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The Security and Strategic Forum

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Preface

The National Defence College – Tanzania is celebrating ten years since its establishment in 2012. The College has thrived to engage the general public, experts and policy makers through the dissemination of important information for our nation's security and strategy.

I am pleased to write this Preface for the Special Edition of The Security and Strategic Forum. The articles contained in this publication are in line with the Tenth Anniversary celebration's theme "Tanzania's Independence, Nation– Building, Security and Development." The national security and strategy is our centre of focus as reflected in Tanzania's political, social, cultural, historical, diplomatic and economic aspects. Again, this is in line with the Journal's niche, to engender and highlight critical issues for our national interests.

The eleven articles contained in this edition are by distinguished leaders invited to the College for the Lectures of Opportunity, Ambassadorial Lectures; some by former Faculty Members, scholars and NDC Alumni. This Edition brings together topics relevant to our country's current and future security and strategic landscapes. The articles bring together topics that are in my view, relevant to our countries' security and strategic concerns. They range from education, development multilateralism, geo-politics, foreign policy, regional integration, economy, peacekeeping and Tanzania's post-2025 environment.

Certainly this compilation, with powerful contributions, will significantly complement the ongoing debate on "finding domestic-grown solutions for Africa's problems."
It is my pleasure to kindly welcome our esteemed readers to this Fifth Edition of The Security and Strategic Forum.

Maj Gen IM Mhona, ndc

Commandant, NDC – Tanzania

From the Chief Editor

Since its establishment the National Defence College - Tanzania publishes topics that inform national security and strategy. This is the fifth of the NDC special editions, mainly published as part of the College's Tenth Anniversary celebrations. This issue encompasses a collection of articles, lectures and topics presented by prominent leaders and selected contributions from our alumni and guest speakers. These contributions are, in our view, very special to the College and our Nations in general. They deserve a wider attention and therefore, we have decided to publish them in this special edition so that they can be read by the wider audience.

This issue entails eleven articles. Some are selected Lectures of Opportunity delivered at the NDC by our former Heads of State. The topics are, to some degree, related and they address our concerns from the domestic to the international level. A lecture by His Excellency Benjamin William Mkapa, the former President of the United Republic of Tanzania is on the challenges that multilateralism face currently and how that affect Africa – diplomatically and in terms of development. The article offers solutions to the challenge faced. This was President Mkapa's last lecture at the NDC. H.E Dr. Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete discusses about the role of education for development and stability. He uses his experience in leading and the recommendations by the International Commission on Financing Global Education Opportunity report. His Excellency Dr. Ali Mohammed Shein, the then President of Zanzibar and Chairman of the Revolutionary Council uses Zanzibar's experience to underscore the importance of peace and security, particularly socio – economic development as the mainstays for development.

The lectures by three excellencies were Ambassadorial lectures delivered during Course Ten 2021/22 and Course Seven 2018/19 respectively.   Her Excellency Amb. Elisabeth Jacobsen discusses about Norway's foreign policy in particular, issues related to peace diplomacy, women, maritime security, peacekeeping missions and the others. In addition she discusses about the Nordic Countries' geo-politics and security policy as well as defence cooperation. The lecture by H.E. Amb. Lt. Gen. (rtd) Anselem Nhamo Sanyatwe dwells on Zimbabwe's foreign policy. Among others, His Excellency looks into the Country's history, politics, economy and foreign policy. Amb. Amina Salum Ali discusses about new economic outlook, the fourth industrial revolution, the role of economic intelligence and how these inform African countries' economies currently and in the future. In one of his last lectures at the College Professor Mohabe Nyirabu uses the political economy approach to examine the political and economic perspectives in the currently rapid evolving military global environment threats. He examines factors such as international organisations, ideology and power configuration, among others.

Amb. Dr. Abdularhman Kaniki who is our alumni and a regular Guest Speaker analyses the security challenges that the East African Community faces as it moves towards political federation and the initiatives taken to address them. Among others, he identifies resource-based conflicts, climate change, corruption and transnational organized crimes as some of the challenges. Professor Eginald Mihanjo, who was the first Director of Studies, examines the current and future roles of NDC and how the institution can continue to contribute to Tanzania's security and strategic aspects in both short and long terms. Brigadier General Mbaraka Naziad Mkeremy who is again NDC alumni and Guest Speaker has written about peacekeeping operations. The focus of his article is based on the grounds that peacekeeping operations seem to be controversial instrument in promoting global peace and security but, nevertheless, remain important. The last publication contained in this volume is a Capstone Course lecture by Col (rtd) Joseph Simbakalia who is also Editorial Board Member. This lecture was delivered to top level government functionaries during the 2016 Capstone Course which looks into Africa into the future, particularly for Tanzania beyond Development Vision 2025. The Lecture was found to be very relevant.

The articles are diverse and informative. They all enlighten our countries' national security and strategies for the nation's survival at present and in the future. On behalf of the Editorial Board, sincere appreciation to the contributors and those who have deligently worked towards publishing this volume. I should specifically thank the technical team led by Lieutenant Colonel Robert Kajogo and Major Mary Motiba. We hope that the articles will provide broader insights to our readers. We invite you all to read and we will appreciate to receive your contributions and comments.

Lucy Shule (Ph.D)
Editor-in-Chief and Director of Studies

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THE CRISIS OF MULTILATERALISM AND ITS IMPLICATION TO AFRICA

Lecture of Opportunity by H.E. Benjamin William Mkapa, Former President of the United Republic of Tanzania at National Defence College - Tanzania, Wednesday 18th March, 2020

Salutations!!!!!!

It gives me great pleasure to be here at this magnificent Defence College, and even more pleasing to visit again, to deliver a lecture on a pertinent topic of our time.

But before I do that, let me begin with a little exposé from academia. Those of you who undertook studies in International Relations must be fully aware of the two most dominant theories in that scholarship, namely Realism and Liberalism. I do not intend to delve into the debate about which strand explains and predicts better the state of international relations in this new 21st century. But in relation to what I am going to speak today, I was fascinated by the position taken by one of the proponents of Realism named John Mearsheimer with respect to the functioning of multilateralism and its institutions. In an article, he demonstrated the extent of the divergence of beliefs in the constraining power of multilateral institutions in shaping the behavior of nations.

In the Winter of 1994 this renowned American International Relations scholar wrote a famous article titled; "The False Promise of International Institutions." In this article he was scathingly critical of the so-called liberal institutionalists who placed higher belief on multilateral norms and institutionalized cooperation as a way to address global issues and bring peace. For him, institutions have little or no influence on the behavior of state and are mere reflections of great power politics. He argued that, multilateral institutions:

"reflect state calculations of self-interest based primarily on the international distribution of power. The most powerful states in the system create and shape institutions so that they can maintain their share of power, or even increase it."

I do not share the same degree of pessimism towards multilateral institutions as Mearsheimer, but the recent happenings at the Security Council can best illustrate Mearsheimer's standpoint.

I thought I should start my talk from a theoretical pedestal to just give you a sense of what theorists say about some occurrences in the international arena. Allow me to scan the international arena and enlist some developments that inform my choice of the topic for today's talk.

Since 2000 there have been 36 Security Council Resolutions that have been vetoed by the United States or Russia or China. These resolutions range from noble causes like Humanitarian Access in Syria (S.2019/961) to the use of Chemical Weapons in Syria (S/2017/970,962 and 884); some relate to peace and democracy in Africa in countries like Zimbabwe, and the Central African Republic.

From 1970, the United States has vetoed a total of 44 Security Council Resolutions aimed at addressing the Palestine/Israel situation and especially condemning the latter for their use of disproportionate force.

The trade-negotiations round of the World Trade Organization (WTO) known popularly as The Doha Development Round or the Doha Development Agenda (DDA) which commenced in November 2001 with such appropriate objectives as lowering or removing trade barriers around the world, thus facilitating increased global trade, have stalled after several rounds. Despite parallel efforts to revive them, there remains a very slim chance of success.

One of the biggest challenges of our time is Climate Change which is caused mainly by anthropogenic activities. Due to its unrivalled industrial development – the United States remains the biggest polluter. But on June 1, 2017, United States President Donald Trump announced their withdrawal from the 2015 Paris Agreement a multilateral agreement reached under the aegis of UNFCCC (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change) to try to curtail and mitigate the effects of Climate change.

The US President argued that the withdrawal would help American businesses and workers as the Paris Agreement puts the US at a "permanent disadvantage. With no regard for the "permanent disadvantage" which the withdrawal would cause to developing countries, most of them African!

The UK has officially left the European Union. The poll conducted by Lord Ashcroft's team during the referendum for BREXIT showed that. Nearly half (49%) of leave voters said the biggest single reason was rising nationalism and   especially "the principle that decisions about the UK should be taken in the UK by the UK, logically implying: "on behalf of 66 million UK citizens and not 508 million EU residents." The sense that EU membership took decision-making further away from 'the people' in favor of domination by regulatory bodies – in particular the European Commission, seen as the supposed key decision-taking body, is said to have been a strong motivating factor for leave voters wanting to end or reverse the process of EU influence in the UK.

These observations and many others drove me to one very poignant conclusion which many analysts and observers of the international system have also reached. This is that our collective belief on the multilateral system to resolve transnational issues is considerably waning. Coupled with this sad reality, the rise of what I would call "bellicose nationalism" in the midst of deepening interconnectedness and interdependence exacerbates the matter.

When you see negotiations of such transnational significance are hamstrung by parochial nationalist agenda; when the apex body responsible for global peace and security is rendered indecisive and almost impotent even on humanitarian issues; when countries abdicate their responsibility to be accountable for their contribution to climate change whose effect is global; when countries abandon regional groupings because they can' t trust the supranational entity comprising their own representatives to make viable decisions for them; it behoves us to ask ourselves two important questions.

First, Is the multilateral system (multilateralism) in crisis or under siege?

Second, Is multilateralism incompatible with nationalism and sovereignty?

These questions explain my decision to choose the topic for my talk, namely ***The Crisis of Multilateralism and its Implications in the African Continent.*** Weakening of any multilateral institution is a very dangerous happening in the maintenance of international order. But of grave concern to many of us in the community of developing, non-aligned nations is the threat to the United Nations system of multilateral cooperation which includes a broader system of norms, agreed upon rules and institutions to regulate disputes among states, manage economic competition and set limits on the use of force based on the principle of sovereign equality.

What is Multilateralism?

An American International Relations scholar at Harvard' s Kennedy School of Government named John Ruggie, also named as one of the 25 most influential International Relations scholars in the United States and Canada by Magazine and who once served under Koffi Annan as a United Nations Assistant Secretary General for Strategic Planning, defined this term in a way that I find most fitting. He said;

"Multilateralism is an institutional form which coordinates relations among three or more states on the basis of generalized conduct— that is, principles which specify appropriate conduct for a class of actions, without regard to the particularistic interests of the parties or the strategic exigencies that may exist in any specific occurrence."

Pertinence of this definition to my talk arises from its implying recognition— in the term "generalized conduct" – of the centrality of International Law as the bedrock of multilateralism. That recognition, allows a reasonable accommodation of diversity and pluralism. It stands to reason that, it is precisely the trait of generality that has enabled international law to anchor the many multilateral institutions like the United Nations, WTO and others, that have grown and endured as forums for addressing a wide range of collective concerns, especially the taking into account of the special and differential needs of newly independent developing countries.

Scramble for Africa

Seven European states in Berlin in 1884 under Chancellor Bismark, competed vigorously for possession of African territory: France, Britain, Germany, Portugal, Spain, Italy and Belgium in the guise of King Leopold. Their motives were mixed.

All were driven in part by a sense of national prestige: empire building abroad marked their status as a great power and gained popular support. All regarded themselves as bearers of superior culture, bringing enlightenment to a benighted continent. Bismarck glossed over the mutual suspicions and rivalries rife among the delegates and dressed up the occupation of Africa with fine words:

> "The imperial government has been guided by the conviction that all the governments invited here share the desire to associate the natives of Africa with civilization, by opening up the interior to commerce, by furnishing the natives with the means of instruction, by encouraging missions and enterprises so that solid knowledge may be disseminated, and by paving the way to the suppression of slavery."

In fact the African territories became possessions of European powers without independent governance and ownership of their lands and natural resources. For the next six decades the International order was an order of principally European States.

At the end of the first and second world wars, both the winner and the loser nations agreed on the shape of the new international Order. The process was accomplished by the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, and with the end of the Second World War led to the shaping of the United Nations the formation of the United Nations Organisation and the Breton Woods financial Institutions (the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank). In due course others followed, eg. The ILO and the WIPO. The important thing to note is the African territories, still under colonial and racist occupation, had no hand in shaping them.

Since World War II, multilateralism has been the dominant modus operandi of the post-World War II international order and this, I think, is because the basic features of a universal conception of law remained unchallenged to a large extent. Mindful of that time, those of us who have benefited immensely from the efficacy of multilateral institution especially during the struggle for decolonization, find it hard to comprehend the current disarray we are witnessing in the multilateral arena. I wondered whether the upswing of multilateralism we witnessed in early 1990s was indeed the highest point of what was achievable because the shared ground on which to build the system was much more limited and fragile than it seemed.

It is by critically looking at the recent events like the unilateral military actions by most powerful member states, in Iraq and Ukraine; outright rejection of universally-accepted humanitarian principles by powerful militant extremist like Al-Shabab and ISIS; misuse by some donors of emergency aid as political instruments of political coercion, that I started off with the quote from Mearsheimer's article for I find much truth in the genesis of all these institutions and the objectives for which they were formed.

Why do we find ourselves in this mess?

It is universally acknowledged that multilateralism is indeed in crisis. But this is not a 'new cold war' situation where tensions between powerful countries paralyze large tracts of the international system.

Richard Gowan and Anthony Dworkin in the Policy Brief for the European Council on Foreign Relations titled, "Three Crises and Opportunity: Europe's Mistakes in Multilateralism" that came out in September 2019 argues that;

> "The Multilateral system faces three connected crises. The first is the crisis of power, as global shifts in economic and political weight erode the bases of the system. The second is the crisis of relevance, as the UN and other global bodies struggle to handle old and new threats. The third is the crisis of legitimacy, as influential governments and angry populist movements question the value and ambitions that have grown up around multilateral bodies."

This crisis was bound to happen at some point given the inequities inherent in the structures and the perceived reach and intrusiveness of these institutions. However, this crisis to us in developing nations offers a window of opportunity because it compels us to undertake a serious and sober analysis of the frailties within the existing system and to claim a front-row seat in the efforts to undertake a circumspect restructuring the system to ensure that they reconcile the institutional commitments like universal social development goals alongside sovereign equality of all states with apparent great power politics.

Henry Kissinger in his book, *World Order: Reflections on the Character of Nations and the Cause of History* shared the same analysis as the EU Policy Brief I have cited. He alluded to epochs like this in the life of international systems when he said:

> "Every International order must sooner or later face the impact of two tendencies challenging its cohesion: either a redefinition of the legitimacy or a significant shift in the balance of power. The first tendency occurs when the values underlying international arrangements are fundamentally altered–abandoned by those charged with maintaining them or overturned by revolutionary imposition of an alternative legitimacy… … the second cause of an international order's crisis is when the system proves unable to accommodate a major change in power relations."

Ideally speaking, for any multilateral system to be sustainable–given the heterogeneity of member states in terms of powers and influence–has to be somewhat a hybrid one. It has to be not only aspirational in terms of reaffirming the fundamental principles like sovereign equality but also be a realist system of managing competition among sovereign states. That is lacking in the current system where "might is always right." Therefore, the rise of other powers like China, Iran, Brazil, armed with both military and financial might to agitate against the unfairness within the present system has worked to destabilize the traditional beneficiaries who continue to fight back to maintain the status quo.

Ironically though, the most formidable challenge to multilateralism, in my opinion, is not from the increasingly assertive non-western powers but from the West themselves who have been the beneficiary, shapers and defenders of the existing system. A rise of bellicose nationalist leaders has fermented a backlash against the system due to its perceived reach and intrusiveness. This backlash is driven mainly by economic concerns including uneven distribution of the fortunes of globalization. Issues of illegal migration, "unfair trade agreements" for example have boosted the political fortunes of some self-styled "populist" leaders who prefer a unilateralist and transactional approach to address international concerns.

Though it is their sovereign right to do so, it is hard to understand the rationale behind the US withdrawal from the Human Rights Council; the Paris Agreement on Climate Change; initiation of "trade wars" with China; withdrawal from UNESCO, etc. I find these actions unmistakably anti-multilateralism.

Even BREXIT on the part of the UK can best illustrate the disgruntlement of the Britons to the Multilateral entity in resolving their problems and preference for a unilateral posture. More worrying is the emergence of some far-right leaders who appear to even question the fundamental precepts and provisions of International Law such as the right of refugees from conflict zones, prohibition of torture, rules of the world trading system or the prohibition of the use of force.

I believe that the system, though under siege, still works and is only under siege currently. But because the hitherto beneficiaries, who were the founders of the existing post-World War II multilateral order that revolves around the United Nations, are questioning the basic foundations of the system, there is a clear and present danger that the system may simply succumb and atrophy.

The question then arises whether a different system can emerge that is anchored on the norms that are promoted and shaped by the leading non-western powers. If it does, then the world may be moving to a leaner multilateralism. How are we in Africa, prepared for such an eventuality?

What are the Implications of this Crisis to Africa?

Most African countries can attest to the success of multilateral systems in the fight against colonialism under the Fourth Committee of the United Nations General Assembly now known as Special Political and Decolonization Committee, as well as the Security Council of those days. The success culminated in the independence of many countries in Africa including the then Tanganyika which was placed under the Trusteeship Council. The adoption of the right of self-determination for colonized people in 1960 was one of the watershed moments that gave impetus to Africa's struggle for independence. This eventually saw many countries in the continent being triumphantly ushered into the Organisation of nations. They successfully fought the scourge of colonialism with some help from this well-functioning multilateral institution–the United Nations. Another reminder was when the General Assembly took a firm stand against the Apartheid South Africa, and mounted pressure for South Africa to relinquish its governing mandate over Namibia.

The impotence of the multilateral institutions has begun to manifest itself in many ways in Africa. Most conflicts in Africa are driven from 'above.' The Director of World Peace Foundation Alex De Waal in his Background Paper for African Union Annual Mediator' s Retreat in October 2017 titled, *The Emerging Global Order, Multilateralism and Africa,* summed up succinctly the manifestations of the failure of the international system that consequently drives conflicts in Africa, when he said:

> "The encroachment of Middle Eastern power rivalries into Africa; the militarization of international assistance under the umbrella of the 'war on terror'; the opportunities for personal enrichment of the political class and funding of political parties opened up by transnational corporations, natural resource rents and offshore secrecy jurisdictions in which financial assets can be hidden, along with transnational organized crime. Africa demonstrates an exaggerated version of a world phenomenon in which inequality has intensified and the principal beneficiaries of economic growth consist of a globalized and deracinated global elite, disconnected from communities deprived of most of the immediate and visible advantages of globalization."

On the aspect of trade, matters of international trade are increasingly being recognized widely as major shapers of international politics and multilateral order. As multilateralism is weakening globally and regionally like in the case of EU and BREXIT, African countries have taken a most profound and ambitious step forward in the African regional integration manifested by the establishment of an African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA). While is monumentally important not only in terms of augmenting our efforts in developing intra-continental trade, but also it will amplify our voice and influence in the wider reforms of the global trade regime under the WTO that we have been long agitating for. There are long standing calls from developing nations to address inequities and imbalances in some existing multilateral trade rules and agreements that have worked to accord inherent advantages mainly to the developed members. I will mention just some few

1. TRIPS (Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights) rules have facilitated monopoly rents, and diminished even a modicum of possibility for technology transfer badly needed in our side of the world for our development;

2. TRIMS (Trade-Related Investment Measures) rules has disallowed members to use local content requirements therefore favoring industrialized economies.

3. Subsidies Agreements constrain the policy space African countries need to nurture their nascent industries but at the same time allow the financially rich countries with the means to provide substantial support to their high-tech, knowledge-intensive industries deemed critical to their future prosperity; and lastly.

4. The Agreement on Agriculture has allowed developed countries to continue their high subsidies on agricultural products including those exported to our countries, impacting on the livelihoods of our farmers and food security.

The list goes on and on. The situation is exacerbated by lack of inclusiveness and transparency in the negotiation process under the aegis of WTO. It is imperative therefore that, we Africans strive to respond to the exigencies of strengthening our economies through augmenting intra-Africa trade as espoused under the AfCFTA.

We should also be mindful of the fact that while our demands in the global trade regime are valid and fair, they cut through the very centre of the existing west-centric trade regime. We shouldn't therefore expect to have them granted to us without some resistance from those who are benefiting from the status quo. The current crisis in the multilateral system provides us with that enormous opportunity to re-strategize especially at this time when the traditional big powers are back-pedalling from the system.

For us in Africa where all countries are characterized as still developing, multilateralism– with the United Nations at the centre– is considered as a key pillar of global order, for it provides for a semblance of an order basing on sovereign equality as the underlying principle. Because African natural resources have been heavily exploited, Africa invested considerably in the system of multilateralism and contributed significantly to the development of norms. The contribution of Africa in the development of norms like "Responsibility to Protect (R2P)," until when it was subverted significantly in Libya in 2011, is one of many examples. Nevertheless, it is still true that powerful nations often command more latitude than African countries in the system. It is opportune for us in Africa therefore to be more proactively involved in the current reform discussions so that we too can be co-shapers of a refined multilateral system which is devoid of the previous imperfections.

In addressing this global crisis, Africa should always be mindful of the fact that we, have made remarkable strides under the current multilateral system. But we must also not forget regrettable instances where interventions by the great powers under the umbrella of multilateral institutions have worked to exacerbate already acute problems in Africa. One need not to look further than Libya after the fall of Ghaddafi to understand this concern. In this particular instance we were neither complicit nor complacent, as the charge always made. For there was a genuine attempt by the African Union to resolve the Libyan crisis only to be subsumed by the great powers' geostrategic gimmicks under the guise of the Security Council mandate. It is incidences like this that give credence to the claim by Prof. Mearsheimer that these institutions more often project whims of great powers.

What gives me disquiet as a retired politician is that we in Africa and indeed the South, are not united and assertive enough. I still can't find Africa in the frontline of current efforts to address the current crisis of multilateralism, with flag bearers being mostly from Asia, South America, European Union with South Africa alone sometimes playing a feeble role. Africa has been marginalized for far too long. We have been acquiescent through our apparent countenance of overtures to divide African countries under the cover of the language of our colonial masters (Franco, Anglo and Luso classification). The impact of African countries, for instance, in the establishment of alternative multilateral institutions such as the New Development Bank by the BRICS countries, or the Contingent Reserve Arrangement and others, remains marginal. I am not suggesting that these institutions replace the existing ones. Rather they can complement them and could also be the foundation of a new alternative hierarchy of global institutions in the future.

Being home to over a quarter of world's countries and bourgeoning youthful population approaching a billion people, Africa cannot be sidelined, in shaping any new multilateral order, if that order is to sustain.

This right is not going to be handed over to Africa on a silver platter, Africa has to fight for that by working together through the African Union to at least identify their priorities and set guidelines for their engagement and advocacy. Even though, our Pan-African multilateral institutions remain very weak, the societal commitment to a collective future in the continent is arguably the strongest. Our African multilateralism which is founded on a strong sense of shared identity and nurtured by a history of slavery, Pan African sensibility and activism, should be able to help us remain cohesive relative to other regions in the world. Africa should also explore possible coalitions with like-minded regions like Asia and constellations of states that share similar approaches to particular global governance problems but also values. Given the complexity of the contemporary global governance systems, a New Multilateral Order must evolve inclusively.

What is the way forward for Africa?

As the weakest continent, Africa benefits immensely from multilateralism in the security but also political arena, and increasingly in economics, culture and the environment. If the global system completely crumbles, we stand to lose more than any other region in the world.

The OAU, formed at the depth of the Cold War was successful in uniting African countries aligned with each of the super powers within a single continental organization, and actively promoting total liberation of the continent from colonization and racist domination. The AU transformed in 2002 into the AU with the strongest and arguably far-sighted normative commitment of any multilateral institutions. These embraced   principles of constitutional democracy, rejection of mass atrocities, and promise of inclusive participation by members in all activities of the union. This indeed represented a return to a revived people-centered multilateralism in the continent.

While the union entrenched the political objective of seizing political power, the toughest of the agenda remains economic emancipation. The continent is wracked with violence and internal wars likely sponsored by multinational companies whose priority is to preserve their title to Africa's natural resources and only economic order that doesn't have at its core, the Africa's welfare and developmental objectives of poverty eradication.

Time is opportune now for Africa to reposition ourselves at the forefront of the movement for the new multilateralism. Abdication of some big powers in this movement makes it ideal for Africa to join other emerging powers as new voices for change. Our contribution will be to share our unique experience of being sidelined and condemned to being "hewers and wood and fetchers of water" in the previous world order.

Through AU's Vision 2063 as a blueprint and master plan for transforming the continent into the global powerhouse of the future, strengthening the Union should be top of the agenda. This should include making the administration more efficient and independent financially. Its political decision-making bodies should also be made more principled and aligned with the vision enshrined in its Constitutive Act.

In conclusion, I want make it clear that I believe multilateralism is in crisis or as I said earlier, it is under siege. But I also want to make it clear that I believe the full nature of the crisis and its trajectory is still emerging and I am not in any way projecting a doomsday scenario. This is not yet a moment like the collapse of the Versailles order in the 1930s when the then big powers walked out of the League of Nations one after another. We have seen some big powers leaving some multilateral arrangements. The solace is that they have not renounced UN membership or the Security Council and we still see them on yearly basis coming to address the General Assembly to lay out their complaints and press their causes.

The African Union can be a powerful advocate of a new, fairer, inclusive international order for political security and economic development with universal prosperity. It must face this challenge more diligently. The AU has 54 member states. That is too many for realization of a credible strategy. It has regional organizations –ECOWAS, MAGHREB, SADEC, EAC, EGAD, Great Lakes [Region] Organisation etc. Rather than being instruments of Unity they are prone to be turned into instruments of disunity by the negotiating pressure of the regional organizations of our former colonial masters, such as the European Union. The stumbling block to having a united voice is that members are entrenched in the concept and rights of sovereignty. The AU represents a Collection of states rather than a Community of Nations. We should remind ourselves of the Swahili saying, namely, "A boat does not go forward if each one is rowing their own way!"

Thank you for your attention!

EDUCATION FOR DEVELOPMENT AND STABILITY

Lecture of Opportunity delivered by H.E. Dr. Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete, Former President of the United Republic of Tanzania at the National Defence College – Tanzania, 15th April 2019

I sincerely thank the Commandant of the National Defence College (NDC) for the invitation to speak to the class of 2018/2019. This is the third time I am accorded this rare opportunity to speak at this esteemed institution of higher learning on defence, security and strategic studies. In my first lecture of opportunity, I spoke "Keeping the Nation Secure", in my second I spoke about **"Climate Change".** Today, I have chosen to speak about **"Education for Development and Stability."** I originally thought of speaking about **"Food and Nutrition Security as a Global and National Security Agenda."** I have spared that for the next time if invited for I have thought the Education matter was much more current and urgent.

Specifically, I am going to speak about the findings and recommendations of the International Commission on Financing Global Education Opportunity established in September 2015. The Commission was convened by five global leaders: Erna Solberg the Prime Minister of Norway, Michelle Bachelet President of Chile, Prof. Arthur Mutharika President of Malawi, Joko Widodo President of Indonesia and Irina Bakova Director General of UNESCO. The Commission was established to undertake an in depth study of the state of education in the world following the need to do so as expressed at the May 2015 Oslo Summit on Education for Development. In September 2016 the Commission presented its Report to the then UN Secretary General Ban Ki Moon.

The Commission comprised of 27 prominent personalities of different background drawn from across all the five continents on this planet. they brought with them a wealth of knowledge and experience in education and other relevant fields. Right Honorable Gordon Brown, the UN Special Envoy for Education and former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom is its Chairman. Besides benefitting the knowledge and experience of its Commissioners, the Commission, also, got a lot of worthy advice from individual, experts and world renown research and academic institutions.

In its findings the Commission concluded that the world is facing an alarming education crisis which is more pronounced in the low and middle income countries. Africa is the least performer. Except of Seychelles which is in the high income group, the remaining 53 African countries belong to low and middle income groups of countries. The majority of these countries are lagging far behind high income countries in education development and achievement. It is estimated that they are between 50 and 70 years behind. Therefore, they have a daunting catching up challenge to address.

The other important observations made by the Commission on the state of education in the world are the following:

1. There are too many children and young people of school age who are out of school. The figure is estimated that to be 263 million globally of whom about 100 million are in Africa. If the presents are left to continue while other continents the number of out of school children will decline, in Africa it is going to be the reverse. The numbers will be increasing. It is estimated, therefore, that by 2030 there will be 160 million children and young people out of school in Africa at a time when the global total will have fallen to 228 million.

2. Enrolment rates for pre-school, primary, secondary and post-secondary school are low. In Sub-Saharan Africa, for example, many countries were not able to meet the MDG target on Universal Primary Education enrolment by 2015. Moreover, only 20 percent of children and young people have access to secondary school education and only 5 percent of young adults can have access to tertiary education. We are essentially a continent of primary school graduates and we all know what that level of education mean for development achievement. Pre-school education is yet to be factored properly in the education policies of many countries. But, this so critical for a bids better performance in primary.

3. Completion rates are low. There are many students who do not stay in school to complete their education. In low income countries for example, it is estimated that only 67 percent complete primary school education. About 33 percent don't, which is too big a number. There are many drop outs in primary school and in all other levels of the education ladder. There are several reasons being mentioned as the source of the problem ranging from poverty to social- cultural inhibition.

4.   And, for those who complete their education the learning outcomes are low. Only half of primary school students and slightly more than a quarter of secondary school students get the education and skills of their level of study. It is a function of the quality of education being low. Of recent, the quality of higher education in Africa has become a subject of serious discussion as well.

When the Commission looked at the projections for 2030 and, if the trend is left to continue as it is the situation will be more challenging in low and middle income countries. Just four out of ten children of school age will be on track to get secondary school level skills and in low income countries only one in ten. About 400 million students will finish primary school without learning and 825 million young people will not be able to get the secondary school skills required by the job market. By 2050 when 2 billion jobs will be lost to automation, the situation will be even more problematic. Many people young and old will find difficult to be employed or keep their jobs. because they will lack the higher skills required by the job market. It goes without say that these developments will have dire socio-economic consequences. It will show progress towards ending poverty as it is projected that by 2050 a quarter of the population in low income countries will still be in poverty. The risks of instability and radicalization will be at the greatest. There will be huge armies of unemployed young and old people who are angry and desperate. It's a crowd ready to be rental at minimal fee. The migrant population will be 400 million in 2050 with dire consequences for the whole world.

It is against this background that the Commission decided to"call for the largest expansion in education opportunity in history". In essence it is a call for "unprecedented intervention" to enable low and middle income countries to effectively overcome the challenges they face in education and catch up with high income countries at the earliest possible time. In other quality of education a boy or girl in Tanzania gets should be the same as that a boy or a girl in the developed countries.

Furthermore, the Commission is proposing that this should happen within a generation hence the name *the Learning Generation Vision.* The Commission would like to see the world achieve the following critical education objectives.

- · Quality pre-school education for all children.
- · All girls and boys complete primary school.
- · All ten years old have functional literacy and numeracy
- · The proportion of girls and boys achieving secondary level skills in low income countries reaches the level in high income countries.
- · Participation in post-secondary learning in low income countries to be near level seen today in high income countries.
- · Inequalities in participation and learning between the richest and poorest children within countries be sharply reduced coupled with reduction in other forms of inequality.

We in the Commission believe that this is possible to happen because there are some low and middle income countries which have been able to make great strides in some aspects of education in a few decades. Some of these countries are actually catching up with levels attained by high income countries. If countries emulate the examples of the high performers, they too can do the same or even better.

To achieve the Learning Generation Vision, the Commission calls on developing countries to enact comprehensive reforms in their education systems and increase investment in education. Specifically, the Commission is proposing four transformations to be undertaken in Performance, Innovation, Inclusion and Finance. For each, the Commission had specific recommendations on the actions to be taken.The Commission believes that if these reforms are undertaken it will make huge difference. Education will deliver on its objectives to the letter and spirit.

PERFORMANCE

The first transformation the Education Commission is recommending is on Performance of the education system. It is calling for reforms to be undertaken to strengthen the performance of the education with the objective of making it deliver better results. It is the view of the Commission that spending more money alone without transforming the education system may not lead to better outcomes. The example of Vietnam and Tunisia was given. Both are upper middle income countries and they spend the same amount per pupil as a percentage of the GDP per capita of their respective countries. However, the learning outcomes vary so much. For example, in Tunisia only 64 percent of students passed the secondary international learning assessment while in Vietnam it was 96 percent. The difference stems from the difference in the performance of the education system. Certainly, things are better in Vietnam than in Tunisia.

Furthermore, the Commission identified key things to be done to improve the performance of the education system. Among others let me highlight the following:

a) National decisions makers should set national standards, assess learning and monitor progress. By doing this everybody will be on the same page about where the country is headed to in education, what needs to be done and, even, about how it should be done. Assessing learning outcomes through examinations at all levels of the education ladder is the best way of measuring progress being made or lack therefore. It enables teachers to know what to do, where and how to do it. It also helps government to make better decisions on where to direct efforts and allocate resources.

b) The Commission has underscored the importance of building a reliable and sustainable mechanism of data collection and analysis. Always National education accounts should be readily available. The Commission, also, recommends that the accounts should be made public to encourage efficiency and accountability on the part of teachers, governments, parents and other stakeholders.

c) The Commission says improving performance of the education also requires cutting wastes, and cracking down inefficiency and corruption. They inhibit students from learning. In low and middle income countries a lot of resources are spent on things that do not lead to learning. Corruption is pervasive. It diverts resources from teaching and learning to benefit unscrupulous greedy individuals. Corruption on enrolment translate in poor learning outcomes. Lack of reliable education management systems to track use of resources and performance of teachers has worked against teaching and learning. With regards to performance of teachers it has been observed that 20 percent of teaching time is lost every year because of teachers being away from school for a list of reasons. A survey done in seven African countries has shown that on average about 77 percent of primary school teachers are present at school. About 55 percent would go to the class and only 45 percent would be teaching. Primary school children get only 2.5 hours of teaching which is less than half of the intended time. It goes without saying that to strengthen the education system for better outcomes it is imperative that we must do everything to cut waste and crackdown on inefficiency and corruption.

INNOVATION

The second transformation which Education Commission is urging low and middle income countries to undertake is in Innovation. As mentioned earlier that the world of the future requires high levels of skills both here at home and in the world at large. Therefore, our education systems have to be able to give young people the education that will arm these skills. It must enable them to be active and effective participants and not onlookers. To be able to deliver on that obligation, our education systems must innovate and change rather than replicate past successes. In this regard the Commission underline the importance of cross cutting action to create an environment in which innovation can emerge and scale.

The Commission calls on decision makers to prioritize innovation in three key areas that are critical for future success. These are, the education workforce, technology and non-state actors. The education workforce is the lynchpin of education. Without them particularly teachers there is no education.

All low and middle income countries are aware of this that is why the largest proportion of the education budget is on teachers' salaries. For the teachers to be able to train the young people who will have the skills of the job market of the future they too need to have the competencies to do so. There is need to increase investment in improving teacher training to produce teachers who are better qualified for the needs of the world of the future. It is important also that teachers' morale is kept high by paying them and meeting their other basic needs.

As part of the innovation of the education system the Commission has underscored the harnessing of technology for teaching and learning. It provides exciting opportunity to transform and modernize how young people learn teaching. The Commission is recommending that all schools should be connected to the internet to make this possible. With ever expanding mobile phone penetration and internet access digital learning has become for career oriented online training.

Indeed, governments have the ultimate responsibility of ensuring that every child has the opportunity to get education. But governments do not have to do it alone. There are many non-state actors who can compliment government efforts. Some can be investors in providing education while others can provide other education related services. Some can do it alone while some can do it in partnership with governments. The Commission is urging government to create the policy space and put in place measures that will allow non-state actors to contribute in the provision of quality education in the country.

INCLUSION

The third transformation the Education Commission is recommending low and middle income countries to undertake is with regard to Inclusion. It's the aspiration of the Commission to see all children have access to quality pre-school, primary and secondary school education. Also, as many as possible get post secondary education. Fortunately, this is the objective of SDG4 on Education.

It is a statement of fact that there are many children who may not be able to get the opportunity of getting into a school, staying in school and completing their education. There is a host of reasons including poverty, gender, physical disability, geography, conflicts, and other social-cultural inhibitions and circumstances. The girl children is vulnerable and great risk of not being taken to school for reasons of some families and cultures not giving priority to education for girls. Also, those who are in school may not be left to finish schooling for reasons of being married away. Also, vulnerable are children with disabilities for reasons of families hiding them or the school infrastructure not being favorable or problems of transportation to and from school especially when the school is far. Whatever the reasons and circumstances, Governments should develop ways and means of ensuring that no child is excluded from accessing his basic human right.

FINANCE

The forth transformation being recommended to be undertaken is on Finance. To implement the Learning Generation Vision, a lot of additional financial resources will be required. The Commission estimates that spending on education will have to rise steadily from $1.2 trillion per year today to $3 trillion by 2030. As it is now, this money will come from domestic and external sources, with the bulk coming from domestic and external sources, with the bulk coming from domestic government. The Commission calls upon low and middle income countries to increase domestic public expenditure on education specifically increase it from an estimated $ 1 trillion in 2015 to $ 2.7 trillion by 2030 or from 4 to 5.8 percent of GDP. Governments have to take deliberate decisions to increase budgetary allocations from education. It could be by reallocating resources earmarked for other activities taking money from increased revenues. The IMF is of the view that all developing countries have the potential to increase tax revenues.

The international community, on its part has the historic duty of supporting low and middle income countries to close the financing gap. In this regard it is estimated that international community will have to increase financing for education from $16 billion per year today to $89 billion by 2030. These funds will remain critical for low income countries where the financing gap is big. The Commission calls on the international community which includes-governments, financial institutions, investors and philanthropists to step up to the plate and

assist developing countries. In this regard, the Commission is recommending stemming the decline in ODA and reversing the trend. Since 2002 ODA for education has declined from 13 percent to 10 percent. The Commission is asking it to be increased to 15 percent.

After realizing that even if ODA were to be raised to 15 percent there will still be a huge financing gap particularly for middle income countries. The Commission decided to find other innovative ways and sources to close the gap. The outcome of the brainstorming on the matter was the conception of the International Financing Facility for education. Through this facility additional resources would be available to finance education programmes in middle income countries which get grants from donors and concessional borrowing, middle income countries have to borrow from non concession sources. This has tended to be too much of a burden. The IFFed will help these countries get concessional lending.

In the efforts to support developing countries, priority will be given to countries that are ready to undertake reforms and increase investment in education. The concerned country will enter into partnership with donors who will provide leadership as well as financial, technical and technological resources need for the reform agenda. The Commission calls the partnership a Financing Compact. Low income countries needed the compact for left alone they may not be able to afford it or it would take them a longtime to implement the forms.

Before I conclude let me mention that the Learning Generation Vision will be realized if countries are ready to undertake reforms and increase investments in education. It was heartwarming, indeed, to me to learn that the Big Results Now model was seen to be one of the best way of undertaking those reforms.

With those many words Commandant, the Academic and Non Academic Staff and distinguished students, I thank you for the opportunity to address the Class of 2018/2019.

Thank you for your kind attention.

PEACE AND SECURITY ARE ESSENTIAL PILLARS FOR DEVELOPMENT: THE ZANZIBAR EXPERIENCE.

Lecture of Opportunity Delivered by H.E. Dr. Ali Mohamed Shein, President of Zanzibar and Chairman of the Revolutionary Council, 23rd June 2019.

The Commandant of the Tanzania National Defence College, Lieutenant General Paul Peter Massao,

Faculty Members,

Distinguished Course Participants of the 7th Course on Security and Strategic Studies,

Let me start by thanking the Almighty God for enabling us to be here today.

In today's talk, I have outlined my presentation as follows:

In the First part, I will provide definitions and interpretations of the terms 'Peace' and 'Security.'

In the Second part, I will briefly discuss 'Peace' and 'Security' mentioning the current challenges and threats of peace and security in International Perspectives.

In the Third Part, I will point out the Existing and Emerging Threats and Challenges to Peace and Security

In the Fourth Part, I am going to share with you the Zanzibar Experience as an example of achieving successful development results following the Government's efforts in promoting Peace and Security as Essential Pillars for Development. In this part, I will point out the achievements attained in various sectors as the result of the Government's efforts in resolving the peace and security threatening challenges that once prevailed. Issues of good governance and its aspects are also going to be dealt with.

The Fifth Part, which is the last in my presentation, I will present concluding remarks of our topic. At this juncture, you will get the opportunity to ask questions relating to the topic.

PART ONE:

1.0 DEFINITIONS

The word 'Peace' has so many definitions. In the Oxford Leaner's Dictionary, it is defined as:

1) A situation or a period of time in which there is no war or violence in a country or an area.

2) The state of living in friendship with somebody without arguing.

3) The state of being calm or quiet.

However, the broad and general accepted definition of 'Peace' is as follows:

Peace is when people are able to resolve their conflicts without violence and can work together to improve the quality of their lives.

In the premises of this definition, the country or place is considered peaceful when the following factors prevail:

1) *Everyone lives in safety, without fear or threat of violence, and no form of violence is tolerated in law or in practice.*

2) *Everyone is equal before the law, the systems for justice are trusted, and fair and effective laws protect people's rights.*

3) *Everyone is able to participate in shaping political decisions and the government is accountable to the people.*

4) *Everyone has fair and equal access to the basic needs for their wellbeing - such as food, clean water, shelter, education, healthcare and a decent living environment.*

5) *Everyone has an equal opportunity to work and make a living, regardless of gender, ethnicity or any other aspect of identity.*

The oxford Leaner's Dictionary has also defined the word 'Security' as:

1) The activities involved in protecting a country, building or person against attack, danger, etc.

2) The state of feeling happy and safe from danger or worry.

The above listed factors related to peace and security may therefore serve as a check-list when a state of a peaceful and safe place is to be assessed.

Having provided the different definitions of peace and security in general terms, let me now share with you the historical perspective on the international efforts to promote peace and security.

PART TWO:

2.0   HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS TO PROMOTE PEACE AND SECURITY

The global efforts to promote peace and security have a long history. If we go back to the previous modes of living and productions, such as communalism, to the current systems, we find that human beings have been applying different methods to promote peace and security.

Before the emergence of the world wars, various international efforts had been taken to promote peace and security. For instance, in 1899, the International Peace Conference was held in The Hague to elaborate instruments for settling crises peacefully, preventing wars and codifying rules of warfare. The conference also adopted the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes and established the Permanent Court of Arbitration, which began to work in 1902. However, the First World War broke (1914 to 1918), which upon its end, the efforts to promote peace and security were intensified through the creation of intergovernmental organizations such as the League of Nations.

2.1   The League of Nations

The League of Nations was founded on 10th January 1920 as a result of the Paris Peace Conference that ended the First World War. It was the first worldwide intergovernmental organisation whose principal mission was to maintain and promote world peace and security. Its primary goal was to prevent wars through collective security and disarmament as well as settling international disputes through negotiation and arbitration.

The International Labour Organization was also created as an affiliated agency of the League. The League of Nations ceased its activities after failing to prevent the occurrence of the Second World War (1939 to 1945) In Africa, we cannot talk about the current peaceful existence of nations and the prevailing peace and security without mentioning the history of Pan- Africanism, the OAU and lately the AU.

2.2 The United Nations (UN):

The destruction caused by the Second World War completed the people to establish an international organization for keeping the world away from war and in favor of friendship and cooperation among all the nations. Hence, the UN was established on 24th October, 1945 as the second multipurpose international organization in the 20th century that was worldwide in scope and membership. The UN was designed to save the future generation from the scourge of war by promoting international peace and security.

Since 1948, the UN through the Security Council has helped to end conflicts and reconciliation by conducting successful peacekeeping operations in many countries. The first UN peacekeeping mission was in 1948 to monitor Israel and its Arab neighbors during the Armistice Agreement. Since then, the UN has deployed peacekeeping to many other operations to facilitate the reconciliation of peace in countries like Guatemala, Cambodia, Sudan, Yugoslavia and East Timor. UN peacekeeping has also made a real difference in other places with recently completed or on – going operations such as Sierra Leone, Burundi, Cote d'Ivoire, Liberia, Haiti, Kosovo and Democratic Republic of Congo. Tanzania has contributed to peacekeeping in various parts of the world since 1995. It has taken part in six UN mission. Just to name some of them are the 2013 mission when Tanzania gave out a battalion of soldiers to join the Force Intervention Brigade (FBI) in the DRC. It has also shown its presence in other UN deployments in Southern Sudan, Darfur and Lebanon. Tanzania's willingness to provide UN peacekeeping has raised its profile as a regional icon for peace and security.

The UN and its agencies recognize the fact that peace and security are essential pillars of development. This is evident when we observe those crucial issues that have been prioritized in the formulation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development Goals. This Agenda which was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 25th September 2015, among other issues, recognizes the fact that peace and security are prerequisites for achieving sustainable development that in turn provides the pathway to peaceful societies.

In general, the 17 Goals that have been set are the blueprint to achieve a better and more sustainable future for all. They address the global challenges we face, including those related to poverty, inequality, climate, environmental degradation, prosperity, peace and security.

The goal 16 of the Agenda lays particular emphasis on "promoting peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, providing access to justice for all and building effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels".

It is the belief of the UN and its agencies that we can only look forward to a more equal and sustainable world if we have more peaceful and inclusive societies. Certainly, this endeavor needs the engagement of all major stakeholders including Governments, civil societies, business enterprises, academia, parliaments and international organizations.

In Africa, we cannot talk about the current peaceful existence of nations and the prevailing peace and security without mentioning the history of Pan – Africanism, the OAU and lately the AU.

The United Nations (UN): Pgs 6-8

2.3   Pan - Africanism and Its Influence in African Liberation and Promotion of Peace and Security

Pan-Africanism is a worldwide movement that began in 1920s. It laid particular emphasis on the unity and strength of Sub-Saharan Africans as well as people of African descent around the world. It was developed to assist in uniting Africans and fight against segregation.

