop in a vacuum: its development will be conditioned by the political, social and economic environment. The study has therefore located the development of the publishing industry within the policies of the Tanzanian state in rural development, agriculture and education since 1967.

As we have shown earlier, the dependency school approach which originated among Latin American social scientists as a response to development problems on the continent has been transferred to sub-Saharan Africa. For example, the study has shown that the dependency school served as a development ideology in Tanzania after the Arusha Declaration of 1967.

This study specifically analysed the internal and external factors which have constrained publishing, and considered two models of educational publishing and distribution: the state monopoly model which became operational in 1967, and the privatized and liberalized production and distribution model which became operational in 1991.

This study has brought together a number of interrelated factors

which have have necessitated a holistic approach. The following discussion is based on various theoretical issues related to the development of publishing in the Tanzanian context. The discussion is important for coming to grips with contemporary developments in Tanzania, and shows how the issues identified at the beginning of the study may be taken forward.

The interrelationships shown in the data are used to assess, evaluate and further develop the theoretical framework of the dependent development model. For the purpose of analysis, the factors influencing the development of the publishing industry were divided into internal and external items, but in reality, the situation is rather more complex. Under close analysis, what seems to be a clear-cut division reveals an interconnected set of relations. The periods discussed are the Socialism and Self-Reliance period and the Structural Adjustment Programme period. This periodization highlights the shifting locus of development initiatives. The significance of the theoretical framework utilized by the study is also discussed.

Socialism and Self-Reliance

Pratt(1976:231) contended that the Arusha Declaration was a consequence of Nyerere's concern over the development of two attitudes among Tanzanian leaders: a belief that major and sustained foreign capital assistance was a requisite for economic development and a belief in the appropriateness of acquisitiveness.

The Arusha Declaration called for Socialism and Self-Reliance and therefore a response to the two problems above. It implied the two intentions were inseparable. Self-Reliance implied that a particular developing country chooses a rate of growth compatible with its domestic resources. If this is not the case, there will be resource constraints which can be covered by grants and loans of foreign capital inflows. In this case, self-reliance did not rule out foreign assistance.

Following the Arusha Declaration, the commanding heights of the economy were nationalized. The industrial parastatals were expected to become the heart of Tanzania's industrial development. With nationalization, the state had established itself as a dominant force in the industrial sector in the decade following the Arusha Declaration. As has been shown, though harassed and subordinated, the private sector, managed to persist.

Chapter four described how the Tanzania Publishing House (TPH) was established as a joint venture between Tanzania's National Development Corporation (NDC) and Macmillan Educational Publishers, NDC being the holding company. It was intended that the establishment of TPH would be the means of disengaging the monopoly of foreign publishers. TPH management was provided by Macmillan, and this put Macmillan in control of the whole operation. Macmillan's involvement in Tanzania publishing had significant consequences, in that it introduced a state monopoly model of publishing, which remained dominant up to 1991. Any

analysis of the success or failure of this model must take into account the way in which the publishing industry was established and maintained in this period: TPH was established by a top-down policy directive, and designed and managed by foreign management consultancy.

The dynamism displayed in this period of Tanzanian publishing was to a large extent a consequence of three factors. The first was the educational revolution initiated by the Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) initiative. Of all the social services, education was given the most attention as a tool for socialist construction. There was an increased awareness from the party and government's mobilization of the population through the policy of ESR. Under socialism, emphasis was on education for the majority of the population rather than the few. This meant emphasis on primary rather than secondary education. The Musoma Resolution represented the effort to hasten the implementation of ESR. The Universal Primary Education Programme (UPE) declared in 1977 after the national villagization programme 1974 opened up the doors of formal education to all children.

The educational revolution provided a challenge to the publishing industry. Any serious move towards the implementation of the Universal Primary Education (UPE) and the Adult Education Programme should have been followed by strategies to produce and distribute substantial quantities of suitable reading material. However, this did not happen because publishing was not an integral part of ESR, adult education, and hence UPE.

