PROMOTING NATIONAL SECURITY THROUGH DIPLOMACY IN TANZANIA Noel E. Kaganda

Mainland Tanzania attained independence in December 1961, while Zanzibar did so in January 1964. The two sovereign states united in April 1964 to form the United Republic of Tanzania (henceforth Tanzania), a nation-state whose people are united by ancestry, history, culture, and, most importantly, Kiswahili, a language spoken by over 200 million people worldwide.

The concept of security has traditionally been associated with states and how they project power toward one another; this is realism. However, since the end of the Cold War, the concept has been broadened to include a wide array of threats facing humankind, such as protracted intrastate conflicts, pandemics, natural disasters, poverty and hunger, terrorism, as well as violent extremism. These threats can impact individuals, communities and economies, necessitating collaborative efforts.¹

Diplomacy is the application of intelligence and tact in the conduct of official relations between sovereign governments or between these governments and international entities.² Diplomacy is one of the instruments employed by nation-states to secure their core national interests. Intelligence, military, and economy, collectively abbreviated 'DIME,' are other instruments of national power.

In mainland Tanzania, diplomacy appears to be the most refined instrument of national power, having been used to secure the country's political independence. The late Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere (henceforth Mwalimu Nyerere), famously known as *the Father of the Nation*, and his fellow leaders, negotiated intensively in the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations and succeeded in persuading its members that Tanganyika was ready for full independence. As for the military, mainland Tanzania inherited the King's African Rifles (KAR) from the British, which, despite its transformation to Tanganyika Rifles, preserved the culture, discipline, and personnel of the colonial force. The mutiny of Tanganyika Rifles soldiers in January 1964 influenced the creation of an indigenous armed force known as the Tanzania inherited a shattered economy and an intelligence service designed to serve the interests of the colonial administration. These instruments have since been strengthened to work effectively with diplomacy to secure the nation's strategic objectives.

Tanzania's foreign policy – that is, the approach chosen by the government to achieve its strategic objectives in relation to external entities³ was first clarified by Presidential Circular No. 2 of 1964. The policy placed emphasis on the virtues of humanity, tolerance, non-alignment, and good neighbourliness, among others. It also provided for the actors involved in the formulation and execution of the foreign policy, namely the President as the principal executive authority, commonly referred to as the Chief Diplomat, who is closely assisted by the Minister responsible for foreign affairs, the Permanent Secretary, and other foreign

¹ Buzan, B. (1991). New Patterns of Global Security in the Twenty-First Century. International Affairs, 67.3, pp. 432-433.2.

²Roberts, I., & Satow, E. M. (2009). Satow's diplomatic practice. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

³Smith,S., Hadfield,A., & Dunne, T. (2012). Foreign Policy: theories, actors, cases. Oxford:Oxford University Press.

service officials serving both at the Ministry's headquarters and its bilateral and multilateral missions abroad.

Despite being born at the peak of the Cold War, Tanzania managed to maintain relations with both the Western and Eastern blocs. Through the principle of non-alignment, Tanzania refrained from being involved in major power disputes, albeit it always used appropriate fora to render advice to parties in dispute on the appropriate cause of action for achieving peace, as prescribed in the United Nations Charter. Only recently, at the United Nations General Assembly, did Tanzania call on the parties involved in the crisis in Ukraine to resolve the conflict through dialogue and mutual accommodation, underscoring that there will be no military solution to the crisis, which has endured for over six months, causing wanton suffering to the civilian population while also disrupting global trade in essential products such as oil.

In the spirit of good neighbourliness, Tanzania has remained safe and secure in a region that is prone to conflicts, as witnessed in Burundi, Rwanda, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In the spirit of humanity, Tanzania shelters thousands of refugees from conflictaffected countries in the region. In 2014, the government naturalized over 162,000 former Burundian refugees who fled their country in 1972. During the same year, the government naturalized around 3,000 Somali Bantu refugees that had sought refuge in the country since the early 1990s. In 1982, the government made a similar decision by naturalizing around 32,000 Rwandan refugees. These humanitarian acts, along with the assistance provided to southern African freedom fighters from the 1960s to the 1990s, mediation facilitation provided to Burundi, Kenya and Rwanda, operations to restore legitimate governments in the Comoros and Seychelles and operations to support peace in the DRC and elsewhere, are just a few illustrations of Tanzania's adherence to the principles of humanity, friendship, good neighbourliness and support for United Nations goals.

Tanzania's diplomatic efforts in the multilateral fora as well as her moral and material support for liberation struggles in southern Africa contributed to Zimbabwe's independence in April 1980 and Namibia's independence in March 1990. It also influenced the commencement of negotiations to end apartheid in South Africa in May 1990, which led to the repeal of the apartheid legislation in 1992, consequently paving the way for the first multiracial democratic election in South Africa in 1994. With all the aforementioned achievements, the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) was transformed into a Southern African Development Community (SADC) in 1992, with the latter focusing on developing the economy, alleviating poverty, improving the quality of life of the people of southern Africa, and ensuring political stability as well as peace and security. As a founding member of SADC, Tanzania espouses these noble goals, whose realization is creating a condition for continued peace, tranquillity, and prosperity in the region, despite a few challenges in some member states.