It is clear that segregation has been one of the root causes of conflicts and a common threat to peace and stability. Hence, in general, it can be said that Pan- Africanism directly focused on peacekeeping and security of people of African descent in the continent of Africa and the Diaspora and, indirectly, the world as well.

Between 1945 and 1950, African nationalists used the Pan- Africanism ideology in the fight for freedom and independence. The late Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere, the first President of the United Republic of Tanzania, the Late Kwame Nkrumah, the First President of Ghana, the Late Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and the late Sheikh Abeid A. Karume, the 1st President of the former People's Republic of Zanzibar, were among the African leaders who pioneered the ideology in the fight against colonialism and other social injustices.

In fact, Pan- Africanism is a political doctrine, as well as a movement, with the aim of unifying and uplifting the African nations. Among its success stories was its influence to spearhead the liberation of countries like Ghana, Zambia, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar (now Tanzania), which in turn joined their efforts to liberate the others. Tanzania in particular, stood at the forefront in facilitating the liberation of Mozambique, Angola and South Africa. Therefore, the contribution of Pan- Africanism to the liberation of Africa, promotion of peace and security as well as formation of the African Union and its predecessor, the Organization of African Unity, cannot be overstated.

2.4 The Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the African Union (AU)

The Organization of African Unity was established on 25th May 1963, in Ethiopia to safeguard the sovereignty and territorial integrity of its Member States and to promote global relations within the framework of the United Nations. The OAU was the manifestation of the pan-African vision for an Africa which was united, free and in control of its own destiny. The founders of the Organization recognized that freedom, equality, justice and dignity were essential for the achievement of the legitimate aspirations of the African peoples.

The OAU had to undergo certain reforms that led to the formation of the African Union (AU) which was officially launched in July 2002 in Durban, South Africa and among its objectives are to:

- Promote peace, security, and stability on the continent;

- Promote democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance;

- Promote and protect human and peoples' rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and People's Rights and other relevant human rights instruments;

- Promote sustainable development at the economic, social and cultural levels as well as the integration of African economies.

Furthermore, AU has developed as a roadmap for peaceful, integrated and prosperous Africa.

2.5 Other Regional Organizations

There are a number of organisations which have been established to foster cooperation, peace, security as well as economic and political integration in different countries. Those organisations include the East African Community (EAC), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the European Union (EU), the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and the Arab League. The former Warsaw Pact was also among these bodies, but it no longer exists now.

Tanzania has been the frontline supporter in the African liberation initiatives, peace and security as well as in handling refugees. Vivid examples can be recalled that reflect Tanzania's efforts in setting peaceful Africa including its peacekeeping and security initiatives in Burundi.

PART THREE:

3. 0   EXISTING AND EMERGING THREATS AND CHALLENGES TO PEACE AND SECURITY

Despite the fact that huge successes have been attained to maintain the world order since the end of the Second World War, there are a number of existing and other emerging threats and challenges to peace and security. The following are among the threats which the international community and the governments are mostly concerned about:

1)   Inter-State conflicts and internal conflicts, including civil war, genocide and other large-scale atrocities.

2)   Economic and social threats, including poverty, infectious diseases, and environmental degradation and climate change.

1)   Nuclear, radiological, chemical and biological weapons.

2)   Terrorism

3)   Transnational organized crime.

3.1   Climate Change:

Climate change is one of the major challenges of peace and security of our time. Recently, in January, 2019 the UN Security Council discussed the growing new threats to world peace and security. The discussion veered away from international terrorism, nuclear weapons, and military conflicts in the Middle East, Asia and Africa; and instead, 83 of the 193 member states remained collectively focused on one of the greatest impending dangers to humanity; which is the devastation that could be triggered by climate change. Climate change has been the major cause of is desertification and forced migration of vulnerable people in many countries. It has also been causing the rising of sea levels and tropical storms. In fact, the security aspects of climate change are pressing and multifaceted.

3.2   Environmental Degradation

Environmental degradation, unsustainable use of natural resources, mismanagement of wastes and pollution affect ecological systems and have a substantial negative impact on the health, welfare, biodiversity, stability and security of States.

Actually speaking, climate change and Environmental degradation are real threats and every country is taking them as serious issues that need immediate and solid interventions. Many countries have formulated various mitigation and adoption strategies including development of renewable energy sources, retrofitting buildings and machines as well as sustainable uses of land and forests.

3.3   Unemployment

Unemployment is classified as one of the main threats to society. It is often the source of other social problems such as poverty, societal antagonism, violence and migration. The scale of the employment challenge is vast. The International Labour Organization estimates that more than 61 million jobs have been

lost since the start of the global economic crisis in 2008, leaving more than 200 million people unemployed globally which is great threat to peace and security in many nations.

3.4   Food security

There is a common saying that "There Can Be No Sustainable Peace without Food Security." The number of people starving to death in protracted conflicts is far greater than the number of people dying as a direct result of violence. It is, therefore, crucial to consider food security an indispensable link in the process of achieving peace.

3.5   Crime and Corruption

Transnational organized crime facilitates many of the most serious threats to international peace and security. Corruption, illicit trade and money- laundering contribute to State weakness, impede economic growth and undermine democracy. These activities also create a permissive environment for civil conflicts. The late Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere, the First President of the United Republic of Tanzania said "Rushwa ni adui wa haki', which means Corruption is an enemy of justice, and where justice is absent, the pillars of peace and security are at stake.

3.6   Diseases

Some of you may remember that smallpox which has been eradicated in 1950's, was really a World threat, but today it remains a history. However, some other Global health challenges, represented by HIV/AIDS, Ebola, Zika and Hepatitis Band C etc. have emerged and are being a real threat to peace and security, affecting the development of many countries. For instance, it is estimated that almost 30 million people in Africa now have HIV/ AIDS. In the worst-affected States, middle-aged urban elites are heavily afflicted, eroding State capacity and undermine the economic activity of what should be a State's most productive group.

Apart from diseases, what about clean and safe drinking water? Some leading economists consider water as one of the emerging threats and challenges to peace and security. They take it as an issue which emanates from climate change and environmental degradation.

PART FOUR:

4. 0   A BRIEF HISTORY OF ZANZIBAR

Prior to the coming of Portuguese, towards the beginning of 16th century, the Arabs in the 17th century and the British in 19th century, Zanzibaris were free people. Up to 16th century, the Islands were governed by local indigenous rulers known as Mwinyi Mkuus and Shehas respectively. During the exploration age, in the mission of Captain Laurenco Marques, in 1503, Portuguese invaded and captured Zanzibar. In the 17th century, the Arabs chased out the Portuguese and in 1832, the Sultan of Oman officially moved his capital of Muscat to Zanzibar. In 1890, Zanzibar became a protectorate, falling in the hands of the British Empire. Even though, in the reigns of colonial rulers, peace prevailed in the islands, but the indigenous majority could not fully enjoy their comfort zones due to the treatment they received from the rulers and their allies.

For almost 400 years, the people of Zanzibar, particularly the ethnic majority had been going through hardship of discrimination, oppression and humiliation under the colonial regimes. The regimes arrogantly and unfairly monopolized the important sectors like civil service, education, health and resources like land, all, which relate to the welfare of the people. Hence, under this treatment peace began to erode gradually and peoples' security was at stake.

5.0   REVOLUTION, PEACE AND SECURITY IN ZANZIBAR

The 1964 Revolution under the leadership of Sheikh Abeid A. Karume, the President of the former Afro Shirazi Party (ASP), liberated the oppressed people of Zanzibar and made a free Zanzibar which was renamed 'the People's Republic of Zanzibar'. Hence, this glorified undertaking under the supervision of the late Mzee Abeid Amani Karume represented a watershed in the history of Zanzibar. The Revolution laid a strong foundation for building a free, equitable and just society. All discriminatory and unjust policies were abolished to pave the way for a democratic government with freedom of the people. The Government implemented the rule of law for the purpose of fostering harmony, prosperity peace and security.

Between the period 1964 to 1979, Zanzibar was governed by decrees assented by the President. The first constitution of Zanzibar was formulated in 1979 and repealed in 1984 to become a new Zanzibar's Constitution which at present, is commonly known as the 1984 Constitution of Zanzibar. Immediately after the Revolution the Government embarked on major economic and social reforms to bring about equality and speed the economic development. The following initiatives were among the reforms which were declared through various decrees:

- The Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar is a non- discriminatory organ which belongs to all the people of Zanzibar,

- All land in Zanzibar belongs to the Government and hence it is the property of the people of Zanzibar. According to 1992 Land Tenure Act the Zanzibar land is kept under the custodian of the President who appoints the Minister to implement the Act on his behalf.

- This declaration was followed by the redistribution of land through the allocation of three - acre plots to the deprived peasants.

- Access to free education at primary, secondary and tertiary levels to all the people of Zanzibar.

- Access to free medical services to all the people of Zanzibar.

- Formation of the Union between the Republic of Tanganyika and the People's Republic of Zanzibar on 26th April 1964. Through the Articles of the Union Ministries responsible for the Union affairs were established namely Ministry of Defence (TPDF), Ministry of Home Affairs (Police and Immigration), Ministry of Foreign Affairs etc.

- The Constitution of Tanganyika served as an interim constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania from 1964 - 1977.

- In 1977 United Republic of Tanzania developed its Constitution.

The Constitution of 1984, stipulates in its administrative system, a separation of power between three authorities, namely the Executive Authority which is the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar, the Legislative Authority which is the House of Representatives and the Judicial Authority which is the Court.

The importance of maintaining and promoting peace and security in the country is mostly stated in Chapter Two of the Constitution in its various articles. All discriminatory and unjust policies were abolished. Vigorous measures were taken to promote equality and broaden opportunity for all. The Glorified 1964 Revolution, therefore, opened new gateways to fostering peace and security in the Isles. Among such gateways is the Zanzibar Constitution of 1984 of which its various provisions accord the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar a mandate to observe and maintain peace and security.

For the purpose of this lecture, let me quote articles 8 and 9 of the mentioned Constitution:

8. "It shall be the duty and responsibility of the Government, all its organs and all persons or authorities exercising executive, legislative or judicial functions to observe the principles of independence, justice and peace. "

9. (1) "The Zanzibar shall be a state that adheres to the principles of democracy and social justice.'
(2) Therefore here under it is stipulated as follows:

(a) *Sovereignty resides in the people and it is from the people that the Government through this Constitution shall derive all its power and Authority;*

(b) *Security for the people and their welfare shall be the primary objective of the Government.*

The issue of peace and security is well described in our Party's (CCM) Election Manifestos as guidelines for a well-functioning CCM government.

6.0   The Zanzibar experience in promoting peace and security as essential pillars for Development

Some analysts have identified a well functioning government and its inherent features to be the specific factors that are able to generate peace and its desirable connected outcomes such as economic equality and a healthier environment quality that are linked to sustainable development.

In the perspective of a well- functioning Government, it is important to see what elements feature such type of Government. A well-functioning government is a vital pillar of peace and it is pivoted on a good governance approach which in international development terms it refers to the preferred way of how public institutions conduct public affairs and manage public resources in the preferred way. However, the most crucial characteristic of good governance approach is the application of the rule of law that governs all other administrative entities. These mentioned elements that attribute to a well functioning government can be associated with the Zanzibar experience, where the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar (RGoZ) observes Peace and Security as essential pillars for development.

6.1   The Government's Efforts in facilitating Economic Growth as a major drive for Sustainable Peace and Security

Economic Growth and its attributing factors

We have seen in the previous chapter how the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar has accorded peace and security a paramount importance as per the 1984 Zanzibar Constitution. These elements have also been mentioned as gateways to sustainable socio-economic transformation in the Zanzibar Vision 2020, the CCM General Election Manifesto of 2015 - 2020 and the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (MKUZA III).

The Brief Outlook of the Zanzibar Macroeconomic Analysis

It is gratifying to note that our economy keeps on growing each year since peace and security is maintained. In comparative terms, it can be explained as follows:

- The growth rate of our economy stood at, 7.1 0/0, in 2018 (Figure 1),

Figure 1: GDP at Constant Prices- GDP Growth

Figure 1: GDP at Constant Prices- GDP Growth

Source: Office of Chief Government Statistician, 2019

And inflation rate has declined to 3.9% last year from 5.6% in 2017 (Fugure 2).

- GDP has increased to TZS 2.87 trillion in 2017/2018 from TZS 2.68 trillion in 2016/2017.

Figure 2: Consumer Price Rate (Inflation Rate)
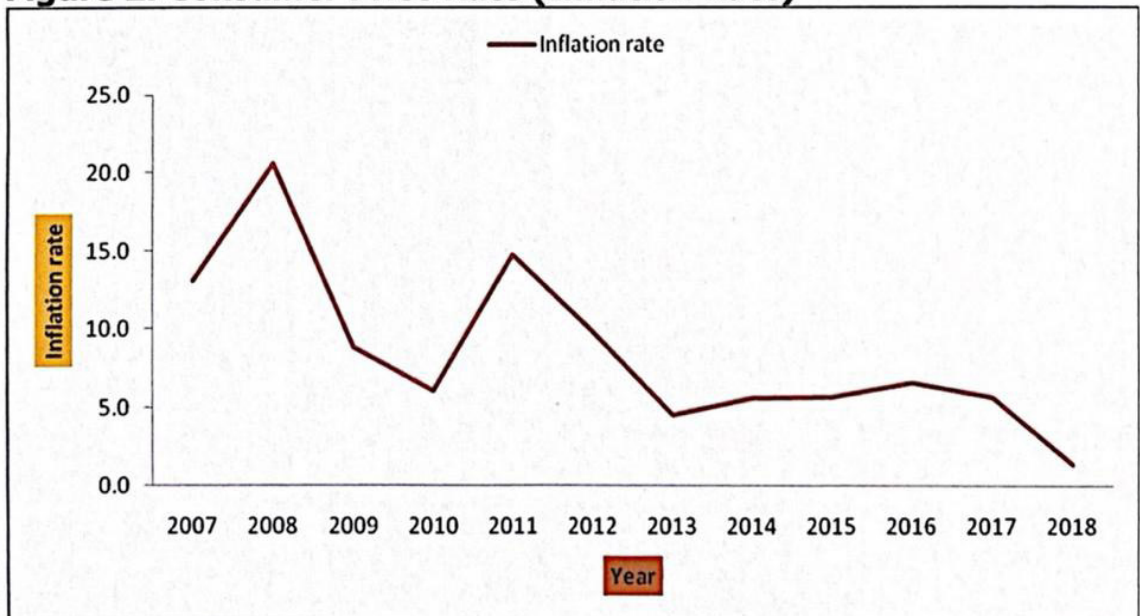
Source: Office of Chief Government Statistician, 2019

* GDP has increased to TZS 2.87 trillion in 2017/2018 from TZS 2.68 trillion in 2016/2017.

* Income per capita has increased from TZS 2,104,000 (US$ 944) in 2017 to TZS 2,323,000 (US$ 1,026) last year (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Per Capita Income
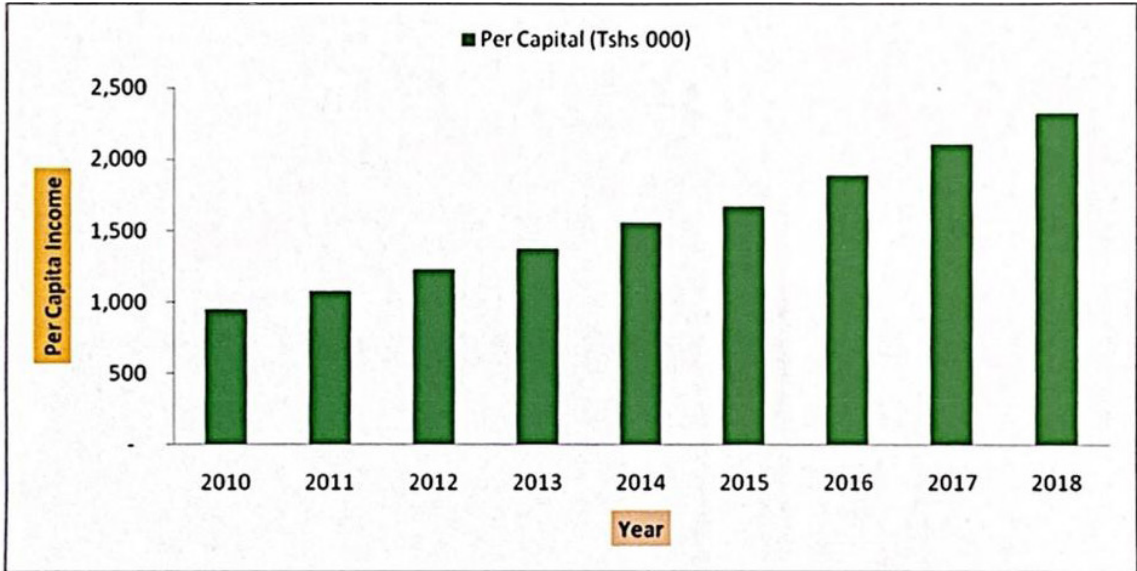
Source: Office of Chief Government Statistician, 2019

• Revenue collection from July - March 2019 is TZS 864 billion while in 2017 it was TZS 506 billion (Figure 4 below).

Figure 4: Domestic Revenue Collections
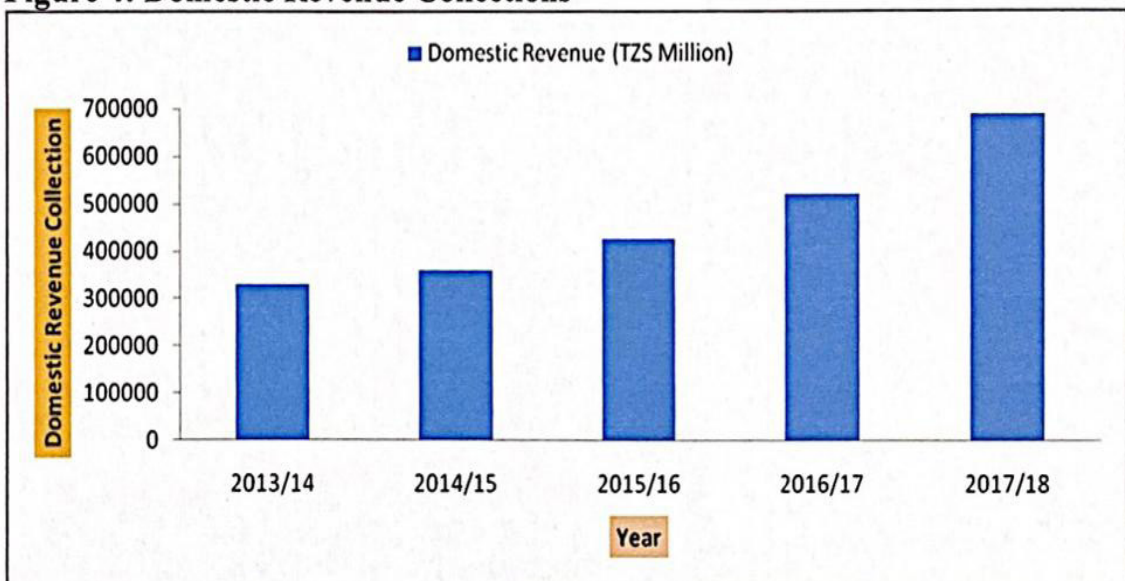
Source: Office of Chief Government Statistician, 2019

Due to our budget plans in 2019/ 2020, the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar will finance its major projects from its own internal financial resources. Such expenditures are geared towards the implementation of the following projects:

- The completion of Construction of Abeid Amani Karume International Airport; Terminal III (US$ S8m.) have been budgeted for, of which 50% has been set aside from this current budget.
- The Construction of the New Mpigaduri hub port, whereby its full design is underway.
- The Construction of 1000 bed New Referral and Training Hospital at Binguni.
- Construction of 5 New Roads: 3 in Unguja and 2 in Pemba.

The pattern of achievements in our economic growth indicates that Zanzibar is about to attain the Middle Income Status as targeted in the Vision 2020. This has been attributed to the promotion of a peaceful and stable environment, where opportunities are created for a more equal access to physical, natural, financial and institutional resources for sustainable livelihoods. The rate of paying taxes has improved. The revenue collection and subsequently lowered the budget dependency to 5.7% in 2018, from 7.3% in 2017 as seen in figure 5.

Figure 5: Budget Dependence Ratio
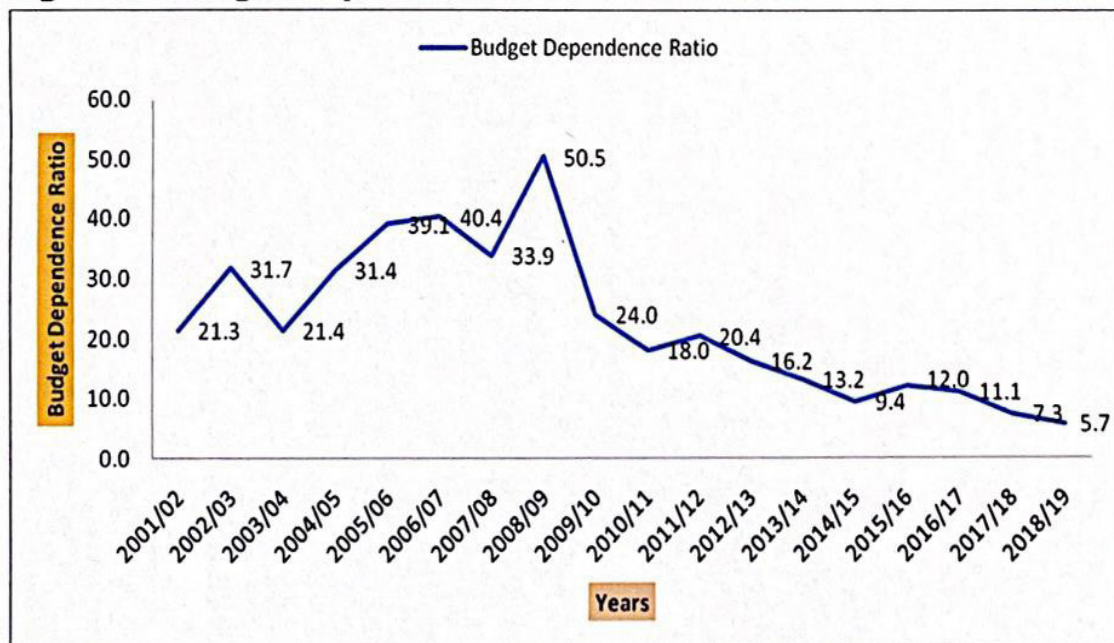
The prevalence of peace and security in the country will certainly pave way for increase in revenue collections in the coming years, decline of inflation rate and sustainable growth of the economy.

6.1.2 The Tourism Industry

The tourism sector in the last 20 years has contributed a lot to the economy of Zanzibar. Despite the fact that Zanzibar is endowed with wonderful natural tourism assets and antique sites that embed rich history, the environment of peace and security in the Isles has to a considerable extent played the paramount role in flourishing the tourism sector. The sector contributes 27 percent to the GDP and it has been the mainstay of the economy. It is also the largest foreign exchange earner (80% of foreign earnings) as per the Bank of Tanzania.

The Tourism Industry has as well provided employment opportunities in other tourism - oriented businesses like tour operating, diving centres, restaurants, car hire companies just to mention these few. Likewise, according to the Zanzibar Commission for Tourism, the sector has already created about 86,000 direct, indirect and induced jobs, whereby the direct jobs are around 34,721.

Regarding the number of tourist arrivals, the target set as per the CCM Election Manifesto of 2015-2020, is to reach 500,000 by the year 2020. According to the 2019 statistics from the Zanzibar Commission for Tourism, the number of international tourist arrivals has gone up to 520,809 in 2018 compared to 134,954 ten years ago. Figure 6 below supports this point. This positive trend is among other factors contributed by the prevalence of peace and security in our country.

Figure 6: Tourists Arrival Trend from 2009 to 2018

Figure 6: Tourists Arrival Trend from 2009 to 2018
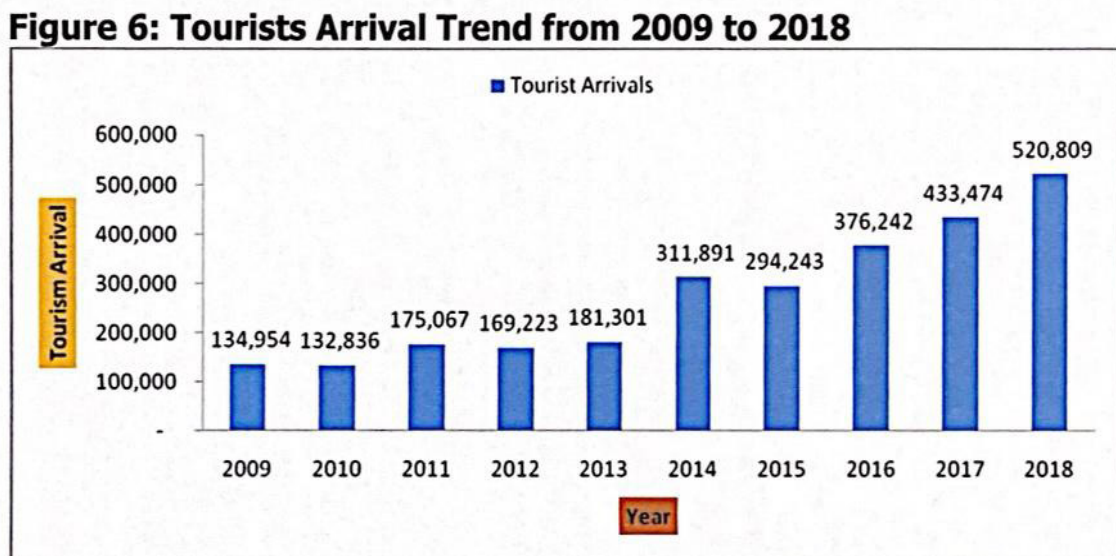
Source: Office of Chief Government Statistician, 2019

The tourism industry in Zanzibar owes its rapid growth within this period of 10 years to the Government's continuous efforts to provide a safe and secure environment for visitors with respect to their accommodation (Figure 7).

Figure 7: Development of Tourist Accommodation Facilities
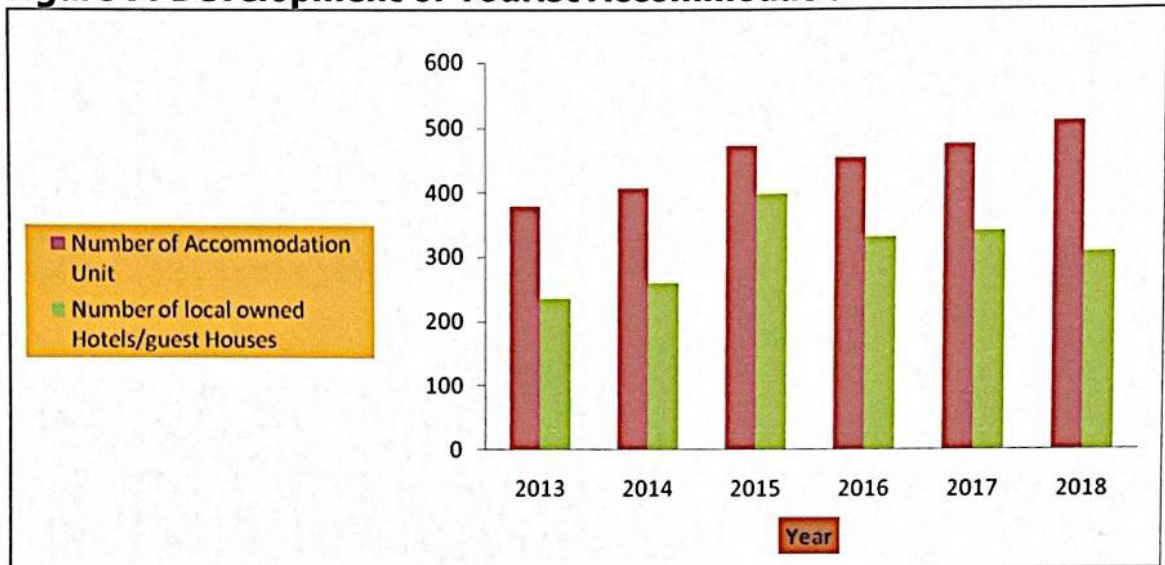
Successes of the "Tourism for All" Programme

The objective of the programme was to create a sense of local ownership, a feeling of responsibility and practical involvement in tourism. It stands on two principal pillars. First, engaging private sector businesses both large and small and micro businesses in the creation and distribution of wealth through the whole development approach. This approach puts emphasis on the involvement of the residents in planning, investment, operation, management, benefit - sharing and improving awareness of the residents in using tourism facilities as domestic tourist in our own country. They should be helped to deliver more benefits to the poor, through employment practices, local linkages and pro-poor tourism activities and products, as well as to be more competitive.

Second, ensuring that destination Zanzibar as a whole is both competitive and sustainable, thus addressing issues of resource management and the relationship between tourism and other economic sectors.

Since its adoption, the programme has strengthened ties with residents, public and private sector covering a variety of issues including waste management, water use, energy supplies, development of local craft markets, local guiding services, improvement of local enterprises and services, management of attractions and development of new ones, control of crime, as well as enjoying the local festivals together with tourists. It has assisted in building win-win partnerships with the communities.

Tourism investors often use part of their profits to support community development initiatives, such as building classrooms, dispensaries, water projects etc. in an attempt to improve social services and ensure mutual benefits to visitors who use such services (e.g. electricity and water). The Corporate Responsibility to the communities has increased from USD 0.45 million in 2015 to USD 1.524 million in 2018. Such generosities have reduced the possibility of misunderstanding between the investors and the communities as well as strengthened security in the tourism zones and thus making Zanzibar a better destination to visit. The peaceful and secure business environment in Zanzibar has generated a growing demand of tourism investments. The Government has also allowed freedom of trade such that citizens can open different kinds of enterprises either solely - owned or in partnership with foreign investors.

6.1.3 The Zanzibar Aviation Authority (ZAA)

In an effort to strengthen the safety of the Airports, increase the number of passengers and aircraft movements, the Zanzibar Aviation Authority was formed. The ZAA is governed by the Zanzibar Airports Authority Act No.8 of 2011. Various provisions of the Act are in line with the Tanzania Civil Aviation Authority (TCAA) and the International Civil Aviation Organisation (lCAO) standards. In meeting its strategic goals, ZAA has taken the following actions:

1. Construction of a new terminal building

2. The installation of CCTV cameras and lights around the airport premises,

3. Installation and use of various modern equipment in the new building as well as a conveyer belt in the old building.

4. Construction of a new fire station and procurement of 5 new fire brigade vehicles.

5. Provision of training to airport staff on security guidelines and standards as well strengthening patrolling system inside and outside the terminals'

6. Construction of a new apron of 48,000 and taxi ways.

7. Extension of runway in length and width. The extension of the runway has been increased to enable big aircrafts like modern Airbus and Boeing to fly directly to and from any part of the world.

8. Feasibility study and detailed engineering design of the Pemba airport is completed and its rehabilitation and extension is already in the plans. However, improved lighting system has been installed and construction of new perimeter fence of 3km has been done. Likewise rehabilitations have been made for the passengers and service buildings.

The following construction projects have been planned for future development:

•   Heliport at Paje (South District: Tourism area)

•   Airstrip at Nungwi (North District: Tourism area)

•   Cargo terminal

•   New fuel firms

•   New maintenance hanger

•   Standard Airport hotel

According to the ZAA statistics, in duration of four years prior to the establishment of the Authority, the total revenues collected amounted to TZs 3,823,844,717.00 equivalent to an annual average of TZS 955, 961,179.25 as is indicated in the table No.1 and Figure 8 below:

Table No.1: Revenues Collected within 4 years prior to the Establishment of ZAA

Source of Income	2007/2008 In TZs	2008/2009 In TZs	2009/2010 In TZs	2010/2011 In TZs
Aircraft landing	962,718,932	944,699,434	464,595,246	1,061,472,935
Office charges	82,539,602	56,770,980	100,064,644	106,265,366
Other charges	7,488,098	12,413,143	11,828,348	12,987,989
Total	**1,052,746,632**	**1,013,883,557**	**576,488,238**	**1,180,726,290**

Figure 8: Revenues Collected within 4 years prior to the Establishment of ZAA
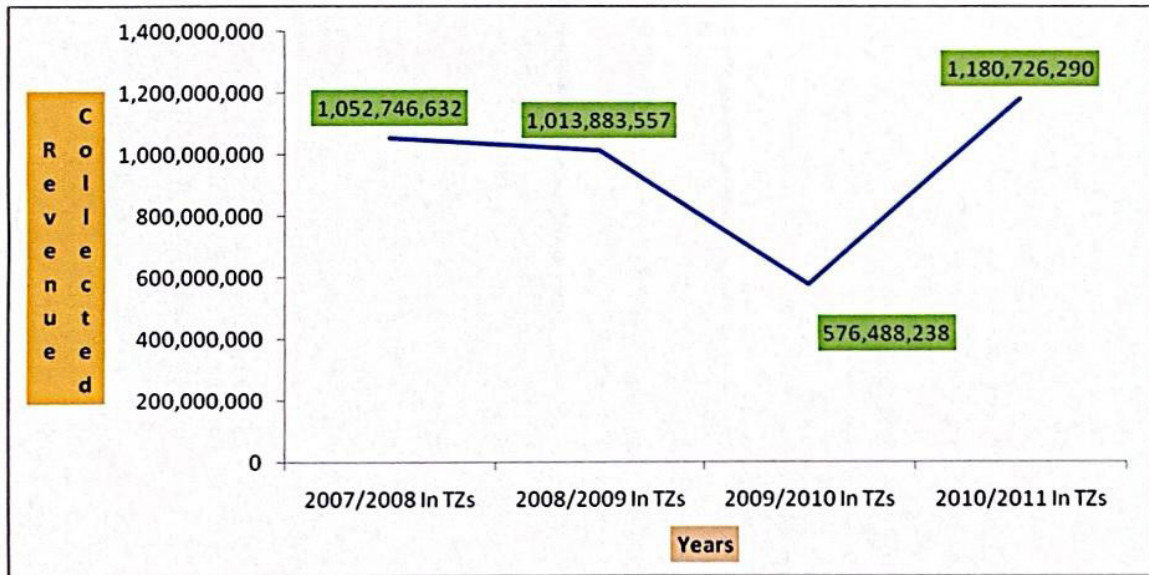
Comparatively, the revenue collected within a period of seven years after ZAA has been operational, a considerable leap has been noticed as indicated in Table 2:

Table No. 2: Revenues Collected within 7 years after ZAA became operational

S/N	Source of Income	2011/012 In TZs	2012/013 In TZs	2013/014 In TZs	2014/015 In TZs	2015/016 In TZs	2016/017 In TZs	2017/018 In TZs	Grand Total In TZs
1	Aircraft landing and parking	1,476,154,170	2,638,583,003	3,065,584,065	3,397,366,480	5,173,576,632	6,109,017,389	7,191,019,740	29,051,301,479
2	Office charges	175,766,134	398,630,720	435,860,080	373,608,945	698,742,145	907,624,359	711,842,138	3,702,074,521
3	Concessions		21,676,000	64,109,750	893,506,405	601,382,792	337,743,530	501,406,308	2,419,824,785
4	Car parking		171,658,950	163,761,200	210,555,400	320,707,550	376,365,200	126,831,851	1,369,880,151
5	Security charges					100,000,000	621,434,000	303,712,200	1,025,146,200
6	Other revenues	57,623,259	48,617,650	22,189,400	39,304,750	85,719,670	217,506,129	140,625,907	611,586,765
7	Announcements charges		68,555,354	79,897,311	10,724,504	12,605,100	21,425,288	79,416,893	272,624,450
8	VIP lounge		47,951,100	94,681,500	85,027,500	95,038,500	117,856,399	83,533,225	524,088,224
9	IDs			50,768,000	73,554,500	89,861,500	104,900,100	110,510,058	429,594,158
10	CUPPS							164,194,232	164,194,232
	TOTAL	1,709,543,563	3,395,672,777	3,976,851,306	5,083,648,484	7,177,633,889	8,813,872,394	9,413,092,552	39,570,314,965

Figure 9: Revenues Collected within 7 years after ZAA became operational
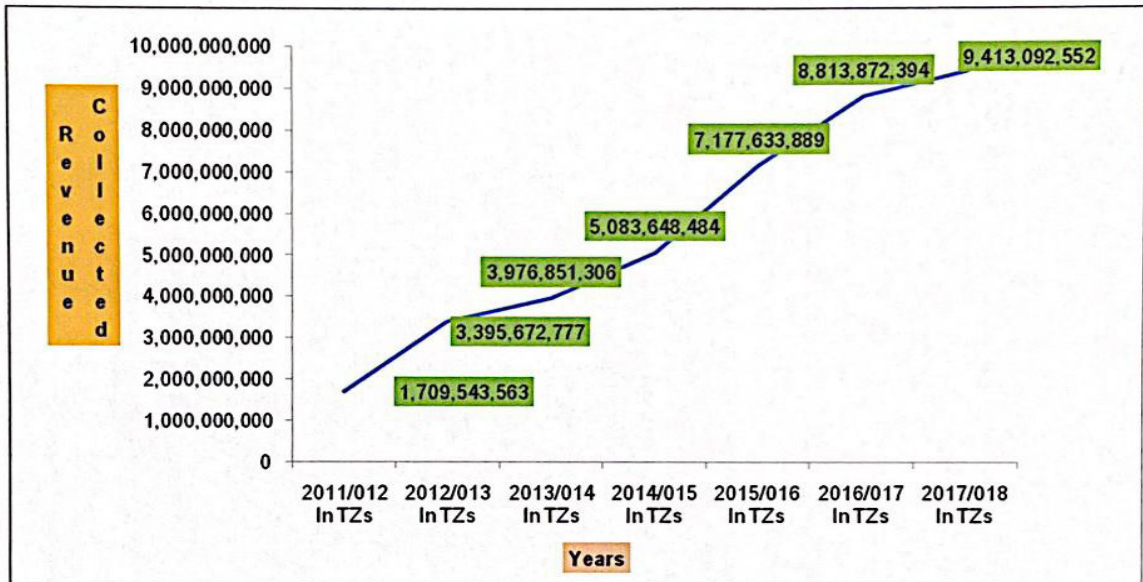
The revenue collected from aircraft landing and parking services are reported to be the highest as seen in Figure 9 and the source has influenced the growth of other sources of income. It has also been reported that the revenues between 2011/2012 to 2017/2018, after the ZAA had taken effect, and have gone up by 451%, from TZS 1,709,543,563 to TZS 9,413,092,552. This increase owes to growing number of air flights, passengers and cargo. This growth among other factors largely explains the state of peace and security that exists in Zanzibar, thus encouraging more people to use the services at ease. The Figures 10 and 11 below indicate how busy the Zanzibar Airports is, in terms of the annual handling of aircrafts as well as the number of passengers who use the facilities per year.

Figure 10: Number of Aircraft Handled at AAKIA per Year
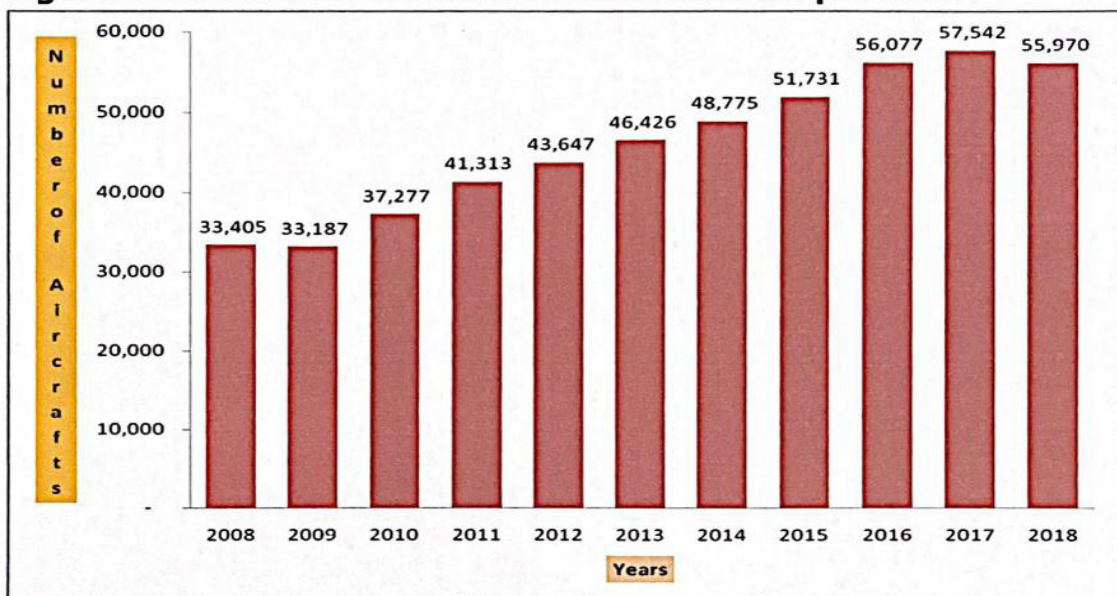
Figure 11: Number of Passengers Handled at AAKIA per Year
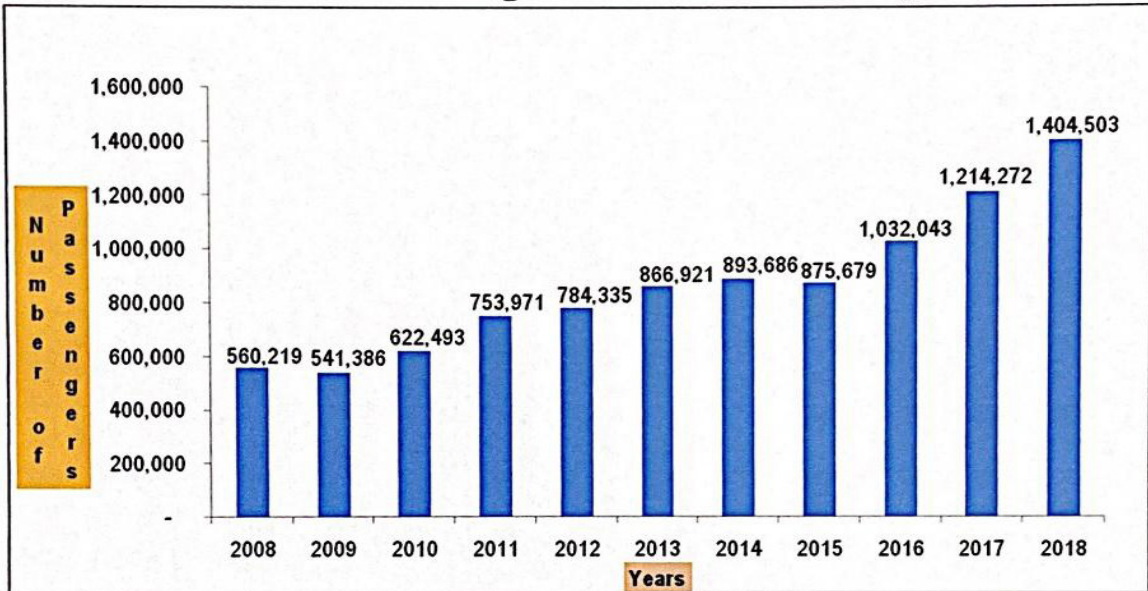
6.2.0 Agriculture and Fisheries

The Act No. 5 of 2011 on Zanzibar Food Security and Nutrition is accompanied by huge efforts taken by the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar, to improve food security through the implementation of various programmes.

The Agriculture sector is instrumental in achieving the Government's objectives set in poverty reduction and food security. The Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar has created conducive environment for peace and stability to thrive in the country through the promotion and transformation of the agriculture and fisheries sectors.

In the past five years (2014 - 2018) a total of TZS10 Billion spent for purchasing 5,250 tons of fertilizer, 95,000 liters of herbicides (Figure 12) and 1,512 tons of rice seeds which were supplied to farmers in Unguja and Pemba (Figure 13). The rice farmers paid only 30 percent of market price for all agro-inputs for the last seven years, while the Government subsidized the input by 70%.

Figure 12

AMOUNT OF HERBICIDE SUPPLIED TO THE FARMERS(Litres)
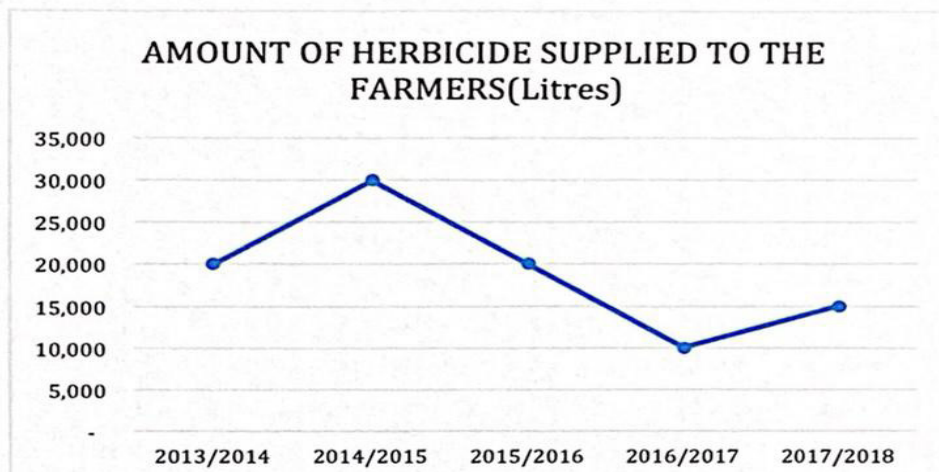
These efforts have brought tremendous increase in rice production; from 29,564 tons 2014 to 47,000 tons 2018. More efforts are being directed towards developing modern farming practices, especially using irrigation technology. There has been no shortage of food in Zanzibar for the last 2 decades. A total of 64.5 USD Million project is being implemented in 2018/2019 financial year to improve irrigation infrastructure in Zanzibar.

It is gratifying to see that the efforts undertaken by the Government in transforming agriculture has led to increase of yields of others crops. These include roots and stem tubers, from 65,666 tons in 2014 to 144,718 tons 2018 (Figure 14).

Likewise, the production of fruits and vegetables has also substantially increased, from 15,514 tons in 2015 to 35,468 in 2018 (Figure 15).