Secondly, there was relative freedom from censorship enjoyed by publishers and authors, and the intellectual dynamism existing at the University of Dar-es-Salaam. Debates at the University were part of a wider discussion on the essence of development, and were themselves a direct component of the growth of locally published books. Some of the books were critical of state policy, hereby generating controversial discussion and further publication. However, state intervention was not uncommon, shown for example, by the banning of Cheche in 1978.

Thirdly, Tanzania was the headquarters of many liberation movements, and this created a conducive atmosphere for discussion, debate and writing.

One of the consequences of the strained relationships between TPH and the Ministry of Education that has been discussed earlier was the development of the liquidity problems experienced by TPH. Underlying the problems of the publishing industry, however, were economic problems. Firstly, there was a general underfunding of the education sector, arising from Tanzania's crisis of capital accumulation. The earliest manifestations of this crisis of capital accumulation were seen in the agricultural sector, where production started to stagnate in the 1970s and declined sharply in the 1980s. This decline had far reaching effects on the economy as a whole, translating itself into an economic crisis. During this period, capitalist elements began expanding at a very fast rate and an entrenchment of capitalist tendencies in Tanzanian society. For example, school fees were introduced, non-

governmental groups and individuals were encouraged to enter the education sector; many private schools were established that outnumbered private ones.

Despite the recognition of the importance of self-reliance, Tanzania has become more and more dependent since the Arusha Declaration. The impact of this decline in self-reliance has differed over time. This economic crisis led to the signing of the 1986 IMF agreement.

Secondly, there were excessive economic regulations and control such as foreign exchange allocation which did not benefit the actual production of books, and these constituted a series of disincentives to the development of the publishing industry. A further complicating factor was the way in which prices were fixed for books published by TPH without regard to the profitability of the company, even to its ability to meet its overhead costs.

The establishment of the Institute of Curriculum Development (ICD) and the Tanzania Elimu Supplies (TES) was state intervention in both the production process and the distribution and marketing of textbooks. By implication, the government, through the Ministry of Education, had abandoned its responsibility to TPH, a company it had itself established. TES is a company which has been characterized by fraud and like most of the parastatals in Tanzania, has continually incurred substantial losses and has had to be subsidized by the state.

This subsidy has certainly interfered with the goals of extending education, investments in roads and in agriculture.

In the 1980s a number of small publishers emerged, as a result of both the economic crisis (discussed in Chapter Two) and because of the shortfall in the supply of the demand for books. This period witnessed a major process of informalization which was conceived as a wider economic response to crisis. This was a result of retrenchment and cut-backs in social service expenditure as part of the efforts to restructure the economy. Access to these informal operations required certain levels of skills and capital in order to launch such activities. These activities are potential for accumulation. In the Tanzanian context, these skills and capital were held by members of the middle class, who have the access to exploit the more profitable opportunities which have been created by the economic crisis and liberalization.

Informal small scale publishing activities became extremely extensive by the mid 1980s, although its real proportions were unrecorded and will probably never be known. In these informal enterprises we discover an indigenous entrepreneurial dynamism, suggesting a potential for employment creation and growth. Their small initial investment capital and their operational manageability were important factors in the development of Tanzania's small scale publishing sector. This must be coupled with the provision of credits, infrastructure, regulations, and markets for the development of the publishing industry in

Tanzania. These petty capitalist enterprises did not operate outside the dominant capitalist system, but were an integral part of it. Their interests should be taken into account in planning decisions since they are affected by changes in the economy, society and politics.

One important asset to the publishing industry is closer relationships and cooperation within the book trade; involving publishers, booksellers, authors and libraries. This requires stronger professional organizations so as to exert pressure on the government.

Having briefly reviewed the development of the publishing industry during the period of Socialism and Self-Reliance, let us move on to the period of Structural Adjustment (SAP).

Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP)

The way Tanzania entered its current development path was analysed in Chapter two. However, it is important to make a step back and briefly recall how and why this happened.

Between 1978 and 1982 there was an accumulation of domestic and external problems, including a decline in production in almost every sector of the economy. The economy failed to generate enough surplus to meet the needs of consumption, accumulation and expansion. Since there was no capital accumulation, basic needs such as education, and in consequence publishing, was jeopardised.