Like SADC, the East African Community (EAC) has been providing a useful forum for Tanzania and other partner states to deliberate on the challenges facing them, either individually or collectively, to find long-term solutions to those challenges. The challenges include constrained trade; restrictions on the movement of goods, people, labour, services as well as capital; proliferation of armed groups, small arms and light weapons; illegal migration; human and drug trafficking; the growing wave of terrorism and violent extremism; as well as energy and infrastructure deficiencies. Besides such deliberations, the EAC Treaty has established institutions for nurturing and promoting good governance and the rule of law, such as the East African Legislative Assembly (EALA) and the East African Court of Justice (EACJ).

Likewise, through the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR), Tanzania has been able to participate in discussions seeking long-term solutions to the insecurity in eastern DRC, which is exacerbated in part by the presence of over 120 armed groups and the availability of vastly distributed natural resources that are being illegally exploited by both internal and external actors. The interventions by the ICGLR and other sub-regional, continental and international organizations, though modest, have prevented the conflicts from spiralling out of control and spilling into neighbouring countries, including Tanzania. Tanzania also participates in a peacekeeping mission in the DRC as a result of ICGLR and SADC discussions and resolutions.

The introduction of multi-party democracy in Tanzania in 1992 ushered in a new era of political dispensation. The first multi-party elections were held in 1995, with the candidate of the ruling party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), the late Benjamin William Mkapa, becoming the third president of the United Republic of Tanzania. President Mkapa called for the review of Tanzania's foreign policy, considering the economic and socio-political developments that transpired nationally, regionally and internationally during its implementation phase, especially in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Whereas the traditional foreign policy emphasized the value of humanity, the pursuit of political emancipation and decolonization in Africa and beyond, as well as Pan-Africanism, the New Foreign Policy, as it is famously known, launched in 2001, emphasises the promotion of economic diplomacy, while preserving the past gains and consolidating traditional foreign policy fundamentals.

During their tenure, Tanzanian successive presidents participated in several multilateral engagements that resulted in agreements that had a significant impact on Tanzania's core national interests. These include, but are not limited to, the United Nations Millennium Summit, which resulted in the adoption of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), a new global framework for combating extreme poverty and achieving economic growth. The MDGs were translated domestically through the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty, also known as MKUKUTA in Kiswahili.

In his part, President Dr Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete championed Tanzania's participation in the evaluation of the MDGs and negotiations as well as the adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which replaced the latter. Tanzania has been able to continuously forge global partnerships for addressing vices such as poverty, illiteracy, and diseases that have threatened her national security since independence, through negotiations and persuasion – that is diplomacy. The late President, Dr John Pombe Joseph Magufuli, focused on strategic transnational infrastructure projects, such as the Standard Gauge Railway (SGR), to connect Tanzania's land linked neighbours to the Indian Ocean, thereby enhancing both their and Tanzania's national security. Furthermore, he persuaded Uganda to transport its crude oil from Hoima to the Tanga port via the yet-to-be-built East Africa Crude Oil Pipeline (EACOP). Similar to how the Tanzania Zambia crude oil pipeline (TAZAMA) and Tanzania Zambia Railways (TAZARA) projects, which were launched in 1968 and 1975, respectively, were regarded as tools for political liberation, the SGR and EACOP are contemporary tools for economic emancipation and the protection of national interests of the countries involved.

As was the case with the third phase, the sixth phase government, led by President Samia Suluhu Hassan, has called for a review of foreign policy to account for the changes that have occurred since its formulation and adoption in the late 1990s and early 2000s, respectively. Among other things, the goal of these reforms is to ensure that diplomacy remains an effective tool for ensuring Tanzania's national security. Since assuming office, President Samia has visited Tanzania's neighbouring countries, namely Burundi, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Rwanda, Uganda, and Zambia, confirming the validity of the principle of good neighbourliness. Moreover, she has attended several meetings of both the EAC and the SADC, confirming Tanzania's continued commitment to regional economic integration. Similarly, she has attended African Union and United Nations meetings, reaffirming Tanzania's unwavering commitment to both African Unity and the virtues of multilateralism through the United Nations. Likewise, several joint permanent commissions have been held during her tenure, and Tanzania is currently being visited by several foreign envoys. During such visits, numerous agreements are signed, to attest to the effectiveness of this instrument of national power. With the current trajectory, diplomacy will undoubtedly remain an indispensable tool for achieving Tanzania's strategic national objectives.