Huge efforts have been taken to improve the fisheries sectors in order to create more jobs, raise incomes, and reduce malnutrition. The estimated fish catch increased from 33,000 tons in 2014 to 35,000 tons in 2018 (Figure 16).

Preparations are underway for the construction of new Malindi Fish Market. The project will start early July 2019 and will be concluded October by 2020.

The contract worth a total of TZS 18 Billion has signed between the Government and RINKAI & NISSAN Company from Japan. The project will be funded by Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar will contribute a sum of TZS 3.6 Billion to the project.

In addition, the Government has established the Zanzibar Fisheries Company (ZAFICO), at a capital cost of TZS 7.0 Billion. The Government has planned to purchase two fishing boats from Sri Lanka and Maldives.

The first fishing boat from Sri Lanka will be arriving in Zanzibar in July 2019. (and negotiations are ongoing for the next one).

The Government in collaboration with Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA) has constructed a Fish Hatchery at a cost of USD 3.2 Million. Currently, research on production of fingerlings like crabs and fish is in progress.

The Government provides technical support to fishermen and seaweed farmers. In turn, the Production of fish and seaweed farming has been increased from 130,000 tons 2014 to 190,000 tons in 2018 (Figure 17). Zanzibar is the world's third largest producer of seaweed.

Figure 13

AMOUNT OF FERTILIZERS AND SEEDS SUPPLIED TO THE FARMERS(Tonnes)

Figure 14

Production of Major Food Crops, 2014-2018(tonnes)

Figure 15

Major food crops production values (TZS Millions)

Figure 16

Estimated Fish Catches, 2014 – 2018(Tonnes)

Line graph with y-axis ranging from 31500 to 36000, x-axis years 2014 to 2018.

Figure 17

Estimated Fish Catches value, 2014 – 2018(TZ Shillings)

Line graph with y-axis ranging from 0 to 200,000, x-axis years 2014 to 2018.
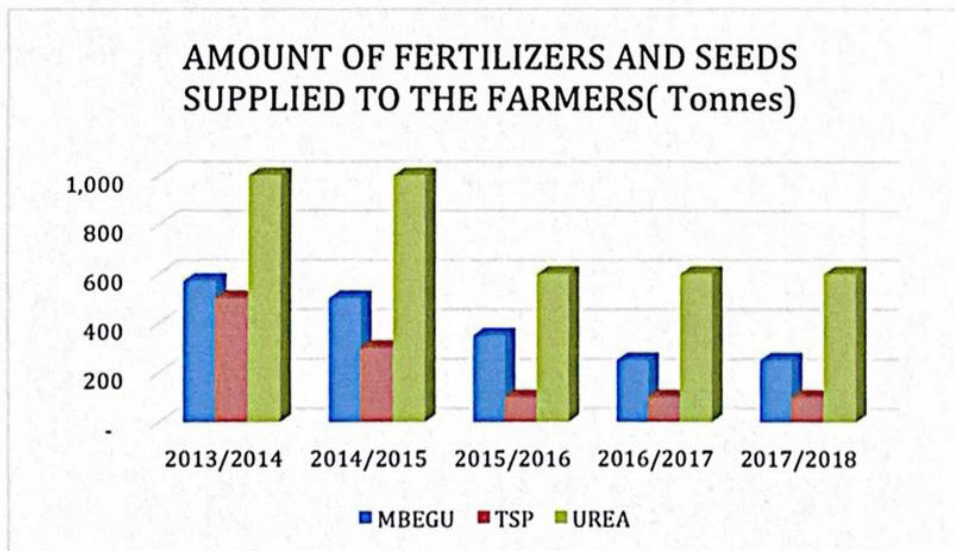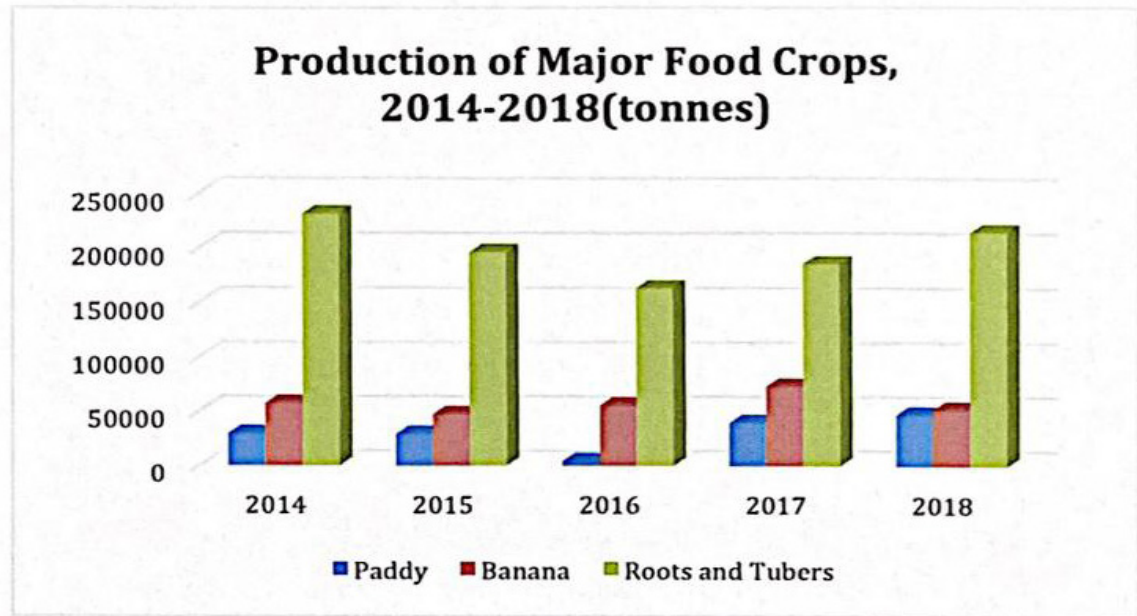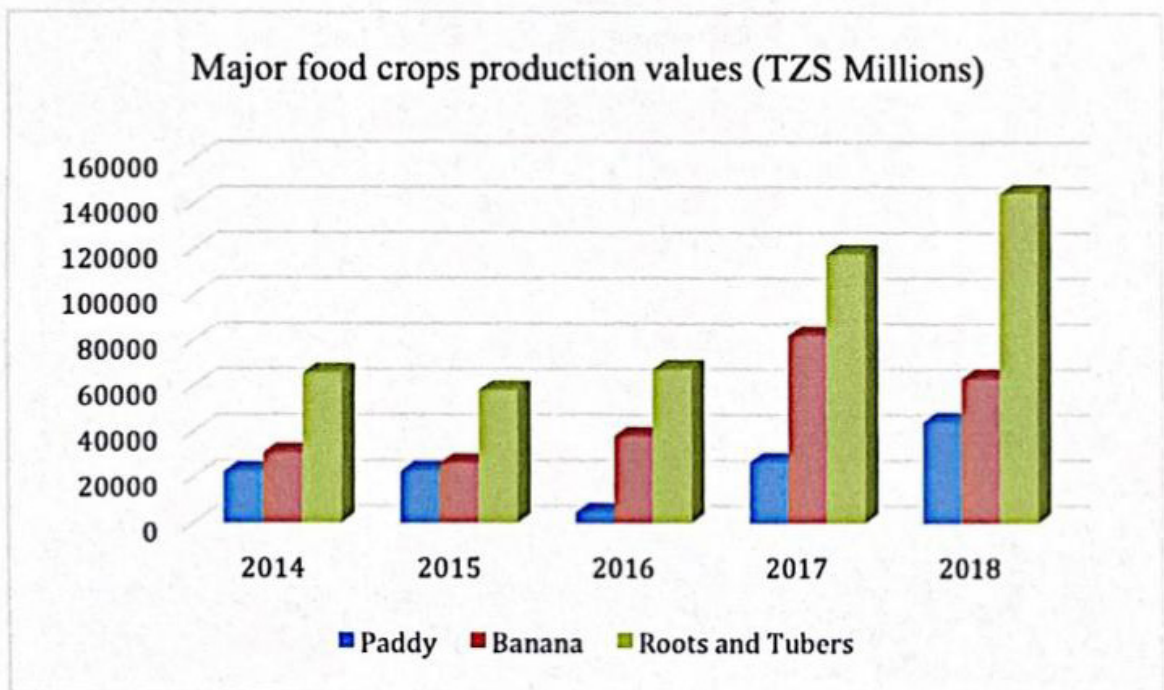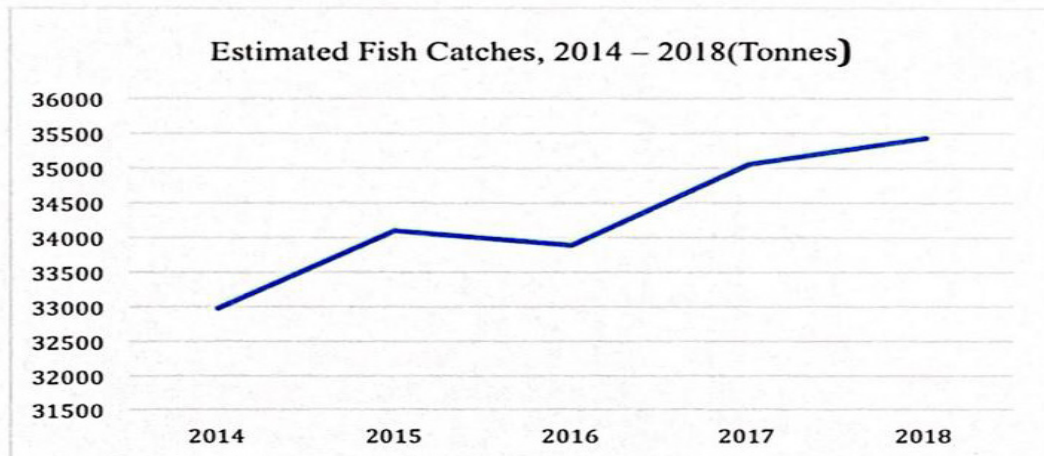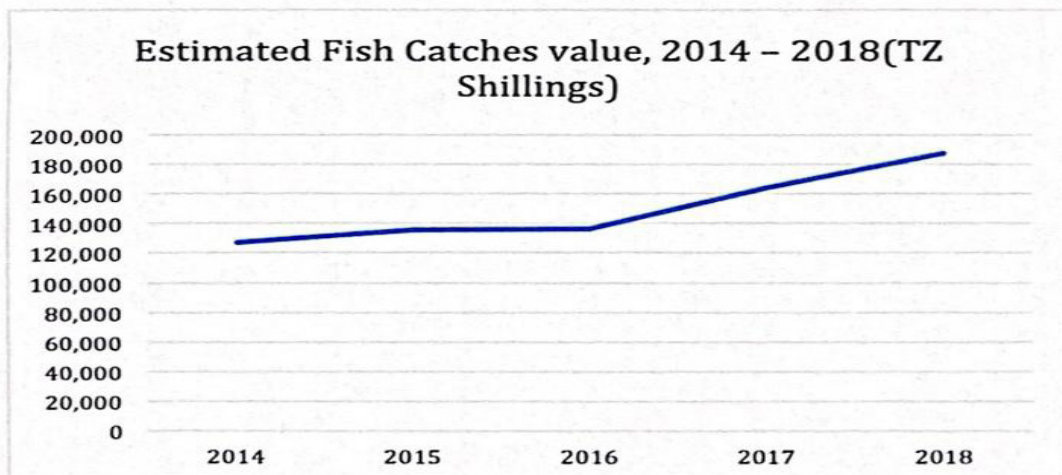
6.3.0   Plans to Implement the Blue Economy

As Zanzibar is surrounded by the Indian Ocean, we have scaled up our efforts to explore and exploit deep sea fishing and develop the blue economy. The Indian Ocean is important for the regional and global connectivity. Zanzibar highly depends on it for the development of trade, transportation, tourism and many other social and economic activities. Likewise, the Indian Ocean is vital for peace and security of Zanzibar. Therefore, will as continue to collaborate with the international community in the fight against maritime piracy, illicit trade and crimes.

6.3.1   Enhancement of the Zanzibar Ports to Facilitate the Implementation of the Blue Economy

The Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar has purchased equipment worth TZS. 35.57 billion between 2014 and 2019 duly for port handling services and consequently the number of containers, loose cargo and passengers has increased significantly.

Revenue collected has increased from TZS. 9.00 billion (2010) to TZS. 34.36 billion 2018. Table 3, 4 and 5 illustrate the achievement.

TABLE 3: ZANZIBAR PORTS CORPORATION PURCHASE OF PORT

Table 3: ZANZIBAR PORTS CORPORATION PURCHASE OF PORT EQUIPMENT, 2014 - 2019

S/N	EQUIPMENT	YEAR	COMPANY	EURO	USD	EXCH. RATE	T.SHS.
1	TUG	2014/2015	DAMEN	4,412,000.00		2,437.38	10,753,720,560.00
2	MAIN CRANE	2015/2016	LEIBHERR	2,728,426.48		2,437.45	6,650,412,127.48
3	REACH STACKERS 2	2016/2017	EFFCO		830,000.00	2,176.70	1,806,661,249.00
4	T/TRACTORS 2 NA T/TRAILERS 2	2017/2018	MOLCY NV	266,100.00		2,437.45	648,606,323.13
5	BOUYERS	2015/2019	TRELLEBORG		194,400.00	2,176.70	423,150,538.32
6	FORK LIFT NA EMPTY 1	2015/2016	KILIMAN	618,000.00		2,437.45	1,506,346,139.40
7	REACH STACKER 1	2015/2021	CARGOTEC	171,000.00	195,624.00	2,184.79	427,397,358.96
8	16 TONS FORKLIFT TRUCK	2017/2018	ACHELIS	196,777.00		2,438.00	479,742,326.00
9	3 Pcs 3 TONS FORKLIFT	2018/2019	KILIMAN IND.		94,805.63	2,278.61	216,025,056.57
10	2 HIGHWAY TRACTORS	2017/2018	ERISTIC		354,069.00	2,278.59	806,778,082.71
11	CRADLES	2017/2018	DAMEN	154,000.00		2,439.00	375,606,000.00
12	SEMITELERS AND TRAILERS	2018/2019	ERISTIC		354,069.00	2,288.33	810,226,714.77
18	16 TON FORFLIFT	2018/2019	KILIMAN		229,060.44	2,288.33	524,165,876.67
19	BOUYERS	2018/2019	KILIMAN IND.		230,124.80	2,315.00	532,738,912.00
20	PASSENGER PONTOON	2018/2019	SONGORO		1,158,400.00	2,278.11	2,638,962,624.00
21	PILOT BOAT	2018/2019	DAMEN	1,624,000.00		2,574.50	4,180,991,410.40
22	REACH STACKER AND M/CRANE	2018-2019	ERISTIC		785,575.00	2,278.11	1,789,626,263.25
	JUMLA			3,980,303.48	1,220,024.00		34,571,157,562.66

Table 4: SUMMARY OF PASSENGERS TRAFFIC 2010-2018

YEAR	INBOUND	OUTBOUND	TOTAL
2010	807,672	806,222	1,613,894
2011	837,420	827,152	1,664,572
2012	929,025	918,482	1,847,507
2013	961,927	910,230	1,872,157
2014	1,140,125	1,072,456	2,212,581

Table 5: ZANZIBAR PORTS CORPORATION CONTAINER TRAFFIC FROM 2010 -2018

YEAR	DISHARGED (IMPORT) CONTAINERS 20' F	E	40' F	E	TOTAL CONT.	TEUS	TONS	LOADED (EXPORT) CONTAINERS 20' F	E	40' F	E	TOTAL CONT RS.	TEUS	TONS	TOTAL DISCHARGED AND LOADED TOTAL CONTR'S	TOTAL TEUS	TOTAL TONS
2010	10,541	53	4,477	1	15,072	19,550	345,496.93	737	9,881	294	4,025	14,937	19,256	62,493.92	30,009	38,806	407,990.85
2011	13,750	25	5,998	-	19,773	25,771	482,844.92	961	12,510	316	5,735	19,522	25,573	81,074.52	39,295	51,344	563,919.44
2012	17,410	1	7,689	1	25,101	32,791	578,184.52	1,185	15,993	615	6,927	24,720	32,262	105,890.53	49,821	65,053	684,075.05
2013	20,066	3	8,056	32	28,157	36,245	570,314.14	968	18,287	617	6,902	26,774	34,293	106,517.03	54,931	70,538	676,831.17
2014	20,565	95	9,392	26	30,078	39,496	609,852.52	1,543	18,893	880	8,782	30,098	39,760	138,575.60	60,176	79,256	748,428.11

6.4 Efforts to Improve the Clove Industry

For many years the clove industry prevailed as an economic backbone of Zanzibar. However, from late 1970s to late 1990s, unfortunately, the sector experienced a total decline and stagnation as the international market dwindled. In an effort to revive the sector, from 2010, the Government embarked on special programmes geared to stimulate the industry as part of the effort to promote social welfare and engage the rural communities in the production activities.

The Government undertook reforms by enacting new laws and restructuring of the Zanzibar State Trading Corporation (ZSTC). Those initiatives also include paying farmers 80% of the world market price to motivate them to grow more clove trees and combat clove smuggling. The Government has maintained its resolve to pay farmers 80 percent of the market price regardless of the price fluctuations in the global market. The current clove price stands TZS 14,000 per kilogram, is more rewarding than the TZS 5000 which was paid prior to the reforms.

Furthermore, through the Government's TenYear Clove Development Strategy, farmers are given clove seedlings free of charge and offered interest-free loans to pay for the cost incurred during the harvesting periods. Among the goals of the strategy is to plant 500,000 clove seedlings every year.

These initiatives together with the efforts that have been put forth for the last nine years, have substantially increased the production of cloves and rural communities. Farmers have been motivated to the extent that they work tirelessly to increase clove yield. A total of 7,464 tons of cloves which cost TZS 131.96 Billion have been exported during 2017/2018 financial year compared to 2,235 tons costing TZS 38.60 billion which were exported in 2016/2017.

6.5 Efforts to Intensify the Development of Oil and Gas Sector in Zanzibar

Historically, the Oil and Gas exploration activities in Zanzibar started from 1950s. The British Petroleum CBP) and Shell in consortium conducted exploration works in the coastal areas of Tanzania and drilled several exploration wells in Zanzibar. Extensive geological work was conducted including drilling, gravity and aero-magnetic. However, these exploration activities ceased in early 1960s.

A new era in the development of oil and gas sector of Zanzibar was initiated in 2011 when the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar and the Government of Ras AI Khaimah agreed to expand areas of cooperation that included the oil and gas sector in the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU).

The Government intensified its efforts to develop the oil and gas sector by including it in its national development plans. Therefore, new laws relating to the sector were enacted and appropriate regulations and policies were formulated. The Petroleum Act No.21 of 2015 and the Oil and Gas (Upstream) Act No. 6 of 2016 were among those legal instruments. Likewise, Zanzibar Oil and Gas (Upstream) Policy was established and approved in 2015.

In addition, the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar established two institutions namely; the Zanzibar Petroleum Regulatory Authority (ZPRA) in March 18, 2017 and the Zanzibar Petroleum Development Company (ZPDC) in 14 June 2018.

ZPRA has mandated to monitor and regulate exploration, development and production of petroleum in Zanzibar while ZPDC is a commercial entity which participates in upstream petroleum operations on behalf of the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar. The ZPDC spearheaded the negotiation processes between the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar and RAKGAS and ultimately the two parties entered into the Production Sharing Agreement on 23rd October, 2018.

Furthermore, the Zanzibar Utilities Regulatory Authority (ZURA) was established under the ZURA Act No. 7 of 2013. It officially came into operation in 2015. According to the Act, ZURA is mandated to regulate the Energy and Water sectors. The functions of ZURA include licensing, reviewing tariff, monitoring performance as well as setting standards on quality, safety, health and environmental issues.

The Authority is a semi-autonomous body and is able to finance its recurrent and development activities through its own sources of revenues.

ZURA has managed to increase the Government's resources by increasing the volume of petroleum products imported to Zanzibar and hence the collection of revenues from such products.

Revenue collection by the Authority has increased from TZS 13,939,525,256 when ZURA was established in Financial Year 2016/17 to TZS 15,953,816,642.76 in Financial Year 2018/19 as shown in the figure 18 below. The Authority's income is expected to grow by 15% each year.

Figure 18: Revenue Collected by ZURA from 2016/17 to 2018/19
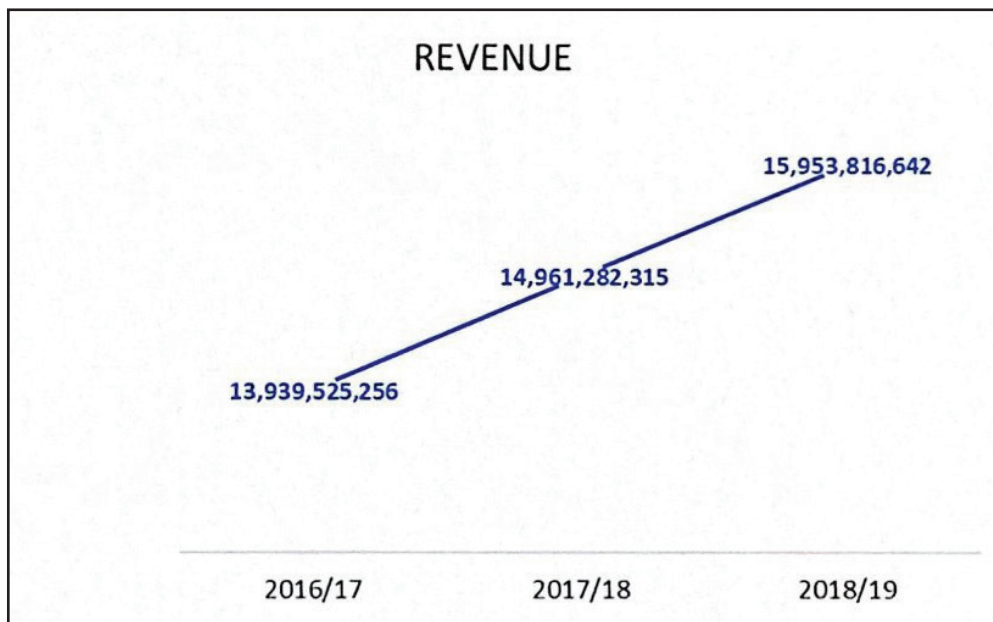
In order to ensure security supply of petroleum products in Zanzibar, the Authority has started preparations for the construction of a new and modern oil terminal at Mangapwani Zanzibar to replace the dilapilated oil facility at Mtoni Zanzibar.

Zanzibar has learnt from the experience of other countries that, if the oil and gas sector is not managed properly, it can trigger violent conflicts. Hence, along these initiatives, measures are taken to develop the sector. Serious consideration is given to peace and security issues, including provision of the essential education to the people on how to develop this sector peacefully and fruitfully.

6.3.0   DEMOCRACY AND GOOD GOVERNANCE AS SIGNIFICANT ELEMENTS IN PROMOTING PEACE AND SECURITY

Previously, in this lecture, I mentioned some factors that can serve as benchmarks in assessing a peaceful place where security is also maintained. Such factors align with the principles of good governance. In observing the rule of law, the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar established the Ministry of State President's Office responsible for Constitution and Good Governance Affairs as well as President's Office for Legal Affairs among its administrative organs, keeping the last three components inclusive to ensure that they operate holistically.

Through this President's Office, the Government has initiated a system of monitoring good governance by putting up other pertinent structures within it. For instance, the Zanzibar Anti- Corruption and Economic Crimes Authority (ZAECA), the Zanzibar Public Leaders Ethics Commission, Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC) and the Zanzibar Civil Service Commission. To ensure efficiency and effectiveness in our efforts to promote good governance and democracy, the ministry has been recently split into two respective institutions namely the Ministry of Constitution and Legal Affairs and the Office of the President for Civil Service and Good Governance.

6.3.1   Initiatives to fight Corruption

The prevalence of low levels of corruption in a country is a sign post of the existence of peace and security in that place because corruption is widely recognized as a global threat to peace and security. It is believed that where corruption is rife, criminal networks and conflicts prevail. In such environments, hopes of lasting peace and stability can be ephemeral unless solutions are found.

As a way to observe good governance, which is one of the essential ingredients of peace and security, the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar has created the Zanzibar Anti- Corruption and Economic Crimes Authority (ZAECA) under Act No.1 of 2012 of the House of Representatives for the purpose of fighting against corruption and crimes related to Zanzibar's economy. The institution has been diligently performing its roles of which promising future of low level corruption environment in Zanzibar is being envisaged.

6.3.2   Efforts in Monitoring Leaders Ethics

In strengthening the efforts to fight corruption, the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar has established the Zanzibar Public Leaders' Ethics Commission (Ethics Commission) which is an Independent Commission and is responsible for the implementation and enforcement of the Zanzibar Public Leaders' Code of Ethics. This institution has been formed under Act, No. 4 of 2015, for the purpose of promoting the highest standards of integrity, ethical behaviour and conduct to the public leaders. It strives to enhance transparency, accountability, compliance and law enforcement.

In performing its roles, all public leaders including the President, presidential appointees as well as members of the House of Representatives are required to make declaration of their assets and liabilities to the Commission, which consequently undertakes a thorough scrutiny to detect any instance of discrepancy.

Furthermore, the Ethics Commission receives and investigates allegations of breach of code of ethics by any public leader and ultimately advises the appointing authority accordingly, in view of the allegation.

The Government has devised this instrument purposely to maintain peace and order among the people deriving from their trust in the leaders.

6.3.3   Observing and Practicing Human Rights and Cementing Social Cohesion

The United Republic of Tanzania has a multiparty system which was introduced in 1992. Zanzibar being part and parcel of the United Republic of Tanzania promotes the multiparty democracy where many political parties have taken part in 5 general elections since 1995. Zanzibar has always been implementing human rights principles.

In Tanzania, the General Elections are conducted and administered by two independent commissions, namely the Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC) which was established by Act NO.9 of 1992. The Commission is responsible for Zanzibar elections and the National Electoral Commission (NEC) which is responsible for the national elections.

Many countries have experienced electoral violence. It has become a common phenomenon around the world. Zanzibar has also come across some of those incidences during the General election periods. However, in most cases, those incidences have not been as serious as in some other countries. It is gratifying to see that Zanzibar had very peaceful elections.

In this venture, the Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC) deserves the highest compliments for running free, fair and peaceful elections. This attribute has led the ZEC commissioners to be appointed by other countries to attend their elections as observers.

In general, Zanzibar runs General Elections peacefully, without breach and violation of human rights. The government always take stern measures to strengthen peace-building efforts during the elections in order to maintain social cohesion.

7.0   PROMOTING PEACE AND SECURITY BY ENHANCING MORE GOVERNMENT ORGANS

7.1   The Civil Service System

In order to ensure that the rights of the citizens are earnestly observed and resist to the exploitation practices in the places of work, the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar has made several reforms in the civil service system. Apart from the amendment of the Civil Service Act, other reforms were undertaken in line with Public Service Act No.2 of 2011, in order to see to it that labour laws are enforced; employment and working conditions are improved. In line with the Act, more emphasis has also been placed on improving occupational health and safety rules. Any violations of labour laws which are identified are immediately reported for the welfare of the workers from both the formal and informal sectors. Associations of Employers and workers respectively have been formed and their roles expanded. More comprehensive social security schemes have also been put in place, for instance, the Zanzibar Social Security Fund that supports retired workers also pronounced and implemented its intention in the Zanzibar Development Vision 2020 that gears towards widening the coverage of social security schemes to cover those working in the informal sector.

Since 2011, the Government has increased salaries of civil servants 4 times while the minimum wages were increased by 100% in 2016. Zanzibar has also set a historical record in April 2016, when it implemented the first Social Pension Scheme in East Africa to be fully financed by the Government. This scheme is known as Zanzibar Universal Pension. In March 2015, the Government announced its intention to introduce a universal pension as part of the 2015/16 budget, and the first payment was made in April 2016. All Zanzibar citizens over the age of 70 receive a monthly noncontributory pension of TZS 20,000 (US$9) regardless of their professional backgrounds, and currently it pays about 20,080 people.

The Government has also constructed new buildings to be used as offices for the civil servants in its resolve to create conducive working environment that will guarantee peace and security at work place. Recently on 2nd May 2019, 3 new buildings at Gombani, Chake Chake Pemba were officially opened.

They consist 145 rooms and accommodate six ministries. Some new buildings in Unguja which houses Government Ministries and other institutions have also been built. All these efforts go a long way towards maintaining peace and security among people in the country.

7.2   The Government's Efforts to Combat Diseases as a Threat to Peace, Security and Development

The Health Policy of Zanzibar provides free health services for all. This policy is in line with the declaration of free health care services that was made on 23rd March, 1965 soon after the 1964 Revolution. Zanzibar is the only country in East Africa which offers free health services. The Government has taken huge efforts to fight diseases through various initiatives. In implementing the HIV, Hepatitis, Tuberculosis and Leprosy Integrated Programme, tremendous successes have been attained. For instance, HIV prevalence rate in the general population of Zanzibar currently stands at 0.4 percent and has remained below one percent for many years now.

Similar achievements have also been reached in combating Malaria through the Zanzibar Malaria Elimination Program (ZAMEP), where the current prevalence rate is 0.4 percent, the best results so far in East Africa. Our plan now is to consolidate these achievements towards eliminating malaria altogether in Zanzibar by exerting more efforts in our intervention programmes, raising awareness, use of treated mosquito nets, proper diagnosis, and indoor residual spraying. Our achievements in curbing Malaria to the minimum has aroused a lot of interest in people from other parts of the world, who have encountered this problem and are coming to learn the best practices from us.

Similarly, huge efforts have been taken to improve diagnostic services including patholology and radiology/ image services.

In addition, commendable achievements have been attained in increasing accessibility to health facilities. There is a health facility within a radius of five miles from the residence of every individual in Zanzibar (see table 6 below). The Doctor to patient ratio stood at one doctor per 6,435 people (1:6435) until December 2018, compared to the ratio of one doctor to 8,392 people in 2017. These are exemplary achievements.

Table 6: Number of Health Facilities by Type, 2014- 2018

Category		2014	2015	2016	2017	2018p
Public Facilities						
	PHCU	109	110	115	119	119
Primary level	PHCU+	34	34	34	34	34
	PHCC	4	4	4	4	2
Secondary level	Regional Hospital	0	0	0	1	1
	District Hospital	3	3	3	3	4
Tertiary level	Specialized	2	2	2	2	2
	Referral	1	1	1	1	1
Private Facilities						
Hospital		2	4	4	4	5
Dispensary		53	67	65	78	78

Source: Zanzibar Statistical Abstract, 2018

In an effort to fight both Communicable and Non -Communicable Diseases in Zanzibar, the Government has been increasing the annual budget for the procurement of drugs, diagnostic supplies, etc. each year. The amount allocated rose from TZS 7 billion in 2017/108 to 12.7 billion in 2018/2019, then to 15.7 billion in this financial year, 2019/2020; equivalent to an increase of 124 per cent.

7.3   Provision of Equity Educational Opportunities as a Factor for Keeping Peace and Maintenance of Security

The Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar, being deeply touched by the people's resentment against the unfair provision of education during the colonial administration that sparked their strong determination for change, it undertook a first great step forward towards education reform in Zanzibar. This worth noting step was the nationalization of all communal schools that were operating discriminatively based on colour, race and creed. Subsequent to that action, on 23rd September, 1964, the Government announced free education for all the people of Zanzibar without any form of discrimination.

The provision of free education for all marked the turning point in promoting education in Zanzibar and ultimately, developing other sectors. It gives us a pleasure to find that we now have three full fledged universities in Zanzibar and some others are to come later in the years after the impact of merging the institutions of various disciplines to the State University of Zanzibar. It is not my intention today to give details of the efforts that have been taken by the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar in developing education and health sectors and the achievements we have attained, as this area has already been thoroughly dealt with in the previous lectures. However Tables 7 and 8 and Figure 19 demonstrate the achievements that have been attained in providing quality education.

Table 7: Number of Public Schools, Colleges, Institutes and Universities, 2009 – 2018

Category	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Nursery	35	31	30	32	31
Primary	196	200	211	213	239
Primary & Middle Schools	74	73	63	59	46*
Secondary Schools	137	135	141	143	159
Technical Biased Schools	2	2	2	2	2
Islamic Biased Schools	2	2	2	2	2
Teacher Training College	3	3	3	2	2
Science Biased School	8	4	9	10	7
Social Science Biased School	4	3	3	1	1
Business Biased School	2	2	2	2	2
French Language Biased	1	1	1	1	1
Vocational Training Centre	3	3	3	3	3
Institutes	5	5	5	3	3
Universities	1	1	1	1	1

Source: Ministry of Education and Vocational Training
* Note: Some of Primary and Middle schools in 2018 has Split into Secondary and Primary school only

Table 8: Number of Private Schools, Colleges, Institutes and Universities, 2009– 2018

Category	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Nursery School	244	246	259	296	317
Primary School	54	60	68	86	102
Primary &Middle School	35	37	50	54	55
Secondary	12	12	12	10	11
Technical Biased School	1	1	1	1	0
Social Science Biased School	1	1	1	1	0
Institutes	2	2	2	2	2
Universities	2	2	2	2	2

Source: Ministry of Education and Vocational Training

Figure 19: STD I Enrolment in Public and Private Schools, 2014 – 2018
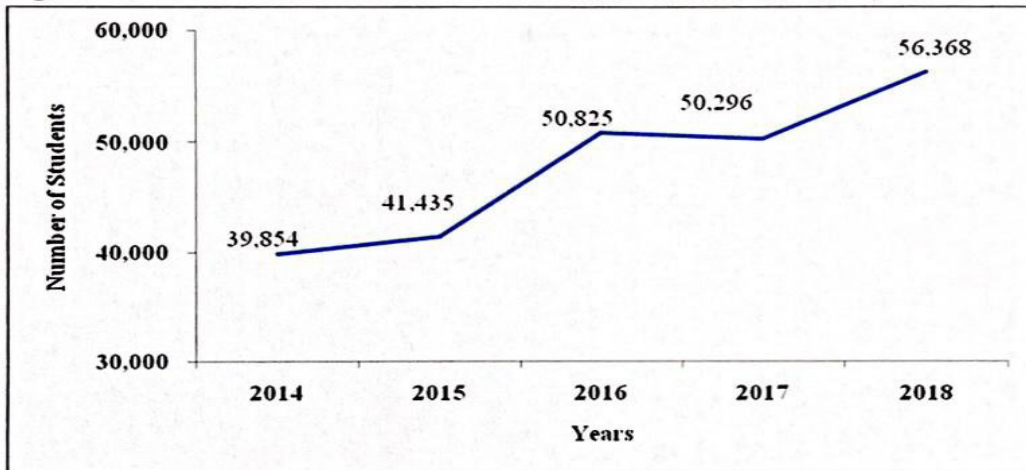
8.0   GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS TO CURB UNEMPLOYMENT

In my earlier discussion in this lecture, I mentioned unemployment being one of the main threats to society as it often breeds other social problems such as poverty, violence and societal antagonism.

It is obvious that the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar does not have the capacity to curb employment at a hundred percent rate despite the huge efforts it is making to offer a number of employment opportunities. I would also dare to say that most countries in the world have not either resolved unemployment to perfection and thus being one of the global agenda. Nonetheless, the Government's Ministry of Labour, Empowerment, Elderly, Women and Children provides soft loan through Empowerment Fund that we have established to special focused groups among youth, women and people with disabilities to run entrepreneurship projects that provide livelihood opportunities. The achievements from these endeavours are likely to result in income benefits for people's own wellbeing and economic uplift for the nation. It is gratifying to see a considerable number of employment opportunities have been created in both the private and public sectors. From 2013/2014 to 2017/2018 a total of 37,760 people (Figure 20) were employed in the private sector, and a total of 15, 909 have also seized the opportunities in the public sector.

Figure 20: Distribution of Government Employees; 2013/2014 – 2017/2018
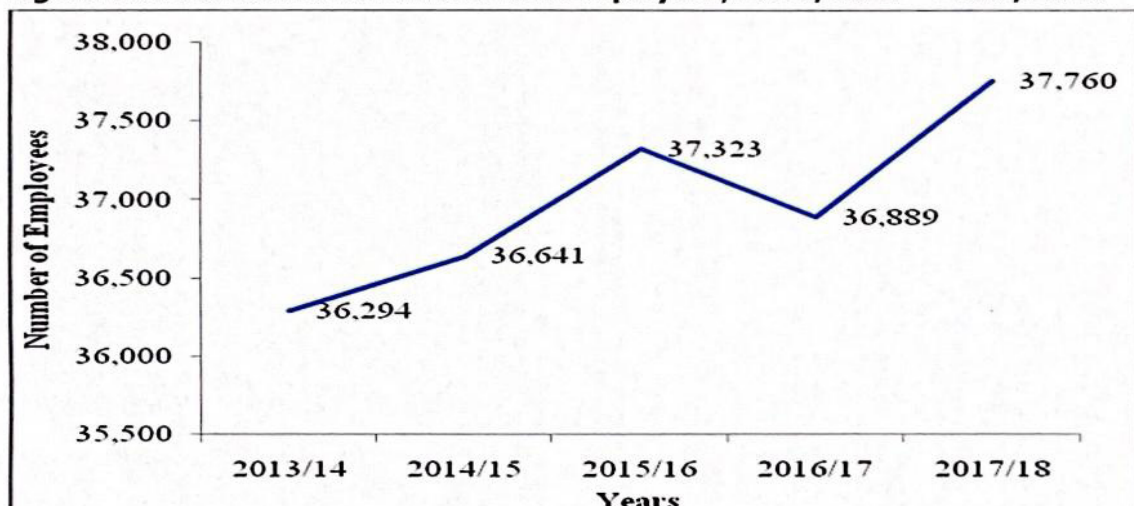
9.0   LAND REFORM AS AN INDUCIVE RESOURCE FOR MAINTAINING PEACE AND SECURITY

The successful 1964 Revolution through its Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar made the first land reform on 8th March 1964 and in April 1964; Land Reform Office was created in the ministry of Agriculture. Since then we have embarked on various land reforms to ensure the appropriate usage of land in Unguja and Pemba taking into account the limited land space we have. More other reforms have followed as in Act No.6 of 1989 about the establishment of Commission for Land and Environment and Land Transfer Act No. 8 of 1994. Presently, various plans have been initiated by the Government to guide us on land use for different development projects and social activities. For instance, we have allocated particular areas in each district of Unguja and Pemba for development of industrial parks, residential areas, construction of playgrounds and stadiums. On the other hand, measures are taken to eliminate land disputes which at some point were on the rise in both the islands.

10.0   THE ROLES OF VARIOUS DEFENCE AND SECURITY ORGANS IN MAINTAINING AND PROMOTING PEACE IN ZANZIBAR

*   The Tanzania Peoples Defence Force is performing its roles of guarding the country and its borders.

*   The Tanzania Police is responsible for safe guarding the people and their properties.

*   The Immigration Department is dealing with matters regarding the immigrants, new visitor arrivals and those who leave the country.

*   The Intelligence is responsible for executing their mandatory roles.

*   The Special Departments are executing their mandatory responsibilities in collaboration with the Defence and Police Forces as well as the Intelligence Unit with a common goal of keeping and maintaining peace and security in the country in different respects. All these institutions are diligently performing their responsibilities.

10.1   The Local Government and other Bodies created to promote Democracy, Good Governance, Peace and Security

Zanzibar has introduced a local government system which is based on the principles of decentralization and democratic governance that demands the devolution of authority and power to the lowest level of government closest to the people. Special funds are allocated to local government to enable them to plan and implement their own developments initiatives.

The local governments play vital roles in maintaining peace and security in their respective administrative areas through the system of **"Ulinzi Shirikishi"** (Community Policing) whereby special groups of people within a community are created and organized to patrol and police a given area or community. This system has been very fruitful as perpetrators and potential offenders are easily identified by the people of their respective local communities.

Likewise, there are Security Committees at regional and district levels which are working closely with other Government institutions to oversee and promote peace and security in their respective areas of administration. In addition, we have formed Auxiliary Police Units at district level who play important role in enforcing by-laws which are established in their areas.

Furthermore, the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar has consented to the formulation of the Councils of elders and youths respectively. These Councils meet from time to time as per their schedules in order to exchange ideas regarding pertinent political, social as well as administrative issues. They devise viable strategies to promote successes and resolve challenges within their capacities and/ or forward the ones that fall above their powers to the authorities concerned. All these practices are carried out by the Government to instill the culture of collective leadership as one of the ways of promoting peace and security.

11.0 THE SAFE ZANZIBAR PROJECT

The Safe Zanzibar Project was signed between the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar, the ROM Solution Company and the Revitalco Management & Consulting in April 2015. It is aimed at strengthening peace and security at global standards for the purpose of keeping safe environment for the locals and visitors including tourists. It focused on the airport and harbour premises which are the main gateways to Zanzibar as well as the Stone Town area and the main roads leading to the Urban West region. A total of 877 cameras were installed in the Stone Town area.

At the airport, the project has provided the following:

* 3 new and modern fire tenders, 2 for the Abeid Amani Karume International Airport (AAKIA) in Unguja and 1 for the Pemba airport. The vehicles have a capacity of carrying 12,000 liters of water together with 1,440 litres of special foam for extinguishing fire. The vehicles are also capable of spraying 7,000 litres of water in a minute covering the entire affected area in 3 minutes. **The availability of these vehicles together with the other equipment has elevated the profile of our airport to the 9th grade which is the top grade in international standards.**

* 2 modern passenger and luggage detecting machines have already been installed and are in use at the AAKIA.

* A Mobile X -Ray Machine which is capable of checking up aircrafts, cars and cargoes is also in use.

* The Sensor fences - perimeter detection system has been put up round the airport fence, which involves the installation of 46 CCTV cameras aimed at maintaining total Surveillance at the airport surroundings. 3 cameras are fixed at the international arrivals area, 3 at the departure lounge and 2 at the VIP lounge. This makes all the cameras available in use at the airport area to be 54.

At the harbour, security has been strengthened as follows:

* By installing 42 cameras around all the surroundings including the exit and entrance gateways, at both the departure and arrivals lounges as well as the cargo uploading and downloading areas. 2 of these cameras are special for identifying, and preserving people's facial features.

* Installing 2 machines for scanning passengers and luggage as well as the procurement of one Mobile X -Ray Machine that can detect banned and prohibited items in cars, containers and lorries of cargo. This machine is capable of working while the vehicles are in motion or at a halt.

Security around the seas has also been promoted by providing the Special Force for the Prevention of Smuggling' (KMKM) with 3 surveillance boats and one boat has been given to the Fire Fighting and Rescue Force. The boats are capable of covering a distance of 50 to 60 nautical miles per hour which is equivalent to 90 to 115 kilometers per hour. The rescue boat has a capacity of rescuing a burning vessel at sea and has equipments that can rescue 200 drowning passengers. All these initiatives have been taken in order to guarantee safe and peaceful environment to the locals, the visitors as well as the tourists, so that Zanzibar continues to be a safe and peaceful place to stay and live.

12.0 THE GOVERNMENT'S INITIATIVES IN CONTROLLING ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION AND COMBATING THE EFFECTS OF CLIMATE CHANGE

12.1 *Controlling Environmental Degradation*

As I have discussed earlier in Part three of this paper, the negative impact caused by climate change and environmental degradation on human development undertakings. These two issues have for quite long been among the global agenda. While the former is taken as a 'threat multiplier' of existing security risks the latter is seen as a resultant factor emanating from the former. However, despite the fact that climate change is sometimes caused by natural forces, in another viewpoint both the issues are largely considered as generating from human malpractices on the environment.

Zanzibar has also experienced environmental degradation that has caused devastating consequences which rendered the Government to come up with strong policies and strategies of controlling illegal environmental practices. The enactment and enforcement of the Ban Plastic Carrier Bags Regulation of 2011 and its recent review in 2018; the launching of Zanzibar Environmental Policy of 2013; the enactment of the Zanzibar Environmental Management Act of 2015 and the establishment of the Zanzibar Environmental Management Authority (ZEMA), that was purposely created to ensure compliance and enforcement of the Zanzibar Environmental Management Act of 2015; as well as the development of a Draft National Solid and Waste Strategy and the Draft Strategic Environment Assessment (SEA) for oil and gas exploration are among the prompt measures taken by the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar.

Apart from these actions, relevant projects have also been initiated to address environmental degradation such as the Sanitary Landfill and Sludge Disposal Facilities which is under construction at Kibele in the Southern District and a Pilot Project on Solid Waste Management Segregation which has been established in one of the localities in the Western District (Shaurimoyo) involving 400 households.

Recently, the Government has also prohibited the free digging of sand by individual dealers as a means of controlling the practice that has already proven environmentally destructive.

12.2 Combating the Effects of Climate Change

Regarding climate change, the rising of water levels causing immense floods and the intrusion of sea water into people's households and farms have been threatening issues to national development and people's wellbeing. About 145 farming areas in both Unguja and Pemba and another inhabited location in Msuka village in Pemba have experienced this damage. The Government has taken efforts in implementing climate Change Adaptation and Mitigation Projects such as initiating a Water Supply Project at Nungwi Peninsula in the Northern District as a replacement for the traditional source of fresh water that has been interfered with by sea water. This project will cater for 11,000 people. Sea walls and dykes have also been constructed to shield the affected areas on both Unguja and Pemba Islands; one of the examples of such walls is seen at Forodhani seafront opposite the People's Palace Museum.

For the same purpose, 250 hectares of mangrove has been planted in some other areas like Kilimani and Kisakasaka on Unguja island as well.

13.0 JUDICIARY AND LEGAL SYSTEMS

The Maintenance of Peace and Security in Zanzibar from the Judiciary Perspective

Zanzibar's legal system hierarchy comprises five-levels combining the jurisdictions of Islamic and British common law. In criminal matters, both Christians and Muslims are governed by statutory or common law. However, since Zanzibar's population has a higher percentage of Muslims, there is a system of Islamic 'Kadhi' court with its own hierarchy and appellate court. These courts deal with family matters, such as divorce, child custody and inheritance, and only arbitrate cases involving Muslims. Cases concerning Zanzibar constitutional issues are heard only in Zanzibar's courts. All other cases may be appealed to the national Court of Appeal (The Court of Appeal of Tanzania), which is the highest court of justice operating for both the countries.