What has caused Tanzania's economic decline? There were those who attribute it to a variety of factors unrelated to Tanzanian socialism. A list of specific causal factors include many items said to be out of control of the party and government, such as drought, the rise of oil prices, worsening terms of trade with other countries, the world recession, and the war with Idi Amin. Other factors have been a consequence of party and government errors, such as failing to rectify corruption and letting public sectors mis-management to continue.

Critics of Tanzanian socialism have blamed the character of that socialism. The leftists have contended that state bureaucracy has hijacked socialism in its own interests, and that it has overstressed distribution and understressed production.

It important to emphasise that certain external shocks such as the rise of oil prices, world recession and drought exacerbated the internal contradictions.

The SAP was devised in 1982 to revive the economy without prejudicing Tanzania's policy of socialism and self-reliance. While the Arusha Declaration made nationalization and public ownership an integral part of socialism, it also made these one of the most publicised aspects of the Arusha Declaration, although there was little to nationalize in Tanzania. Sundet (1994:40) argues that, by subordinating the national economy to state control, the state kept capital accumulation within its own ranks. This, according to Shivji (1976), led to highly

precarious economic situation, as the 'bureaucratic bourgeoisie' was hindered from making productive investment while they were free to consume the revenues raised by the state. This means that Tanzania's parastatals have served as avenues of individual capital accumulation.

As noted earlier, during the 1980s, through plans such as the National Economic Survival Programme, the Structural Adjustment Programme, and the Economic Recovery Programme the government adopted a defensive strategy that aimed primarily at overcoming existing problems of capacity under-utilization and of efficiency. It is argued that the introduction of the SAP marked the beginning of more market-oriented economic policies, of the kind which existed before the Arusha Declaration. It has been shown that after a period of disagreements and confrontation, Tanzania and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) agreed on a set of policies that led to the agreement that was signed in August 1986. As Samoff (1994:135) argues, this was followed by significantly increased foreign assistance, and with it forceful advice on what was to be done, and sometimes firmly attached to the external funding so that the advice proved difficult to ignore or reject. For the IMF and the World Bank to set conditions for future financial support was seen as an infringement of Tanzania's national sovereignty. The confrontation between Socialism and Self-Reliance, and its alternatives in Tanzania has had profound impact on the economy, and consequently on the lives of the people.

It has been established that liberalization eliminated many of the supports that sustained public enterprises, such as protected markets and controlled competition, and the case of the publishing industry has demonstrated this. Market orientation and promotion of private initiatives marked the beginning of a new socio-economic process. It has been established that Tanzania's attempts at post-colonial development have been closely linked with initiatives and the active participation of institutions involved in foreign aid allocation and administration as well as in the development of policy formulation; such as SIDA and the World Bank.

In the case of publishing, their policies, backed by the new policy on production and distribution of school/college books, put Tanzania in a more dependent position in terms of technology, finance and management. These policies were a result of the negotiations between the Ministry of Education and the agency that provided assistance, that is, SIDA. Although the policy was voiced by Tanzania, Tanzania was repeating much of what SIDA had been proposing and advocating. It internalizes and legitimizes the SIDA proposal.

It is important to note that the principles of the World Bank and those of SIDA are the same: it is their time-scale for change and areas of emphasis which differ. Samoff(1994:161), commenting in a different context, notes that the World Bank as the lead institution sets the direction for activities that are in fact financed by another agency(in this case SIDA).

Many foreign-financed projects often have expatriate managers who maintain almost complete control over the projects. Management by expatriates impedes capacity-building in Tanzania. The need to assist Tanzanians to develop the skills and experiences necessary to manage projects on their own ought to be written in the management contracts. The development of publishing in Tanzania does not lie in the policy of liberalization and privatization, but rather in encouraging local investments by small-scale private entrepreneurs which may also ease the managerial burden on the state by avoiding management by expatriates.

Whether liberalization and privatization mean a return to the pre-Arusha era, involving the end of Tanzania's socialist construction, is a question of fundamental importance in terms of what is being done, and the people's attitudes towards what is being done. For example, the sale of profit-making companies such as the Tanzania Cigarette Company (TCC) to an American firm, RJ Reynolds; and the lack of transparency on the part of the government. Such contradictions will certainly have consequences for the development of Tanzania, as the country moves to multiparty politics.