The judges of the subordinate courts that include the Kadhi's Court are established from the level of districts to the nation. Even though, the Court of Appeal for Muslim cases in Zanzibar is the Zanzibar High Court. The extension of legal structures down to the community up to the district level is a deliberate effort taken by the Government to provide the people with an easy access to the legal services. The Government enhances the capacity of the legal institutions by recruiting more judges and magistrates to expedite the hearings. The reasons for the establishment of law structures from the lower levels of the country's administrative hierarchy was meant to provide legal services within people's easy reach so that lawsuits that occur could be dealt with in terms of immediacy starting at the district level.

The rule of law that oversees law and order at a place breeds peace and harmony in a sense that people are ensured that there is always a legal arm stretched out at their disposal, and they can hold it for assistance whenever the need arises. Similarly, it makes the people understand that the country is governed by the rule of law and nobody is free to do whatever he/she likes in breach of the law. Hence the judicial wing is always being urged to treat each citizen equally under the law in order to wipe out dissatisfaction among the community that is likely to ignite anger and erupt into violence.

PART FIVE:

14.0   CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I would like to reiterate the significant importance of peace and security in a country, the two essential elements that have no replacements where social integration, comfort and harmony are concerned in the well being of a society. As we all know from experience that pillars are the strongest elements that support a structure firmly and prevent it from collapsing. If pillars become weak, the structure would no longer bear the shock and would likely fall down. This is true of a society where peace is tempered with. Most of the people get tempted and captured by their private interests and found themselves dissolving the ties of loyalty with their society by engaging themselves in illegal actions detrimental to their country's economy and social stability. We should keep away with those who tend to preach violence to achieve their ends. Anti- corruption actions are critical because the nature of corruption is analogous to termites that can penetrate underneath a strong upright pillar and devour it from beneath to its collapse.

When corruption becomes entrenched, it undermines the development of the central authority and its institutions, leaving a vulnerable administration that is prone to insurgents' operations.

In view of this, it remains legitimate to say that corruption can even affect defence, security and police forces. Hence, these forces have to be alert of the far- reaching effects of corruption as the crux of societal instability.

Thus, we must follow many avenues in order to restore our treasures of peace and security in our country.

From my presentation point of view, I hope that you will concur with me that peace and security do prevail to a satisfactory extent in the Isles, and that explains why the community becomes free to engage themselves in their day to day activities without fear or threat of being harmed. Even the special departments find time to collectively engage in income generating activities for economical development of their institutions apart from their normal routine duties. Had there been a prevalent state of chaos and violence none would have the urge to freely concentrate on work, and in that situation development would be hampered. We should take the following quotes as food for thought and see how they fit in our administrative and social contexts. *"The care of human life and happiness, and not their destruction, is the first and only object of good government"* by Thomas Jefferson (the third President of USA from 1801-1809). Another one by Winston Churchill (a politician, military official and writer from the United Kingdom) goes *"If the human race wishes to have a prolonged and indefinite period of material prosperity, they have only got to behave in a peaceful and helpful way towards one another."*

Thank you for listening.

"GEO-POLITICS AND SECURITY POLICY OF THE NORDIC COUNTRIES"[1]

Speech By H.E. Elisabeth Jacobsen at the National Defence College - Tanzania 18.02.2022

Ladies and gentlemen,

Thank you for the invitation to speak here at the National Defence College of Tanzania. The safety and security of a country's citizens is the first duty of the government, to those of you studying here at the NDC I wish to emphasise the importance of your studies and ambitions for your fellow Tanzanians. A calling to work for peace and security also drives many of us who work in diplomacy, and together they form the bedrock of an international order bound by a common set of rules which keep nations and people safe.

I have been invited to speak about Nordic security policy. Norway is a small country, which has always relied on peaceful cooperation and predictability for our security. We are also a people who have been the victims of war and aggression in the past, instilling in us the knowledge that our national independence and best interests are secured through our engagement with others, in particular our neighbours. **We rely on a rules-based international order based on the rule of law and with the United Nations at its centre. This is why we seek to advance and strengthen multilateral institutions and mechanisms.**

Right now, we are in a critical time for our common security and the rules-based order. Russian pressure against countries in Eastern Europe threatens the peace and stability of our own region, and the security and sovereignty of our allies. Increasing Russian aggression, since the annexation of Crimea in 2014, has encouraged greater Nordic cooperation and coordination in meeting this threat. **The freedom for countries to make decisions about their own security and participation in alliances is a fundamental right of a sovereign state- and important to all the Nordic countries.**

Introduction

Our Nordic neighbours: Denmark, Sweden, Finland, and Iceland are not only close friends and allies. Our societies are formed by an essential set of values:

1. We are open democracies, with active civil societies.
2. We have advanced gender equality at every level.
3. Our societies are based on a high level of trust, both between citizens and between citizens and the state.
4. We have comprehensive welfare states and open economies.

These factors together inform the **shared fundamental values** which influence Nordic foreign and security policy. We share a vision for our region; that it will be the most sustainable and integrated region in the world. To achieve this, we are building on a structure of cooperation which has been grown and sustained for decades. The Nordic countries' cooperation covers the full spectrum. From local, person-to-person cross-border cooperation to bilateral agreements to coordination in multilateral organisations.

Nordic cooperation is important, not just to politicians, diplomats, and bureaucrats, but to everyone in our region. When asked, more than 90% of Nordic citizens consider Nordic cooperation to be important to them. Security and defence are the aspects of our cooperation that they considered most important. A high level of public support and interest in our security cooperation is naturally a driving force for advancing and strengthening our integration in our lively democracies.

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1   Note: This speech was made before the Russian invasion of Ukraine on the 24th of February 2022, and before Sweden and Finland's applications for membership in NATO on the 18th of May 2022. An agreement to finalise this process was reached on the 28th of June 2022.

In this lecture, I hope to share with you some insights from our long history of deeper regional integration, and the value that has had for our security and safety. I will outline the multilateral structures which influence, and are influenced by, Nordic goals and interests. We will zoom out and view the Nordic region from a geo-political perspective, before zooming back into the Nordic structures for security and defence. At the end, I hope that I will have shown how our shared values, shared environment and our economic and political integration are at the very core of how we keep our open and democratic societies safe and competitive.

What are the Nordic countries? It seems like a good place to start. Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark, and Iceland have many similarities, not least our cold climates. Norway, Sweden, and Denmark speak mutually understandable Scandinavian languages, whereas most of us would struggle more with Icelandic, and Finnish belongs to a whole other family. We share many political similarities, we are all stable and open democracies, with high living standards, open economies, and comprehensive welfare for all citizens. However, while Iceland and Finland are republics, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark are constitutional monarchies. Nordic cultures are diverse, and our economies, while each a success story in its own right, have developed differently through both natural and man-made factors.

We are all founding members of the United Nations, and firm internationalists. For the Nordics, **the UN is the paramount institution for upholding international law,** and we work together and apart to support and sustain a well-functioning UN system. Norway is currently a non-permanent elected member of the United Nations Security Council for 2021-22 and held the presidency in January 2022. In the Council, and through our presidency, we have systematically addressed our four key thematic areas:

1. **Peace and reconciliation**
2. **Women, peace and security**
3. **Protection of civilians**
4. **Climate and security.**

International affiliations and associations

We are all European countries, but we have chosen different approaches to the project of European integration, also in the field of common security. Norway and Iceland are not members of the European Union but are fully integrated in the common market through the European Economic Community. While not a member of the EU, Norway supports the EU's defence of the rule of law and will contribute to holding EU states accountable to their commitments. Cooperation with our Nordic neighbours, bilaterally and in the EU and EEC, is an important element of maintaining accountability. **In line with our firm support for the rule of law,** Norway contributes towards strengthening civil society and justice in certain EU member-states.

Norway and the Nordic countries are also not all members of NATO or integrated into NATO structures in the same way. Norway and Denmark are full members of the alliance, while Finland and Sweden remain close collaborators outside the NATO umbrella. However, it must be said that this does not prohibit Sweden and Finland from participating in training, coordination and collaboration with Norway and our NATO allies. Soon, they will be participating in the Cold Response training exercise being held in Norway, together with members from all of NATO.

Nordic co-operation seeks a strong Nordic voice in the world and an in European and international forums. The values shared by the Nordic countries help make the region one of the most innovative, interconnected, and competitive in the world.

Nordic Political Structures

There are also dedicated political structures for maintaining and strengthening Nordic cooperation at many levels. The Nordic Council of Ministers is the forum for inter-governmental co-operation, the Nordic Council for inter-parliamentary co-operation. The Ministers for Nordic Co-operation are responsible for the work of the Nordic Council of Ministers. Nordic co-operation is based on the "Helsinki Treaty", which stipulates that the co-operation ministers assist the prime ministers in the coordination of Nordic issues.

The Nordic Council consists of elected parliamentarians from all the Nordic countries. The members discuss topical issues and the future of Nordic co-operation with the prime ministers once a year at a summit meeting held during the Session of the Nordic Council.

The Nordic prime ministers announced their most recement statement on our shared vision for Nordic co-operation on 20 August 2019: **Our vision is that the Nordic region will become the most sustainable and integrated region in the world by 2030.** The co-operation in the Nordic Council of Ministers must serve this purpose.

The foreign and security policy cooperation in the Nordic countries happens outside the context of the Council of Minister, principally through direct contact through the respective ministries of foreign affairs. **The Nordic foreign ministers meet regularly for strategic foreign policy dialogues.**

As you can see, the Nordic countries maintain various levels of overlapping memberships in international and multilateral organisations. This gives all of us, through our close cooperation with one another, greater opportunities to deepen our cooperation with the aforementioned organisations without necessarily compromising our immediate national interests.

This is possible due to the **deep trust and friendship** which exists between the Nordic countries and has been built up over decades, if not centuries. Our mutual trust and cooperation is also enhanced by the multilateralist outlook which all our countries share. To quote one of the Norwegian commanding officers at the Cold Response Exercise *"our countries are too small to not have good friends"*.

UNSC

Norway is currently a non-permanent elected member of the United Nations Security Council for 2021-22, and this has of course had an impact on our security policy. It also affords Norway the opportunity to influence and strengthen the United Nations, a key priority of ours. From the beginning, we have had four main areas of focus in the Council. These are:

1. **peace diplomacy**

2. **women, peace and security**

3. **protection of civilians in conflict**

4. **climate and security.**

Peace diplomacy

Norway has participated in diplomacy for peace for decades and has played an active role in peace and reconciliation efforts all over the world – from the Middle East, to Asia, Latin America and Africa. Norway continues to be strongly engaged in this field today. In this work, we have shown that we are a reliable and constructive partner. We took this approach with us into the Security Council. Key to our approach is a willingness to engage in dialogue with all essential actors in a conflict. We believe firmly that talking, engaging, and sitting at the table is far more valuable for building a lasting peace than excluding key participants. This was apparent recently when the Taliban visited Oslo for talks. Norway has been willing to engage with all parties in Afghanistan over a long time, enabling us **to build the trust** necessary for productive talks.

Norway has been active in promoting peace and reconciliation in the Horn of Africa for many years. We facilitated negotiations on the conflict in Sudan, which led to the formation of South Sudan and have been involved in major peace initiatives in Somalia and the Sahel. We bring this knowledge of the African context with us into the Council, and work to promote a more representative Security Council that better reflects the current global realities. This includes working to increase the number of both permanent and non-permanent seats for Africa on the Security Council, to correct the historical injustice done to the African continent in this context.

Women, peace & security

Norway has, over many years, worked hard to promote women's participation in the peace processes in which we are engaged. In the Council, we have made use of our knowledge of the women, peace and security agenda and striven to integrate this area into all the Council's work. The women, peace and security agenda touches on a wide range of issues and allows Norway to bring language which promotes women's participation at every level of security and peacebuilding into resolutions and mandates which the Council produces.

Norway has contributed to strengthening language regarding women, peace and security in resolutions and in the mandates for peace-keeping forces in Mali and Sudan. Many Norwegians, as Tanzanians, have served with pride in UN peace-keeping missions. This has given us a breadth of experience at every level, and we have a number of priorities derived from these lessons. Principle among these is that women must be included in decision making related to peace building, conflict management and peace-processes. We work hard to recruit women to roles, nationally and internationally, that bring more women into security and peace building, we **also strongly encourage the participation of women in international operations at the operational level.**

Peace-keeping missions

Norway is a longstanding partner to the African Union's Peace and Security Architecture. Through the Training for Peace Programme, which started in the late 90's, Norway has contributed to the strategic and operational capacity of the African Union to deploy civilian and police personnel to peace support operations across the continent. The goal of Training for Peace is to contribute to strengthening the capacity of the AU-Commission to prevent, manage and resolve conflicts and insecurity on the continent through deploying the full spectrum of peace-making tools. Norway provides particular support to the AU peace support operations, with a focus on the role of police and civilian peacekeepers. For peace-keeping operations to be viable it is our firm belief that they must have the **support and trust** of the civilian population, as I am sure members of the Tanzanian armed forces serving on peace-keeping missions would agree.

Protection of civilians

Sexual violence in conflict is a serious form of abuse, and breach of international humanitarian law. Armed groups use sexual violence as a tactic of war, or it occurs as a result of heightened levels of conflict. As part of our work promoting the women, peace and security agenda- preventing sexual violence in conflict is a key priority. Sexual violence connected to UN peace keeping forces is also concerning to Norway. This form of abuse undermines faith in the operation and undermines the safety of the local population and those sent to protect them.

The women, peace and security agenda is linked to the common Nordic gender equality policies. We are all keen to promote the rights of women and girls, not least because we recognise the value that gender equality has added to our own societies. Again, we approach gender equality in our foreign policies in slightly different ways- **but with common aims and values at the root.**

Despite the fact that civilians affected by armed conflict have a fundamental right to protection under international humanitarian law, in practice it is still civilians who suffer most in conflict situations. All too often in conflict situations, civilians are killed or subject to mutilation, rape and forced displacement.

Norway is working on many fronts to promote compliance with the rules set out in international humanitarian law on the protection of civilians.

Several sections and departments at the Ministry are involved in this work, as are the diplomatic and consular missions. We focus our efforts on issues that we consider to be particularly pressing.

In the Council we have prioritised protection of civilians, and we are proud of the work we've led and what we've achieved. Norway and Niger led the work of coordinating a resolution on the protection of education in conflict. We were pleased that this resolution was unanimously adopted, as it addressed an element of protection which disproportionately affects children caught in conflict. Norway and Ireland succeeded in sustaining a resolution ensuring humanitarian access to Syria, a vital lifeline for Syrians. **This was the first time in almost five years that all 15 members of the council could agree on a resolution addressing the conflict in Syria.**

Climate and Security

Together with Kenya, we head the expert group on climate and security. Climate is a looming challenge worldwide and we know the potential that climate change has for exacerbating existing conflicts and causing new ones. Therefore we've prioritised this vital issue in the Security Council. Beyond the council chamber, the Nordic prime ministers have adopted a Nordic declaration on carbon neutrality, which states that the Nordic countries must strive to achieve carbon neutrality nationally and internationally. This underlines **how our national, regional and international aspirations align.**

The Nordic countries are to be found in climactically fragile environments, particularly the Arctic and High North. This further spurs us all to be in the forefront of finding solutions to adapt and prevent extreme changes to the climate, which may also have profound security implications for us all. In the Security Council, Norway has pressed for language which takes climate and environment into consideration in resolutions and mandate-renewals. We have been successful in connecting conflict and climate change in the UN mandates for both Cyprus and Iraq, language which hitherto has only been used in certain mandates on the African continent.

Maritime security

Norway's geography makes maritime security a vital interest of ours. Our long coastline is the source of much of our country's wealth, and our open economy relies on safe transit for shipping to facilitate trade. For Norway, upholding the law of the sea is a critical security issue, and we seek to advance and develop maritime law through multilateral structures. Respect for maritime borders and safety at sea is crucial for the sustainable development and use of maritime resources. In the Security Council, we have cooperated with Ghana to advance a resolution regarding maritime security in the Gulf of Guinea. Norway has contributed to preventing piracy on the Horn of Africa, creating a safer environment for commerce and trade, together with allies in NATO, the EU and with the support of the UN.

Partnerships and conclusions

Throughout our time in the Security Council, we have relied on strong partnerships with other countries. Norway has a **long tradition of cooperation with African countries**. For decades, we have been a close and loyal partner in support of African peace and development efforts. The extends beyond Norway to the wider Nordic-African partnership. African-Nordic Foreign Ministers' Meetings have proven to be a valuable forum for enhancing the dialogue between African and Nordic countries, and the last meeting was held in Dar es Salaam in 2019. We look forward to the next meeting of the Nordic and African Foreign Ministers in Helsinki in 2022. We have worked to promote cooperation between ourselves and the African Union and supporting the strengthening role of the African Union in the United Nations. Norway and Sweden are both founding members of the Friends of the African Union, which aims to strengthen the collaborative approach of the UN and the AU, in accordance with the "Joint United Nations- African Union Framework for Enhanced Partnership in Peace and Security". **The strengthened partnership between the AU and the UN is vital in ensuring peace and security and a coherent implementation of the Agenda 2063 and Agenda 2030.**

The Nordic countries is one key dimension of our security-, and broader foreign policy. You will see that we rarely disagree in international and multilateral organisations, to the degree that we are sometimes asked how we achieve such a high degree of coordination.

My response to that question is usually that we don't necessarily need to coordinate, **we are fundamentally like-minded**. Our aims in international fora also reflect our national politics. We aspire to strong multilateral institutions, which in turn generate workable solutions.

We all seek to strengthen international law and international humanitarian law, building on our own deep commitment to the rule of law at home. We seek an expansion of the rights of women and gender equality in practice, because we know it works. We seek safety and protection for all, just as we have tried to ensure the safety and security of our own citizens. Now that climate change is fast becoming an epochal challenge and litmus test for international cooperation, **we seek solutions that enhance security and wellbeing.**

Geo-Politics of the Nordic countries

The Nordic countries occupy the Northern part of the European continent, neighboured by Russia and the Baltic Sea in the East. Finland and Norway are the Nordic countries with land-borders to Russia. Norway and Denmark share coasts in the North Sea, historically and currently a source of wealth for both countries. Denmark, Iceland and Norway also share a presence in the Arctic, through the Norwegian Svalbard Archipelago and Danish sovereignty in Greenland.

Baltic & Eastern Europe

Norway is the Northern flank of NATO, and Iceland, Denmark, and Norway are full members of the alliance, while Sweden is militarily non-aligned and Finland militarily neutral. However, both Sweden and Finland are members of NATO's Partnership for Peace, allowing significant cooperation between NATO and Finland and Sweden in matters of security. All Nordic countries have a significant interest in a stable and predictable security environment in the Baltic and Arctic regions, and our cooperation between NATO and non-NATO Nordic countries is based on this fundamental aspect of our shared security concerns.

Geopolitically, **it is our shared proximity to Russia; a large and powerful neighbour,** which is a key factor for all Nordic countries. It has influenced the approaches each country has taken to their own alliance status, as well as intra-Nordic cooperation. It must be said from the outset that each of our sovereign countries have their own unique security politics related to the fact of our geography, and each would be best suited to address this themselves. I will however, outline for you in broad strokes the relevant structures which we do share.

It is a priority for the Nordics to deepen our cooperation with one another, as well as with the three Baltic states: Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. Since their independence from the Soviet Union in 1990, Nordic countries have played an important role in strengthening the ties between us and supporting their democratic development when it was in its earlier phases. The cooperation between the Nordic and Baltic countries, the so-called NB8, builds its strength on common interests and values, alongside an **unusual degree of both political trust and trust between the civil services.** The cooperation is useful to all of the participants, as a forum for gathering and sharing information and opinions. It's also valuable to be able to develop common positions and projects in situations where our values and analyses align broader than just the Nordic five. The foreign policy dialogue is now heavily influenced by the increasingly volatile security situation in the Baltic and Eastern Europe, a growing concern for all NB8 countries.

NB8 countries have a strong interest in protecting multilateral structures, which have been under pressure in recent years. The Nordic-Baltic dialogue aimed at enhancing these as well as democracy and the rule of law is a positive step towards increasing our ability to further these vital interests together. The NB8 structure is illustrative of how, working as Nordic countries together rather than simply relying on bilateral relations, **we can support like-minded countries and build other, durable relationships.**

The Nordic countries' strong principled stand on the rule of law and international law makes the deteriorating security situation in Eastern Europe a vital concern to us all.

It is not acceptable when large states try to limit small states' ability to act as free democracies. **It is critical for the Nordic states that international disputes are settled through legal and rule-based mechanisms**, and that threats do not become an acceptable means of pursuing the interests of large and powerful states.

High North & Arctic

Beyond the Baltic region, the Nordic countries are concerned with stability and security in the High North. This is a region where there has always been strong Nordic presence, and Norwegian and Danish Sovereignty over parts of the Arctic landmass naturally make the region a particular concern. In this critical and vulnerable part of the world, the Nordic countries have worked hard to establish good governance structures to both **avoid conflict and encourage cooperation** at every level.

The Arctic Council has a foundational mandate which explicitly excludes military security. It is however a vital forum for all eight Arctic states (Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Russia, Sweden and USA) and representatives of Arctic indigenous peoples in these countries on issues of common interest. The Council promotes sustainable development and environmental protection in the Arctic.

Changes in the Arctic are creating both challenges and opportunities. Rising temperatures in the Arctic are reducing the extent of the sea ice. This is opening up new opportunities for commercial activities such as shipping and oil and gas production. It is important to find the right balance between exploiting the new opportunities and taking environmental considerations properly into account. We need to adapt sustainably to the climate change that is already taking place, while at the same time reducing greenhouse gas emissions. These issues are high up on the Arctic Council's agenda. The Arctic indigenous peoples in the Arctic are also represented by their respective organisations in the Council. This gives them a strong voice when speaking to the states, and brings their essential perspective to the forefront of Arctic policy development.

The second decade of Arctic cooperation was **dominated by the issue of climate change.** The Council carried out comprehensive studies which showed that observed changes in the Arctic are the first signs of change that will also affect the rest of the world. The most important thing we can do to slow down change in the Arctic is to reduce global CO_2 emissions. It is estimated that up to 40 % of the warming in the Arctic is caused by short-lived drivers of climate change. Cutting emissions of these gases will give rapid results and is a priority for the Arctic Council. Another important issue is increasing knowledge about the impacts of ocean acidification. More recently, the Council has turned its attention to the question of adaptation to climate change.

While the founding charter of the Arctic Council specifically excludes military security as part of its mandate, fostering good relations among the Arctic countries remains essential- particularly in the context of the potential for climate change to impact security in vulnerable areas. The Arctic council has grown in influence and importance in recent years, more countries have been granted observer status. Norway considers cooperation with the observers to be important as a way of increasing awareness of change in the Arctic. It also gives countries outside the Arctic more insight into our regional cooperation, which in a broad range of areas is based on **respect for the Law of the Sea**. Moreover, the Arctic Council benefits considerably from the knowledge and expertise the observers bring to its work.

Strong multilateral structures are essential for our security in the High North. **Also, essential however, are strong bonds between people who live in our Arctic border regions,** which have always been characterised by cross-border contact, trade and cooperation. Indigenous peoples and civil society, including media and voluntary organisations are important in for fostering good relations between peoples in the North. We also see support for culture and civil society as essential for maintaining the North as an attractive place to live, work and raise families. Youth are an important component of cross-border cooperation, which Norway has had a strong focus on. Norway took the initiative for the Barents Youth Summit, where youth in the Barents (Northern) region could engage in dialogue with the ministers and other state representatives at the summit.

The cross-border cultural cooperation is driven by highly engaged volunteers on both sides of Norway and Russia's border. In our most Northern town, Kirkenes, the voluntary organisations organise a cultural festival bringing together Russians, Finns, Norwegians and indigenous peoples to celebrate the cultural vibrancy of the High North. Bringing people together in this way helps to establish bonds which can keep positive, low-level dialogue going even at tense times.

Conclusions Geopolitics

The Nordic states have converged on the geographic areas which are of key interest to us all. The Arctic and Baltic regions are defined by their proximity to our territory, but also as regions where **international law and a rules-based approach are absolutely essential to maintain stability, predictability and cooperation.** We have taken a constructive approach to building the institutional framework for these regions, as well as taking all steps- in line with each country's vital interests, to ensure that we are capable of effective defence cooperation in these areas.

Nordic Defence Cooperation

While NATO is the fundamental aspect of Norwegian defence policy and security, Nordic defence cooperation is also a priority for us all, irrespective of alliance status. We have now reached the point where our soldiers will soon be wearing the same combat uniforms! **Such is the level of trust between our countries.**

The Nordic defence cooperation is in a stage of positive and deepening development, both bilaterally, and multilaterally through the structure of Nordic Defence Cooperation (NORDEFCO). This was further strengthened through the signing, last year, of a statement of intent by the defence ministers of Denmark, Norway and Sweden.

The security situation in our region has enhanced cooperation between our countries, and a security crisis in a Nordic country would almost certainly involve the whole Nordic region. Even though we have similar perspectives on the major challenges that we face, our various levels of engagement with NATO and the EU give us all a range of opportunities that we would not have without a high level of Nordic cooperation. Finland and Sweden are able to engage closely with NATO, including Denmark, Iceland, and Norway, while as third countries to the EU's security policy and structures, Norway and Iceland have enhanced access through Nordic cooperation and the chance to advance our perspectives. **Nordic defence cooperation connects our countries and has a stabilising effect on our region.**

NORDEFCO

The primary structure for our defence cooperation is NORDEFCO, established through an MOU in 2009. **NORDEFCO includes both political and military cooperation levels.** Iceland participates in the political level of cooperation, whilst the other Nordic countries participate at both levels. Ministerial meetings are held at minimum twice a year, between the Nordic Ministers of Defence, although the frequency of the meetings increased as the Covid-19 pandemic created key opportunities to enhance cooperation.

We aim to improve our defence capability and cooperation in peace, crisis and conflict. It also ensures a close Nordic political and military dialogue on security and defence. While we acknowledge our different security affiliations, we pursue an agenda on joint perspectives, efficient and cost-effective cooperation to strengthen our national defences and the ability to act together.

These aims are achieved on a military and political level and in 2018 a new vision for NORDEFCO (NORDEFCO 2025) was agreed. Here, the Nordic countries envision a deepening of our strategic dialogue and operational cooperation. This vision also formalises our dialogue and cooperation with Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Currently, the NORDEFCO structures particularly facilitate the transfer of military units and material in a frictionless way between the Nordics, as well as enhanced training- better enabling us to respond effectively and with the best practices and high quality we expect of our armed forces. The combined exercises provide a further opportunity to develop deeper cooperation in the concept of total defence.

Total defence brings together the civil and military resources of the entire country to preserve and defend our democracies and sovereignty. The Covid-19 pandemic has provided valuable insights on our national readiness. Sweden is now heading an ad-hoc working group on total defence, which has pointed out four fields for further development: whole-of-government approach, security of supply, public-private cooperation, and further developing civil-military cooperation in crisis situations. Coordinating supply and materiel is a key area for Nordic cooperation. As I mentioned, we have taken an important step forward this year, and will be introducing the Nordic Combat Uniform-system.

This was a major achievement of Nordic armaments cooperation and advances our interoperability significantly. These are both aims of NORDEFCO, and the civilian level of the organisation contributes to technological development and promotes a competitive Nordic defence industry.

Training exercises

Regular training, national and multinational, **is at the heart of military effectiveness.** The Nordic defence cooperation has made great advances in expanding our shared training missions. Every other year, the Nordic countries contribute, together with chosen allies towards the exercise "Cold Response" in Northern Norway. In 2020 Norway participated in the exercise "Aurora" in Sweden, and "Arctic Lock" in Finland in 2021. Our air-forces regularly carry out Cross Border Training missions, coordinated by the airbases in the High North. This enables our planes to exercise over a wider area, with a greater number of participants- giving our pilots valuable experience. "Cold Response" is scheduled for March this year, and Norway is expecting to host more than 30,000 Nordic and allied soldiers for **an exercise which will be challenging, and test our systems for interoperability, supply and operational effectiveness in a complex Arctic environment.**

The Nordic countries align on vital issues of values and sovereignty, which lead to our closer defence cooperation. Seeing that even stable and wealthy countries can have serious vulnerabilities to crises has contributed to enhanced cooperation in the last two years of handling a pandemic. It has taught us valuable lessons about the need for strong structures to manage cross-border crises and tested our civil defence in the real world. Our defence cooperation is also strengthened by threats to the multilateral system and rules-based international order, we not only rely on strong multilateral systems to protect our own interests, **but we have shown a willingness to enhance our cooperation for their defence.**

Conclusion

I was asked to address several questions in this lecture, and I hope that this has given you a clear overview of the Nordic defence structures and security affiliations. I also hope that I have been able to clarify what Norway in particular aims to achieve through cooperation and in our position as a member of the UN Security Council. We have looked at some of the regional organisations which shape Nordic and regional cooperation. As we look at an increasingly volatile world, where multilateralism is under threat- I also hope that I have shown why **multilateralism and the rules-based international order matter so deeply to the Nordic countries.**

The Nordic countries are, seemingly, very similar countries. I have hopefully been able to give you an overview on how we differ. Our security affiliations are different, our level of engagement with the EU varies between us, we have different ways of managing a complex security context. We are however firmly committed to a set of values which make our differences into strengths and opportunities. I believe that this is what makes our cooperation so viable, and even at times, automatic. Our societies are founded on democracy, the rule of law and a strong balance of welfare and individual freedoms. This is a source of great strength- because we have fundamental values we seek to protect from harm.

We have a commitment to our vision for our region. The Nordic region will be green, competitive and socially sustainable. We have a commitment to our vision for multilateral cooperation. The structures which keep us safe and prevent harm and conflict must be defended. International law and humanitarian law must be respected for states and peoples to flourish. We have a commitment to one another, as neighbours and as friends, which leads us to deepen our cooperation and trust- as we have throughout our history.

We will continue to be open and welcoming partners to everyone who shares the fundamental values that form the basis for our mutual trust and will continue to extend trust and partnership far beyond our five countries. In multilateral organisations, in bilateral relations and in contact between peoples I am happy to say that we extend far beyond just the five Nordic neighbours, we strive to uphold our values, **in partnership with friends and in dialogue with all.**

ZIMBABWE COUNTRY PRESENTATION AND FOREIGN POLICY

Ambassadorial Lecture delivered by Ambassador of Zimbabwe to Tanzania, H.E. Lt Gen (rtd.) Anselem Nhamo Sanyatwe to the Course Members for Course 10, 2021/22 at the National Defence College – Tanzania on 11 April 2022.

INTRODUCTION

The Republic of Zimbabwe is a landlocked country located in Southern Africa between the Zambezi and Limpopo Rivers covering a total area of 390,757 km2.

The country was colonised by the British in 1890 and attained our independence in 1980 after a protracted liberation war. Zimbabwe is a multi-party democratic state with a number of political parties which saw 23 presidential candidates contesting in the latest harmonised elections conducted on 30 July 2018.

Zimbabwe's economy is agro-based coupled with a thriving mining, tourism and manufacturing industry. Growth has however been retarded by the imposition of illegal economic sanctions by Britain and her Western allies following the implementation of the historic Land Reform Programme in 2000. However, the economy is on a recovery trajectory following home based initiatives aimed at stimulating production particularly in agriculture.

Zimbabwe has a literacy rate of around 98%, which is one of the highest in Africa and with a highly-skilled human resource base. We have a hospitable people with rich and diverse cultural background. The country also has impressive scenic areas for tourism. It is endowed with a wide range of natural resources.

Therefore, the country's foreign policy objectives are grounded on safeguarding our sovereignty and territorial integrity, the protection of our interests and image. Our foreign policy trajectory is governed by self-determination, defence of national sovereignty, anti-imperialism, equality of sovereign states, and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states.

SCOPE

The presentation will however, cover the following:

- Historical Background
- Geography
- Politics
- Economy
- Social and Religious Life
- Foreign Policy in detail
- Conclusion

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The origins of Zimbabwe can be traced as far back as 800BC when the Shonas, Ngunis and the Khoisan migrated from Tanganyika, present day United Republic of Tanzania to Southern Africa. The first inhabitants are believed to have been the Khoisan. The subsequent Bantu migration from Tanganyika also unleashed a new political economy on the plateau with organised permanent settlements sustained by animal husbandry and crop farming. During the 1830s, the Ndebele ethnic group also established its kingdom in present day Bulawayo, the country's second largest city after Harare. Thus, from the pre-colonial Zimbabwe two major ethnic groups emerged, namely, the Shona and Ndebele which exist to this day.

Cecil John Rhodes, an ambitious colonial entrepreneur formed the brutal British South Africa Company (BSAC) and colonised the country after being given a royal charter by the British Crown. The expedition was part of the Scramble for Africa. The British South Africa Company recruited a group of murderous fortune seekers who marched into Mashonaland and raised a Union Jack Flag at Fort Salisbury (now Harare) on 12 September 1890 confirming their occupation of our motherland. The country was then named Southern Rhodesia in honour of Cecil John Rhodes.

The BSAC grabbed land from the indigenous people through treacherous signing of concessions such as the Rudd Concession of 1888 and also looted their cattle. The natives were forced to relocate into barren African Tribal Trust Lands which had unproductive soils. This gave rise to the First War of Resistance namely in Shona Chimurenga of 1896-97 led by Mbuya Nehanda, Sekuru Kaguvi, Mkwati and Chief Chingaira. The First Chimurenga was an unsuccessful campaign owing to the disparity in the weapon systems. The colonialists or the oppressors consolidated their rule by brutality and formulating repressive laws. Then the federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was also established in 1953 and later abolished in 1963. Ian Smith declared UDI on 11 November 1965.

The repressive laws further marginalised the natives leading to political activism that began in 1957. This became the foundation of the Second Chimurenga in 1966. The prominent parties that spearheaded the Liberation Struggle were the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) with their armed wings namely; ZANLA and ZIPRA which then fought gallantly against the Rhodesian forces. On realising their monumental losses on the battle field, the Rhodesians then settled for the Lancaster House negotiations of 1979 which led to the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980.

GEOGRAPHY

The country is divided into 3 ecological regions which are the Highveld, Low-veld and Middle-veld. We also have the Great Dyke which stretches for approximately 550kms from the North to the South passing through the centre of Zimbabwe. The Great Dyke is the most remarkable rock formation in the world which is endowed with a variety of minerals.

Climate

Zimbabwe lies within the tropics but has been blessed with a temperate climate with four overlapping seasons of winter, spring, summer and autumn.

The Population

The estimated population as at the 2012 census was 12 619 600 of which 98% are indigenous Africans, 1% Asians and mixed race whilst 1% are whites.

PROVINCES AND CITIES

Provinces

Zimbabwe is divided into 10 provinces each administered by a Minister of State with six major cities namely Harare, Bulawayo, Gweru, Mutare, Marondera and Chinhoyi.

POLITICS

The country is a multi-party democracy and since independence, elections have been held every five years. In 2018, a total of 23 political parties contested the harmonized general elections. In the interim the country is preparing for general elections for 2023 and the political environment is encouragingly calm and peaceful. However, the politics of Zimbabwe has met challenges due to the interference of Western-European nations after the country adopted the historic Land Reform Programme. The West, over the years has, in pursuit of the regime change agenda, imposed economic sanctions on the country culminating in the promulgation of the Zimbabwe Democracy Recovery Act (ZIDERA) in the United States of America in 2001. An artificial crisis sustained by hostile media propaganda tainted the image of the country on the international scene. Nevertheless, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region, African Union (AU) and countries like China and Russia including other friendly countries have continued to support Zimbabwe. In November 2017, the country embarked on "Operation Restore Legacy" which led to the new political dispensation under the leadership of His Excellency President E. D. Mnangagwa.

THE ECONOMY

Since Independence the economy of Zimbabwe has passed through various phases. In 1980, the Government adopted policies that were in line with its Socialist ideology. These included free service delivery in health and education. As a result, government expenditure on services multiplied, which led to a government budget deficit. The budget deficit forced the government to borrow from Brettonwood Institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) in order to finance its expenditure. The interest rates rose, marking the beginning of inflation. Zimbabwe was then encouraged to embark on an Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) to rectify the situation. The programme was, however, retrogressive as it led to the closure of the companies owing to competition due to trade liberalisation.

In 2000, the Land Reform Programme was implemented to economically empower the indigenous people. This however did not auger well with Britain and her allies resulting in the imposition of economic sanctions. This led to an economic slump from 2002 up to 2008. In response to this, the government adopted the multi- currency system to circumvent the effects of sanctions. Since 2009, the economy is on a steady rebound. Another key development has been the amendment of the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act of 2007 in which companies are no longer required to cede a minimum of 51% share ownership to locals. However, the law will not include the mining industry in particular diamonds and platinum.

DRIVERS OF THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMY

Agriculture

Currently, agriculture contributes 19% to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). This sector is important in 2 fold as it provides food security and also substantial raw materials to the local manufacturing industry. Some of the agricultural products are exported which earn the country the much-needed foreign currency. Despite challenges being experienced in the agricultural sector due to economic sanctions, the sector is improving owing to government interventions and the strategic partnerships (contract farming) particularly in tobacco farming. The previous farming season saw the introduction of a home grown farming initiative by the government known as Command Agriculture and Pfumvudza. The programmes are meant to enhance food security. Several other initiatives include agricultural mechanisation and livestock development to restock our national herd.

Mining

The mining sector is now accounting for 20% of the Gross Domestic Product. There is immense potential for growth for mineral resources chief of which are diamond, gold, platinum, chrome and coal. However, efforts to benefit from the diamonds are being hampered by economic sanctions which bar international companies linked with the USA in trade not to purchase the diamonds. As such diamonds have been sold at below market prices.

Manufacturing

Zimbabwe has well-developed industrial infrastructure and manufacturing sector. However, the production capacity has gone below optimum level due to the economic sanctions. Some companies are operating below 50 %. In out-look, the sector is set to rebound through visionary strategic synergies.

Energy

Zimbabwe is dependent on the hydro and thermal power stations. The country does not generate enough power for both domestic and industrial consumption hence we import electricity from Mozambique, South Africa and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). For petroleum, the country relies on imports.

Tourism

Zimbabwe is blessed with a variety of beautiful and exotic scenery. The country has a number of tourist attractions that include: wildlife, the Victoria Falls which is one of the Seven Wonders of the World including the Great Zimbabwe, World Heritage Site, just to mention a few not forgetting the strange balancing rocks of Matopo Hills.

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE

The nation has a diverse social and religious life. All religions co-exist and people are free to follow religious beliefs of their choice.

ZIMBABWE'S FOREIGN POLICY

What is Foreign Policy?

The Foreign Policy of a country can be defined as a set of goals that seek to outline how that country will interface at an official level with other countries of the world and, to a lesser extent, with non-state actors in pursuit of its national economic, political, social and cultural interests.

In order to realize maximum benefit from its interaction with other countries, as well as to promote or influence some change in the policies, attitudes or actions of another state to achieve favourable goals, a country needs to also evaluate and monitor a broad spectrum of factors relating to those other countries. These factors could be economic, political, social, and military among many others.

The formulation and implementation of a foreign policy is therefore primarily based on a country's desire or obligation to foster and protect its national interests, national security, independence, sovereignty, ideological goals and economic prosperity.

Zimbabwe's Foreign Policy Objectives

Zimbabwe's foreign policy objectives are grounded in safeguarding the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity; the protection of our prestige and image, the pursuit of policies that improve the standard of living of all Zimbabweans wherever they are; and the creation and maintenance of an international environment conducive for the attainment of these goals.

In the creation and pursuit of these objectives, Zimbabwe is guided by our belief in self-determination and support for liberation movements; adherence to the principle of national sovereignty; respect for territorial integrity of all countries; promotion of the principle of equality among nations; belief in non-discrimination, whether based on colour, creed, religion or other forms; and the promotion of peaceful settlement of disputes as well as non-interference in the internal affairs of other states.

In simple terms, Zimbabwe's Foreign Policy, as with that of any other country, is an extension of our domestic policy since it is the supreme national interest that drives the conception of a country's foreign policy. The fundamental principles of national security, national economic well-being and the image of the country that transcends the image of the Government of the day therefore form the foundation of Zimbabwe's foreign policy.

Implementation of Zimbabwe's Foreign Policy

The implementation of Zimbabwe's Foreign Policy is guided by a number of considerations, namely, forging regional, political, economic and cultural co-operation with Zimbabwe's neighbours as well as with the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) regions; promoting African unity and solidarity through the African Union (AU); development through regional and sub-regional initiatives; promoting solidarity and cohesion among developing countries through such organizations as the Non-Aligned Movement; promoting South-South cooperation through the Group of Fifteen (G15), the Group of Seventy Seven (G77) and other organizations; and promoting international peace, security and co-operation through the United Nations.

The pursuit of Zimbabwe's Foreign Policy is clearly demonstrated by Zimbabwe's commitment to the furtherance of international peace, security and the search for sustainable economic development in various spheres. The pursuit of these objectives can help to explain for instance, Zimbabwe's military role in support of Mozambique's campaign against RENAMO rebels during the 1980s, its military engagement in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in the 1990s as well as Zimbabwe's distinction in UN-peacekeeping operations in Angola,

Somalia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Kosovo and East Timor. Of late, the military regional arrangements in Cabo Delgado northern region of Mozambique.

LOOK EAST POLICY

The turn of the new Millennium, saw a deliberate desire by Zimbabweans to own our source and means of livelihood particularly land. The push emanated from the realization that political independence alone is hallow/ meaningless without economic emancipation. This noble realization gave birth to the land reform programme in the year 2000, which was aimed at addressing racial imbalances regarding ownership of our God given land. This marvel programme incensed the British and their allies who were against the empowerment of the natives of Zimbabwe. Resultantly, this led to the unilateral imposition of illegal economic sanctions by Britain and her allies. These sanctions had a crippling effect on the country's economy and social support structures. In a bid to minimize the impact of the sanctions, the country's Foreign Policy was recalibrated and pointed to the East, what is popularly known as the Look East Policy (LEP). The logic that inspired Zimbabwe's Look East Policy was based/fixed on the belief that it was imperative to nature and strengthen relations with our all weather group of allies that would cooperate with the country without worrying about interference in domestic politics. In that case, the country primarily but not exclusively cultivated close ties with Asian States. Outside Asia the country strengthened relations with other countries in South America, Mexico, Cuba, Russia including other Sates in Eastern Europe as well as Middle East.

To be specific, China and Russia played significant role in Zimbabwe's Foreign Policy and making the Look East Policy a reality. Importantly, the economic benefits of the Look East Policy are tangible and the strategy has given Zimbabwe greater protection from aggression and abuse by the West at various international fora. For instance, after the contested 2008 Presidential election outcome, the West moved a motion at the United Nations Security Council that intended to impose UN sanctions on Zimbabwe. However, the resolution failed to sail through following the veto by China and Russia.

Main pillars of the New Dispensation's Foreign Policy

Engagement and re-engagement

As indicated above, the country has been on isolation by the West since the year 2000 following the land reform programme hence our prime goal is to be, "friend to all and enemy to none." To achieve this objective, the Government has a deliberate programme to revive former friendships/relations by way of re-engagement and establish new partnerships. The scope behind the approach is that, "Zimbabwe cannot do it alone" in her quest to rebuild the economy. Zimbabwe believes that the indogenic efforts can only be effective with complimentary efforts from the entire international community or coalition of the willing.

Economic Diplomacy

Zimbabwe's Foreign Policy under President E.D. Mnangagwa shifted from focusing on the political grandstanding and focused on survival towards economic rejuvenation. It has been designed to aid economic recovery, facilitate the easy of doing business to catapult economic growth. It is important to point out that following the straining of relations between Zimbabwe and the West the country's Foreign Policy became largely hinged on fighting international isolation as well as political survival by the Government hence most of the time the Foreign Policy implementation and activities were aimed at selling the story of a country being exploited and victimized for reclaiming our birth right that is, precious land. Now, in the Second Republic, through engagement and re-engagement the country's Foreign Policy is more focused towards attracting Foreign Direct Investment as well as potential investors. So far, the country's One Stop Investment Centre is overwhelmed by applications and inquires by would-be potential investors.

Diaspora engagement

The turn of year 2000 saw the rise of anti-government sentiment engineered by sanction induced hardships. There was remarkable upsage of anti-establishment activism, media coverage as well as exodus of the skilled personnel into the diaspora. Most of our citizens are currently domiciled in South Africa, United Kingdom, United States of America and a few in Asia. What is pertinent to note is that, there has been a disconnect between the Government and this diasporan contingent. The mantra was, *"them and us."*

However, the Government is conscious of the importance of the Diasporans in nation building and attainment of lasting peace and stability in the country.

In that case, the Government through Missions and Consuls dotted around the globe is making frantic efforts to bring on board the Diasporans to achieve the national vision of being an upper middle income economy by 2030. So far, there has been remarkable positive response from the Diasporans as they now share one vision of a one Zimbabwe.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, our global presence and success of our Foreign Policy mantra

- Friend to all, enemy to none; as well as

- Zimbabwe is open for business.

has yielded the following;

➢ Zimbabwe is the Vice Chair of Kimberly Process Certification Scheme, a global body of diamond producing nations with 52 participants representing 82 countries,

➢ Vice Chair of Africa Diamond Producers Association (in both bodies Zimbabwe will assume full Chairmanship in 2023)

➢ In February 2022, Zimbabwe was elected to the 15-member AU Peace and Security Council.

I THANK YOU

TATENDA

SIYABONGA

ASANTE SANA

"POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVES IN THE CONTEXT OF THE CURRENT MILITARY GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT THREATS."[2]

Lecture Delivered by Professor Mohabe Nyirabu at the National Defence College - Tanzania on 26th September 2018

Good afternoon!

Thank you for the introduction. I have a problem because this topic is loaded. But the good thing is that I have only been given 45mins which means during the question time I may not be able to respond to your questions, I will be introducing you to new things... If you look at what I am supposed to be talking, we have to talk about politics, we have to talk about economics, we have to talk about global politics – globalisation and also address environmental threats. In my view, this topic could be treated separately. Now my job has become easy because what I intend to do is to address, in my view, what are the key factors that we need to know when discussing about political perspectives, economic perspectives, an element of globalisation and global environmental threats. After that I will try to make a combination, try to link these four perspectives together, and then provide a conclusion.

Now by the way of introduction social scientists and in particular discussing international relations, will tend to rely on theories, as you may all know theories are just tools that try to provide some organisation tool in order for us to understand a complex subject. And when talking about global politics, talking about economic perspectives, talking about environmental threats we have to appreciate the fact that this is a complex subject and how we are going to organise in order to understand the important factors, the coordinating factors and what are the challenges to important factors. I suggest that we look at these issues through a political economic approach. Now the political economy approach argues that we cannot make a distinction between economics and politics. We can not separate politics from economics. In fact for the political economy approach they will argue that economics determines how politics are played, how politics are lost, how politics are won. Economics is the most important factor in order to understand politics.

There are also other theories, there are a lot of other theories, but the realist theorists [they] will tell you to focus on what the state is doing, the rest is secondary, the rest is not important but may be important. And that is why academicians continue to have jobs because they have to continue arguing about which theory is important, which theory has the explanatory power to explain why Tanzania is poor, why the United States is rich and so forth and so on. Before I conclude with these theories let me first say what are the political factors that we need at least to understand. There could be a lot of them but in my view the political factors that are important, one is the state and to be more pacific, the Westphalian State. The state is an important actor, the state has something to play within its territory. The state is sovereign. As we shall see soon for the country environment the state is naked, because environmental threats do not respect the boundaries of Tanzania; environmental threats do not respect the boundaries of Mozambique or Zambia or any country for that matter. If the ozone layer is depleted it will affect both those who are responsible for it and those who are not responsible for it; and we can not say that, okay Tanzania will not be an important contributor therefore we will try to protect you, that is not there. So the sovereignty of the state while it is important, it also faces other challenges….but still it is an important actor. As we will discuss on global threats we shall see why we continue to give that prominence of the role of the state in addressing some of these issues that are responsible for creating environmental threats.

The second important factor is international organisations here I must mention the United Nations and also regional and sub regional organisations. Indeed multilateral organisations like the United Nations have become important because of its membership in which states are viewed that they can co-operate… an important tool because in addressing environmental problems there is an element of cooperation that is required… and this is where multilateralism membership to international organisations has become an important factor in which different parties can exchange views and try to address threats.

But let me quickly add that international organisations are also incapacitated because of one important factor, they draw their strength from the membership and memberships are states; and states have got their own national interests. Within a particular international organisation national interests the only option available for you is to try to influence or if you can't do, withdraw from it… and the living example the United States has withdrawn from United Nations Human Rights Council… I think they have withdrawn from… Trump said he has withdrawn from the Paris Climate Accord… So the United Nations and other regional bodies, international organisations they can only succeed if the member states support it. If they don't do that is on the mercy of the states… Point number one is the role of the state.

Another political factor that you need to understand is ideology. Ideology is basically a belief of what type of future you want your country to attain. This ideology can be an important factor to define what policies to pursue what policies you reject, who you corporate with or who you support and so on and so forth. The United States has defined its ideology as those who support us and those who do not support us and it can even be more pronounced now when Donald Trump is the President of the United States. It was articulated by George Bush but now is becoming even more clearer… Is either us if you are not with us you are the enemy or if you support democracy, defined again in ideological terms… the United States was supporting real democracy… which countries will the United States be supporting... Saudi Arabia is one of the closest allies of the United States. You have never heard the United States saying that Saudi Arabia should have democracy… they have never said that… like yesterday the United States said that Uganda should have democracy, or something like that… Tanzania should have some kind of democracy… Between Saudi Arabia and Tanzania, Uganda… which… it's not that I'm supporting what is happening in the other countries or what is happening in Tanzania or what is happening in Uganda… it is a general discussion between Saudi Arabia, Tanzania, Uganda which is more democratic? … Well it depends on how you define democracy and that is why I'm saying ideology, certain beliefs that you define they actually provide a ground… how you view the world. Once you are anchored in ideological perspective it is very difficult to change… so you see what is happening and ideology has been an important factor in global politics.

Fourth political factor is what I call power configuration. Now this power configuration goes to the level of internal domestic politics too… What I mean is that within a particular state you may have different political actors vying for power. These political actors, political parties for example, may have a different view of the world… When talking about environmental problems operating in global politics that is a clear evidence that there are differences within a domestic constituency over how they view the issue of environmental threats. In the US for example, the Republican Party is viewed as anti environmental agreements, ant-environmental laws… UK it is the Conservative Party… In Australia there is the Labour Party and so forth and so on. Within these domestic constituencies if a particular party wins power then it can influence how the state behaves in the global arena. So these are some I could mention a lot of them but these are just few.

In economics, economic perspectives are important they are important because we have been discussing the topic of development and development is about what, raising the standard of living addressing the concerns of human security. Development is increasingly.... your security preparedness… now development has been a fact in discussing about environmental problems. Some countries have been using the word development to justify their non -acceptance of international environmental accords. If you see in the past 10 to 20 years, some of the countries that have achieved economic miracles have been the biggest polluters in the world and they will continue to be. Which are the biggest polluters in the world right now?... China, India, United States, Brazil…. Which is the least polluters? Very minimum, very minimum…. may be Tanzania because there are lots of plastic bags… we do not have huge industries that are creating any pollution. But this development has its consequences on what, on how the environment is managed. President Trump said that we want to develop American coal, mining industry and the Paris Accord had limitations of what countries should do in order to attain certain terms as agreed. So in order to attain … so the Americans are not bound by those accords... in the name of development. India was quoted saying that we will find some ways to address environmental degradation and so forth and so on. At the moment we are trying to catch up with development.

So development in the economic sense is an important factor but has to be appreciated when discussing global environmental threats.

The other thing is that within the global system we have the division between the rich and the poor – north-south… and this has led to another division of who are the polluters. Secondly, if you are the polluter who is going to pay for the consequences of pollution? Various conflicts begin in Stockholm conferences in… in Johannesburg… You can see this field of the element of trying to address environmental degradation. And one of the central features is the demand for the south countries, the poor countries, that the rich countries should bear the consequences of what of cleaning the environment, which they are not ready…. So it is an issue in economics.

The other thing of course is the rise of multinational corporations, important multinational corporations that are investing in different countries whereby, once they invest there without a (?) they continue to be in environmental degradation. Something interesting is happening in Tanzania, when President Magufuli was in Mara region, for those who have been following the news he ordered that the National Environmental Management Council undertake a new analysis by the river which apparently the citizens there have been crying for many years that the Barrick, a multinational corporation has been polluting, draining chemical waste in the river. What is interesting for me is that the way the President questioned the first report, saying that it was doctored saying, actually these fellows were polluting and the report and he said I was a minister… I was a minister, that was not a correct report. So the new report will say actually what is there. That is an example of multinational corporations who are becoming an important factor in domestic politics, in economic perspective that… and are creating environmental hazards in the name of what, economic development. They justify that economic development, paying taxes hiring your locals, creating jobs, training, building primary schools, built dispensaries is an element of corporate social responsibility and are continuing to mine. Now this economic factor as I said for example, if you look at development of China, the development of India, one thing that they completely ignored in development is pollution. They did not respect it because in the name of development.

Now the third thing that, the fourth thing that I want to mention is global, there is a word here that called global in our topic… and what a coincidence Trump addressed the United Nations yesterday, was it yesterday, he said we have to reject globism in the name of patriotism. He is rejecting globalisation in the name of patriotism… I don't know whether Trump understood what he said, he was saying because the United States of America is one of the countries that is promoting globalisation through its multinationals, through its information technology…. In Tanzania we can know more what is happening in New York through CNN than what is happening in (?) in Morogoro. In Tanzania the biggest depot in Dar es Salaam city is Coca Cola, Pepsi Cola or (?) and so forth and so on. Those are multinationals… you will find that most of them are owned by the Americans… now rejecting globalization in the name of patriotism it is something interesting because the way he defined globalisation is that you should not have any other multinational company operating in the United States. But when discussing globalisation I think you are…. globalisation it is a two-edged sword, you can also gain you can also loose. It is most likely that the losers are again the poor countries… and yet globalisation is an important factor, it is continuing to be an important factor.

Now let me raise another question in the context of our discussion… How do we address global environmental threats through the (eyes?) of political and economic perspectives? We are trying to rephrase this topic… How do we address environmental threats, global environmental threats through economic and political perspectives? Now, earlier I suggested to you that states are the most important actors. There are those who claim that without a focus of what is happening in the global politics in trying to understand what the states are doing. Now if you buy that argument, I think we need to understand what roles states can do in order to address that environmental threats. And there is a lot that can be done, there is an element that has been done. One element that states have tried to do is to sign treaties. These treaties have a long process and some countries for domestic political reasons do not buy on signing treaties…. Now those countries… limitations in supporting this idea of addressing global environmental threats.

The other important institution that I earlier mentioned in political perspectives is international institutions, for example the United Nations. Now when we talk of a threat there is an indication that is affecting the security.

If there is a threat to your security, it means you are insecure. Now if you look at the United Nations structure, one can argue that the United Nations was not created, was not mandated to address environmental threats. The general guideline was that maintenance of peace and security and if there is violation of peace then provides Chapter Six use pacific settlement… if that does not occur then you use what, force. The use of force in Chapter Seven.

Now discussing the United Nations, the United Nations Security Council, an organ that has been entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security can address global military threats. In 1992 the then Secretary General of the United Nations – Boutros Boutros Ghali in a report that he submitted to the General Assembly ''An Agenda for Peace'' he argued that environmental threats/damage is now a stability risk to the international community and therefore, ecological instability is a security threat. What he was trying to say is that the time has changed. The world order which build the United Nations are only concerned with the general peace that we understand, is long passed. We have new threats, which are now causing ecological instability. Put it simply, Boutros Boutros Ghali was saying that the Security Council can never escape this responsibility of addressing global environmental threats.

Now in 2003 the late Kofi Annan assembled a high level panel of threats and challenges in which he tasked the panel to examine what are threats to world's peace. And his report to the United Nations in 2005 he accepted basically that threats include development, poverty, climate, ecological instability and therefore, the international community has no choice. It has to work for this first. This is almost like one of the early Lecturers from Nigeria, Claude Ake I think was in 1982/83 wrote a book in which he said the biggest threat to world's peace is not the acquisition of nuclear weapons and so forth and so on. For him the biggest threat is poverty…. And here the recent report by Kofi Annan ''In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Addressing other challenges'' is accepting that we have to accept that there are new threats, in fact he made more or less a distinction (?) we have to accept these what we have been calling softer threats are now more important even than the hard threats. Hard threats meaning military threats and so on and so forth. Softer threats are development, poverty.…

So the real question to address here is, which is a better strategy to address some of these collective issues that are facing the environment. Is a self- centred strategy that can succeed… Is a collective strategy. Because you know we are talking on whether we should focus on states or focus on collective security meaning the United Nations. And it is not a new threat, this has been there for sometime. To respond to this question we need to ask another question, can we have the means to enforce some of the agreements that are meant to protect the environment? Can we have the means which the international community can accept that this is for our collective interest… is it possible? May be example from the Law of the Sea, something that was negotiated for many many years until was agreed… defining the boundaries and so forth and so on. Up to 10 kilometres is part of the coastal state, up to 200 miles is considered as [Exclusive] Economic Zone. Beyond that is the deep sea and is called the common heritage of human kind. The general agreement is that any activity being undertaken there should be for the interest of the international community. But we know since the law was signed I think it was since 1981 it has never been enforced… forget about the deep sea. Even some of the coastal states have been facing challenges from other rich countries, fishing in their own Exclusive Economic Zone. President Magufuli was the Minister for Fisheries there is a very interesting case until was labelled ''Samaki wa Magufuli'' Magufuli's Fish…. The big ship found fishing in Tanzania's economic waters and the rest as I said is history because I think the government lost that case. But this is an indication of the problems that are related to enforcing collective agreements. If you can not control what is happening within your maritime… then go beyond the deep seas where some of these multinational companies mining (?) all sorts of activities… so that is one element, that is something that has been challenging. It is a threat to the international security because lack of the effective means to enforce some of the agreements.

This is not only for the international community, even in the organisations, the African leaders (?)… but previously, some may have forgotten, if you look at the conception of African Unity is the classic example of an organization that has no enforcement mechanism.

You could go there agree then once you get back you say no what I said there (?) you continue… So that is the element that cuts across.

The other thing that becomes important in trying to debate on enforcement mechanism is that (?) is that something can play an important role for example the Security Council is power-dominated. Is dominated by powerful countries and who pursue individualistic policies with regard to environmental threats. Suppose you propose to the United Nations that the countries that is giving a lot of pollution should be subjected to several restrictions that motion will never pass because China will be saying that you are targeting China – is a member of the Security Council. That will be the end of it. You say that the United States has broken a lot of environmental accords and therefore we should try something in the Security Council, the United States will not accept that. So this is why despite the articulation by Kofi Annan, by Boutros Boutros Ghali, the current Secretary General (?)… for Africa how that can be put in action has not been successful.

Some have raised the question if that is the case can the military be put into action to address global environmental threats? In theory Chapter 7, Article 42 of the UN Charter can be used by the international community to address environmental threats. There is still in agreement that gives the UN Security Council the power to address a threat. But a good thing is that environmental threats, environmental degradation at the current state is a real threat to world's peace. So in that context then we can say, we can ask the United Nations Security Council to Address that. But we do know that this can not work. One, because of the politics of the United Nations Security Council. Two, the biggest polluters are the members of the United Nations Security Council. Three, from past history, current and future history it is clear that environment is an area that needs cooperation. It can not be pursued individually. Tanzania can not say that okay we are going to pursue the environment in the spirit of what the international laws or the various treaties say. Suppose Mozambique supports Zambia or Rwanda (?) So that element of cooperation while is necessary has also got some weaknesses particularly those members who are not well (cooperating?). One thing that I am looking at is that may be we may need to rephrase that question because if we look at the United States of America, its military is one of the biggest sources of pollution in the United States. They say 10% of the jet fuel consumed in the world is consumed by the US military. I do not know how much Tanzania's jet fuel is consumed…here we are talking about 10% of the world's fuel is consumed by the United States… that is quite a significant part of emission. In essence we say expectation that multilaterals will take over the states and address global threats to environment always have a question mark ahead because of the nature of global politics. In other words, what I am trying to suggest to you is that environmental threats are real, the challenges are real, there is no question that there is depletion of ozone layer, desertification some of the African countries are facing… some of the African countries are facing serious problems. There is lots of bio-diversity, some countries are constructing dams that are affecting trans-boundary water sources and so on and so forth. So the economic and political perspectives come into play in the place of these global environmental threats. The real challenge then is to accept that climate change, environmental degradation is a challenge to peace.

THE NEW ECONOMIC OUTLOOK AND ECONOMIC INTELLIGENCE

A Lecture of Opportunity Delivered by Ambassador Amina Salum Ali, Minister for Trade and Industry in the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar, April 2019.

I want to take this opportunity to express my appreciation for the invitation to deliver a lecture on issues of importance to our Country. It is indeed an honor for me to be invited to this distinguished Institute which is a pillar in enabling our senior officers' advisers and policy makers to meet and exchange strategies for development of our nation. Since its establishment a number of senior officers had opportunity to participate in its program sharpened their capacity in strategizing on issues that are important and at times very sensitive and advised the Government positively. Today is yet another day for me to meet with the team of wonderful and capable people and present my own thinking on issues that are relevant in the present-day reality in the economic field and development of Tanzania.

1.0   Introduction

This presentation tries to put a case about the need for Tanzania and Zanzibar to pursue the policy of economic diversification and to understand its complexities and competitiveness in today's digital world, where information is moving faster than ever before and decisions changes with the transformational effects. The decision makers and advisers need to be equipped with information to guide their decision-making process.

There is a need for them to understand the challenges that confront Africa and Tanzania at large in the 21st Century and beyond.

Before discussing the challenges that African nations face generally and Tanzania in particular, allow me to discuss a little bit on world's economy in the last decade and African Aspiration for 2063.

1.1   World Economy in the Last Decade

In the last decade, the world experienced a series of economic crises and negative shocks, starting with the global financial crisis of 2008-2009, followed by the European sovereign debt crisis of 2010 - 2012 and the global commodity price realignments of 2014-2016. As these crises and the persistent headwinds that accompanied them subside, the world economy has strengthened, offering greater scope to reorient policy towards longer-term issues that hold back progress along the economic, social and environmental dimensions for sustainable development *(World Economic Situation and Prospects, 2018).* For the year 2019, the global growth is expected to reach 3.0 per cent.

1.2   African Aspiration for 2063

Most of the African countries got their independence in the last 50 years and the present generations are confident that the destiny of this continent is in their hands, and that they must act now to shape the future they want. In 2012 Africa came with a new vision *"Africa Development Agenda 2063" as a blue print for future development of Africa. It is anchored on the basis of what Africa wants for its own development. It represents the United Voices that express the desires for Africans in the present life, and the future generations.*

The aspiration reflects Africa desire for shared prosperity and well- being and for the unity and integration. Africa is self-confident in its identity, heritage, culture and shared values and as a strong, united and influential partner on the global stage making its contribution to peace, human progress, peaceful co-existence and welfare" *(Agenda 2063, The Africa We Want).*

The aspirations for the Africa we want are:

1.   Prosperous Africa based on inclusive growth and sustainable development

2.   An integrated continent, politically united based on the ideas of Pan Africanism

3.   An Africa of good governance, democracy, respects for human rights, justice and the rule of law

4.   A peaceful and secure Africa

5.   An Africa with a strong cultural identity, common heritage, values and ethics

6.   An Africa whose development is people-driven, relying on the potential of African people, especially its women and youth, and caring for children

7.   Africa as a strong, united, resilient and influential global player and partner.

Likewise, in the context of Tanzania and Zanzibar the need for a declaration of the vision and aspirations for our people is captured in our ''Visions 2025 for Tanzania and 2020 for Zanzibar".

1.3   The Tanzania Vision 2025

I quote "A Tanzanian who is born today will be fully grown up will have joined the working population and who will be probably be a young parent by the year 2025. Similarly, a Tanzanian who has just joined labor force will be preparing to retire by the year 2025. What kind of society will have been created by such Tanzanians in the year 2025? What is envisioned is the society by these Tanzanian will be living in by then will be substantially developed one with high quality livelihood. Abject poverty will be the thing of the past. In other words, it is envisioned that Tanzanians' will have graduated from a least developed country to a middle-income country by the year 2020 with a high level of human development.

The economy will have been transformed from a low productivity agricultural economy to semi industrialized one led by modernized and highly productive agricultural activities which are effectively integrated and buttressed by supportive industrial and services activities in the rural and urban areas. A solid foundation for a competitive and dynamic economy with high productivity will have been laid. Consistent with this vision, Tanzania of 2025 should be a nation imbued with 5 main attributes.

*   High quality livelihood.

*   Peace stability and unity

*   Good governance

*   A well-educated and learning society

*   Strong and competitive economy

1.4   Zanzibar Development Vision 2020.

With respect to the Zanzibar development Vision 2020 it presupposes rationale and the need for the vision taking into considerations of the external factors like changing global environment including technological advances and innovations. Reforms that were undertaken that led to passing various initiatives including the adoption of economic recovery program 1st and 2nd phase, enactment of various laws including the Zanzibar private investment promotion and protection act of 1986 and Zanzibar Investment Promotion Agency (ZIPA), Zanzibar Free Economics Zones, adoption of Zanzibar free port policy, formation of the Zanzibar Tourism Commission and many other interventions.

 Therefore, the Zanzibar development vision has the following aspirations:

1.   Adopt sound social and economic sectoral policies focused toward the eradication of absolute poverty and the bridging of income gaps between social groups and geographical zones and enhance individual capacity to attain essential needs of life.

2.   Build a democratic political system that respects diverse opinions, transparent, accountable and that is all out against corrupt behavior, rent seeking and oppression.

3.   Build National Unity devoid of differences based on ideology, religion, race or gender in which all the people are self- confident, respected and respect one another.

4.   Build strong and competitive economy.

"Vision 2020 is the vehicle that will take Zanzibar on that course. For this vehicle to run smoothly, it has to be owned by the people through their democratic and representative institution. This was the rationale for having the Zanzibar Vision 2020. "a future where some goods will be produced and consumed in regional rather than global markets, possibly in a more distributed manner, presenting Africa with opportunities for industrialization as well as regional trade."

Both Tanzanian Development Visions 2025 and Zanzibar Development Vision 2020 created an opportunity to answer the questions of what we want Tanzania to be. Both provides a critical path to transform our country by implementing the aspirations and dreams of our people. The two development visions are well translated in MKUKUTA and Five Year Development Plan (FYDP 2) for Tanzania and MKUZA I, II and III for Zanzibar.

2.0 Challenges confronting African nations in 21st century and beyond

The African Development Agenda 2063 aspiration aim in eradicating poverty and build shared prosperity through social and economic transformation by having skilled citizens, underpinned by science, technology and innovation. The situation in Africa is improving, but the gap in income levels between Africa and the rest of the world will continue to increase 'if the necessary intervention to change the course is not put in place today than tomorrow. A number of programs and intervention have been created to address the issues of the future of Africa, Tanzania and Zanzibar as well. Industrialization is given high priority in Tanzania and Zanzibar with the Slogan *"Tanzania ya Viwanda inawezekana" and in Zanzibar we are saying "Penda chako mpaka usahau cha mwenzako" which means "love made in Zanzibar"* these are the current policy of Tanzania in development of Industries.

Agriculture is more effective at reducing poverty than other sectors, but manufacturing is unique in its potential to transform productivity and induce rapid economic growth. The new dynamism in globalization might impact on the future of developed and expanded global value chains and digital production and poised to disrupt the nature of manufacturing globally. Our country is not an island it has to be part of the global system and work with the global system if it wants to develop and survive as a nation. Dynamic changes in the global environment calls for rapid transformation and preparation to be adopted and be competitive. The world is poised to a Fourth Industrial Revolution considering that the previous revolution left Africa without much advantage. Therefore, the Fourth Revolution with a time horizon to 2040 offers Africa opportunities to accelerate economic transformation into a higher rate of productivity and growth. Tanzania as well as Zanzibar has to frog leap to be able to be part of it and player where technology advancement is the key.

Capitalizing on the opportunities presented by the Fourth Industrial Revolution will require a concerted effort from African Governments that will have to lead the charge. Leaders in key fast growing countries need to implement concrete measures such as establishing and support of special economic zones among others. Inclusive national and regional industrial policies that will focus to put right incentives to promote investment in export orientation, support to embryonic manufacturing to give special incentives for investment to move labor and capital into more productive enterprises.

This presentation argues that an important reason for the widening gap between income levels in Africa and rest of the world is the continent's growth in low productivity sectors, both in terms of the size of the labor force employed, particularly in subsistence agriculture and low-end services, and the contribution that these sectors make to Gross Domestic Product (GDP). It is clear that only by moving labor much more rapidly into more productive sectors, in particular manufacturing, will Africa be able to grow rapidly enough to improve livelihoods given its large and fast-growing population. Manufacturing is set to change even more rapidly as part of the Fourth Industrial Revolution, which may offer Africa opportunities to accelerate economic transformation into higher rates of productivity and growth. However, capitalizing on these opportunities will require a concerted effort from governments that will have to lead the charge. In essence, Africa needs to speed up the pace of modernization.

Countries grow wealthy and prosperous through the structural transformation of their economies - by moving capital, labor and technology from lower-to higher-productivity sectors. Manufacturing is the most productive sector; the Asian experience shows.

Growth-inducing structural transformation from low- productivity subsistence agriculture to high productivity manufacturing led to rapid income growth, unprecedented levels of poverty alleviation and improved livelihoods. In addition to growth in manufacturing, rapid Transformation of its agricultural sector assisted Asia in alleviating poverty.

The experience of sub-Saharan Africa has not followed this trajectory. Rather, a shift has occurred from low productivity agriculture to slightly more productive employment in services, generally consisting of wholesale and retail trade in the informal sector as well as telecommunication in mobile telephone, Tourism Sectors and others. Similarly, the manufacturing sector stimulates growth in high-end services, such as finance and logistics, which in turn are crucial for continued improvements in productivity

Figure 1: Average income levels: Africa versus Rest of the World (1960–2015)
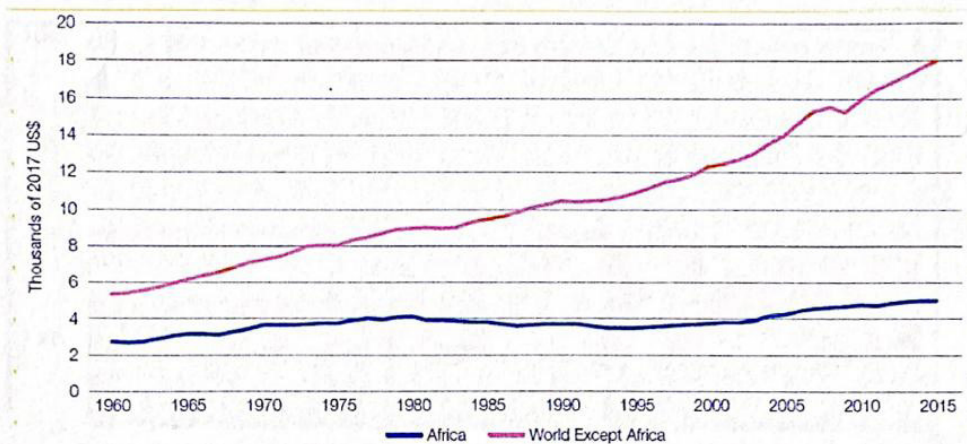
Source: Jakkie Cilliers, 2018

3.0 Recent Africa Economic Trends

Africa experienced a general economic decline during the 1970s and concomitant increases in debt. With the introduction of structural adjustment programs during the mid-1980s, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank offered budget and balance of payments support. In return, the international financial institutions required adherence to an agreed set of policy reforms geared towards achieving macroeconomic stability. Perhaps their most significant impact was the devaluation of official exchange rates to bring Africa's overvalued currencies to reasonable levels. The subsequent development framework shifted away from the state to reliance on markets for resource allocation and the private sector as the main engine for economic growth - but at the expense of effective oversight and role for the state. Among other things, conditional support the international financial institutions provided put an end to efforts at implementing national industrial and agricultural policy that countries as diverse as Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Mauritius, Mozambique, Nigeria, Senegal and Tanzania had, with very limited success. The impact was to cut off industrialization and agriculture as development option for Africa in favor of trade liberalization and deregulation of the economy.

Figure 2: Sectoral Composition of GDP in Africa, 2000–2016
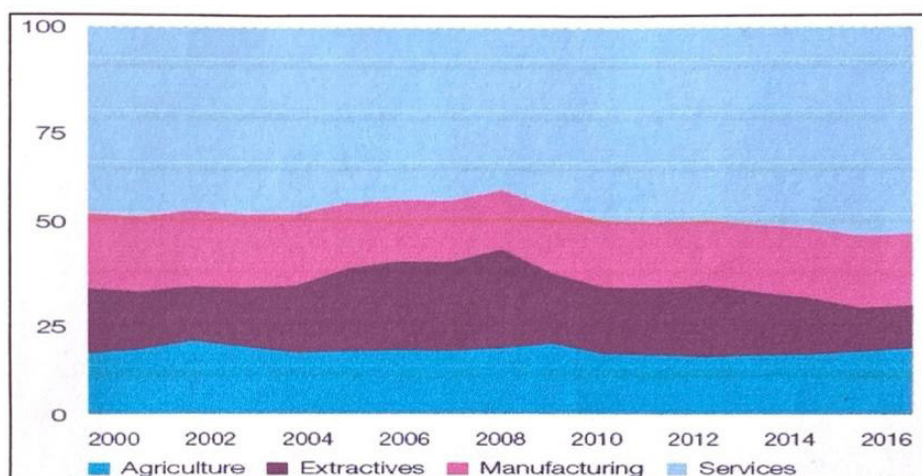
Source: AFDB statistics.

4.0 New Development Challenges of the 21st Century

There are four main challenges, which in my view, could be critically determinant of how Africa fares in the 21st century. The challenges are: a) Growth and employment; b) Climate change; c) Emerging social issues including empowerment of the poor and long- term financing for HIV / AIDS and NCD's treatment; and d) Governance

4.1 Growth and employment

One of the main 21st century challenges facing Africa is to provide a sustainable strategy for growth and employment creation for young population. AFDB has given its forecast for Africa in its Africa Economic outlook for 2019 the forecast showed Africa Economy will accelerate to 40/0 for 2019 an increase from an estimated 3.5% 2018 making the fastest growing region in the world after Asia. According to AFDB macroeconomic stabilization and employment outcomes are better when industry lead growth, suggesting industrialization is a robust path to job creation.

Coming closer to our region, it is forecast that economic growth for East African region will lead the rest of the continent. East Africa is leading the continent with GDP growth estimated at 5.9% for 2019 from 5.7% in 2018 making it a promising investment and manufacturing destination. While other regions that used to lead in economic growth faces challenges and fail to gain momentum. East Africa will continue to drive the continents economic growth. According to AFDB report, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda and Tanzania for the fifth consecutive years, have been the fastest economy growing area.

The World Economic Outlook for 2019 the major statement is ***"Africa Growth prospects remain steady, Industry should lead growth."***

Macro- Economic stabilization and employment outcomes are better when industry lead growth suggesting Industrialization is the robust path to job creation. President of the AFDB Mr. A.A Desina Forward in the Africa Economic Outlook. "The state of the Continent is good. Africa's general Economic performance continue to improve, but it remains insufficient to address the structural challenges." But improved macro Economies and employment outcome requires Industry to lead growth.

African countries need to diversify their economies as a matter of competitive urgency. The poor structural transformation of African economies is a major constraint on growth and employment. Africa labor force,

according to the International Labor Organization (ILO),is expanding at an annual rate of 2.5 per cent way beyond the ability of countries to cope. Dependency ratio is therefore very high with consequential impact on savings ratio. *However, what make growth and employment a major 21century challenge for Africa are the recent developments in the international arena. These developments include the emergence of China and India as major global actors, rising food and energy prices, and Complications arising from climate change. There is also the risk that expansion of trade and economic relations between Africa and China and India could slow regional integration in Africa.*

5.0 An Overview of Tanzania Economy

Tanzania has a mixed economy where Agriculture, comprising crop growth, animal husbandry, forestry, fishery, and hunting, played a key role in past years. In the current economy, activities in the service industry account for 37.5% of the gross domestic product (GDP).

Agricultural sector contributed 30.10/0 to GDP and industry which include Mining and quarrying, Manufacturing, Electricity, Water supply and Construction account for 26.370/0.

In 2017, real GDP grew by an average of 7.1 compared to a growth of 7.0 registered in 2016. The 2016 GDP at current prices was shillings 116,101,908 million compared to shillings 103,168,611 million in 2016. With an estimated population of 51,020,337 million on the Tanzania Mainland in 2017, resulting into per capita income of shillings 2,275,601 compared to shillings 2,086,168 in 2016, equivalent to an increase of 9.1 percent. The per capita income in 2017 was equivalent to US Dollar 1,021 compared to US Dollar 958 in 2016, equivalent to an increase of 6.5 percent (TZ Mainland the economic survey 2017).

Figure 3: Tanzania Mainland GDP Growth rate at constant 2007 prices 2009 - 2017
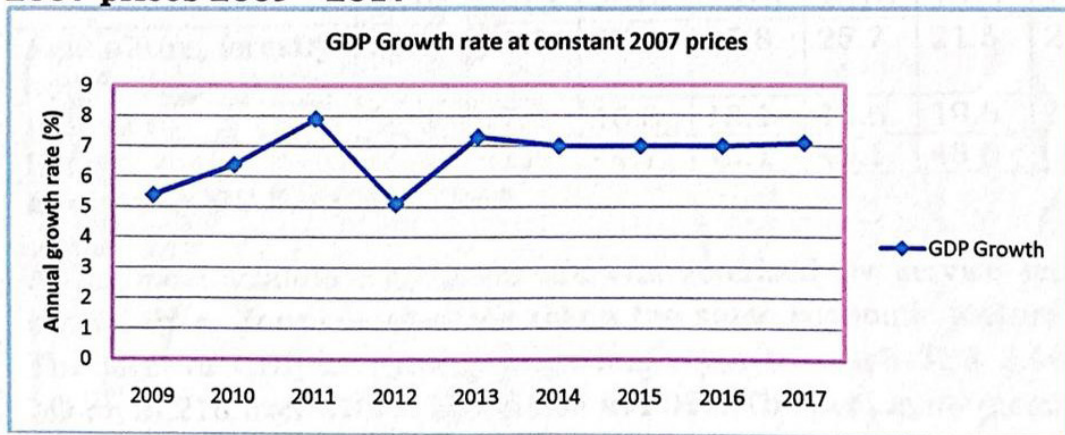
Source: TZ Mainland the economic survey 2017

Likewise, in 2016 GDP at constant (2007) market prices grew by 6.8 Percent. The three broad sectors registered growth are; Agriculture, forestry and fishing (5.7 per cent), Industry (9.7 per cent) and Services (8.0 per cent)

Figure 4: Zanzibar GDP Growth rate pattern 2013 - 2016

Figure 4: Zanzibar GDP Growth rate pattern 2013 - 2016

Source: OCGS Zanzibar 2017

Table 2: Gross Domestic Product by Activity, 2012 – 2018 (Percentage Shares)

	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	29.3	30.8	27.8	25.8	25.7	21.5	21.3
Industry	18.6	17.9	16.8	18.1	18.6	19.6	17.8
Service	41.5	41.1	44.7	46.1	45.1	48.6	51.3

Source: OCGS Zanzibar 2019

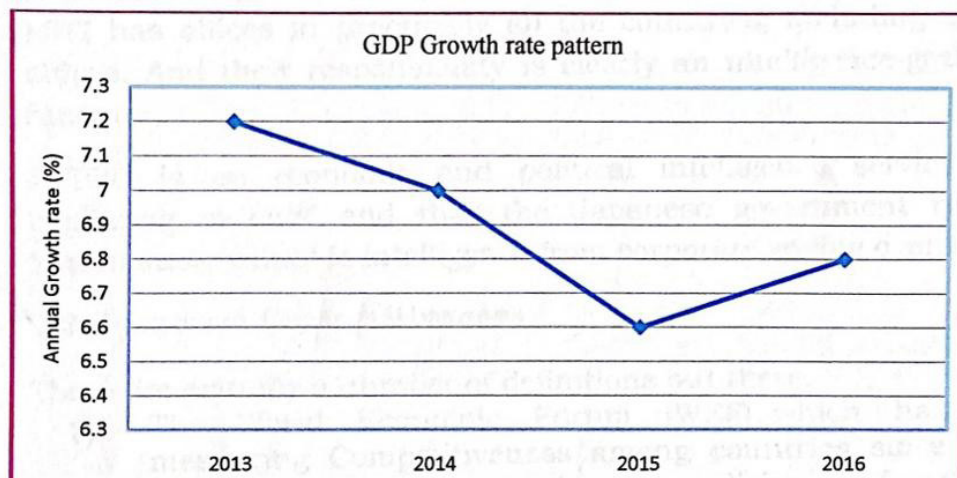As in most islands economies are characterized by service lead sector, thus; Zanzibar also has taken the same economic features. The level of GDP at current price has risen to reach TZS 3,663 billion in 218 from TZS 3,228 billion in 2017. The per capita income increases from TZS 2,104,000 in 2017 to TZS 2,323,000 in 2018. The economic growth for Zanzibar for 2018 was 7.7% and it is projected to 7.1% for the year 2019. This was due to declining trend in the Manufacturing Sector. The revolutionary Government is addressing these issues in the 2019/2020 budget.

6.0   Zanzibar we want in 21st century

Tanzania has committed herself to build an inclusive, dynamic and sustainable modern middle-income economy by 2025 while Zanzibar aims almost to achieve the same goal by 2020. To achieve this objective, since the early 1990s, the leadership has designed and put in place a series of transformative programmes, plans and strategies. The intention being to effect major structural changes of the economy and thereby builds local capabilities for future transformative and sustainable social and economic development. It is believed that to develop an inclusive and sustainable economy in Tanzania by 2025 and in Zanzibar by 2020 the leadership in particular, has to develop and put in place **explicit and coherent technology strategies to back up the series of framework plans, programs, and projects intended for effecting structural changes and achieving sustainable development especially in the Industrial sector.**

It is understood to-day that 'mastery' of the technological aspects of development is imperative to developing an inclusive, competitive and sustainable development of modern enterprises and economies.

This is to say that to grow and mature sustainably modern enterprises and economies in this globalized and digital world, must 'master' technology and innovate. In turn, enterprises and economies to master technology and innovate must design and put in place coherent (technology) innovation strategies which will ensure the efficient acquisition, use, and subsequent up gradation of technology and innovation resources needed and essential for inclusive, competitive and sustainable growth and development. It appears that the design and implementation of the Framework, plan and their implementation have not incorporated technology and innovation aspect of the process of development. More needs to be done in this aspect.

6.1   Zanzibar Competitiveness Advantage

Zanzibar must transform its economy in order to compete. It has some promising prospects in resource endowment that lead us to believe that we have comparative advantage in terms of abundant resources, cheap labor, geographical connection, good weather condition conducive for agriculture, mineral resources such as gas possibility for oil and Globalization rendered this theory not effective for rapid growth and development. However, in highly Globalized World the comparative advantage has little to do with economic prospect instead the ability to convert the comparative advantage tends to enhanced economic success. There is a need to investigate a different platform based on technology and innovation as well as improved business environment to be able to make advantage of the opportunity arises.

The most successful countries in today's global economy invest in developing competitive advantage. Competitiveness is a key driver of growth and prosperity in the country. Tanzania in general and Zanzibar in particular must build sectors that innovate in respond to market demand and begin the transition to an export lead economy. Taking critical look into Zanzibar Economy it is endowed with resources that could be exploited for rapid development such as;

1.   Developing Blue Economy

Many countries are developing Blue Economy that includes seafood farming and exploitation of the other resource. This is an area that could be developed by using modern technology and innovation to transform the economy. This sector calls for deeper consideration in looking for the right intervention. Deep-sea fishing and fish processing potential remain untapped. Investment in modern equipment and new technology in fishing is needed. Government has started to address the shortfall in this sector by creating the Zanzibar Fishing Corporation and the process of acquiring fishing vessels to start operation. Infrastructure needed for landing sites and markets are on the way to be completed. Zanzibar is ready to work with private sector to develop this promising sector for the future.

2.   Agricultural Sector and Agro Processing Industry.

Zanzibar has special characteristics that give a comparative advantage in the agricultural sector, agro processing and high value agro products. Fruits and vegetables farming and processing could create an alternative in exporting high value added exotic fruits and customized vegetable for specialized markets for export and to cater for tourism industry.

The challenge lies on capacity for research and development to be able to create new varieties with new taste and flavor. The government has emphasized and created new research institutions for agriculture, livestock as well fisheries and strengthened Universities to provide capacity needed. Government hope to provide opportunity for young people to be involved in agro processing value chain and directly increase employment.

3.   The Spice Industry

The spice industry has a potential to make Zanzibar as the hub for Spices and Aromatics. Zanzibar has capacity to grow economically all the spices in the world extract essential oils and transform into perfumes and aromatics to be used in the pharmaceutical industry, food, perfumery and cosmetics. It has huge potential with comparative advantage both in terms of knowledge centuries experience and tradition to process and use spices for the daily life of our people. The only existing challenge lies in adequate technology in farming and in processing of innovative products, to get markets information as well as knowing the demands for the new products.

4.   Tourism Industry

Tourism is a key industry and a leading sector in terms of its contribution to the GDP. The sector is currently contributing over 75% of the foreign exchange earnings of Zanzibar. With strong Brand Zanzibar, tourism arrival has reached the targeted of 500, 000 by 2020 achieving the vision 2010 targets. A number of tourists stay from 7 to 10 days. However, there is a need to invest in tourism sector to support historical, and ecotourism as well as cultural tourism. It calls for shift in strategy in order to compete in today's global tourism by creating an interesting, complex, effective and unique experience for which international tourists will pay premium. It needs deeper knowledge and customized hosting and direct investment to get needed operational efficiency and effective hospitality service delivery.

Hence Zanzibar Government is undertaking a number of major projects including infrastructure development in the rehabilitation of major roads, by building of new terminal so as to, modernize hospitality of the industry by increasing capacity of the players and service provider in the tourism and well ness industry.

5.   The Oil and Gas industry

The Oil and Gas sector is the new promising sector for Zanzibar to boost its economy. To realize the importance of this sector the Government has laid down necessary foundation for successful oil and gas prospect in Zanzibar. Recently the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar signed the PSA with Ras EI Kheima Gas company for oil exploration. We are hopeful that this industry will usher in the new paradigm shift to enable our country to realize its vision of becoming the middle income country by the year 2020.

6.   Marine Transport Services

Marine Transport Services is another focus of the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar and its objectives to expand its services by constructing a new port in "Mpiga duri" that will be used for transshipment and cruise services Oil and gas terminal in "Mangapwani" for oil and gas services including bunkering. This will make Zanzibar one of the marine transport hub in Eastern and Southern Africa.

All the above areas are important for Zanzibar to be realized where export earnings is less than 3 percent of GDP. The Government has therefore identified 2 sets of objectives in order to improve the export earnings.

1.   To build industrial competitiveness of key industries.

2.   Initiate interventions as support program to strengthen SME and private sector.

Therefore, there is a need to create a path for key industries to pull the rest of the economy by creating value chains and value addition, building an efficient business developing service and enabling environment to push upward the capacity of the private sector to respond to the new opportunity.

6.2   One Belt and One Road initiative (the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st-century Maritime Silk Road) - The emergence of Chinese economic dominance.

One Belt and One Road initiative is a new economic program tailored by Chinese Government as a development strategy involving infrastructure development and investments in 152 countries and international organizations in Europe, Asia, Middle East, Latin America and Africa announced in 2013 by president Xi Jinping. The Chinese government calls the initiative "a bid to enhance regional connectivity and embrace a brighter future." Some observers see it as a push for Chinese dominance in global affairs with a China-centered trading network.

Indeed, B&R is a connectivity of system and mechanism to construct a unified large market and make full use of both international and domestic markets, through cultural exchange and integration, to enhance mutual understanding and trust of member nations, ending up in an innovative pattern with capital inflows, talent pool, and technology database.

The initial focus has been to provide infrastructure investment, education sector support, railway and highway project, energy project and other areas. Already, some estimates the Belt and Road Initiative as one of the largest infrastructure and investment projects in history, covering more than 68 countries, including 65% of the world's population and 40% of the global gross domestic product as of 2017.

The Belt and Road Initiative addresses an "infrastructure gap" and thus has potential to accelerate economic growth across the Asia Pacific area and Central and Eastern Europe and Africa. Western Europe sees as a push not just for more business but for greater geopolitical influence.

In terms of infrastructure construction, China and the countries along the Belt and Road have carried out effective cooperation in ports, railways, highways, power stations, aviation and telecommunications and improved the infrastructure of countries. Some projects in Africa under this initiative include 750 km new electric standard gauge Addis Ababa-Djibouti Railway, Mombasa- Nairobi Standard Gauge Railway, the Abuja-Kaduna Railway Line and China-Sudan oil industry. However, some Western governments have accused the Belt and Road Initiative of being neocolonial due to what they allege as China practice of debt trap diplomacy to fund the initiative's infrastructure projects. But for most African countries has been an alternative to address major structural bottle neck in Africa in the area of Infrastructure.

6.3 The Fourth Industrial Revolution: Opportunities and Challenges

In a multi-year study of industrial development that compared eight African countries with Cambodia and Vietnam, Newman et al (2016)44 offer a number of reasons that, taken collectively, explain Africa's lack of industry.

(i) The first reason is the widely held belief that the initial conditions for industrial development did not exist in Africa, including basic infrastructure and human capital, financial depth and barriers to entry. It suffices to point out here that these initial conditions did not exist in Japan, the so-called Asian Tigers (Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan) or China at the time of industrialization. Governments have to create the right incentives to overcome barriers and create favorable conditions. That, in turn, requires governing elite committed to economic growth and sufficient Government capacity to formulate and implement policy.

(ii) Few African countries (Tunisia and Mauritius are rare exceptions), set out and implemented a concerted package of public investments, appropriate policy and institutional reforms to increase the share of industrial exports in GDP. In the majority of African countries, there is little deliberate effort to boost non-traditional exports, which mostly consist mostly of commodities.

(iii) African governments paid little or no attention to special Initially economic zones (SEZs) where export -oriented industrial agglomerations could benefit from the advantages of proximity to high-quality institutions leading to information and knowledge spillovers, and provision of better social services and infrastructure in a limited physical area.

(iv) African governments delay in establishing efficient institutions that advocated for foreign direct investment (FDI).

(v) A large number of African countries such as Ghana, Kenya, Mozambique, Nigeria, Senegal and Tanzania have embarked on investment reforms in an effort to improve the physical, institutional and regulatory environments in which firms operate. However, active efforts to improve the competitiveness of domestic industries or practical measures to reduce trade costs that result from poor trade logistics have not hampered these reforms.

(vi) African governments did not invest in high-quality infrastructure in SEZs, nor did they promote these zones and bring in professional management. African SEZs are generally not connected to domestic value chains, since governments' practice (if not policy) was to treat them as stand-alone enclaves. Without a concerted 'export push' towards higher- value items, combined with determined efforts to protect domestic industry, African countries did not grow in the more productive sectors of their economies.

6.4 Getting to lift-off

Clear industrial policy and determined government leadership and action are critical if Africa is to grow more rapidly. For this reason, there are a number of interventions that include:-

• Improve Government effectiveness and the quality of government regulations. They reflect the determined efforts by forward-looking African governments to set the agenda for industrial development of Africa.

• Increase government expenditure in research and development, provide export support to the manufacturing and ICT sectors, and protect against (some) manufacturing and ICT imports.

• For educational Sector effective improvements in primary, secondary and tertiary completion rates, increase in the ratio of vocational students in secondary school as well as the ratio of science and engineering students at tertiary level is the right intervention. This is because African countries need to rapidly build skills in sciences, ICT, engineering, manufacturing, and mathematics (the drivers of future jobs).

• Africa's agricultural potential can reasonably be expected to unfold over time as a growing manufacturing sector need raw material for processing. Once industrialization starts to increase food production, Africa should go up the agricultural value chain into substantive agro-manufacturing, as one of many spinoffs.

• Africa trails globally on infrastructure development, with the largest deficits being the lack of a reliable energy, necessary infrastructure such as roads, Ports and other infrastructure.

• Support from the international community remains important to increase FDI.

• Plan the shift to more productive sectors to improve multifactor productivity.