Choice of the theoretical framework

This study has utilized the 'dependent development' perspective within the context of the Arusha Declaration of 1967. The utilization of domestic resources was supposed to be the basis of development rather than foreign sources. This perspective was also taken as a model for the analysis of the changes in the

nature of Tanzania's political economy both after the Arusha Declaration of 1967, through 1982 with the introduction of SAP to 1986 when the Tanzania-IMF agreement was signed and the events that followed.

This perspective was first applied to black Africa between the mid 1960s and 1977. According to the dependent development perspective, multinational corporations collaborate with some elites in the states of the periphery to stimulate development in the modern sector of selected underdeveloped countries. This study argues that this perspective is still relevant now.

Bradshaw (1985), in analysing dependent development in black Africa, indicates that traditional dependency and world system theories may not capture the type of economic dependence experienced by a particular region. Bradshaw's analysis has important implications for the dependent development critique, especially that developed by Evans. Evans (1979) argues (though in the Brazilian context) that dependent development is the result of a triple alliance among foreign capital, local capital and the periphery state.

The pattern in Latin American dependent development is that there is a heavy emphasis on direct foreign investments. Most of black Africa, Tanzania included, have a very weak local capital base. However, in the context of Tanzania's development, it is the state the key player in the development process which forms an alliance with foreign capital represented by the World Bank/IMF

and donor agencies like SIDA. This contrasts with the original dependent development perspective in Latin America, where the emphasis was on direct foreign investment. This new form of alliance is primarily responsible for the type of dependent development experienced by the publishing industry in Tanzania. As a consequence of this, the scope for self-reliance has been reduced further.

The state provides important political, administrative and ideological conditions for the development of publishing, while the international financial agencies and donors provide financial and technical components.

By using the dependent development approach, it is possible to analyze the development of the publishing industry within the context of Tanzania's political economy and to locate Tanzania in the world capitalist system. It is important to note that both the ideology of socialism and self-reliance, and the structural adjustment programme(SAP) have significantly modified the form of dependent development in the Tanzanian case.

It is only by understanding and synthesising these internal and external factors that one can explain the particularity of social, political and economic processes in the development of the publishing industry. These factors are in reality inseparable. The dependent development perspective as applied to the Tanzanian case is an appropriate approach because its analysis integrates an account of the social- political and

economic contexts within which development takes place.

Thus, although modified, the ideas of the dependent development perspective still live on in new theoretical currents and its place in the growth of the theory of development is undisputed.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study represents the first attempt to analyse the process of development in Tanzania by focusing on the development of the publishing industry.

We believe that in a competitive environment, state owned publishing and distribution can be as good as private ones, and the domestic economy can in general benefit from the private sector competition. This study recommends a mixture of state publishing and a privatized model of production and distribution. This mixture would help avoid the state model being replaced by a private monopoly, in this case dominated by aid agencies such as SIDA.

This is not to say, though, that donor agencies have no part to play. They can help first in terms of building capacity, and secondly, they can contribute to national and regional projects. As regards respecting and building of capacity, it is emphasized that it is primarily the task of the Tanzania government, although this also requires international support. The first step must be to halt the donor- inflicted undermining of national capacity. It is true that adjustment programmes have contributed to this through financial cuts and ideological attacks on the public sector. Donors must be made to reduce their presence through advisers and consultants as the case of the proposed new

TPH/ EAPH suggests. We believe that no external force can be substitute for the missing national capacity and vision.

Provision of adequate resources for building of capacity requires flexible and transparent funding both from the government and donors. It also requires a combination of technical and financial assistance. It should be emphasised that the government has a number of sources of revenue; for example taxation which is the most dependable source. Increased expenditure on education requires a systematic collection of state revenues. Particular concern should be raised about an apparent breakdown in state revenue collection. It is important to note that in the 1993 budget a 24% shortfall in revenue collection was reported (Gibbon 1995:16). This shortfall comprised non-collected import duties and taxes. Duties have been unofficially waived on a number of privately imported consumer and luxury goods during the 1990s. Tax evasion caused loses in government revenue of about Tzsh 70 billion, which is equivalent to \$100 million (The New African Oct.16-22,1995:15). As a result donors decided to freeze their balance of payments support until they were satisfied that Tanzania was making progress towards an increased collection of revenue. It was estimated that \$153 million was being held up (Africa Business no. 203 Oct.1995:10). Meanwhile, donors are pressing for quick privatization of parastatals.