7.0   Economic Intelligence: A Major Tool for Economic Development

The fall of Berlin Wall marks the end of the Cold War system and changes the global outlook. The new reality for 2019, is a titanic shift from multilateralism to Unilateral that impact many areas. In this new world order, where Intelligence has a fundamental role alongside the traditional Intelligence discipline, a new area has emerged: The Economic Intelligence. In the contemporary version, the economic Intelligence has attention on business intelligence or environmental scanning or competitive intelligence. But what does this economic intelligence mean?

(EI) Smart Information management in order to know, understand and anticipate the outside environment (key competitors, rules, stakes trends) to be able do research to get a forecast to enable government, firms and entrepreneurs to make a strategic decision to access markets and to conclude industrial success.

7.1   Purpose of Economic Intelligence

The economic intelligence represents a measure primarily directed in the direction of straightening the National/Organization's competition and perfecting the strategic directional process. These goals essentially suppose an efficient and effective management of the external information, which in essence affirm to the phrase Right information, Right moment, and Right place. Therefore, in a nutshell; the economic intelligence serves the following purposes:-

(i)   The economic intelligence represents a management tool of the strategic information, whose main purpose resides in increasing the country's/ organization's competitiveness in the area of economic performance.

(ii)   Suit to supply the information and knowledge about the enterprise's main competitors with the purpose of determining the manner in which these ones might negatively influence the interests and its position on the competitive market.

(iii)   Undertaking process constructed based on the information cycle, which assists the deciders (policy and decision makers) in exercising the management functions (Planning, Organizing, Coordinating, Controlling and Motivation) toward achieving high level of economic competitiveness.

(iv)   Helps business, the financial sector and governments to understand how the world is changing and how that creates opportunities to be seized and risks to be managed, for example Industries in 2019 examines the biggest global risks facing businesses in six key industry sectors: automotive, consumer goods and retail, energy, financial services, healthcare, and telecoms. What can these sectors expect in the year ahead and what impact could these risks have.

7.2   Case of Japan

Japan has the most integrated and complex intelligence system in comparison with other U.S. allies. In the last four decades Japanese governments facilitated the creation of a decentralized national framework for collecting economic intelligence. Japan is the only country whose intelligence services were established with main goal the fulfillment of high levels of prosperity and the improvement of the standards of living of its citizens. From the late 1950s the Japanese government established two main organizations with the duty to collect and analyze economic intelligence.

Firstly, the Scientific Information Centre (SIC) with the mission to disseminate technological intelligence obtained from the West to the Japanese private sector. Secondly, the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) which is the backbone of the economic intelligence net of Japan. MITI charged the Japanese External Trade Organization (JETRO) with the collection of economic intelligence. MITI has offices practically in all the countries, including JETRO offices. And their responsibility is clearly an intelligence-gathering function.

JETRO is an economic and political intelligence service from beginning to end" and that the Japanese government receives "enormously valuable intelligence from corporate spying overseas.

7.3   Economic Competitiveness

There are actually a number of definitions out there.

(i)   The World Economic Forum (WEF), which has been measuring Competitiveness among countries since 1979, defines it as "the set of institutions, policies and factors that determine the level of productivity of a country.

Another way to think about what makes a country competitive is to consider how it actually promotes our well-being. A competitive economy, we believe, is a productive one. And productivity leads to growth, which leads to income levels and hopefully, at the risk of sounding simplistic, improved well-being.

Country Competitive ➡	Country Productivity ➡	Country Growth ➡	Improved well-being

Why should we care about it ?

Productivity is important because it has been found to be the main factor driving growth and income levels, whereas income levels are very closely linked to human welfare. So understanding the factors that allow for this chain of events to occur is very important. Basically, rising competitiveness means rising prosperity. At the thought of World Economic Forum, believe that competitive economies are those that are most likely to be able to grow more sustainably and inclusively, meaning more likelihood that everyone in society will benefit from the fruits of economic growth.

What doesn't competitiveness tell us?

Economic Competitiveness is aimed at helping leaders and policy makers make the right choices when it comes to lifting people's economic wellbeing. Based on calculations that take in over 100 separate measurements for each country, the relative importance of each one of these is constantly shifting and this is why WEF constantly review their methodology to make sure that it is as relevant as possible in this rapid changing world.

Despite the good work done by WEF in assessing and analyzing the countries' Competitiveness but th reports don't tell us as much about the future as we would like. For example, in the Fourth Industrial Revolution we know some things for sure, such as many jobs will become replaced by automation and robots.

This could well make our education increasingly important, as economies shift to higher value, higher-skilled work. Again, it's another reason why it needs to keep a critical eye on what and how we measure economies. Moreover, there are so many other factors so important to life and well-being that are not included in competitiveness work, e.g. still haven't found a good way to include environmental stewardship into calculations. Given the interconnectedness between nature and man-made systems, it is more than likely that environmental sustainability will play an increasing role in determining economic success in the future.

What is the position of Tanzania in competitiveness?

According to Global Competitive Report of 2018 Tanzania ranked number 116 out of 140 countries. Though there is slightly improvement from the previous year, this position is not impressive if we want to compete in the global economy. Much effort is needed to be taken to realize our potentiality.

8.0   Conclusion

Tanzania position in world competitiveness is not attractive. With the information and communication improvement, production, consumption and distribution relation which are main factors of economy and whole economic structure reorganized in the manner of taking information as the main factor and information has become the main factor of competition, Tanzania needs to realign with this factor to realize improvement.

Harmony and sense of patriotism is the key to success since no nation is willing to support other nations to excel while lag behind the welfare of her citizen. Economists believe the wealth of a country can be created by her smart people, so many countries (Japan, Finland, Singapore, and Italy to name a few) have relatively low natural resources but they manage to diversify and become competitive economies.

In addition to Economic Intelligence activities have been carried out in wide economical range from companies to countries.   New concepts like industry espionage technological theft, and design theft have come into our lives with the development of technology. Stealing of information using these kinds of intelligence techniques could cause progress or countries' economic collapse and may lead to companies' bankruptcy.

The slogan of industrialization must be practical to be implemented for Tanzania, Zanzibar to become world competitor in the Global economy. With abundant resources the nation has, what is needed is the good leadership and commitment. It is possible to meet our goals if we can work together for the betterment of our country and our people.

AHSANTENI SANA KWA KUNISIKILIZA

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[14]   United Nations Economic and Social Council Economic Commission for Africa, Meeting Africa's New Development Challenges in the 21st Century: Issues Paper, Twenty- seventh meeting of the Committee of Experts, 21 March 2008, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

[15]   United Nations Industrial Development Organization & Government of the United Republic of Tanzania, Tanzania Industrial Competitiveness Report 2012.

[16]   https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7zt2xt. Retrieved on March 14, 2019.

EXAMINATION OF SECURITY CHALLENGES IN THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY (EAC) REGION

By Abdulrahman O.J. Kaniki[3]

Abstract

This paper seeks to critically examine security challenges faced by the East African region, which range from resource-based conflicts, climate change and organised crimes to maritime security. The paper also discusses the East African Community (EAC) legal regime, which addresses these challenges. The methodology used is documentary review, where secondary data were surveyed. The paper concludes that much as the EAC region faces security challenges, efforts are made to address them. However, given the dynamic nature of those challenges, the efforts seem to be inadequate. The author recommends that there is a need for regional strategic engagement to tap the marine resources, strengthening regional security initiatives, enhancing implementation of the legal regime in relation to addressing the security challenges. The author further recommends the need for regional multijurisdictional taskforces and joint operations and spearheading implementation of regional and international security strategies.

1.   Introduction

It is known that among the basic purposes of the state is to provide for security of itself and its people. The aim is to make people safe or feel safe within their secured nation state thereby gaining confidence, reassurance and predictability of better lives. Socio-economic and political activities cannot be carried out effectively in an environment of insecurity. In this context, the importance of keeping the nation states secure cannot be overemphasised. States in the EAC region namely, Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda, South Sudan, Kenya and Tanzania strive to collectively ensure that security of the region and its people is guaranteed. The need for security in the region hinges on the fact that it contributes to the conducive environment for sustainable economic growth and human development. However, there are some security challenges, which at times threaten its very existence and survival. This paper seeks to examine those challenges and legal provisions in place that are used to address the challenges in the region. It comes up with recommendations aimed at improving efforts to address those challenges.

2.   Methodology

The methodology used in this study is secondary method of data collection. The study was conducted through involving library research and literature survey. It was a desk-based research work, which reviewed various sources related to the study. The research involved a review and assessment of various documentary sources containing secondary information related to East African Community region generally and security challenges facing the region in particular. Those sources included monographs, peer - reviewed journals and other forms of reviews, theses and dissertations, official reports and documents, text books and regional legal instruments. Time and financial constraints hindered the availability of primary sources.

3.   The Concept of Security in a Brief Historical Note

For long historical time the term security has been traditionally understood as the survival of the state and the protection of its sovereignty and territorial integrity from external military threats. It was simply seen to be the preservation of the state against external enemies and threats such as invasions through waging wars. From this understanding, the security of the nation was central and critical and was synonymous with state protection of its territorial borders, a defence against any foreign invasion and maintains the political regime through military and diplomatic means.

Conceptually, the more the state increased its military capabilities and diplomatic ties as well as influences, the more it was secure against external dangers. It was free from the threat of war and that it felt safe from potential aggressors and assured of its survival.

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However, changing of threats and global democratic environment brought serious challenge to this traditional way of defining security in terms of absence of war, the survival of the state, and the existence of military power in settling international conflicts. As such there was a need to adopt a broader definition of security in order to accommodate new emerging issues. This state of affairs is well summed up by Mihanjo.

> Noticeably, the definition of security has evolved. Its broad contemporary perception of security may be traced back to the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War. Emergence of new threats such as environmental degradation, excessive poverty, human rights violations and domestic conflicts, terrorism, widespread criminality, natural disasters, diseases, starvation, and desertification, have led to a broader definition of security and the search for a more holistic and integrated strategies for human development. The traditional concept of security focusing on preserving the nation-state from foreign threats has been discarded. This has finally led to a shift from State-centric view of security to human-centric view of security. The human-centred view calls for a more global and flexible appreciation of all sources of human and people insecurity, on focusing on the human person, the promotion of human rights, improving living conditions and ensuring survival.[4]

It is noted that global development and challenges that were apparent in the 1990s have caused a paradigm shift from the way security was viewed over the past. The fall of the Berlin Wall on November 9, 1989[5], the end of Cold War in 1991[6] and opening up of world economies in the 1990s necessitated by improvement of science and technology, globalisation and the general international movement towards free trade areas called for having a broadened definition of security. That is the definition that takes human-centric as opposed to state-centric view.[7] It is in this understanding that security may be defined as the absence of all threats to human life, way of life and culture, while ensuring basic necessities.[8] In this approach, human security takes an upper hand when considering the whole security issue in a state. Its main consideration is the individual and the community rather than the state. A citizen is an all important aspect in the nation-state building. As such, security should ensure that all his aspects of life are protected so that he attains sustainable development. This explains why the scope of human security should address such dimensions as economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, political security, water security and energy security.[9] It is thus argued that human security has nowadays emerged to form a larger part of national security.[10]

Noting from the foregoing analysis, it may therefore be underscored that any discussion on national security should consider or go hand in hand with human security, which encompasses all important aspects that touch human life.

4.   The East African Community Region

The EAC is an Intergovernmental Organisation. It is comprised of seven partner states namely, Burundi, The Democratic Republic of the Congo[11], Rwanda, Uganda, South Sudan, Kenya and Tanzania. DRC, Kenya and

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4   Mihanjo, E.P. (2015). "Perspectives of National Security: A Roadmap for Tanzania," *NDC Journal*, National Defence College-Tanzania, First Edition, July, pp. 8-12, at p.8.

5   Westerhof, G.J. and Keyes, C.L.M. (2006). "After the Fall of the Berlin Wall: Perceptions and Consequences of Stability and Change Among Middle-Aged and Older East and West Germans," *The Journals of Gerontology: Series B,* Volume 61, Issue 5, September, pp. S240–S247, p. S240, https://doi.org/10.1093/geronb/61.5.S240. According to these authors, Almost 1 year later, on October 3, 1990, following the fall of the Berlin Wall on November 9, 1989, the former German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany reunited. The end of the Communist era and the reunification of Germany started a process of rapid societal change in both former countries, especially in the eastern part of Germany. A democratic regime and free market economy replaced the authoritarian regime and planned economy.

6   Ahmad, I. (2017). "The Third World Perspective on the Cold War: Making Curriculum and Pedagogy in History Classrooms," *Journal of International Social Studies*, Vol.7 No.2, pp.121-135, p124.

7   See Mihanjo, E.P. (2015), op cit., pp.8-9.

8   *Ibid*.

9   For better understanding of some of these dimensions, see Kalanzi, A.T.K. (2020). "A Sneak Peek into the Environmental Security Sphere," *The Defender Magazine*, Senior Command and Staff College, Kimaka, Jinja, Vol.15 No.15, June, pp.28-31.

10 Mjenga, O.R. (2016). "Tanzania's New Foreign Policy and its Contribution to National Security." *The Security Limelight, A Newsletter of the National Defence College -Tanzania*, Third Edition, July, pp.18-22, p.18.

11 The Democratic Republic of the Congo officially joined the East African Community on 29th March, 2022 becoming its

Tanzania are the only coastal states; the rest are landlocked/linked. Through Kenya and Tanzania, EAC has a coastline of approximately 1,950 kilometres, a possibility of an outer limit of Continental Shelf of about 164,520 square kilometres and an Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) of 383,541 square kilometers.12 The EAC is not a federation. However, according to Article 5(2) of the EAC Treaty, the ultimate goal of the Community is to have a federation government (political unification). The organisation was originally founded in 1967 by Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda.13 It collapsed in 1977. As a result, each state set up its own autonomous services, which were prior to 1977 run under the auspices of the EAC.

The main reasons contributing to the collapse of the East African Community included lack of strong political will, lack of strong participation of the private sector and civil society in the co-operation activities, the continued disproportionate sharing of benefits of the Community among the Partner States due to their differences in their levels of development and lack of adequate policies to address this situation.14 Commenting on these reasons, Mvungi sums them up as follows:

> In 1977 the East African Community was officially dissolved. This step, unfortunate though it was, was applauded in many circles within the three East African States. The majority of those who applauded the collapse of the EAC said it interfered with or narrowed their influence and future activities, whether economic or political, was limited to being a big fish in a small and rather than vice versa. Such elements saw the opportunity for self-enhancement when the common services collapsed and were replaced by national and/or private concerns. Some other circles, however, celebrated the collapse of the EAC for quite different reasons. The EAC had become an inefficient organization and was failing to deliver common services and to discharge its obligations. Deliberate refusal by state authorities to act in accordance with the treaty frustrated many well-intentioned EAC employees.Be that as it may, the dissolution of the EAC marked a great failure in a long struggle of the people of Africa generally and East Africa in particular, to achieve economic and social integration which remains a major factor in the process towards African Unity and the liberation of the African people from underdevelopment.[15]

From the above quotation, it is apparent that the collapse of the EAC in 1977 did not receive much sympathy from East Africans. This is because the former East African Community was a community of states rather than that of the people of East Africa. The states were deeply involved in all aspects concerning decision making, leaving aside the people of EAC. There was no institutional framework through which the people could air out their views on the community they would wish. Thus to them, the collapse of the EAC was not a heart-breaking issue.

The EAC was revived in 1999 when Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania signed the Treaty establishing the East African Community which came into force in July 2000. This tripartite initiative was geared at having the community whose objectives were to develop policies and programmes aimed at widening and deepening co-operation among the Partner States in political, economic, social and cultural fields, research and technology, defence, security and

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7th Partner State following the Summit of EAC Heads of State at their 19th Ordinary Summit held on 29th March, 2022. DRC was admitted following recommendation by the Council of Ministers. DRC had met all the set criteria for admission as provided for in the Treaty for the establishment of the EAC. For detailed information, see Press Release issued by the EAC Secretariat in Arusha on 29th March, 2022.

12 Hamad, H.B. (2016). *The East African Community's Maritime Domain: An Innovative Institutional Framework*, PhD Thesis, University of Greenwich, United Kingdom, December, p.7, quoting Ruitenbeek, H.J., et al. (2005). *Blueprint 2050: Sustaining the Maritime Environment in Mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar*, World Bank, Washington. See also Hamad, B. H. (2016). "Maritime Security Concerns of the East African Community
(EAC)," *Western Indian Ocean Journal of Marine Science*, Volume 15, Issue 2, July-December, 75-92, 75 and 76.

13 The Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Cooperation, establishing the East African Community, was signed in Kampala on 6th June, 1967. It came into effect on 1st December, 1967.

14 See the Preamble to the Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community, 1999 as amended on 14th December, 2006 and 20th August, 2007. For critical and detailed discussion on reasons for the collapsing of the EAC in 1977, see Walsh, B. (2015) "Human Security in East Africa: The EAC's Illusive Quest for Inclusive Citizenship," *Strategic Review for Southern Africa*, Vol.37, No.1, May, pp.75-98, pp.77-79.

15 Mvungi, S., "Legal Analysis of the Draft Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community," in Mvungi, S.E.A. (Ed.), (2002). *The Draft Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community: A Critical Review*, Dar es Salaam University Press Ltd, Dar es Salaam, pp.65-95, pp.65-66.

legal and judicial affairs, for their mutual benefit.16 Looking at these objectives, it is apparent that the signing of the Treaty, which meant to bring back the original three partner states to the long existed cooperation and addressing the main reasons that led to the dissolution of the Community in 1977. It was one of the milestones in the integration processes and another attempt at cooperation anew amongst the founding states of the region whose ultimate goal is to establish a political federation.17 Kaahwa remarked:

"The signing of the Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community in Arusha, Tanzania on November 30th, 1999, its entry into force on July 7th, 2000 and the formal launching of the Community on January 15th, 2001 marked a culmination of seven years of committed efforts by the erstwhile East African Co-operation Member States of Kenya, Uganda and the United Republic of Tanzania in re-kindling their tested long co-operation."[18]

In view of the above arguments, it is stated under Article 5 (2) of the Treaty that:

"…[T]he Partner States undertake to establish among themselves and in accordance with the provisions of this Treaty, a Customs Union, a Common Market, subsequently a Monetary Union and ultimately a Political Federation in order to strengthen and regulate the industrial, commercial, infrastructural, cultural, social, political and other relations of the Partner States to the end that there shall be accelerated, harmonious and balanced development and sustained expansion of economic activities, the benefit of which shall be equitably shared."

In the bid to effect an enlargement of the community in order to have large regional economic bloc, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, who are the EAC founders of the new EAC, welcomed new members namely, Burundi, Rwanda and South Sudan.[19] Rwanda and Burundi acceded to the EAC Treaty on 18 June 2007 and became full Members of the Community with effect from 1 July 2007. One Burundian once commented on the benefits that are in place for Burundi joining the EAC by stating that:

This is a logical option because membership of Burundi to the EAC is first natural if we analyze both geographically and historically. Then the Community occupies incommensurate place in the life of Burundi both on the economic, trade, political and social.

The Burundi depends on the EAC to 95% of the imports and exports via the ports of Mombasa and Dar es Salaam. The Nairobi airport plays the same role for the transport of people.20

The joining of Burundi to the EAC opened doors not only for economic prosperity but also in the political and security level in helping on stabilizing the country and providing the foundation for sustainable development that had lacked for years.21 After all, the EAC is one of the fast growing regional economic integration blocs in the Sub-Saharan Africa.22 South Sudan, which is the newest member, joined the Community on 5 September 2016 following its admission on 3rd March, 2016 by Heads of State Summit held in Arusha, Tanzania, and its subsequent formal accession to the Treaty.23 Of recent, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has been admitted as a new member on 29th March, 2022.24

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16 Art. 5(1) of the Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community, 1999 as amended on 14th December, 2006 and 20th August, 2007.

17 Cichecka, A. (2018). "EAC-an Answer for Regional Problems or Failed Solutions in East Africa?", POLITEJA, 5 (56)/, pp.267-277, p.269. Source: https://doi.org/10.12797/Politeja.15.2018.56.15. [Accessed on 9th November, 2021]. POLITEJA is the Journal of the Faculty of International and Political Studies of the Jagiellonian University.

18 Kaahwa, W.T.K. (2003). *East African Community: EAC Treaty and Challenges to the Community*, East African Community Secretariat Occasional Paper No.3, East African Community Secretariat, Arusha, p.1.

19 See Amule, J.W. (2016). "The Role of EAC in the Stability and Development of South Sudan (RSS)", *The Security Limelight, A Newsletter of the National Defence College -Tanzania*, Third Edition, July, pp. 86-87, p.86, who states that the EAC aims at strengthening its economic, social, political, technological and other ties for its fast growth and sustainable development.

20 Nduwayo, V. (2015). "Burundi Economy in Regional Integration: Threats or Benefits of East African Community," *The NDC Newsletter, A Newsletter of the National Defence College -Tanzania,* NDC Course 3- 2014/15, pp76-78, p.76.

21 Ibid., p.78.

22 Gastorn, K., "The East African Community and the Sovereignty Relinquishment Trail in the Constitution Making Process of Tanzania," *Nyerere Law Journal*, Volume 1, 2014, 35-67, 38.

23 EAC Secretariat (2016). EAC Development Strategy (2016/17-2020/21), p. 1.

24 See footnote 8 above.

According to Article 5(1) of the Treaty, the revived EAC has the objectives of developing policies and programmes aimed at widening and deepening co-operation among the Partner States in political, economic, social and cultural fields, research and technology, defence, security and legal and judicial affairs, for their mutual benefit. The main continuing task ahead for the partner states is to sustain the community so that it attains its objectives as stipulated under the Treaty.

4.1   Importance of Security in the EAC Region

It is well noted that regional integration allows partner states to cooperate in, among other things, security matters within their jurisdictions to protect their territories, sovereignties and interests from imminent threats.[25] The EAC as a region sees the issue of security a very important aspect towards regional integration. One of the objectives as stipulated under Article 5 of the EAC Treaty is that the Community should ensure the promotion of peace, security and stability within, and good neighbourliness among the Partner States. Keeping the Region secure is a matter of concern because its very existence and survival depends on how it is secured. In fact security is among the prerequisites to political and socio-economic development within the region and vital to the achievement of the objectives of the Community.[26] That is why Partner States have been involved in entering into several agreements aimed at fostering security and stability within the region. Good examples are agreements to combat drug trafficking, terrorism and maritime piracy.[27] This shows that the issue of security is given an upper hand towards realising the vision of EAC, which is to attain a prosperous, competitive, secure and politically united East Africa.

It should be noted that insecurity poses the greatest threats to development and poverty reduction not only in the EAC region but also Africa as a whole. Arguably, serious insecurity and anxiety trouble citizens when a state is no longer able to guarantee the safety of its people. In this understanding, security is a precondition to attain sustainable development in the region. A wider market with a combined population of over160 million people and GDP of about US$ 170 billion shall remain untapped if security in the EAC region is not guaranteed. Thus, safeguarding the region against any insecurity threats is not an option but a matter of urgency.

5.   Discussion

5.1   Security Challenges in the EAC Region

Basing on what has been stated above, the EAC Partner States have been striving to foster and maintain an atmosphere that is conducive to peace and security through cooperation and consultations among themselves.28 Such cooperation and consultations on issues pertaining to peace and security within the region touch on aspects of prevention, better management and resolution of disputes and conflicts among themselves. All these attempts are done in order to protect the region and its interests from imminent threats. Hence, the security issue cannot in any way be underestimated.

However, much as Partner States have been striving to ensure that the region continues to be secure, there are some challenges, which threaten its existence and survival.

5.1.1   Resource-based Conflicts

It is well known that resources contribute a lot in attaining sustainable development in a society. These are determinants or elements of national power. Whether natural or otherwise, resources play an important role in people's livelihoods, poverty reduction and economic growth. When resources are well managed and used in a sustainable way, they make direct contribution in poverty alleviation and improving human livelihood. That being the case, they play a critical role to food security, economic security and the sovereignty, notwithstanding the pressure attached thereto. One of the reasons for the pressure attached on resources especially in African

25 Anjalo, R., et al. (2018). "Nature of Security Cooperation and Regional Integration within the Jurisdiction of the East African Community," *Journal of Education and Science*, Vol.9, No.27, pp. 60-66, p.60.

26 See Art.124 of the Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community.

27 Svicevic, M (Ed.) (2021). *Compendium of Documents Relating to Regional and Sub-regional Peace and Security in Africa*, 2nd Ed., Pretoria University Law Press, Pretoria, p. 497.

28 *Ibid*.

countries is rapid human population growth, which calls for an increase in demand for food, grazing land, land for crop production, medicinal plants, timber, firewood, water, mining and the like. As a result everyone in a society scrambles for resources, which become scarce in order to make a living. As such, the main challenge is balancing the interests of all the people.

In view of what has been stated above, the most needed is that all resources available should be properly managed and fairly distributed to all citizens. Unfairly distribution of resources has been a source of some internal conflicts within the states, which culminate into imminent security threats. The conflicts are due to scarcity and contestation over shared resources in terms of land use, including land tenure and property rights; regional and trans-boundary water conflicts, including issues of pastoral and ethnic conflicts; etc. Many of conflicts in the EAC region can be linked to contests for the control of resources such as agriculture and grazing lands and water resources. As for pastoralists, it is argued that these people also clash over the use of natural resources such as water and grazing land for their cattle because of cultural practices of heroism, cross-border and local livestock raiding and a need of socio-cultural fairness.[29]

Depletion of pastoral grazing areas cause one of the bordering countries pastoral to migrate to the other which leads into conflict between the newly arriving group and the main settles there. And even due to the encroachment of the pasture land by agriculturalists, there are repeated incidences of conflicts of farmer-herders.[30] Moreover, matters get complicated when a cattle rustling is still committed among the region's nomadic communities thereby posing a serious security challenge. This kind of crime is no longer a traditional practice, but a form of organised crime committed by international criminal networks, which pose a significant economic threat and cause many deaths among rural communities and security forces in the region.[31] Proliferation of small arms and light weapons and available ready market for cattle are among the facilitating factors to the commission of the crime.

Walsh (2015), who conducted a field study in the EAC region on human security, sums up hardships faced by members of the communities due to resource-based conflicts by stating that:

> Inequitable distribution of resources, including water, has fuelled numerous group-to-group and group-to-state conflicts as communities and potential citizens fight for access to national wealth. The cattle rustling that has been rife in Karamoja and elsewhere sees a traditional mode of life struggling for recognition amidst the neglect of pastoralists and uneven distribution of grazing land by central government. Conflict and porous borders have helped produce a huge number of refugees in each country.[32]

5.1.2   Climate Change

According to the *EAC Climate Change Policy, 2010,* climate change is a change of climate which is attributed directly or indirectly to human activity that alters the composition of the global atmosphere and which is in addition to natural climate variability observed over comparable time periods.[33]

It is a long-term shift in weather conditions identified by changes in temperature, precipitation, winds and other indicators.[34] Arguably, climate change is one of the most pressing global issues that have long-term implications

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29 Mengistu, M.M. (2015). "The Root Causes of Conflicts in the Horn of Africa," *American Journal of Applied Psychology,* 2015, 4(2), 28-34, 32. Published online April 9, 2015 (http://www.sciencepublishinggroup.com/j/ajap). [Accessed 13 November, 2021].

30 *Ibid.*

31 Gunda, D.E.O. (2020), "Cattle Rustling: From Cultural Practice to Deadly Organised Crime," ISS Today, 28 February. Source: https://issafrica.org/iss-today/cattle-rustling-from-cultural-practice-to-deadly-organised-crime. [Accessed on 31st January, 2022].

32 Walsh, B., *op cit.*, p.80.

33 EAC Secretariat (2010). *EAC Climate Change Policy*, p. v and Vice President's Office [Tanzania], National Climate Change Strategy, 2012, p. xxi. This definition was adopted from the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change [UNFCCC]. The Convention was adopted on 9 May 1992 and opened for signature on 4 June 1992 at Rio de Janeiro. 154 nations signed the UNFCCC, which upon ratification committed signatories' governments to reduce atmospheric concentrations of greenhouse gases with the goal of preventing dangerous anthropogenic interference with Earth's climate system.

34 National Bureau of Statistics (2019). *National Climate Change Statistics Report*, Dodoma, Tanzania Mainland, p. i.

for all countries' sustainable development.[35] From increasing shifting weather patterns that threaten food security to rising sea levels and extreme rainfall that cause catastrophic flooding, climate change impacts are wide-ranging and unprecedented in scale.[36]

Climate change has become an emerging challenging issue to many economies the world over. It has been reminded:

> It is widely agreed by the global community that the world's climate is changing and will continue to change at unprecedented rates. Climate change is increasingly becoming a global concern as it poses a challenge to sustainable livelihoods, economic development and global security. This concern is based on scientific findings and observational evidence provided in existing United Nations reports, IPCC reports and other related documents on impacts of climate change. The Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) shows an increase of global average air and ocean temperatures leading to wide spread melting of snow and ice, as well as rising global average sea level.[37]

EAC region is vulnerable to the adverse impacts of climate change, especially floods, droughts, epidemics, and agricultural pests and diseases. These impacts pose serious challenges to the region's food security, infrastructure, economy and ecosystems, to mention but a few.

According to *the East African Community Climate Change Master Plan, 2011-2031,* the main regional issues which have been identified and prioritised by the EAC Partner States, as being vulnerable to climate change are: (a) Agriculture (crops, livestock and fisheries) and Food Security; (b) Water Security; (c) Energy Security; (d) Ecosystems Services and Biodiversity; (e) Tourism; (f) Infrastructure (buildings, roads, railways, waterways and airways); (g) Human Health, Sanitation and Settlements; (h) Trade and Industry; and (i) Education, Science and Technology.[38] The region has over time observed climate change adverse impacts through sea level rise, which has already led to infrastructure destruction along the coast, submergence of some small islands in the Indian ocean, such as Maziwe and Fungu la Nyani, intrusion of sea water into fresh water wells along the coast, in Tanzania, beach erosion in Mombasa, Kenya, rampant floods and droughts across the region.[39]

In view of what has been stated above, adverse impacts of climate change relate not only to sustainable development but also to security dimension. The fact that the economic growth of the region depend much on such sectors as agriculture, livestock, forestry, water, tourism, transport, energy and health, the impacts of climate change shall adversely affect those sectors, thereby causing resources conflicts among members of the community. A good example is pastoral communities within the region.

The region's long history of altering droughts/flood cycles as well as the region's geography mean it hosts innumerable number of pastoral groups who have centuries moved and adapted to climate variability. With increasing population density and development models that often pose a problem for security and development, pastoral communities are often under threat of losing their livelihood and conflict with their settled neighbours. Okoti et al (2014) reveal in their findings of the study on the impacts of climate change in the pastoralist communities of northern Kenya and their adaptation strategies when arguing that:

> There are … significant negative consequences including loss of livestock through heat stress or colder seasons; increase in animal pests and diseases; loss of land to agricultural encroachment as the rise in rainfall raises the productive potential of the dryland areas; an increase in frequency of flooding, and the spread of human and livestock diseases that thrive during the wet season; declined animal performance such as growth, milk production, and reproduction… The results have been food insecurity in the most parts of Arid and Semi Arid Lands.[40]

35 Apollo, A. and Mbah, M.F. (2021). "Challenges and Opportunities for Climate Change Education (CCE) in East Africa: A Critical Review." Climate, 9, 93, pp. 1-16, p.1. https://doi.org/10.3390/cli9060093.

36 *Ibid*.

37 Vice President's Office [Tanzania] (2012). *National Climate Change Strategy*, p.1.

38 EAC Secretariat (2011). *East African Community Climate Change Master Plan* 2011-2031, September, p. 3.

39 EAC Secretariat (2010). *EAC Climate Change Policy*, Arusha, May, p.1.

40 Okoti, M. *et al.* (2014). "Impact of Climate Variability on Pastoral Households and Adaptation Strategies in Garissa County, Northern Kenya," *Journal of Human Ecology* (Delhi, India), March, 45 (3): 243-249, 243-244.

In addition, large percentages of the region's population are subsistence farmers and rely on rain-fed agriculture as their primary source of income. With climate patterns becoming more erratic across the region, drought and flood cycles severely affect both crop production and movement of pastoralists.[41]

Basing on the above, it is argued that it is obvious that climate change is increasingly becoming an EAC regional concern, which poses a challenge to sustainable livelihoods, economic development and security. It fuels ongoing conflicts over access to natural resources within the region and beyond thereby causing imminent security threats. The main issue is the extent to which the region is prepared to let its people respond to the climate change adverse impacts.

5.1.3 Transnational Organised Crime

Transnational organised crime is a global security threat, whose effects are felt worldwide. It wrecks the world economies, harms state-building and threatens human security and economic development.[42] As such, the EAC region is not spared.

Transnational organised crime by definition concerns more than one country. According to the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organised Crime 2000, an offence is transnational if, firstly, it is committed in more than one state, secondly, it is committed in one state but a substantial part of its preparation, planning, direction, or control takes place in another state, thirdly, it is committed in one state but involves an organised criminal group that engages in criminal activities in more than one state, and finally, it is committed in one state but has substantial effects in another state.[43] More recent, internationally agreed upon, definitions of transnational organised crime have continued to emphasise; as its distinguishing characteristic, the notion that it involves cross border criminal activity, violating the laws of more than one country.[44] This convention re-emphasises that a transnational crime is one where some element of the crime will occur in, or affect, more than one State.

 In the case of East Africa, this may involve locals colluding with others from outside the region - for example, Asian groups and other foreign nationals - or it may involve citizens of the region based in their home countries maintaining relations with expatriates living abroad[45]. Criminal groups are organised and structured for purposes of committing transnational organised crimes for profit. They have taken advantages of opening up of the economies to commit transnational criminal activities in the region. With liberalisation of the economy and its attendant globalisation a number of crimes of cross-border nature have begun to emerge.[46]

This has been the case since the region has now been connected directly to the world economy. The increasing trade and cross-border activities in the Partner States have stimulated transnational crime. On the same note, new communication systems and digital technology have made dramatic changes in ways of life. Eventually, the improved communications technology has as well shaped the way transnational organised criminals use network structures to run their operations effectively and efficiently across the globe.[47]

As a matter of fact, organised criminal groups in the region and beyond increasingly exploit information and communications technology to support operational activities. Such operations include sophisticated intelligence operations for gathering information on soft targets, reducing the groups' vulnerability, and identifying individuals they can corrupt for their objectives. In the course of such operations, the groups also make use of the information

41 EAC Secretariat (2010). *EAC Climate Change Policy, op cit.*, p.9. See also COMESA *et al.* (2011). *Programme on Climate Change Adaptation and Mitigation in the Eastern and Southern Africa* (COMESA-EAC-SADC) Region, November, p.10.

42 Gobena, M.A. (2020). *Transnational Organised Crime and Peacebuilding in East Africa*, Wilson Center-Africa Program, Research Paper No.27, 27, July, p.1.

43 Art. 3(2)(a)-(d) of the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organised Crime 2000.

44 Kaniki, A.O.J. (2015), *Transnational Crime and National Security: Issues and Options for Tanzania*, A Dissertation Submitted to the National Defence College-Tanzania, in Partial Fulfilment of Requirements for the Master's Degree in Security and Strategic Studies in Addition to the Award of the Prestigious Symbol '*ndc*', Dar es Salaam, July, p.31.

45 UNODC (2009). *Organised Crime and Trafficking in Eastern Africa*, A Discussion Paper For Discussion at the Regional Ministerial Meeting on Promoting the Rule of Law and Human Security in Eastern Africa Nairobi, Kenya, 23-24 November, p.13.

46 Kaniki, A.O.J. (2015). "Forfeiture of Criminally Acquired Property in Tanzania: Some Reflections on Historical and Socio-economic Factors," *Eastern Africa Law Review*, Issue No. 2, Vol.42, December, pp. 112-142, p. 127.

47 Kaniki, A.O.J. (2014). "Proliferation of Counterfeit Products in Tanzania: A Threat to Human Security," The Tanzania Lawyer: *Journal of the Tanganyika Law Society*, Vol. 1 No.2, pp. 42-73, p.55.

and communication technology to conceal their identities in order to sneak through the national boundaries.[48] The crimes they commit include: illegal drug trafficking and abuse; illegal immigrants; human trafficking; money laundering; illegal trafficking in small arms and light weapons (SALWs); proliferation of counterfeit products; cyber crimes; terrorism, etc.

There are several factors that make transnational organised crimes be committed in the region. Just a remark, those factors do not cause organised crime but they facilitate crime, or in some instances, they are criminal opportunities in themselves.[49] They include globalisation of the economy, increased numbers of immigrants, improved communications technology, corruption, porous borders and proliferation of small arms and light weapons and allocation of refugee camps along the borders.[50]

(a)   Globalisation of the Economy

The opening up of the economy in the region in the 1990s saw a number of crimes of cross-border nature emerging since the region has now been connected directly to the world economy, hence globalisation of the economy. Globalisation has brought impacts to every aspect of life. It has eventually caused the world economy to undergo a profound transformation in terms of intensified trade, investment, financial transactions, information technology, capital and commodity mobility and cooperation in security. All this has turned the world into a global village. Many countries have opted for open or liberalised state controlled economies in order to boost trade and become more competitive in the global marketplace. However, criminals have taken advantages of opening up of the economies to commit transnational criminal activities.[51]

(b)   Increased Numbers of Immigrants

Immigration has been taking place since time immemorial. Balzer argues that the number of immigrants has been increasing world over due to the following facilities:

i.   Transportation systems have improved and expanded dramatically, particularly airline and automobile travel; international tourism and business travel are at record levels;

ii.   Communication systems have improved and expanded most notably satellite and fiber optic telephone and television transmission, fax transmission, and computer information storage, processing, and transmission;

iii.   Reduced or eliminated many trade and travel restrictions between different parts of the world;

iv.   The expansion of world trade which brings stronger participation by the economies of various regions of the world makes the world economic interdependence now a basic fact of life; and

v.   The population increase, resulting in more crowding, more areas of poverty, disease, and hunger, and large movements of people across national borders.[52]

The cumulative effect of these conditions is more people, more opportunities, more movement of people and information across national borders[53] and more opportunities and possibly reasons for committing crime. Among the people migrating, whether legally or illegally entering the countries, are criminals.

(c)   Improved Communications Technology

Admittedly, nobody under earth can deny the cross cutting truth that new communication systems and digital technology have made dramatic changes in ways of life. Eventually the improved communications technology has as well shaped the way transnational organised criminals use network structures to run their operations effectively and efficiently across the globe. One thing to be underscored at the outset is that improved communications

48 Ibid.

49 Finckenauer, J.O. (2000). "Meeting the Challenge of Transnational Crime," *National Institute of Justice Journal*, July, p.3.

50 Kaniki, A.O.J. (2015), Transnational Crime and National Security: Issues and Options for Tanzania, op cit., p.51.

51 Ibid.

52 Balzer, A.J. (1996). "International Police Cooperation: Opportunities and Obstacles," *Policing and Eastern Europe*: *Comparing Firsthand Knowledge with Experience from the West, College of Police and Security Studies*, Slovania. Source: https://www.ncjrs.gov/policing/int63.htm.

53 *Ibid*.

technology acts as a bridge to connect different regions globally for facilitating activities that are geared to commission of transnational crime.

As a matter of fact, transnational organised criminal groups increasingly exploit information and communications technology to support operational activities. Such operations include sophisticated intelligence operations for gathering information on soft targets, reducing the group's vulnerability, and identifying individuals they can corrupt for their objectives. In the course of such operations, the groups also make use of the information technology to commit identity fraud in order to sneak through the national frontiers.[54]

(d)   Corruption

Corruption is another tool which facilitates the commission of transnational crime in the country. Through corruption, transnational criminal groups corupt government officials to mitigate the ability of law enforcement, regulatory, or other agencies that are directly responsible with interdicting or eradicating such criminal groups. It is argued that:

> "In some countries, even if the state paid adequate wages, the state law enforcement sector may not be a legitimate alternative to the criminal sector. The institutionalized corruption of much of law enforcement and its close links with the criminal sector in some regions of the world means that the criminals can pay for specialists within and outside the government."[55]

Corrupt practices among the law enforcement officers have largely caused transnational crime to thrive in the region. Security personnel fail to perform their duties after being bribed by criminals, who cross the borders with impunity.

Similar position was arrived at in the research previously conducted by Horwood (2009) under the auspices of International Organisation for Migration [IOM] on *Assessment of the Irregular Movement of Men from East Africa and the Horn to South Africa,* where there is large scale movement of men from East Africa and the Horn towards South Africa through smuggling. It was alleged corruption and complicity of national officials appear to be one of the forces driving this regional international smuggling business, without which it would not be able to function as it does today.[56] It is thus no wonder to note that Al Shaabab terrorists in one instance bribed Kenyan police officers who helped them to smuggle explosives into Kenya in 2014.[57]

The Kenyan government noticed this malpractice and thus vowed to seal the gap through a number of initiatives aimed at tightening of immigration processes.[58]

(e)   Porous Borders

Vast and highly porous borders are among the factors that make transnational crime possible in the region. This observation is supported by the following facts:

i.   Security weakness within the borders, which makes it easy for criminals to cross borders at will.

ii.   Inadequate number of law enforcement personnel with insufficient resources.

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54 Kaniki, A.O.J. (2015), *Transnational Crime and National Security: Issues and Options for Tanzania*, op cit., p.53.

55 Shelley, L.I. (2003). "Organized Crime, Terrorism and Cybercrime," in Bryden, A. and Fluri, P. (Eds.), *Security Sector Reform: Institutions, Society and Good Governance*, Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden-Baden, pp. 303-312, at p. 305.

56 Horwood, C. (2009). *In Pursuit of the Southern Dream: Victims of Necessity, Assessment of the Irregular Movement of Men From East Africa and The Horn to South Africa*, International Organisation for Migration (IOM), Geneva, p.9.

57 See *Daily News* [Tanzania], March 4, 2015, p.8, where this ugly scenario was revealed by Head of Public Service Joseph Kinyua during the launch of an exercise that was aimed at reviewing systems, policies and procedures at ports of entry into the Kenyan country. Mr. Kinyua noted that after being bribed, the police at Kenya-Somalia border handcuffed the terrorists and escorted them all the way to Mombasa. This helped the terrorists, who were now suspects by the virtue of under police guard, to evade further scrutiny at various roadblocks. And after they arrived in Mombasa, the terrorists were unchained and let free to go ahead with their mission. The terrorists were later on arrested. The police who intercepted the vehicle bearing the explosives in March 2014 found six grenades, an AK-47 assault rifle, 270 bullets, six cylindrical bombs weighing 10kg each, five magazines, six detonators, a Nokia electronic cables. The in-built improvised explosive devices were welded to the floor and back seat of the vehicle. The explosives caused a crater when they were detonated. It was later on established who the police officers were and punished.

58 Atta-Asamoah, A. (2015). *Responses to Insecurity in Kenya: Too Much, Too Little, Too Late?*, East Africa Report, Institute for Security Studies, Issue 3, April, p.6.

iii.   Few official entry and exit points along the borders with neighbouring countries but with several unofficial exits and entries *[panya routes]*.

iv.   Long extended borders, which enable transnational criminals enter and exit.

v.   Integration of East African Community, which makes it easier for criminals to move from one partner state to another.

vi.   Inadequate marine patrol vessels in the Indian Ocean and the lakes.

vii.   Long, porous and uncontrolled borders, for instance, between Tanzania and the DRC and Burundi which covers 280 nautical miles in Lake Tanganyika and 262 kilometres in mainland.[59]

It is disheartening to note from findings of the research conducted by Horwood (2009) when assessing the irregular movement of men from East Africa and The Horn to South Africa along the borders that:

> "The indicators are that the current trend of rising levels of irregular migration is set to continue, and movement will become easier as transportation and other technology evolves. At the same time, most borders will remain porous and unmanageable due to size, geography and resources and……due to the failure of structures and controls to manage borders effectively."[60]

Much as the above findings are a result of a study conducted in 2009 - 13 years ago, yet the contemporary trend depicts similar situation. The EAC region borders still remain porous and unmanageable, just as is the case with other regions in the world. The migration question is a global issue. Countries worldwide have to grapple with it. In fact technology is regarded as an enabler and a game changer to the global migration. According to *the World Migration Report 2020* by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM):

> Technology is increasingly critical throughout the migration process, especially newer forms of technology…we have witnessed the use of ICT by migrants to gather information and advice in real time during migration journeys; an issue that is raising interest and, at times, concern. The use of ICT, such as apps to share the latest information, including to support clandestine border crossings, together with the consolidation of social media platforms to connect geographically dispersed groups with common interests, has raised valid questions concerning the extent to which technology has been used to support irregular migration, as well as to enable migrants to avoid abusive and exploitative migrant smugglers and human traffickers.
>
> Due to the ever-increasing access to emerging technology at low cost, migrants have also developed applications to support better integration in receiving countries, while maintaining social links and financial support to their families and societies back home, including through the increasing prevalence of "mobile money" apps.[61]

With increasing numbers of people who are able to access information, goods and services from any part of the world due to the ongoing expansion in distance shrinking technologies, we are experiencing an exponential increase of movements of migrants throughout the world. This explains why the Eastern Africa intraregional migration driven by the growing demand for high and low-skilled labour is a matter to be reckoned with. *The Protocol on the Establishment of the East African Community Common Market,* which provides for the free movement of labour has helped to facilitate labour migration within the region.[62] Much as the EAC Partner States have ratified the Protocol, it is now easier for people to work across the region.

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59 Kaniki, A.O.J. (2015), *Transnational Crime and National Security: Issues and Options for Tanzania, op cit,* p.55.

60 Horwood, op cit., p.17.

61 International Organisation for Migration (2020). *World Migration Report 2020*, International Organisation for Migration, Geneva, Switzerland, p.8.

62 The Protocol on the Establishment of the East African Community Common Market entered into force on 1St July 2010, following ratification by all Partner States. The Protocol provides for free movement of goods, free movement of persons, free movement of labour, free movement of capital and free movement of services. The Protocol also provides for the right of establishment, meaning EAC citizens have the right to establish their business in any partner State and pursue economic activities in accordance with national laws of the Partner State; and the right of residence. That is EAC citizens are guaranteed the right to reside in any Partner State, along with their spouses and children, for the purpose of employment.

Given the factors that cause migration around the world, it is clear that it is not easy to control movements of people. The most states the world over should do is to devise best ways of managing the migration issue, given that migration of people is not always all that bad. Yet it should be born in minds that porous borders, whether in or outside the EAC region, create vulnerability to security threats to sovereign states. Those borders act as free passageway for international criminals criss-cross porous borders with impunity. This in turn has created a security challenge to sovereign states and caused debates on how to strengthen border security globally.

(f)   Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons and Allocation of Refugee Camps along the Borders

Proliferation of small and light weapons from some conflict/war torn partner states and neighbouring countries, such as Somalia and Central African Republic (CAR) is contributing to violent cross border crime such as armed robbery. This goes hand in hand with the allocation of refugee camps along the borders with neighbouring countries. As a result of long time unrest in those countries, weapons, such as guns have been easily available in refugee camps and other parts of the Partner States thereby posing human insecurity.[63] It has been noted with concern that:

> "The problem of availability, misuse and illicit circulation of small arms and light weapons has for sometimes now been a major concern of the international, regional and national communities. This is because such kind of proliferation is geared towards threatening public security, community development and sabotaging economic growth. The Great Lakes Region has not been spared from this menace."[64]

In the case of Tanzania, the most affected areas include Kigoma, Kagera, Katavi and Rukwa regions.[65] The country suffers from proliferation of small and light weapons not because of political instability but because of its vast and porous borders are in contact with post-war/conflict torn countries. More so, a study on the menace of illegal migration in Tanzania which was conducted by Mkumbo found that the presence of refugees in western Tanzania negatively affected environmental resources and water sources.[66]

It was revealed that many refugee camps were located relatively close to protected forest reserves, where refugees' cutting of tree for firewood and charcoal burning threatened vital natural resources.[67] Let it be noted at the outset that much as environmental degradation was a problem long before the refugees were allocated along those areas, the rate of deforestation accelerated greatly during their presence.

Summing up the discussion on this category which contributes to bringing security challenges in the EAC Region, it is stated that the rapid internationalisation of crime is a challenge for law enforcement not only in EAC region but the world over. Transnational organised criminal syndicates are becoming more and more powerful and universal, and their mobility is growing. They are nowadays adaptable, sophisticated, extremely opportunistic and immersed in a full range of illegal and legal activities around the globe. It has been possible for them to do so because they learn and adapt and take advantage of changes that occur in the societies, be it in improved information and communications technologies or the opening up of financial markets.

Admittedly, transnational organised crime ring activities weaken economies and financial systems. They undermine the workings of the free market economy. Due to their illegal activities, transnational crime groups have access to huge amounts of money, which needs to be "washed." This large-scale money laundering has an impact on the operations of legitimate financial institutions that, in the long run, can go beyond the business sector with negative effects on the investment climate, tax revenues and consumer confidence. In undertaking their illegal activities, transnational organised criminal activities pose threat to partner states' socio-economic and political wellbeing. They therefore upset the peace and security of nations worldwide.[68]

63 Kaniki, A.O.J. (2015), *Transnational Crime and National Security: Issues and Options for Tanzania*, op cit, p.58.

64 Ndiho, B. (2016). Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Great Lakes Region: Source of Insecurity," *The Security Limelight*, *A Newsletter of the National Defence College-Tanzania*, NDC Course 4-2015/16, Third Edition, July, pp.51-53, p.51.

65 Kaniki, A.O.J. (2015), Transnational Crime and National Security: Issues and Options for Tanzania, op cit, p.58.

66 Mkumbo, C.O. (2015). The Menace of Illegal Migration in Tanzania, A Dissertation Submitted to the National Defence College-Tanzania in Partial Fulfilment of Requirement for the Master Degree in Security and Strategic Studies in Addition to the Award of the Prestigious Symbol '*ndc*', Dar es Salaam, July, p.32.

67 *Ibid*.

68 Kaniki, A.O.J. (2015), *Transnational Crime and National Security: Issues and Options for Tanzania, op cit,* p.88.

5.1.4   Maritime Security

Maritime security may be referred to as protection of the maritime domain against unlawful acts or illegal activities such as piracy, illegal fishing, armed robbery, maritime terrorism, illegal trafficking by sea, i.e. drugs trafficking, small arms and light weapons trafficking, and human trafficking, global climate change, cargo theft, and the like.[69] It refers to all the measures taken by a country or region to prevent unlawful acts in the maritime domain. Arguably, maritime domain in the EAC region plays an important role in the economic development of all partner states. It is estimated that over 95% of EAC international trade by volume passes through Kenya and Tanzania seaports.[70] The EAC coasts are also sources of employment and means of living for a considerable part of the EAC population.[71] Moreover, the large oil and gas discoveries in the EAC maritime domain offer potential energy security assurance to the community and beyond.[72]

In view of the above, it is apparent that the EAC maritime domain provides economic opportunities to the local population and foreign investors. However, just like all the world's maritime domains, the EAC maritime domain is vulnerable to maritime security threats. It is mostly affected by piracy, armed robbery against ships, smuggling of illicit drugs, small and light weapons, human trafficking, maritime terrorism, illegal fishing, environmental destruction, and Kenya-Somali maritime border dispute, thereby posing security challenging threats in the region.[73] Much needs to be done in order to have secured EAC maritime domain, as the following findings by Hamad reveal that:

> The maritime domain of the East African Community (EAC) is affected by a number of maritime security threats, including piracy, armed robbery against ships and an ongoing maritime border dispute between Kenya and Somalia. Neither the EAC nor its member States have long-term and holistic maritime security policies. Maritime security is dealt with in an ad-hoc, case-by-case manner, mainly by individual States... The study has found that the lack of regional maritime security policies, more importantly maritime security strategy, and the absence of a maritime institutional framework at the Community level, appear to be major setbacks to regional maritime security efforts. Additionally, the EAC depends on its member States, inter-regional and international maritime security programmes which currently offer a significant boost to EAC maritime security governance.[74]

This being the situation, the EAC region has to come up with collective, realistic and workable strategies that will address those challenging security threats to the maritime domain. Holistic as opposed to peace-meal approaches should be put in place. This includes combining all efforts such as regional and worldwide public and private maritime security operations.

6   The EAC Legal Regime

It needs to be appreciated that law is one of powerful and indispensable instruments to address the security challenges in the region. The main source of the EAC law is *the Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community, 1999.*

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69 See Gesami, B. (2021). "Maritime Security Threats in Africa." *Academia Letters*, September 2021, Article 3564. https://doi.org/10.20935/AL3564, pp.1-7, p.1. See also Hamad, B. H. (2016). "Maritime Security Concerns of the East African Community (EAC)," Western Indian Ocean Journal of Marine Science, Volume 15, Issue 2, July-December, 75-92, p.75.

70 Hamad, H.B. (2016). *The East African Community's Maritime Domain: An Innovative Institutional Framework*, PhD Thesis, *op cit*., p.10.

71 *Ibid*, p.9.

72 *Ibid*.

73 For some detailed information on the Kenya-Somali maritime border dispute and the International Court of Justice (ICJ) ruling, which was delivered on 12th October 2021, see Gesami, B. and Kasembeli, G. (2021). "The East African Maritime Domain Dispute: The Case of Kenya and Somalia," Academia Letters, November, Article 3866, https://doi.org/10.20935/AL3866, pp.1-9.

74 Hamad, H.B. (2016). "Maritime Security Concerns of the East African Community (EAC)," *Western Indian Ocean Journal of Marine Science*, Volume 15, Issue 2, July-December, 75-92, 75.

There are also protocols, which supplement the Treaty.[75] They form an integral part of the Treaty.[76] The Protocols are concluded by Partner States with a view to dealing with specific aspects as envisaged in the Treaty. They spell out the objectives, scope of and institutional mechanisms for cooperation and integration in agreed areas, including how to address the above discussed security challenges.[77]

Regarding resource-based conflicts as posing security threats in the region, the EAC legal framework addresses them. Managing shared resources with balancing the interests of all the people in a society is one of the prerequisites for achieving the objectives for the establishment of the EAC. If the resources are not properly managed, there are possibilities for conflicts to occur thereby posing obstacles towards achieving the objective for the EAC's establishment. It is in this understanding that the Treaty provides under articles 111 and 114 for joint management and utilisation of natural resources within the Community for the mutual benefit of the Partner States. The Partner States are therefore to take necessary measures to conserve their natural resources; cooperate in the management of their natural resources for the conservation of the eco-systems and the arrest of environmental degradation; and adopt common regulations for the protection of shared aquatic and terrestrial resources.[78] In connection therewith, there are some protocols that require Partner States to cooperate in environment and natural resources management.

In 2003 the Partner States signed *Protocol for the Sustainable Development of Lake Victoria Basin.*[79] This was in recognition of, among other things, the fact that Lake Victoria is a major source of livelihood to the communities living on the riparian land around the Lake.[80] The communities heavily depend on it for water, fishing, agriculture, transport and tourism, energy production and trade.[81]

All these are the main economic activities in the basin area, which is shared between the riparian states of Tanzania (44%), Kenya (22%), Uganda (16%), Burundi (7%) and Rwanda (11%) hence making it one of Africa's largest transboundary water resources. The lake itself is shared between Kenya (6%), Tanzania (51%) and Uganda (43%).[82] Lake Victoria, which is Africa's largest and the world's second largest freshwater lake with a surface area of about 68,800 km², is one of the most important shared natural resources by the Partner States in the EAC region.[83] It is endowed with abundant water and other natural resources. The inhabitants of the Lake Victoria Basin – one of the world's most populated rural areas – mainly engage in agriculture. Its water resources support limited irrigation activity, while fishing is a key economic activity for inhabitants along its shores. The lake is a major source of water for neighbouring towns; it has tourism sites, serves as a reservoir for hydropower, and supports water transport. Thus, the Lake is vital to its basin communities and countries.[84]

However, over the years the Lake has experienced high levels of pollution resulting to its degradation. Thus, Partner

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75 See for example, Art.43 of the Protocol on Environment and Natural Resources Management, 2006, which provides that the Protocol supplements the Treaty. It neither modifies nor amends the Treaty. In case of any inconsistency between this Protocol and the Treaty, the Treaty prevails.

76 Art.151(4) of the Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community.

77 Art.151(1) of the Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community. The Treaty provides under Article 5(3)(f) that Partner States are to promote peace, security, and stability within, and good neighbourliness among themselves. It means that peace and security are given an upper hand within the region.

78 Art.114(1)(a)-(c) of the Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community, 1999 as amended on 14th December, 2006 and 20th August, 2007.

79 According to Art.1 of the Protocol, "Lake Victoria Basin" means that geographical areas extending within the territories of the Partner States determined by the watershed limits of the system of waters, including surface and underground waters flowing into Lake Victoria.

80 Yara, S.A. (2019), *A Review of the Efficacy of the Legal Framework for Water Hyacinth Management in Kenya's Winam Gulf*, Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment for the Award of Master of Arts Degree in Environmental Law, University of Nairobi, p. iv.

81 *Ibid*.

82 Munisi, K. (2017). "*The Ramification of Devolution of Environmental Governance in the Lake Victoria Basin: Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda in a Comparative Perspective*", Paper Presented at the 7th European Conference on African Studies in Basel, Switzerland, from 29 June to 1 July 2017, p.1.

83 *Ibid*.

84 United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) (2016). *Enhancing Water Resources Management through Inclusive Green Economy: The Case of Lake Victoria Basin*, Economic Commission for Africa, ECA Publishing and Distribution Unit, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, June, p.1.

States saw the need to take action. Under the Protocol, the Partner States have agreed to cooperate in the areas as they relate to the conservation and sustainable utilisation of the resources of the Lake Victoria Basin including sustainable development, management and equitable utilisation of water and fisheries resources; promotion of sustainable agricultural and land use practices; promotion of trade, commerce and industrial development; promotion and development and management of wetlands; promotion and development of infrastructure and energy; maintenance of navigational safety and maritime security; promotion of public participation in planning and decision making; environmental protection and management of the Basin; promotion of research, capacity building and information exchange; promotion of wildlife conservation and sustainable tourism development, and the like.[85] In order to realise all these, the Protocol provides the legal and institutional framework which is designed for development intervention across the Basin.

The Protocol on Environment and Natural Resources Management, 2006 is another EAC legal instrument signed by Partner States to, among other things, address resource-based conflicts. The Partner States commit themselves to ensure sound environment and natural resources management in the Community and to cooperate among themselves in realising this obligation.[86] They are therefore obliged to, inter alia, seek to harmonise the policies, laws and strategies in their national jurisdictions.[87]

Apart from addressing the issue of resource-based conflicts, the protocol also touches on climate change as a security challenge. The protocol commits Partner States to take deliberate measures aimed at managing the effects of climate change. In this endeavour, they should develop and adopt an integrated approach to address the effects of climate change in the Community.[88] In so doing, they should develop and harmonise their, policies and strategies for enhancing adaptive capacity, building and strengthening resilience and reducing vulnerability to climate change; develop and harmonise their , policies and strategies for reducing greenhouse gas emissions and the manner and procedures for benefiting from the Paris Agreement and other similar climate change mitigation activities and strategies; promote the development and implementation of education, training and public awareness programmes, including strengthening of national human and institutional capacities on climate change; develop strategies to enhance climate finance in accordance with existing obligations under the *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and Paris Agreement;* and develop strategies for the transfer, acquisition and deployment of relevant technologies to alleviate the pressure on fragile ecosystems and natural resources and contribute to sustainable development.[89]

Of particular importance is management of water resources, which are a source of many conflicts in the region. The Protocol provides that Partner States are to develop, harmonise and adopt common national policies, laws and programmes relating to the management and sustainable use of water resources and utilise water resources, including shared water resources, in an equitable and rational manner.[90]

In addressing criminality as one of the security challenges in the region, Partner States came up with protocols to that effect. One of them is the *Protocol on Combating Drug Trafficking in the East African Region.[91]* The main objectives of the protocol are to reduce and eventually eliminate illicit drug trafficking, money laundering, related corruption and the illicit use and abuse of drugs through cooperation among enforcement agencies and demand reduction through coordinated programmes in the region; to eliminate production of illicit drugs; and to protect the region from being used as a conduit for drugs destined for international market.[92] In order to achieve these objectives, Partner States are obliged to promulgate and adopt domestic legislation which satisfy provisions of international Conventions on combating illicit drug trafficking and abuse.[93] They should also cooperate with each other to afford mutual assistance to provide evidence and assistance in the investigation and prosecution

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85 Art. 3 of the Protocol for the Sustainable Development of Lake Victoria Basin, 2003. The Protocol was signed by Partner States on 29th November 2003.

86 Art. 6 of the Protocol on Environment and Natural Resources Management, 2006

87 *Ibid*.

88 Art.24(1), *ibid.*

89 Art.24(2), ibid.

90 Art.13(1) and (2), *ibid.*

91 The Protocol was signed in Arusha on 13th January 2001.

92 Art. 2 of the Protocol on Combating Drug Trafficking in the East African Region.

93 Art.3 and 4, *ibid*.

of illicit drug trafficking.[94] In connection therewith, Partner States are to establish appropriate mechanisms for cooperation among their enforcement agencies to promote effective enforcement.[95]

In 2013 Partner States also concluded Protocol on Peace and Security in order to cooperate in promoting peace, security, and stability within the Community and good neighbourliness among themselves.[96] According to the Protocol, the Partner States should undertake to protect the people and safeguard the development of the Community against instability arising from the breakdown of law and order, intra-and inter-state conflicts and aggression; and co-ordinate and co-operate in matters related to peace and security in the region.[97]

Under the Protocol, areas of cooperation include conflict prevention, management and resolution; prevention of genocide; combating terrorism; combating and suppressing piracy; peace support operations; disaster risk reduction, management and crisis response; management of refugees; control of proliferation of illicit small arms and light weapons; combating transnational and cross border crimes; including drug and human trafficking, illegal migration, money laundering, cybercrime and motor vehicle theft; addressing and combating cattle rustling and Prisons and Correctional Services including exchange of prisoners, detention, custody and rehabilitation of offenders.[98]

In case of combating transnational and cross-border crimes, the Protocol obliges Partner States to undertake joint operations aimed at controlling and preventing such crimes including: the theft of motor vehicles; the smuggling of goods; illicit drug trafficking; human trafficking; illegal migration; trade in counterfeit goods; intellectual property piracy; and the like.[99] Controlling and preventing of such crimes shall be effective if Partner States develop appropriate mechanisms, policies, measures, strategies and programmes, including the establishment of regional databases on cross-border crimes; the enhancement of technical capacity for criminal intelligence; the enhancement of the exchange of criminal intelligence and other security information between the Partner States central criminal intelligence information centres; the strengthening of cross border security; the training of personnel and sharing information on the modus operandi being used by criminals; the enactment of laws on mutual legal assistance in criminal matters; and the establishment of cross border and interstate communication.[100]All these should go hand in hand with Partner States fostering cooperation with regional and international organisations whose activities have a bearing on the objectives of this Protocol.[101]

 In view of the above, it may be argued that efforts were done by the Partner States to put in place the EAC legal framework vis a vis addressing security challenges in the region. However, an uphill task ahead is implementing what is provided in the framework. Much need to be done in order to spearhead implementation of the legal regime the results of which should be reflected by the extent to which the security challenges are effectively addressed. Otherwise national legal landscapes alone are not enough to deal with security challenges most of which are trans-boundary in nature.

7.0   Conclusions

Basing on what has been revealed by findings and discussion, the following conclusions are made. The EAC region is facing security challenges, which are real and imminent. It needs to be appreciated that the importance of security as one of the prerequisites towards attaining a political federation in the region cannot be underestimated. As such, any element of insecurity in the region affects efforts towards realising that goal. It is true that the EAC region has so far attempted to make efforts to address the security challenges. However, given the dynamic nature of those challenges, the efforts seem to be inadequate.

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94 Art.5 and 4, *ibid*.

95 Art.6(1), *ibid*.

96 See Art.3 (1) of the Protocol on Peace and Security. The Protocol was signed in Dar es Salaam on 15th February 2013.

97 Art.3(2), *ibid*.

98 Art.2 (3), *ibid*.

99 Art.12(1), *ibid*.

100 Art.12(2), *ibid*.

101 Art.16, *ibid*.

8.0   Recommendations

Having identified those security challenges, which are found in the EAC region, the task ahead is to suggest ways of addressing them. Partner states are required to adopt or enhance collective approaches in addressing security issues in the region. The reason behind is that days of working single handedly have long gone. As such, combined efforts in dealing with security threats, bringing onboard all stakeholders and strengthening of public-private-partnership should be adopted as matters of urgency. In order to make these suggested ways of approaching security challenges implementable, the following recommendations are made:

8.1   Specific Organ dedicated to Security

It has been noted with concern that unlike other regional economic communities, the EAC does not have a specific (nor central) organ dedicated to peace and security.[102] Instead, several committees and working groups regulate the EAC inter-state response to threats to peace and security.[103] They include globalisation of the economy, increased number of immigrants, improved communications technology, corruption, porous borders, divergence in penal law with neighbouring countries and proliferation of small arms and light weapons and allocation of refugee camps along the border. It is recommended that the EAC region forms a specific organ dedicated to security.

8.2   Regional Strategic Engagement to Tap the Marine Resources

There is required is an EAC regional strategic engagement for joint efforts to develop assets for fishing, aquaculture, coastal development, marine mining, oil and gas, as well as tourism.[104] The efforts will lead to regional development; thereby reduce suspicion and potential for conflict over competition for resources.

8.3   Strengthening Regional Security Initiatives

Much as transnational organised crime is now emerging as a serious threat to national and international security and stability, EAC region should enhance and strengthen its security initiatives so that it continues to be a safer place to live in. The initiatives should be preceded by identifying all soft targets in the region and ensuring that those targets are sealed off.

8.4   Enhancing Implementation of the Legal Regime in Addressing Security Challenges

The importance of EAC legal regime in the region cannot be overstated in the process towards effective and meaningful regional economic bloc. Partner States should come up with mechanisms what will ensure maximum implementation of the legal regime and institutional framework in place in order to address security challenges in the region.

8.5   Regional Multijurisdictional Taskforces and Joint Operations

By seizing opportunities in terms of regional cooperation, partner states should forge and encourage establishment of multijurisdictional taskforces within East Africa in order to combine intelligence and investigative resources from several law enforcement agencies. The taskforces should also carry out periodical intelligence-led joint anti-crime operations.

8.6   Spearheading Implementation of Regional and International Security Strategies

Partner states should be in a forefront to implement regional and international security strategies. One of such strategies *is the EAC Strategy for Regional Peace and Security*, which addresses several security challenges affecting the East African region. Kiraso (2006), former Deputy Secretary General (Political Federation) of the EAC, underscored the importance of the strategy:

> "The advancement in technology, knowledge dispersal and globalization in all aspects continue to influence crime types and trends. To address itself to these changes, the Strategy remains a guiding framework and at the same time it is inclined to any adjustments to accommodate new emerging security challenges."[105]

102 Svicevic, M (Ed.) (2021). *Compendium of Documents Relating to Regional and Sub-regional Peace and Security in Africa, op cit*., p. 498.

103 *Ibid*.

104 Birech, R.T. (2020). "Africa's Maritime Domain: The Untapped Potential," *The Defender Magazine, Senior Command and Staff College*, 2nd Ed., Pretoria University Law Press, Pretoria, pp.54-55, p.55.

105 East African Community (2006). *Strategy for Regional Peace and Security in East Africa*, the Foreword, pp. 2-3, p. 3. The

The advancement in aspects of information, communications, technology and globalisation, which makes the world a global village, inevitably call for the partner states to collectively and proactively address all the security challenges urgently. Otherwise the region shall be full of imminent security threats, whose impacts negatively affect the wellbeing of the region.

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NATIONAL DEFENCE COLLEGE (NDC) AND TANZANIA NATIONAL STRATEGIC FUTURISTIC LANDSCAPING

Eginald Pius Mihanjo[106]

Abstract

Globally, National Defence Colleges (NDC) have an important role in shaping national futuristic architecture for the nation. Ten years now since NDC-Tanzania was established with a strategic purpose of training national leaders for national security and development goals. Over a thousand national leaders have been trained in the long and short capstone courses. Despite the efforts, NDC has not solved national security and survival problems that are closely tied to leadership gap issues, corruption practices and youth economic issues. More importantly reading through reports especially CAG one, the threats or issues that prevailed in 2010s are still more threatening at the moment (now) in 2020s despite the massive NDC training. So what is right and/or wrong and what NDC should do in building a future national survival landscape? A nation has to survive thus it inculcate national discipline, nationalism and patriotism to its leadership so as to protect its national interests, national security, national objective, a vision and strategies for its future. NDC Tanzania has this noble task for Tanzania. It has done so and is expected to do so in many years to come. The most important issue now is for the NDC, Tanzania to offer a think tanking national futuristic features in practice nationally. This article seeks to explore and analyze these issues. It does so by first providing introduction, second analyzing NDC Tanzania role in a decade, third it will provide a futuristic NDC national strategic positioning finally is the conclusion.

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Ten years now since NDC, Tanzania (hereafter NDC) was established with a strategic purpose of training national leaders for national security and development goal. Since its establishment in 2012 over a thousand national leaders have been trained in long and capstone courses yet we have not solved national security and survival such as leadership gap issues, corruption and youth economic issues that prevailed in 2010s.[107] They are, and in fact becoming more regular and even increasing and still more threatening now in 2020s despite the NDC training of most of the national, regional, district, civil and military, private and public sector leaders. So what is wrong and what NDC should do in building a future national survival landscape? This is the most critical issue today and in future for NDC to probe itself after a decade of implementing its strategic role in one decade time. NDC emerged as a solution to nation or country leadership problems that pertained to economic mobilization and development in the post 2010. The main problems at the time were about corruption, around national leaders that made divert from national policy directions that seemed not to pay attention to the poor working people the workers and peasants and lack of nationalist and patriotism ideals that was noted among the leaders and spreading over the majority of the youth, igniting the youth unemployment and stagnant of national economic development.[108] This situation made the nation more fragile and prone to national fault lines and threats to national security, survival and national interests. It was thus, historically necessary to get strong disciplined national leadership that would speed national sense of economic revolution and development that would instill national discipline, national unity and instill peace, stability and a sense of national patriotism.

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107 See Official Reports for example CAG Report; HE President Samia Suluhu Hassan various speeches such as Rais Samia Akiri Nidhamu Imeshuka katika Utumishi wa Umma, Global Publisher May 21, 2022; Capstone course description describe that there is strong relationship between national leadership and national development, Capstone 1, 2014.

108 A number of policy, political and scholarly documents outline these major concerns. Some of the political party documents are the following TATHMINI, HOJA YA HAJA, KINANA, MSEKWA, REDET.

Fourth phase government President H.E Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete worked hard to resolve the problems, initiated NDC startup and kicked up to start as think tank that will reengineer the nation.[109] The fifth phase government was framed in this sense; H.E the late President John Pombe Magufuli was a historical necessity and so the NDC was conceived to help achieve these traditional goals of Tanzania as well its strategic goals that made Tanzania a well-recognized power regionally and globally.[110] NDC was therefore entrusted with the noble task of training, reshaping and retooling the national leaders holistically in all sectors and levels to achieve the national objective at the present conjuncture and in future global landscape.[111] NDC has done so by training over a thousand leaders in a decade and though there is slight improvement but the anticipated results remain largely to be desired the national objectives are still threated by the leadership gap and problems. Thus NDC needs to address why is the situation not changing at speedy manner as the global world is fast changing, where did NDC training went wrong and what should be done.

2.0   NDC TANZANIA IN A DECADE

Scholars and writers in a number of occasions take it for granted about what we write and discuss that are common issues very much known to all readers. This is a mistake and we should not take for granted that all people know National Defence College – Tanzania. So it is more than necessary to give a brief history, objective and functions of NDC Tanzania.

First of all let us define what NDC is. The National Defence College, Tanzania is the most prestigious think tank institution for imparting training in national and international security to senior military, public civil Government and private officers with the aim of equipping them with problem solving skills and knowledge necessary for sound decision making in complex national security and strategic environment. It equips senior Government officers with the necessary background and understanding of the total system of economic, political, military, scientific, international relations, national organizational aspects and the planning necessary for national security both in its internal dynamics and external compulsions.[112] It is an important and the only national strategic think tank institution in Tanzania for the protection and defence of national interests as well as national survival.

NDC was officially established on 04th January, 2012 and inaugurated on 10th September 2012 by His Excellency Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete, the then President of the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania. It is established as an inter-service (defence-civil) Government establishment under the Ministry of Defence and National Service (Established under Section 10 (2) of the National Defence Act, CAP 192 R. E 2002 on 4th January 2012).[113]

The historicity of NDC is not just that simple as revealed by the good opening celebrities on 10 September 2012. Rather it is too complex, it is grounded to the history of Tanzania. After the attainment of independence in Tanzania Mainland in 1961, the process of state formation of the country was influenced by various events which occurred in the 1960s and 1970s. Such incidences include formation of Tanzania People's Defence Forces (TPDF) in response to the January, 1964 mutiny by Tanganyika Rifles (TR), the army of colonial nature which Tanzania inherited at independence as King's African Rifles (KAR).[114] On the other hand existence of liberation struggles in the Southern Africa and the Cold War environment were a security concern in both regional and global politics.[115] Another factor was Uganda's invasion of Tanzania leading to Kagera War in 1978.[116]

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109 See the Issue a tribute to H.E Dr. Jakaya M. Kikwete, *The Security Limelight*, A Newsletter of the National Defence College – Tanzania, Second Edition, September 2015, pp 1-22.

110 Eginald P Mihanjo "Hapa Kazi Tu (Hk2): From Magufuliphilia to Tanzaphilia," Paper presented at Historical Association of Tanzania Conference, November 2016.

111 See and read the Masters and Diploma in Security and Strategic Studies Programme description in 1.0 Preamble, 2.0 Introduction and particularly 3.0 Justification and Rationale.

112 See the section 1.0 The Preamble of Masters and Diploma in Security and Strategic Studies Programme description.

113 Ibid.

114 Nestor Luanda, TPDF, E. Mwanjabala, and Mwesiga Baregu. *The Tanganyika Rifles Mutiny January 1964,* Dar es Salaam, 1993.

115 Abillah Harrid Omari, "*The Rise and Decline of the Front Line States (FLS) Alliance in Southern Africa: 1975-1990"* PhD Thesis, Dalhousie University Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1991.

116 Francis, Joyce L., "*War as a Social Trap: The Case of Tanzania"* PhD Dissertation, The American University, 1994.

However, the end of the Cold War and the demand for more effective national defence and security management became a significant environmental change that increasingly became a pressing issue today due to global dynamics. This has, of necessity, led to redefinition of security and therefore the need for installation of a national mechanism which will effectively facilitate development and management of national security strategy.[117]

In response to these circumstances, the NDC was established on 04th January, 2012 and eventually inaugurated on 10th September, 2012 to provide a platform for senior military leaders and civilian policy makers to understand and articulate national security and strategies.

The establishment of the NDC in 2012 was not accidental but in response to situations both global and local. The emergence of new international and domestic security threats as well as the strategic leadership challenges for the country development agenda made the establishment of the NDC necessary. The current socio-economic and political needs require new training of leadership that can guide the country towards strategic changes that will take it through the 21st century. This need for re-inventing and reengineering of the national leadership propelled the country to establish a think tank institution to prepare and train professionals for the country's strategic leadership on hands on skills regarding the nation's security and strategic policy framework. The NDC was thus established to cater for that think-tank role for Tanzania. The NDC is designed to offer professional rather than academic, competence client-oriented customized training flexibly delivered to satisfy both the academic standard and the specific competence needs of the nation, stakeholders and clients. This historical context provides a close link between TPDF and the subsequent conception of the NDC.

It is from these historical foundations that NDC is strategically founded. Therefore its Vision is to be '…the most prestigious institution for imparting training in national and international Security to selected senior Defence and Civil Service Officers, equipping them with skills and knowledge necessary for sound decision making in complex national and international Security and strategic environment'; and its Mission is therefore to '…equip senior Defence and Government policy makers with the necessary background and understanding of the total system of economic, political, military, scientific, international relations, national organizational aspects and the planning necessary for national security both in its internal dynamics as well as external compulsions…'.

The aim of the NDC includes inter alia equipping Defence and Government policy makers with requisite economic, political, military, scientific, international relations and national organizational knowledge necessary for understanding of national security in its internal and external dynamics. The NDC offers an opportunity to selected senior officers of getting together and exchanging ideas. This enables holistic appreciation of each other's problems in all national conditions, both in peace and war times. The College not only caters to the needs of officers holding highly specialized appointments, but also provide general education to offer them a wider outlook on a great variety of national and state affairs. Such training should be an additional qualification for officers already holding or likely to hold important national appointments.

Considering the above aims the NDC has a role of providing a facility to bring together selected senior officers from various organizations of the Government Public and Private sectors in Capstone sessions as well as in the traditional registered accredited courses. The purpose is to give them a structured exposure to diverse issues related to national security. Thus, NDC facilitates the individual development of the selected senior officers by creating at the College the necessary academic environment related to problem solving knowledge, skills and competencies on national security, national survival and national interests' issues

Furthermore, the College enables development of mutual understanding between different organizations of the Government, Private, Security and Military by creating necessary working environment and opportunities for development of such understanding between officers who attend courses as course participants as well as to foster understanding, cooperation and linkages in context of complex national, regional and international security related fields with countries of the region both immediate and strategic particularly in Africa, East Africa and the SADC region.

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117 Eginald Peter Mihanjo., "Democratization, Private Security and Insecurity in Tanzania" in *NDC Journal, Special Edition, July 2015*; and see also EP Mihanjo., "Perspectives of National Security: A Roadmap for Tanzania" in *NDC Journal National Security and Strategies in Perspectives: Changing Security Challenges, July 2015*.

These noble objectives, functions and responsibilities of the NDC were well stipulated and underscored by the then Minister for Defence and National Service, currently the President of Zanzibar His Excellency Hussein Ali Mwinyi that:

'.... the Nation needs the NDC because it is not possible to institutionalize a national strategic culture and mindset basing on alien knowledge and that it is widely recognized that NDCs are the only institutions where the process of the national strategic enculturation of the higher military leaders as also those of the civil bring to even keel the understanding of the National Security and Strategic Studies. It is therefore expected that the NDC will enable its participants to study macro issues at the global, regional and national levels and acquire Tanzanian perspectives at National and Military Strategic levels. They must study the social-political dynamics as well as the economy of our country with particular emphasis on their impact on the National Security in its wide sense. Our Nation's security inevitably is affected by global and regional issues and international relations. The participants must major in National Security, its organization and structures. The NDC must expose the participants to the best mind of the academia as well as practitioners of statecraft from Tanzania and abroad. It is on this basis that training programmes at NDC are designed so as to address the professional needs of the nation's security and strategic leadership...'[118]

In this context NDC was designed to train national high level civil and military manpower for Tanzania and also from other strategic and immediate nations/countries that serve national interests architecture. NDC, thus is not only a think tank in the area of specialization, but is also an 'elite college' that not only brings together future leadership of nations (Tanzania and several partner nations) but also shape and prepare them on futuristic national positioning in a complex global national survival and economic development competitive landscaping. NDC therefore establishes a network platform mostly for national Africa's and future regional leaders (especially those from the EAC and SADC regions). The College provides a potential network and platform for the private and public leaders committed to national security and development agenda. To achieve these three programs were designed ndc, accredited programmes and short course capstone programs all focusing on security and strategic studies. The first two were designed to run together at NDC, Masters, Diploma level and capstone level clustered in two groups shortest national level and the other lower level to cater for specific needs. The most important is that all are about strategic and security studies.

The focus is on security and strategic studies defined as the science and an art that impart knowledge and equip management skills concerning national interests, national power, and strategic national security issues. Thus these studies are very important for addressing, shaping, retooling and inculcation of national defence and security as well as on national development and the conduct of good disciplined government business. The demand to better manage national defence and security has increasingly become a pressing issue today due to the global dynamics, changing world order, demands for good governance, global advance of democratization and digitization, communication and media or generally the soft power. Worldwide democratic awareness, soft power, digitization, information and disinformation as well as the need for responsive and responsible governments have put pressure of reform on the defence and security sector to make them respond effectively as part of the democratic process and good governance. This necessitated for a holistic and integrative civil and military leadership. In such a situation, the training, preparation and mentorship of national leadership in the management of the national interests, national defence and security issues is a serious matter and of concern to most nation states. This is what the NDC was established for in Tanzania in 2012; to address these concerns by training a professional cadre to handle competently national issues.

It was expected that the training at NDC will play a formidable role in founding the National destiny, national patriotism and resolving all national leadership gaps including national discipline issues and inculcate the reengineering for national economic revolution, development and growth. It was expected that after short time the cadre of graduands would speed up development and indeed a revolution in national leadership that would transform the country into economic growth and national global competitiveness landscape.

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118 A Statement by the then Minister for Defence and National Service Hon. Hussein Ally Mwinyi; See and read the Masters and Diploma in Security and Strategic Studies Programme description in section 3.0 Justification and Rationale.

While this was partly, shortly achieved by briefly becoming a middle income country and leadership problems especially corruption have remained at enormous high level as it was in early 2000s. Why has the situation remained so? Why has NDC training not succeeded in retooling national leadership? What should NDC strategize for national leadership and economic revolution inventiveness or innovativeness?

3.0   FUTURISTIC NDC NATIONAL STRATEGIC POSITIONING

NDC and or National Defence University (NDU) are conceived globally as futuristic national retooling institutions. They are institutions that make a nation survive in future by both first, designing well thought national security strategies addressing national objectives, goals and interests as well as on how to realize them for the national survival and second, by training and mentoring the national leadership who will bear in a patriotic and nationalist disciplined manner all the strategies pertaining to national survival. It is in respect of these goals that the NDC Tanzania is assessed and viewed.

The resurrection and existence of national problems that dominated early 2000s before the establishment of NDC does not necessarily indicate the failure of programmes rather, may be revealing more issues that need to reflect and take stock. It may as well be informative to all of us NDC Tanzania stakeholders. It may be as well that the trainees have been able to open up on the complex scenarios of the past and present gaps or loopholes that we must tackle now head-on for a better future. The reemerging national security threats are once more a morning call for NDC. That it must remain awake so that it gets ready for problem solving practicality and theoretical grounding in national security, national interests, national survival and national development issues; to develop a futuristic paradigm landscape that would generate a speedy transformation of Tanzania economic development revolution and a disciplined leadership.

Strategic interests is a broad term which normally and simply refers to something most important and beneficial to a nation, state, society or person. In this case is a nation, Tanzania for the future period landscape mainly social, political, ideological, cultural and economic that will ensure national objective and survival. NDC, the national strategic and security think tank is therefore responsible for this important task and should be the one to map up futuristic strategies, predictable real and imaginary, practical or theoretical or abstract, materialist or idealist. The congregation of strategic ideas at NDC is the most progressive thing; it will constitute a bank on the problem solving strategies in the present and future time for Tanzania. The research wing under Director of Studies (DOS) was formulated precisely for the task and the problem based research agenda put in place in 2015.[119] In that regard, I wish to put a futurist strategic framework or paradigm that Tanzania should theorize and practically put down for the country national economic revolution and global and regional competitiveness.

We are witnessing today not only in Africa but the world over a problem of poverty, human insecurities and intensifying social differentiations that signify some logical problems in capitalist system, global and national security strategies landscaping.[120] It is either the national security strategy architecture framework in line with the needs of the time or paradigmatically are out of time. More so especially because are historically tied to state centeredness from the colonial era so are void of people-driven human security needs which is tied to economic revolution that encompasses the people human security needs. NDC Tanzania is a college that should conceive a workable national security strategy and economic revolution architecture in the national future survival. Certainly there are failures in the past and there will be failures in future but these can only be assessed if a nation has strategies and objectives to follow within the complex scenarios.

After looking on the basis of the historical cyclical tendencies and structural impediments, it is clearer that the 21st and 22nd centuries is the most opportune moment for Africa to rise in powerful economic revolution and development and in human security given the rising New World Order and Power.

The problem in Africa is mainly that of leadership especially during this period of transiting from low social formations to complex capitalist dominant formations. Africa's serious leadership deficit is underscored by

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119 National Defence College, Tanzania, Tanzania's Grand National Security Strategy (GNSS),January 2015.
120 EP Mihanjo, "Perspectives of National Security" Presentation at National Defence College, Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania, June 19, 2013 and article published in NDC Journal.

Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja,[121] and Wamba dia Wamba concludes that the situation in Africa is not good and that the few leaders we have had in Africa are no more; we have instead rulers.[122] In other words Africa no longer has leaders instead, its leaders are rulers superimposing themselves and enriching themselves. Because of greedy, lust and love of power they consolidate family autocracy and accumulation of wealth and disregards people's interests.[123] Our leaders are quickly satisfied by political freedom and the titles bestowed on them and the many respect showered on them. The chain of paraphilia corrupt power mongering leaders handling statecraft with strong statephiliasis syndrome heightens disunited national identities which they protect by all means because it assures them personal greedy and aggrandizement rather than in the case of a united Africa. But the revolutionary leadership architecture would not come out of the blue, rather a nation needs a national strategy and the discipline to implement it in terms of strategy, tactics and operations. It is my opinion that the strategy for Tanzania both leadership and economic revolution should be that of economic brigades (KUUB Strategy) for rapid economic revolution which will constitute the objective.

4.0   THE ECONOMIC REVOLUTION OF TZ IN 22ND CENTURY: KWANZA UJAMAA NA KUJITEGEMEA BRIGEDI (KUUB) STRATEGY

NDC as national think tank should come with a national survival strategy for speedy economic growth that will position each young Tanzanian into national economic industrial activity supported by Tanzania nation both the government public sector and private sectors. Not in terms of loans but grants with the aim of building national positioning architecture of economic speed revolution, competitive position, Tanzania image landscaping and the rebuilding and scaling up Tanzania world capitalism build on the basis of "ujamaa, communism and capitalism hybridism."[124] It will change all Tanzania economic sectors into industries – based on youth brigades of ujamaa hybrid capitalist strategy; fish farm, *madini farm, kilimo farm, starehe farm, huduma farm, matunda* farm etc. involving all sectors in Tanzania's economy and brigaded in term of sectors and youth graduates humanpower allocation or placement of human capital for energize economic take off.

Strategies have to take into consideration the internal and external complex realities as well as to obey the primary and secondary contradictions logic, and that of universality and particularity of capitalist development in Tanzania. First that Tanzanian society is transiting late into capitalism as shown by changing rural and urban lumpenization complexities that are affecting human security en masse evidently through mass youth unemployment nicknamed *'ujasiriamali'* entreprenurialship and poverty. This is extensively discussed by Karl Marx;

….. This primitive accumulation plays in Political Economy about the same part as original sin in theology. Adam bit the apple, and thereupon sin fell on the human race. Its origin is supposed to be explained when it is told as an anecdote of the past. In times long gone by there were two sorts of people; one, the diligent, intelligent, and, above all, frugal elite; the other, lazy rascals, spending their substance, and more, in riotous living. The legend of theological original sin tells us certainly how man came to be condemned to eat his bread in the sweat of his brow; but the history of economic original sin reveals to us that there are people to whom this is by no means essential… In actual history it is notorious that conquest, enslavement, robbery, murder, briefly force, play the great part. In the tender annals of Political Economy, the idyllic reigns from time immemorial.

Right and "labour" were from all time the sole means of enrichment … As a matter of fact, the methods of primitive accumulation are anything but idyllic. In themselves money and commodities are no more capital than are the means of production and of subsistence. The capitalist system presupposes the complete separation of the labourers from all property in the means by which they can realize their labour.

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121 Georges Nzongola Ntalaja "Leadership in Africa: Who is Minding – the Commons? Presentation for ASA Roundtable Meeting, 56th Annual Meeting of African Studies Association, Baltimore, November 21-24, 2013.

122 Ernest Wamba dia Wamba "Reflections on African Renaissance after President Nelson Mandela" A summary of his lectures delivered at some universities (University of Illinois at Urbana, University of Texas, Pomona College, MIT), (Feb-March 2014.)

123 Consequently, a number of coups in Africa has increased in recent times especially in West Africa but East, South, Central, North and the Horn are not even safe.

124 This is a strategic security thinking that requires discussion with the relevant national organs.

As soon as capitalist production is once on its own legs, it not only maintains this separation, but reproduces it on a continually extending scale. The process, therefore, that clears the way for the capitalist system, can be none other than the process which takes away from the labourer the possession of his means of production; a process that transforms, on the one hand, the social means of subsistence and of production into capital, on the other, the immediate producers into wage labourers. The so-called primitive accumulation, therefore, is nothing else than the historical process of divorcing the producer from the means of production. It appears as primitive, because it forms the prehistoric stage of capital and of the mode of production corresponding with it… And the history of this, their expropriation, is written in the annals of [hu]mankind in letters of blood and fire…… To understand its march, we need not go back very far….In the history of primitive accumulation, all revolutions are epoch-making that act as levers for the capital class in course of formation; but, above all, those moments when great masses of men are suddenly and forcibly torn from their means of subsistence, and hurled as free and "unattached" proletarians on the labour-market.[125]

Simply Tanzania currently is in full swing of transformation into mature capitalism and therefore the majority are being disposed of the means of production especially land and their labour power is the only commodity which they must sale cheaply for living unfortunately most of them have not succeeded to sale their labour power so they remain as lumpen proletariat full of poverty and human abuse or insecurity. Second, in the course of this transition, we still maintain our traditional life spirit of Ujamaa communalism, the brotherhood values that have been used by all foreigners as a strategic tool opportunity in the venture to colonize and exploit lumpenize our people. Thus our case we have to take the fact that Ujamaa as the basis of our social life and Kujitegemea as the means that ensure our survival and competitive positioning landscape.

But these are internal primary condition by themselves, the external factors and universality contradictions are also important for a national development and survivorship. Thus the capitalist and communism world order is still there so there is need to mix the three and to have a hybrid strategy that would move Tanzania into the future in 22nd century. The hybridization of Ujamaa na Kujitegemea the original historical and traditional foundation of Tanzania and Africa, should therefore integrate in tactics and operation the socialist-communist ideals and capitalist operatics to attain national strategic objectives of image building, marketing and competitive positioning of Tanzania regionally and globally. This primarily would entail a critical thinking theatre on the tactical and operational pathway considering urgent fast growth in economic revolution necessary for modern Tanzanian society revolution given the competitiveness of the current digitized world order architecture as we move to the mid-21st century and as we come close to 22nd century. Seriously we must not only run but we must fly while the developed world walk to make economic revolution. This entails a critical approach of our strategies through use of revolutionary rebellious architecture on hybrid framework for leading the process to success: a tool landscape that would mobilize the youth lumpenized population, our most populous section and unemployed educated knowledgeable. These are the best positioned to transform and lead this revolution through a workable war-like situation, warfare organization landscape, Ujamaa na Kujitegemea that will enhance the communism-capitalist competitive acculturation, the hybridization complex necessary for Tanzania's growth. Such an organizational pathway, tactically and operationally is paradigmatically a military designed, a military brigade formation observing the kind of military discipline that take to win a war in the shortest or longest time possible. Tanzania youth should be in economic brigades in Ujamaa, Kujitegemea, Communist and Capitalist hybridization logic for the complex and short time generational transformations of Tanzania economic revolution, growth and competitiveness in the 22nd century. Figure I indicates the Brigade's Operationalization.

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125 Karl Marx, Capital Volume One, Part VIII: *Primitive Accumulation, Chapter Twenty-Six: The Secret of Primitive Accumulation*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976.