The issue of donor contribution to national and regional projects is critically important. Donor agencies can make distinctive and

collaborative contributions. Donor funded programmes ought to be coordinated to avoid duplication.

The importance of coordination also refers to formulation of policy and methods of approach. Different donors within the same sector, for example education, should not be allowed to use different policies and methods, although the long term results might be the same. The case of SIDA and the World Bank is instructive. Coordinated projects are able to enhance the total production and distribution of publishing industry output. This can be achieved through the stimulation of the growth of local publishing and the strengthening of the commercial and public distribution network.

It is emphasized that the responsibility of formulating sector policies lies with the Tanzania government. Completely regardless of aid dependency, the government should learn to 'say- no' to aid if donors do not subordinate themselves to guidelines the government has designed. Aid coordination modalities must be found.

As the study has demonstrated, economic problems are at the heart of the difficulties Tanzania has experienced. The development of the publishing industry therefore, constitutes a focus on the process of economic development which will ensure self-reliance, accountability and sustainability. The introduction of conditionality has turned aid from a form of gift into a contract-based bargain. This contract is oppressive because it

is entered into by parties with totally different positions of strength. The provision of aid to a specific sector or the economy as a whole intensifies and compounds external influence. As a consequence, the national sovereignty of the recipient is abrogated and a new form of imperialism is introduced. More than thirty years of independence, Tanzania is not socialist, not prosperous and not even self-reliant. Tanzania's long-term solutions to economic problems must be found within Tanzania itself, structural and political changes in the world economy notwithstanding. This requires a very strong state to control the economy so as to ensure a balanced and integrated national development strategy within which the publishing industry will develop. This state must be responsible to its citizens, and not to SIDA, the IMF and the World Bank.

In conclusion, Tanzania's experience will contribute to the building of the general understanding of the problems and processes of developing a publishing industry in a Third World country.

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PART D: PRICES AND COSTS

- i. How do you estimate the number of copies per title to be printed?
 - (a) subject matter.....
 - (b) publisher's knowledge of the market.....
 - (c) authors popularity.....
 - (d) Any other (mention).....

- ii. What average number of copies per title is published by your firm, ie per print run?.....

PART E: ADVERTISING AND DISTRIBUTION

- i. What advertising media do you use?
 - (a) Newspapers..... (mention which ones).....
 - (b) Publisher's own book list/ catalogue
 - (c) Radio.....
 - (d) Visiting libraries and schools with book samples.....
 - (e) Any other.....

- ii. Is your advertising media effective? Yes/No
If yes, how.....
If not, why.....

- iii. Which distribution outlet do you use?
 - (a) Bookshops.....
 - (b) Marketing section of the Publishing House.....
 - (c) News vendors.....
 - (d) Any other (mention).....

- iv. Is your distribution outlet effective? Yes/ No
If yes, how.....
If no, why.....

- v. What obstacles do you face in distributing your books?.....

PART F: JOINT- PUBLISHING

- i. Would you consider joint publishing with:
(a) International publishers? Yes / No

(b) Regional publishers (e.g PTA, SADCC) Yes/ No

If yes, what do you consider to be the advantages of a joint venture with an international/ regional publisher?.....

If not, what do you consider to be the disadvantages of a joint venture with the above publishers?.....
- ii. What would you consider to be the advantages of a joint venture with a local publisher?.....

PART G: POLICY ISSUES

- i. What do you consider to be the contribution of the Publishers's Association of Tanzania since it was established?.....
- ii. What do you consider to be the contribution of the Tanzania Book Writers's Association in solving the book problem in Tanzania?.....
- iii. How would you judge the effect of book grants and donations to the publishing industry in Tanzania?.....
- iv. How far has the policy of economic liberalization helped the development of the publishing industry in Tanzania?.....
- v. Would you consider the language policy to be one the major factors affecting publishing? Yes /No

If yes, how?.....

If no, why?
- vi. Would you consider the liberalization of production and distribution of school/ college books to be boost to the publishing industry? Yes/ No

If yes, how.....

If not, why.....

(b) Primary School Teachers

Name of school.....

District.....

Region.....

i. Pupil/ Book ratio for Grade V- VII

Subject	Number of pupils/textbook	Number of Pupils
---------	---------------------------	------------------

Mathematics

V
VI
VII

History

V
VI
VII

Geography

V
VI
VII

English

V
VI

VII

Kiswahili

V
VI
VII

Science

V
VI
VII

ii. Where are the books stored?.....

iii. Is it easy for pupils to obtain textbooks when ever they require them? Yes/ No

If yes, how.....

iv. At what time is the book used?

- (a) before lesson time
- (b) during the lesson
- (c) after the lesson

v. Have you ever been involved in the preparation of textbook manuscripts by the Institute of Curriculum Development (ICD)? Yes/ No

If not, do you think textbooks produced by ICD are easily understood by pupils? Yes/ No. Give reasons for your answer.....

vi. If you were asked which language should be the medium of instruction in schools between Kiswahili and English, which one would you prefer?

- (a) Kiswahili
- (b) English

Give reasons for your answer.....

vii. What reforms would you like made in the education system so as to make your work much easier?.....

viii. Would you think the liberalization of production and distribution of textbooks to schools will help solve the problem of availability of books to schools?

Yes, how.....

No, why.....

(c) Authors

- i. Would you consider the education language policy to be one of the major factors effecting publishing in Tanzania? Yes/ No

If yes, how.....

If not, why.....

- ii. Would you consider that the policy of economic liberalization has helped to boost the development of the publishing industry in Tanzania? Yes/ No

If yes, how.....

- iii. Would you consider the liberalization of production and distribution to be a boost to the development of publishing in Tanzania? Yes/ No

If yes, how.....

If not, why.....

- iv. What would you consider to be the effect of International Organizations'(eg. World Bank, SIDA, CODE) involvement through book production and distribution to the development of the publishing industry?.....

- v. What do you consider to be the relationship between the Publishers's Association of Tanzania (PATA) and the Tanzania Association of Book Writers (UWAVITA)?.....

- vi. How far has the lack of government involvement led to the deterioration of the book trade with a damaging effect on educational provision?.....

- vii. What do you think the government should do to alleviate the book shortage in Tanzania?.....

(d) Bookshops

Name.....

Location..... Year established.....

- i. Generally, what problems does your bookshop face?.....

- ii. How would you judge the effect of the Tanzania Elimu Supplies on the development of bookshops in Tanzania?.....

- iii. How far has the policy of economic liberalization helped to boost the development of the book trade in Tanzania?.....

- iv. Would you consider liberalization of production and distribution of school/ college books to be a boost to book selling? Yes / No

If yes, how.....

If not, why.....

POLICY ON PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOL/
COLLEGE BOOKS

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The policy repeals circular No. EDTT/ 8/184 dated 1st August 1970 of the Ministry of Education and Culture titled 'SALE OF TEXTBOOKS PRODUCED BY THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION.

1.2 The policy aims at transforming the Textbook Production and Distribution to a complete commercialized system whereby the entire book provision would be marshalled by publishers.

1.3 The policy applies to pre-primary, primary, secondary and teacher education levels.

1.4 The policy comes into effect from 1st January 1992.

2 TRANSITION PERIOD.

2.1 This is a transformation period towards complete commercialization of Book Production and Distribution.

2.2 Time frame:

This period will depend on how the various agencies which are the Institute of Curriculum Development (ICD), the Publishers, the Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC) and the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) organise themselves to Manage the expected change.

2.3 Assignment of agencies:

During this period, ICD will continue to prepare and manage manuscripts for most of the subjects while publishers would be contracted to prepare some on a competitive basis.

Alternatively, the publishers might be contracted to revise a few titles which have been in use in schools.

Finally, after the publishers have acquired much experience in successful publishing and have improved financially,

they would be contracted to publish up to printing and marketing.

Distribution of textbooks would mainly continue to be undertaken by the Government. The responsibility of distribution from Central warehouses to District Warehouses would continue to be vested in the Prime Minister's Office for primary education materials. However, the distribution of materials from District Warehouses would continue to be the responsibility of District Councils. The transportation of textbooks and other educational materials would be done by transporters. Transportation would comprise public/parastatal and private companies. These would compete through tender to be selected for rendering transport services.

3.0 LONG TERM POLICY:

3.1 The long term marks the commercial period of book production and distribution. During this period:-

(a) ICD will remain with the sole responsibility of Curriculum Development.

(b) The Government will have no direct involvement in actual book production and distribution. The Government will simply recommend suitable titles for use in schools.

(c) Publishers will assume the entire activities of production and distribution which include:

- author contracting
- editing, illustration, design etc.
- subcontracting of printing
- financing
- warehousing
- marketing
- sales
- distribution

(d) The following will be the long term production model:

ICD prepares curricula
|
Approval of the Curricula by MOEC
|
Authors / Publishers prepare manuscripts
|
Publishers identify printers
|
Printers deliver books to Publishers godowns
|
Publishers store books for sales/ distribution

3.2 PLANNING PRODUCTION:

(a) Planning the preparation and development of textbooks would be the responsibility of each educational book publisher. The centralised planning of textbook production would no longer apply at this stage. Publishers in their own right would be expected to draw up both short and long term textbook production programmes for their respective firms. There would be as many textbook plans as there are interested local educational book publishers.

(b) The role which is expected to be played by the MOEC is to provide materials for facilitating the production of books. The most important raw material would be approved syllabuses. The MOEC would be expected to furnish the publishers with copies of approved syllabus, together with information on policy changes so that they would have time to adjust themselves accordingly.

3.3 AUTHORSHIP:

(a) This task would be open to all interested individuals and institutions (public and private). Individuals may write manuscripts and endeavour to find publishers. On the other hand, commercial publishers would be expected to initiate manuscript writing through commissioning writers.

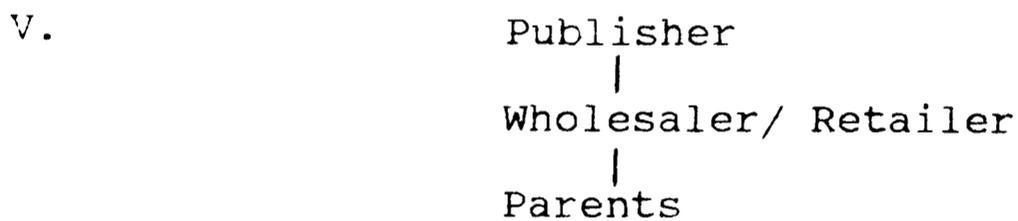
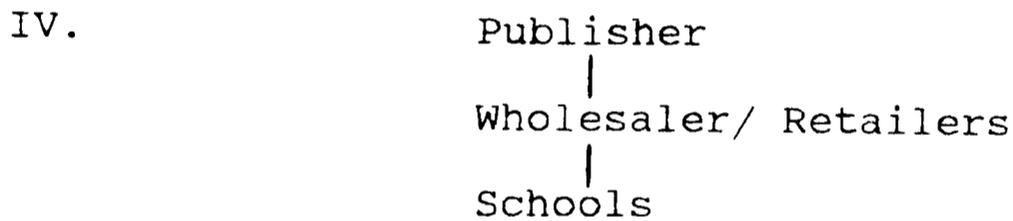
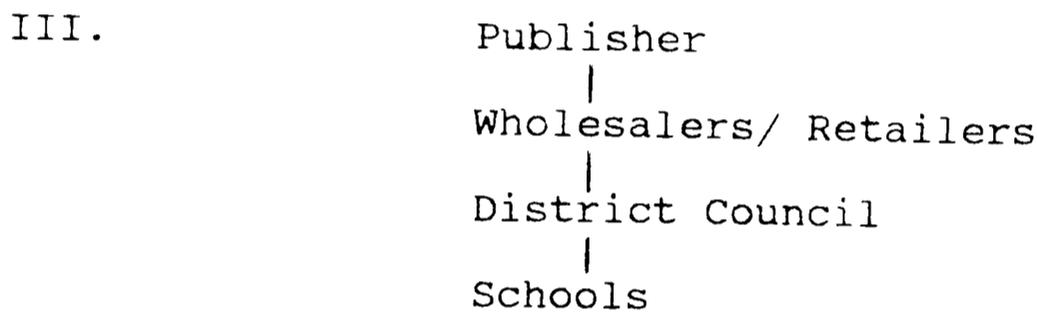
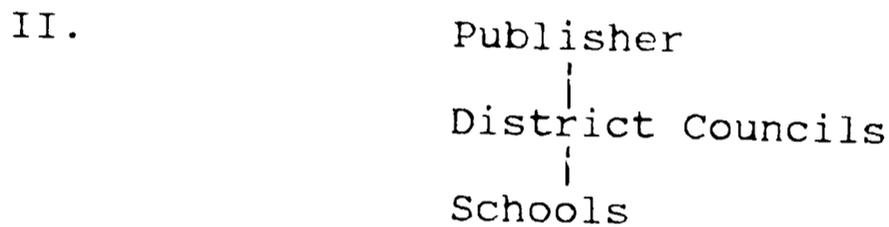
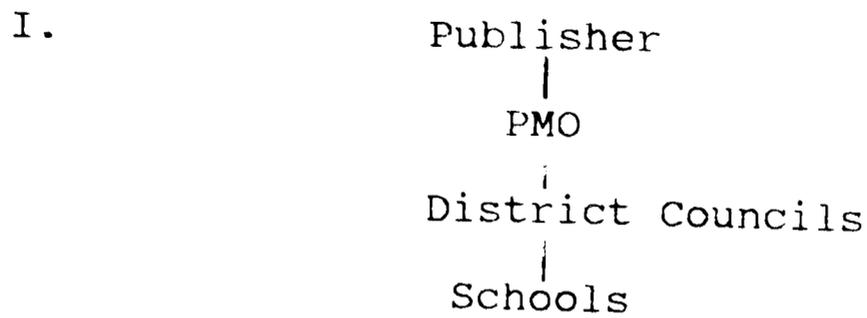
(b) Publishers normally tend to specialise in some subject areas, and as such publishers in the long term acquire such specialisation.

3.4 PRINTING:

Publishers would be responsible for buying printing services from printers. They would be expected to have professional skills to select the most appropriate printer for the type of printing jobs planned by the publisher. Consequently, publishers would contract a printer who would give a good price as well as be able to produce books of excellent finish. On the other hand, they would be faced with the challenge of competing for jobs from publishers.

3.5 DISTRIBUTION:

(a) The following models would operate:



(b) The models can be put to function simultaneously depending on various factors, mainly on the level of functioning of District Councils, and the publishers together with Wholesalers and Retailers. The following are possible alternatives:

(i) If the publishers and District Councils are strong the later can get supplies directly from the publishers (Model II). In that case the PMO will have nothing to do with

distribution. Model I is currently in use because the District Councils are very weak.

(ii) When a stage is reached whereby Wholesalers/ Retailers start establishing themselves, either independently or as part of the publishers chain of activities, the District Councils can get their supplies from the Wholesalers/ Retailers directly (Model III).

(iii) If schools are under strong management and funds are managed directly by them, they can get the supplies directly from Wholesalers/ Retailers.

At this stage the State (PMO and District Councils) is not involved in the distribution of school materials (Model IV).

(iv) Model V is not affected at all with what is happening in other models as long as Wholesalers/ Retailers are well established. Therefore, the parents can buy school materials for their children even if the school(government) does the same.

(v) In other words, as the system matures, publishers would be responsible for warehousing, marketing and sales of books. It is envisaged that publishers would sell education materials directly to schools or would use agents e.g bookshops. It is hoped that as the system develops, the bookshop network would continue to expand to cover all towns in the country. The role of the State in distribution will gradually disappear as the new system develops.