Figure I. BRIGADE PATHWAY
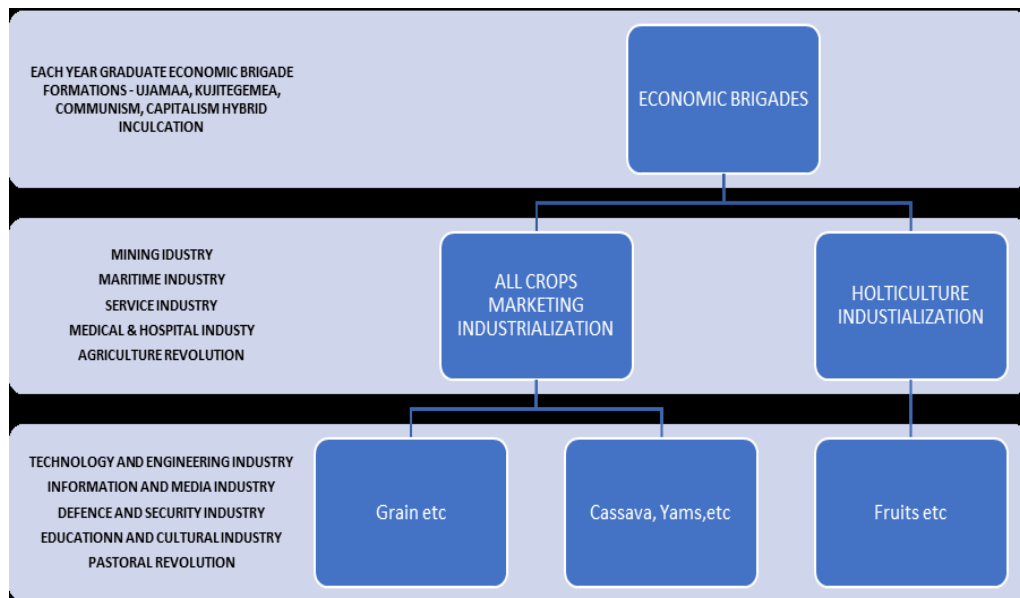
 Source: Individual Construction (2022)

The operationalization of KUUB strategy will be framed on annual basis landscaping. The kind of KUUB organization should be on each sector annually allocated by High-level National Humanpower Office and provided a grant in the national budget led by the Ministry concern – 3 – Defence, Economics Finance, 'Utumishi' encourage innovation knowledge and skill excellence. NDC will have an urgent role to play especially on holistic disciplinary leadership for strategic economic revolution. Each year depending on the number of colleges/schools/youths graduate and drop out output the economic brigades will be formed on equals numbers in regions, district,economic module/sectors depending on a workable formula (choice or allocation) and grants provided in development budget.

The brigade formations led by TPDF Army General in the context of National Economic Defence to instill and inculcate military economic discipline in a manner to achieve national economic revolution at a fast speed that would instill national society and individual competitiveness globally, regionally as well as nationally. The brigades will employ *Ujamaa, Kujitegemea,* communism, capitalism hybrid tactics in operationalization architecture of the economic venture and will be much flexible depending on the global order scenarion as well as regional positioning landscape with the aim of achieving national competitive positioning and protectionism. For this purpose the National KUUB Agencies which will be formed under the National Defence Act (NDA) shall have an important section that will deal with Early Economic Warning Monitoring and Prediction that will have experts daily in 24 hours on monitoring the World/Global order economic development and release data/information to all brigades on the changes and what and how to achive economic offensiveness as well as defense. The NDC thus has to be an active tool of mentorship, knowledgeability, research and solutions in national second liberation i.e. economic offensiveness and defence revolution that would make Tanzania not just an epicentre of Africa economic liberation as was during independence but rather an epitcentre of global economic hub in new times in the 22nd century. It is a dream that may practically and historically be realizable.

5.0   NDC ROLE IN SHAPING TANZANIA STRATEGIC LEADERSHIP

NDC has a major role and task for Tanzania; to make the nation reclaim its historical position as a geostrategic area in global and regional development. Thus, it has a role in shaping leaders in Tanzania and Africa on various strategic issues. One of the issues is on African liberation mentality heritages. This is needed urgently now that Africa renaissance is highly needed to capture the timing of the world order that favours Africa now.

The role of Mwalimu philosophy heritages documentation and formation of Nyerere Institute for inculcation on Africa economic revolution mentality through KUUB is more than necessary.[126]

The Mwalimu Nyerere institute project will aim to restore hope to the people of Africa by encouraging them and Governments to effectively implement and manage well the process to resurrect and achieve One Africa, a project for African Unity.[127] This goal was the primary agenda during the struggle against colonialism. It was an agenda and project for the leaders of the First African nationalists. The nationalist leaders have acknowledged succeeding in achieving the first agenda, the fight against colonialism admit that they did not accomplish the second most important project, that of bringing Africa together into one. The nationalist leaders agree that the agenda Africa unity must be pursued and indeed should be the main serious agenda for the new generation of leadership in Africa. Formation of the OAU was an important preliminary step towards achieving this goal. After succeeding in our initial goal of political liberation of African countries against colonialism, Africans became complacent. They did not go for achieving the second, the very foundation of progress and development of Africa, the unity of Africa. This, as stated by Founders of African Decolonization process is the task of New Generation of African Leaders, The late His Excellency John Pombe Magufuli seized it and Tanzania must lead Africa as such we should be committed to establish a solid project to build the African Union supervised by Tanzania, we should kick starting this agenda.

Admittedly, progress and modernity of Africa will only come if the people of Africa fight all acts which divide us. Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere puts it that '...The future of Africa the modernization and development of Africa that has a place in the 21st century is linked with decolonisation, debalkanisation and detribalization...[128] While we have fought the first enemy, we have not been able to protect our liberation and independence instead recolonization has become the order in Africa and neocolonialism has made African independence meaningless. Thus the struggle against neocolonialism, balkanization and tribalization must continue through the Africa unity agenda and the KUUB strategy should constitute the ambitions of Tanzania and Africa toward economic revolution, defence and competitiveness; which is the major second objective of the project – to restore Tanzania position globally and regionally.

To achieve these important goals the NDC think tanking role is at the centre for Tanzania national competitiveness and economic defence architecture. NDC must position itself. It is not an ordinary Higher Learning Iinstitution as many academics and those in education sector would like to portray and assume; as well as those in the military would also tend to assume. The NDC has a greater role to the nation, with a hybrid national task combining all civil and military tasks holistically to make the national objectives supersede individual, sectorial, institutional, regional and zonal, religious, gender and ethnic and all others nation-phobia architectural landscape. The NDC prestigious symbol means more than any other national credits and NDC graduates should practically demonstrate this by self-sacrifice to our nation Tanzania – offensively and defensively.

This can only be achieved through the work of Director Of Studies (DOS) and particularly, in the Research Wing Agenda. It must be the most active section of NDC in mentoring national human resource leadership in terms of multiple knowledges that is, the art and science of security and strategic studies (is not a mono discipline and should not be treated as such by simple academics), hands on skills especially the art of decision making in the most competitive era, problem solving competencies especially on how to be both offensive and defensive as well as manipulative to enable the nation achieve economic revolution and global competitiveness.

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126 I know that there are revisionist forces that are against Mwalimu Nyerere ideas in Africa and Tanzania and I have personally encountered a number of them. I remember on three occasions – Central Committee Seminar 2003; CC Election Evaluation December 2010; CCM Headquarters 2011; Brand Tanzania Initiative Presentation, State House 2014.

127 The Uhuru torch project renaissance of Africa by instilling hope. It is also my view that the kind of Nyerere projects and institutions are not targeting national interests, national survivals and national defence but are rather personal ambitions, pride and financing. NDC should rectify this lacunae by instilling a sense of pride of Tanzania and the symbolism that Mwalimu carries on Tanzania strategic nationalism.

128 Julius K. Nyerere "Without Unity, Africa has no Future" Speech to mark the occasion of Ghana's 40th independence anniversary in Accra 6th March 1997.

It is in this aspect that NDC designed its research agenda which it must look back and recast with a new vigor with the DOS concentrating more on it on national research agenda for national economic revolution rather than on the mechanics of dissertation.[129] It is through this paradigm shift that the NDC would play a much bigger role to the nation and be a think tank that grooms, prepare, discipline national leaders who will instill national disciplined economic leadership for nationalist patriotic economic revolution.

4.0 CONCLUSION

A decade or ten years of NDC in Tanzania has provided us with a great lesson. It is both the hard and soft power of Tanzania as a nation. More important is that the mere great number of trainees does not necessarily solve the problem and may in fact heighten or increase the problem. It is important to remain vigilant on national objectives and goals as well as on specific national strategy of survivals and defence so as to inculcate nationalist patriotism among people and leadership. This stakeholder meeting is an important machinery that would make us reflect and bring back the NDC on the expected roadmap. We should strategize for NDC to become a global think tank in this digitized global landscape.[130] This article has done so by providing some basic reflection about what is NDC Tanzania, why it was formed, what were the expectations, what has so far been achieved and what should be for the future. It is the expectations of the article that it will provoke more thinking and ideas to all Tanzanians on how best NDC should be in our nation.

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129 In January 2015 NDC wrote down its Research Agenda concept note (various sector imperatives) that highlighted the intention of the National Defence College (NDC), Tanzania to embark on research imperatives entitled Tanzania's Grand National Security Strategy (GNSS) – this was in line with DOS Office with its two research fellows - Civil and Military as per act of establishment.

130 See my views in EP Mihanjo "The Strategic Value of Digital Revolution to Africa's Development Process" Paper presented at the 9th Africa Resource Bank meeting under the theme 'Digital Revolution: Opportunity or Threat to Africa?' held in Zanzibar, Tanzania November 16-19, 2011.

PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS: CONTROVERSIAL INSTRUMENT TO PROMOTE GLOBAL PEACE AND SECURITY?

Mbaraka Naziad Mkeremy[131]

Abstract

Peacekeeping Operations (PKOs) are considered to be important mechanisms to manage conflicts. Scholars and practitioners have written about PKOs – from legality of its existence to its modus operandi. This paper is about Peacekeeping Operations controverse and how it maintains global peace and security. The main argument is that regardless of the questions surrounding effectiveness of the PKOs, the framework has largely managed to promote peace and security. This paper uses collective security theory to discuss different questions on PKOs in relation to its effectiveness in promoting global peace and security. Among others, the paper concludes that Peacekeeping Operations have continued to be relied upon and trusted by the international community in resolving conflicts.

1. Introduction

Peacekeeping Operations (PKOs) have been the most effective ways used by the United Nations (UN) in forging global peace and security, especially in Africa (Adebajo, 2012). It should be recalled that the UN was established in 1945 to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" and one of its main purposes is to maintain international peace and security (UN, 1945). To achieve that objective, the UN uses different tools such as diplomacy, laws, sanctions and so forth, with PKOs taking precedence. The PKOs seen today were not foreseen during the foundation of the UN as a tool for resolving conflicts (Hillen, 1998). In fact, it is not even specified in the UN Charter. Article 43 up to 47 of the UN Charter provides for establishment of UN Military Staff Committee in case there will be a need for the UN to intervene in conflicts (UN, 1945). Nevertheless, because of Cold war, the committee failed in 1948, which gave a way for the UN to initiate PKOs for resolving conflicts.

Official UN documents indicate that the first PKO was the UN Truce Supervision Organisation (UNTSO) during the Arab and Israel crisis of 1948 (Ghali, 1993). From that time, PKOs have evolved over time – in line with changing development of security challenges (Findlay, 2002; Mingst, 2004; Howard, 2008). Gibbs (2000) asserts that in contrast to traditional peacekeeping principles, which emphasized on neutrality and lighter armed peacekeepers, the third generation of peacekeeping mandates peacekeepers to use some conventional war arsenals such as artillery, drones, special forces, air power and others.

Since its establishment scholars and peacekeeping practitioners have raised controversies related to it. There are many interpretations of PKO such as its formation whereby it has not been stipulated in the Charter of the United Nations (UN). There is also the question of the legality of use of force, which PKOs have recently adopted. In fact, use of force by PKOs is against the three traditional principles of PKOs, namely, consent, impartiality and minimum use of force except for self-defence. Furthermore, there is an observation regarding when the UN acts as a Transitional Civil Administration, which is related to the temporary assumption of responsibility of executive authority of a state. Chesteman (2005) argues that in so doing, the UN has been a "benevolent autocrat," meaning that it has been violating sovereignty and democracy norms set by the international community.

On the other side, there are varied discussions on the effectiveness of PKOs. Adebajo and Landsberg (2000) noted that apart from a few UN PKOs such as the UN Emergency Force (UNEF), UN Verification Mission I in Angola (UNAVEM I, 1988) and the UN's Operations in Mozambique (UNOMOZ, 1992), most other UN missions in Africa have been failing, specifically in Somalia and Rwanda. However, though there is no agreed tool to measure effectiveness of PKOs, the reality is that PKOs is the only tool that can help in fostering global peace. It is from this background that this study was undertaken with the aim of analysing the controversies of PKOs in relation to their effectiveness in forging global peace and security.

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Several studies have been conducted in PKOs, for instance, on effectiveness of PKOs (Di Salvatore, 2017); Trends in PKOs (Bellamy & Williams, 2015); and International PKOs: Burden sharing and effectiveness (Sandler, 2017). But these studies did not focus much on arguments and/or questions related to the effectiveness of PKOs. Therefore, this study complements the existing knowledge by analysing the controversy of the PKOs in relation to its effectiveness. The paper is divided into five sections. After the introduction, the next section provides theoretical framework, followed by a section that offers an overview of PKOs. Results are discussed in section four before conclusion.

2. Theoretical Consideration

The theory of collective security was used. Collective security's key assumption is that each member state accepts that security of one state is a concern of all states and agree to join in collective measure against the aggressor (Fitzmaurice, 1989). It is a machinery for collective actions so as to prevent or counter any attack against an established international order (Ebegbulem, 2011). The League of Nations and the United Nations (UN) are examples of collective security mechanisms in prevention of war. It is through this principle that the UN has power to discourage any member state from acts that could threaten peace and security.

However, there are criticisms on collective security theory. For example, Morgenthau, Thompson, and Clinton (1985) alluded that the theory is perfect, but it is idealistic in nature because it works under some assumptions. For example, there will be a common understanding between all member states on which state is the aggressor and that all states will be committed to deal with the aggressor, which practically is not reality noting that states tend to be power-seeking behavior rooted in the biological drives of human beings (Morgenthau, Thompson, and Clinton 1985). The theory also admits that war (PKOs) embody means to resolve conflicts, an aspect, which is contrary to its principles of prevention of war Morgenthau, Thompson, and Clinton 1985). On the other hand, Claude Jr (1992) argued that the theory can transform the local war into global war by involving all nations on a particular conflict and also, it always has bureaucracy in taking decisions. Despite these critics, the theory remains useful in terms of understanding effectiveness of PKOs.

3. Overview of Peacekeeping Operations

PKO as a collective security mechanism is complex and hard to define. The PKO may mean differently if explained by various persons (Dawson, 2004). But Diehl (1988) gave the most complete meaning of traditional PKOs, which has been accepted and used by the UN. According to him, PKO is deployment of neutral and lightly armed interposition forces following a cessation of armed conflicts, and with permission of the state on whose territory such forces are deployed so as to discourage a renewal of military conflict and promote an environment under which the underlying dispute can be resolved. This meaning of PKO by Diehl (1993) came up with the following three basic principles of traditional PKOs: consent, impartiality and use of minimum force except for self-defence, which have been used to date.

The legal basis for operations of peacekeeping is found in Chapters VI, VII and VIII of the UN Charter (UN, 1945). While Chapter VI deals with the "Pacific settlement of disputes," Chapter VII contains provisions related to "action with respect to the peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression." Chapter VIII of the Charter provides for involvement of regional arrangements and agencies in maintenance of international peace and security. Scholars such as Oliveira (2016) and Brahimi (2000) argue that while the Charter is still emphasising on Chapter VI, but the era of Chapter VI has come to an end thus, all operations need to be conducted under Chapter VII of the UN Charter.

Several studies have been conducted to trace the first development of PKOs as collective security means. Some historians trace the origin of PKOs as far back as the Delian League of ancient Greece in the fifth century whereby there were initiatives to prevent recurrence of wars (Howard, 2008). However, Tomuschat (1995) provided that peacekeeping was introduced by the League of Nations where its Covenant obliged all member states not to resort to war.

The system failed, and that is why the Second World War (WWII) occurred (Serafino, 2005). But the official UN history shows that the first peacekeeping deployment was the UN Truce Supervision Organizations (UNTSO) during the Arab and Israel crisis of 1948 followed by the UN Military Observer Group deployed between India and Pakistan in 1949 (Dawson, 1987). Hillen (1998) sees the first UN Operation, which may be referred to as UN PKOs was the UN Emergence Force 1 (UNEF - 1) of 1956 because the troops carried weapons for the first time in PKOs. The mission was deployed during Suez Canal Crisis to monitor implementation of the ceasefire agreement signed between Egypt and Israel (Goodrich, & Rosner, 1957).

Due to increased security challenges faced by peacekeepers, PKOs mandates have evolved over time (Findlay, 2002; Mingst, 2004; Howard, 2008). Gibbs (2000) asserts that in contrast to the traditional peacekeeping principles, which emphasise on neutrality and lighter armed peacekeepers, the new concept requires peacekeepers to be highly aggressive with a robust posture. As of 31 December 2021, global peacekeeping data show that from 1948, the UN PKOs have served in 71 different conflicting parts in the world (UN, 2021). Of these parts, 31 were in various conflicting areas in Africa including 25 closed missions and six on-going missions (UN, 2021). Giegerich (2017) eluded that in the period between 1989 and 2009, there have been an increase of 80 percent of UN Peacekeeping missions deployed since 1948. This partly is an indication that the world witnessed increased conflicts in that period particularly after the Cold War. Apart from UN PKOs, there are other PKOs organized by the AU such as the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) or in collaboration between the UN and AU such as United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID).

4. Discussion

Questions have been raised on legality of the formation of PKO as a collective security tool. The argument by some scholars is the adoption by the UN of the PKOs concept in relation to the Charter provisions. Oliveira (2016) and Suy (1988) argue that establishing PKOs as a collective security tool is legally questionable as it is contrary to the UN Charter provisions. Basically, PKOs we are seeing today were not foreseen during the foundation of the UN as a tool for resolving conflicts (Hillen, 1998). Article 43 up to 47 of the UN Charter provides the establishment of UN Military Staff Committee in case there will be a need for the UN to intervene in conflicts (UN, 1945). Nevertheless, because it failed to work, then the UN came up with PKOs. Though it was not envisaged during the formation of UN, but PKOs have remained the major conflict resolution tool where member states and other actors have been contributing troops and other resources to support it. They have reduced or finished suffering of many innocent people in conflicting areas.

There are varied interpretations of PKOs among scholars and experts in the contemporary peacekeeping environments (Mays, 2021). Up to now, the meaning of PKOs differs depending on whom conceptualizes it. While Onumajuru (2005) defined UN PKOs as impartially intervention by UN peacekeeping forces to a conflict aiming at creating buffer between warring factions, Onoja (2008) confined the meaning of PKOs to practical mechanisms developed by the UN to contain as well as control armed conflicts and to facilitate their resolution by peaceful means. However, Fortna and Howard (2008) limit the meaning of PKOs into efforts to prevent recurrence of conflict after a ceasefire has already taken place. Some studies, for example, Findlay (2002) used the meaning of PKOs to cover both peace enforcement and peacekeeping operations. UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold defined PKOs as the "Chapter Six and a half" which means that PKOs is based between peaceful resolution without using force (Chapter VI) and the use of force (Chapter VII). Some scholars restrict the meaning of PKOs to include only UN peacekeeping while others such as Rikhye (1984), Bellamy & Williams (2004) include peacekeeping done by other actors such as regional organisations or coalitions of states.

Nonetheless, Diehl (1988) gave the most complete meaning of traditional PKOs which is officially used. According to him, PKOs is the deployment of neutral and lightly armed interposition forces following a cessation of armed conflicts, and with permission of the state on whose territory these forces are deployed, in order to discourage a renewal of military conflict and promote an environment under which the underlying dispute can be resolved. This meaning came up with the three basic principles of traditional PKOs; consent, impartiality and use of minimum forces except for self- defence. According to these principles, consent mean, before deployment of Peacekeeping Forces, there must be an assent/agreement/permission from the main parties to the conflict. However, most of PKOs are currently deployed without consent.

Impartiality mean, peacekeeping forces must treat all parties in conflict equally with fairness. And lastly, use of minimum forces except for self-defence means that, the force which is supposed to be used by Peacekeeping Forces in their operations must be minimum/proportional to the incidents except for defending themselves.

Thought this definition has been accepted and used, but it is in line with the traditional peacekeeping undertakings. Currently UN troops are deployed even before cease fire and consent are reached. Impartiality has been violated because in some missions such as in DRC and Central African Republic, UN forces have been mandated to cooperate with the government forces.

There are also arguments on legality on use of force. Oliveira (2016) and Suy (1988) argue that the evolution of the UN peacekeeping from observer missions to robust operations (peace enforcement) has questionable legal basis because it challenges the traditional peacekeeping principles and is against the UN Charter. According to Muller (2015), Mission de l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour la Stabilisation en République démocratique du Congo (MONUSCO) 's robustness and its inclusion of Force Intervention Brigade (FIB) with Artillery, Special Forces, Helicopters, and its offensive operations against AGs is wrong under the traditional PKOs principles as it gives perception that the UN is not observing the impartiality principle anymore. In fact, Article 12 of UNSCR 2098 of 2013 gives mandate to FIB to cooperate with FARDC carryon 'targeting operations against AGs, ensure POC, protect UN personnel and facilities (UN, 2013). This mandate shows that the UN for the first time has taken side in a conflict which is the deviation of the traditional peacekeeping principles. Furthermore, Pacholska (2015) point out that under the Safety Convention of 1994, UN Forces are protected against any attack from AGs. Whittle (2015) argue that deployment of FIB within MONUSCO complicate the use of that clauses, and this brings a challenge as to whether the clauses will still be applicable because the AGs will be forced to fight back UN Forces. On the ground, the presence of FIB makes other MONUSCO peacekeepers at risk of being target to AGs because AGs do not have capability to distinguish between FIB and other forces. Due to this challenge, it was even proposed for FIB to be separated from the rest of MONUSCO and to refrain from putting on UN badges (Blue beret/helmet) and insignia so that they can be distinguished with other neutral UN forces.

In line with the argument on use of force, there are questions on necessity of peace enforcement and who actually should be legitimately authorised to conduct peace enforcement between the UN or non-UN actors. Finnemore (2006) came up with evolution of traditional peacekeeping as collective security concept and why it embodied common means for resolving conflicts and not peace enforcement. According to him, due to its sensitivity, enforcement (if need arises) should be undertaken by the UN itself and not any other actor. Other scholars such as Von Hippel (2000), Howards (2008), O'Hanlon (2003) as well as Dobbins and colleagues (2003) support the idea of peace enforcement and argue that any actor (UN or non-UN) may undertake enforcement mission. But practically, enforcement have been carried out by all UN and Non-UN forces. Due to UN procedures and some regulations, non-UN forces have been conducting more enforcement operations than UN forces.

The process of the UN to act as Transitional Civil Administration, which is related to the temporary assumption of responsibility of executive authority of a state has also brought arguments. Chesteman (2004) argues that in so doing, the UN has been "benevolent autocrat," meaning that it has been violating sovereignty and democracy norms set by the international community. On the same, Von Hippel (2000) and Marten (2004) argues that such responsibility is mirroring the negative aspect of colonial occupation of the past. Even the Brahimi Report (2000) cautioned on this function, which the UN has been undertaking. But the history shows that, the UN has used this approach only to Timor "The United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET)" and in Kosovo "the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo". The assessment shows that, it worked well in both areas where it was used.

About 95 percent of all PKOs' budgets are covered by the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) (Bobrow & Boyer, 1997). This also brought arguments and questions especially on who decides where and how to deploy PKOs. Gibbs (1997), de Jonge Oudraat (1996), Jakobsen (1996) and Durch (1993) assert that due to this budgetary over-reliance, these countries have power to decide on where, how and under what strength has the UN has to deploy PKOs. However, apart from the fact that, the UN as a body is the one that determines where to deploy PKOs in the interest of making war–torn societies turn into democratic societies, but in reality these big countries have more voices in decision making related to PKOs.

There have been also debates as to the reasons behind fewer peacekeeping troop contributions by the permanent members of Security Council (P-5). Yun (2015) and Jett (2000) posited that these countries would not want to risk their troops due to increased complexity of conflicts, especially in Africa. On one hand, Albright (1995) argues that national interests determine the big nations' participation in PKOs.

On the other hand, Bobrow and Boyer (1997) argues that most of P-5 countries and other big countries would not want to contribute troops to PKOs because they need to subsidise in maintaining their troops because maintaining their troops costs much compared to   what the UN is providing. Gaibulloev et al (2015) asserted that the annual cost of maintaining Bangladesh troop was S\$ 4,553 (in 2015), Ghana was S\$ 5,555 (in 2014), India was S\$ 9,768 (in 2014); Nepal S\$ 1,892 (in 2015); Pakistan S\$ 3,417 (in 2012) and Senegal S\$ 9,571 (in 2011). On the same, the annual cost of maintaining US troop was S\$ 138,465 (in 2013), Canada S\$ 137,054 (in 2011), France S\$ 119,273 (in 2009) and Italy S\$ 156,181 (in 2011). As from 2019, UN reimburse U\$ 1,428 per troop per month (U\$17,136 per annul) while maintaining one US soldier costs US\$ 800,000 (Novosseloff, 2017; UN, 2019). On the other side, for the developing countries, they don't need to subsidise their troops and in fact their contribution in most cases is seeking financial benefits. From this we can deduce that provision of troops to PKOs create benefit to developing countries but is costly for developed world. Apart from reimbursement which Troops Contributing Countries (TCCs) receives from reimbursement from troops and the allowances which individual troops are paid, but TCCs are also benefiting from Contingent Owned Equipment (COE) which they provide and used in PKOs.

There have been comparisons on the effectiveness of UN PKOs and regional PKOs. Wallensteen and Heldt (2020) argue that sometimes regional PKOs are more effective than the UN PKOs because of the proximity. They have local knowledge, and they are likely to quickly adopt to the environment rather than multinational forces. Regional organisations have advantage of collection of information, cultural affinity and have advantage of acquiring early warning information (Wallensteen and Heldt (2020). Albert (2007) points out that the capacity of regional organisations such as AU to resolve conflicts in Africa sometimes has been affected by lack of resources, mistrust between African leaders themselves and lack of political will.   However, the study by MacQueen (2006) warned that because of proximity to the scene, sometimes regional powers may not be neutral and may use the conflict for their own national interests. Despite those arguments, but local conflicts resolution initiatives have been working very well. One of the reasons which made the FIB to dislodge M23 rebel group in DRC was proximity to the area of operation and local knowledge because FIB was made by forces from Southern Africa Development Community (SADC). On the other side there were political will to assist a fellow member state under "African solution for African problems".

There have been discussions on who should undertake PKOs and be effective; is it the UN, Regional Organisations, or a single state? That is, PKOs by whom? This debate has increased partly because several regional organisations have the capacity to launch their own PKOs such as by Northern Atlantic Treaty (NATO), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and others. Example in 2017 ECOWAS intervened militarily in Gambia in the operation code named Operation Restore Democracy following long time   Gambian president Yahya Jammeh's refusal to step down after his loss in the 2016 presidential election (Hartmann, 2017).   Heldt (2004) found that there are no differences in terms of success between PKOs conducted by the UN and those undertaken by other actors. But in reality, PKOs conducted by the UN are much more effective than those conducted by non-UN actors largely because the UN has more resources.

Related to the above discussion is regional organisations' mandate to deploy PKOs. Berman and Sams (2000) argue that the UN delegating PKOs to regional organisation is wrong. According to them, delegating such important task of maintenance of peace and security to regional organisations, which are often characterised by lack of resources is a demonstration of lack of commitment in resolving African conflicts.   This argument is complemented by MacQueen (2006).   He argues that since most of the conflicts are taking place in Africa, it implies that peacekeeping initiatives are left to the hands of poorly trained, and inadequately resourced armies. Basically, apart from limited resources, most of missions done by regional organisations have been more effective such as African Union Mission in Burundi (AMIB).

Still, there is also an argument on the basis of selecting areas for deployment of PKOs. Carter (2007) as well as Gilligan and Stedman (2003) argue that the UN strategically selects easier areas for deployment of PKOs where the probability of success is high. On the other side, Fortuna (2004) concludes empirically that the UN selects the most difficult cases for deployment of PKOs.

But practically, the UN is the one which choose the area for deploying PKOs basing on the threat assessment done by the technical team, though big powers (P-5) have more voices in decisions.

Effectiveness of PKOs as a collective security tool has endlessly been questioned. Fewer studies have been done that would lead to developing tools for assessing the effectiveness of PKOs (Featherson, 2000). As such, Diehl (1993, 1988); Doyle and Sambanis (2000); Hultma and colleagues (2013, 2014); and others discuss on the best tools for evaluating the effectiveness of PKOs. To this end, some of the missions that have been assessed and concluded to be successful may also be seen unsuccessful, depending on assessment tools employed. On his position, Diehl (1993) identified the following two criteria for evaluating effectiveness of PKOs: limiting conflict and promoting conflict resolution. However, Johansen (1994) criticises this perception that limiting conflict alone may sometimes bring negative peace. Paul Diehl suggests two parameters for measuring success of PKOs: limiting the armed conflict and peaceful resolution of underlying conflict (Hampson, 1996). Fortna (2008) suggests compliance with ceasefire to be used as a criterion to assess PKOs effectiveness. But Doyle and Sambanis (2000) criticise Fortna's (2008) approach by arguing that ceasefire alone cannot guarantee positive peace. They suggest accomplishment of mandate as the parameter to assess the effectiveness of PKOs. Brown (1993) added some other criteria focusing on reduction of conflict and facilitation of peaceful resolution. On the ground, the protection of civilians (POC), the task which is on almost all mandates of PKOs are considered to be the most effective tool of assessing the effectiveness of PKOs.

Observations are also on conflict re-occurrence. Weinstein (2005) argues differently by pointing out that 75 percent of civil wars that have received UNPKO interventions resumed within ten years after stopping. After analysing 11 UN PKOs, Paris (2021) asserted that only two PKOs were able to bring about sustainable peace. On the other side, Walter (2002) as well as Hartzell and colleagues (2001) show that PKOs have statistical noteworthy effects on duration of peace after civil wars. Examples of Namibia, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau show that peace has been prevailing after the UN mission closed their operations. To his side, Novosselof (2019) summarised that it is unfair to assess PKOs by looking on what they have failed instead of looking on what they have achieved on areas of conflict resolutions and stability. Regan (1996) argued that PKOs' interventions to civil war may lead to reduction in hostilities. However, he was criticised by other scholars because he did not show how such interventions may affect duration of hostilities. But in his follow up study, Regan (2002) found out that neutral third-party intervention, especially by international community extends the duration of intrastate hostilities except if the intervention is biased against one of the opponents. This argument correlates with the study done by Diehl, Reifschneider and Hensel (1996) in 147 interstate hostilities and found that UN intervention were no better than no intervention in ending hostilities in interstate crisis. But PKOs has been criticised for failing to effectively protect civilians. The anti UN forces violent demonstrations we are witnessing in DRC and Central African Republic are the sign that populations are feeling unsecure regardless of the presence of UN forces.

Attempts to empirically test effects of PKOs in intrastate conflicts came up with different conclusions probably because of different tools and methodology used. For example, Haas (1986) found that UN PKOs help in bringing peace in intrastate conflicts. However, Wilkenfeld and Brecher (1984) concluded that the UN has no effects on recurrences of hostilities and thus, it means that the UN is good at peace-making but not at peacekeeping. But by anyhow, UN interventions have big impact on the peace and security of that conflicted areas. Regardless of different criticism to PKOs, but without UN interventions, the situation in countries such as DRC, Central African Republic could have been so bad.

Also, scholars arrived at different conclusions when studying the effect of PKOs on interstate conflicts. While Wilkenfeld and Brecher (1984) concluded that the UN has no effects on recurrence of interstate conflict, Fortuna (2004) found out that peace lasts longer with PKOs' intervention than without PKOs' intervention.

Besides, there is an argument on comparison on effectiveness of PKOs in interstate and in civil wars. Studies by Diehl (1993) and Weiss (1995) found that PKOs have less success in civil wars compared to interstate wars. On the contrary, Heldt (2004) found that PKOs have more effects on civil conflict than interstate conflicts. But from experience and records, PKOs have more effects in civil hostilities than interstate hostilities.

Furthermore, Ruggeri, Dorussen and Gizelis (2017) argue that PKOs help to reduce duration of hostilities. Gillgan and Sergent (2008) pointed out that 85 percent of UN PKOs have resulted into protracted periods of peace or shortened periods of conflict. However, not all PKOs have the same effects on reducing duration of hostilities. The study by Doyle and Sambanis (2000) unveiled that traditional PKOs with weak mandate, unarmed or lightly armed peacekeepers have no effects on reducing duration of hostilities. But the situation on the ground shows that multidimensional and enforcement PKOs with strong mandate have positive effects on achieving durable peace. The FIB operation in DRC against M23 is one of the example of how strong mandate can work effectively in achieving the objective.

Heldt and Wallenstreen (2006) observed that with increased number of UN troops deployed in PKOs in 1990s, the number of intrastate conflicts decreased. On the same note, it was uncovered that stronger PKOs with sufficient well-armed troops are important elements in POC and contribute to overall success of PKOs (Kreps, 2010). On the other hand, Doyle and Sambanis 2006 argue that the number of troops is not always the determinant factor to success of the mission. According to them, mandate is very important to success of any mission and the number of troops must be appropriate to the situation on ground. Nonetheless, one of the reasons for failure of most of the UN missions is the mandate given. To be effective the mandate must be feasible, clear without any ambiguity and reflecting the situation on the ground and operational in line with resources available. But most of time, there have been mismatch between the mandate given and the real situation on the ground which led into failure of operations.

Another argument came on effects of PKOs on democratisation, which is one of key goals of any UN PKOs. Different literatures have contested arguments on effectiveness of PKOs in fostering democracy. Wantchekon (2004) argues that PKOs provide conditions for   democracy in a country emerging from civil war. Comparably, Wallensteen and Heldt (2006) and Heldt (2004) argue that PKOs assist transition to democracy. Other scholars like Gurses and Mason (2006); Bueno de Mesquita and Downs (2006); Wantchekon and Neeman (2002); and Weinstein (2005) argue differently that PKOs have negligible or damaging effects on democracy as democracy building by the UN may hamper development of strong democratic political and economic institutions and thus, building democracy needs are left to the host nation. Equally, Marten (2004) suggest that peacekeepers should only concentrate their efforts in bringing peace and let transformation of society be done by other actors. On ground, most of PKOs now days are deployed as Multidimensional missions which mean that they include military and other department which intends to enhance democracy such as Political Affairs department. By doing so, both PKOs and democracy are equally dealt.

Lastly, there is an argument on masculinity on peacekeeping operations. While the UN (1993) sees the importance of women in PKOs and has set a target of reaching 15 percent of all peacekeepers by 2028, Puechguirbal (2010) argues that PKOs always see women as a protected group and as such, they cannot participate in PKOs. Unfortunately, the decision for deployment of women rests to (TCCs). In reality women need to play a great role in all PKOs deployed. Most of time when war or any conflict broke out, women and children are the ones who suffers most because men are used to run away or go to fight. As such when PKOs are deployed, women are the ones who are found on the mission area. Always women feel comfortable when talking to their fellow women (Peacekeepers).

Perception of dilemma on PKOs, especially on its effectiveness among scholars were very high in 1990s (Fleitz, & Fleitz Jr, 2002). Newspapers in the 1990s focused on failure despite success of many PKOs conducted elsewhere such as in Mozambique, Cambodia and Namibia. Studies titled 'Why Peacekeeping fails' (Jett, 2000); 'Peacekeeping Fiascos' (Fleitz, & Fleitz Jr, 2002); 'Peacekeeping in the Abyss' (Cassidy, & Press, 2004); and popular journal article 'Give War a Chance' (Luttwak, 1999) exemplify failure of PKOs.   From this presented aspects, it is the fact that PKOs have many controversies and questions whereby many scholars and PKO practitioners have written about it.

One might think that controversies might impede PKOs' effectiveness. It is acknowledged that PKOs' effectiveness is a subjective issue, and it always depends on the perspective one would like to take. Yes, there has been no independent study that came with agreed tools for assessing PKOs' effectiveness, but in reality, PKOs have done and continue doing commendable jobs of forging global peace and security. PKOs is the only tool that can deal with complex security challenges, to date.

There have been many PKOs' achievements recorded. First, PKOs have re-unified countries and prevented recurrence of violent conflicts wherever they have been deployed such as DRC. Second, it set conditions to ensure smooth delivery of humanitarian aid. Third, it helped in enhancing democratic conditions and it facilitated collection of information, observation, reporting and information sharing to UN, AU, EU, SADC, ICC, ICGLR, World Bank, donors, media and public. Fourth, it is through PKOs that many IDPs have been resettled. Lastly, PKOs support the conduct of general elections. Basically, PKOs have played a critical role in maintaining stability in the international system by supervising ceasefire arrangement, monitoring elections and separating warring parties to mention but a few. It has reduced the battlefield dearth and civilians' killings.

In recognition of its achievements, in 1988 the UN Peacekeeping was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for preventing armed clashes and creating conditions for negotiations. It was recognised that the UN peacekeeping forces have, under extremely difficult challenges, contributed to reducing tensions where an armistice has been negotiated but peace treaty has yet been established (Norton & Weiss, 1991).

The PKOs' effectiveness was acknowledged by different influential leaders and institutions. Autesserre (2019) commented that peacekeepers are up to now called "go – to" solution whenever the conflict erupts in the world. Baraka Obama, the former US president, on 28th September 2015 was quoted saying that "UN PKOs is one of the world's most important tools to address armed conflict" (Obama, 2015). Also, the UN itself has been acknowledging the importance of PKOs as "helped to end conflicts and foster reconciliation by conducting successful PKOs in dozens of countries" (UN, 2019).

Despite the success and the achievements there is still a question as to why the UN has not yet decided to amend principles to accommodate the new approach of PKOs. Given the changed nature of the conflict on the ground, some situations such as in the DRC has necessitated the use of force and sometimes may intervene even before the cease fire –agreement as it is the case in DRC when deployed FIB. Amending principles of PKOs may reduce questions on legality of the contemporary PKOs undertakings. Basically, the future PKOs will be more volatile and challenging as the security challenges will be complex. The emergence of terrorist groups, such as Allied Democratic Forces - National Army for Liberation of Uganda (ADF-NALU) rebel group in Eastern DRC and *Ansar Sunna Wal Jamaah* operating in Northern Mozambique pose a big challenge due to their modus operand. Laying Improvised Explosives Devices, suicide attacks, and others are new threats in the area of Peacekeeping Operations.

The UN and other stake holders need to accept this reality and take serious note on the different recommendations made by different Panel which the UN convened aimed at improving PKOs. Different initiatives made to reform UN PKOs have been very slowly implemented. For example, the recommendations from Brahimi report of 2000 have not been fully implemented (Brahimi, 2000). Also, the Action for peace (A4P) initiatives and declaration of shared commitment which was focusing to meet member states to talk on the challenges affecting modern-day PKOs have not been fully implemented to date (Sherman, 2019). The Cruz Report of 2017; *Improving Security of United Nations Peacekeepers* recommended different measure to improve the security of peacekeepers has never been fully adopted (Dos Santos Cruz, Phillips & Cusimano, 2017). On the other hand, technology and media are of paramount in the current security challenge. The UN need to invest more to match with the current dynamics. All in all, most of academic studies such as that of Beardsley (2011) and Melander (2009) acknowledge that PKOs limit conflict and may reduce and mitigate genocides.

5. Conclusion

The PKOs encompass very crucial tool in promoting global peace and security. From the discussion, it can be observed that PKOs have received arguments and questions from when they were created, to date. As already observed in the discussion, PKOs' effectiveness is also questionable as there are a number of areas where deployment has been done with limited effectiveness. Nevertheless, despite the continued discussions on the weaknesses, legality, mandate and who benefits, the UN PKOs remain an important tool to be used by the international community to manage conflicts.

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AFRICA INTO THE FUTURE: TANZANIA BEYOND VISION 2025

By Col. (rtd) Joseph Leon Simbakalia[132]

DISCOURSE

There are two key strategic issues in the African and National Visionary context namely: -

STABILITY – manifest as peace, social tranquility and national cohesion that is anchored by a functionally robust National Security System; and

CHANGE – that will unlock the inherent economic potential in resource endowment, and unleash the latent human capital to become the driving forces of dynamic socio-economic transformation that will create endless opportunities to generate wealth and to bring prosperity to all.

Africa needs stability, first and foremost, as the necessary social capital to allow change that will cause and propel human development. The term "Social Capital" applied in the context hereinafter is used to depict a situation of socio-political harmony and human safety manifest as peace, tranquility and national cohesion. Social Capital is the basic requirement and condition sine qua non to create the enabling environment that will allow change driving or transformative socio-economic activities for human development and progress to take place. In that regard, social capital is the primary enabler of positive change to take place, in the form of human development that translates into economic activities which bring growth and prosperity. Therefore, the Vision of Africa as a Continent and, likewise, that of individual African Countries, is the vision for change with stability to achieve human development in terms of wealth creation, growth and prosperity; which must need the existence of a well-functioning and resilient National Security System that can foster and protect the all-important Social Capital.

National Security is both internal ("domestic") and external ("regional and international"). This presentation proposes and discusses two illustrative and complementary models of National Security. It first proposes a dynamic "Solar System" model that depicts "SECURITY" at the centre of the orbit of the key interactive socio-economic change drivers, in a position similar to the sun at the center of the orbit of planets in the same trajectory of the universe.

Subsequently, the presentation proposes and discusses a second model that depicts the "NATIONAL SECURITY SYSTEM" as various discrete "domain fields" which must be interlinked, coordinated and made to act in a concerted manner in order to provide and protect the requisite environment of security which must exist to allow socio-economic progress and human development to take place. Beginning with the external dimensions of global interdependence, the discourse on Vision of Africa and Tanzania into the 21st Century, cascades down to regional groupings of Nation States and finally to National level.

LECTURE OBJECTIVES AND OUTCOMES

The primary objective of this lecture is to engage Course participants in a discussion about the imperative for Africa and Tanzania to undergo transformative socio-economic change that is initiated by dynamic forces from within, rather than in response to purely self-seeking machinations from outside Africa and Tanzania, as the case may be; and at the same time for that change to be managed in order to maintain stability using the National Security System.

At the end of the lecture session, it is intended that the Course Participants will appreciate better with rejuvenated security consciousness in their capacity as Leaders at National Level, the position of their specific roles and responsibilities in relation to others in the context of cross-cutting issues and domain interdependence, within the

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broad framework and functional totality of the National Security System. In that regard, it should come to be clearly understood by all participants that, National Security is wider and much more involved than the headline functions, duties and responsibilities of the professional frontline defence and security institutions such as TPDF, TISS, POLICE, PRISONS and IMMIGRATION that have been mandated by statute law to protect the people and assets of Tanzania, as well as to defend the national integrity against external aggression; to maintain domestic peace, law and order; and to guarantee human safety, as well as international border security.
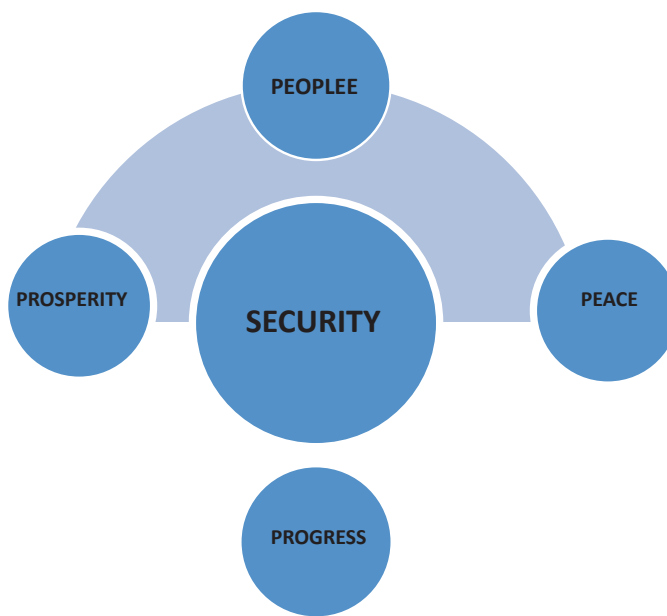
1   Africa Vision into the 21st Century and the Future

1.1   Africa Vision of Change with Stability and Transformative Socio-economic Development

The desire and determination to attain and maintain stability with transformative socio-economic change characterizes the vision of Africa and Tanzania moving into the 21st Century and beyond. Change is the one socio-political theme that has special appeal to the youthful population of Africa because Africans must change from an area where people struggle laboriously to make a living, and adapt themselves to their environment, to a continent which challenges the environment and adapts it to the needs of mankind.

Furthermore, Africa must change her political, economic and social institutions for those entites to facilitate the attainments of her new aspirations; and in that regard, the African people must undergo a cultural change in their attitudes and practices in order to be aligned to the objectives of the desired socio-economic change. The changes desired by Africa must be positive, initiated and shaped by Africa and not simply to be a reaction or response to events which affect Africa in the World of global interdependence.[1]

FIGURE 1 – 4Ps SOLAR SYSTEM MODEL OF AFRICA VISION

It is the "4Ps Solar System" model – PEOPLE, PEACE, PROGRESS and PROSPERITY – illustrated in Figure 1 above, with SECURITY at the centre, which encapsulates and demonstrates the vision of Africa and Tanzania into the future beyond the 21st Century. It is a model that appropriately represents the vision of Africa as a continent that will be free of conflicts and hence be at peace; with her people enjoying prosperity that will come from progress in socio-economic developments through time. However, progress and prosperity, which will necessarily require action by people, can only be realized if there is peace; and peace can only be achieved if there is security to give assurances of STABILITY which is construed to mean human safety as well as the protection of properties, property rights and human rights.

Hence, SECURITY is at the core of the 4Ps "Solar System" model to demonstrate that it is the constant factor for stability.

Therefore, the key issue for the envisioned change with stability to be achieved in Africa is to ensure there is security and human safety, for good measure to build confidence for investments and production that will create wealth, as well as to begin to transform lives of the people of Africa from poverty to prosperity. It is about the provision of security that will safeguard the political gains of national independence and ensure survival of the Nation. Stability is necessary for the economic achievements of national development as well as to safeguard national interests.

1.2   Africa and Global Interdependence – Does Africa Matter to the Rest of the World?

Africa can only change and achieve the desired pattern or level of socio-economic progress as part of the fraternity of Mankind living in the world of global interdependence. Interdependence implies a situation of reciprocal effects or mutual dependence among countries or societies; and such effects may be economic, socio-political, physical or pertaining to cross border and international security. In other words, the Vision of Africa cannot realistically be that one of a trajectory take-off that ignores or is oblivious of the multiple aspects of global interdependence; especially in considering the dominance of Europe and North America since the 19th Century as the "metropolitan centre" that has penetrated and established markets for its products or searched for raw materials and other factors essential for the continuity and expansion of its production[133].

Unprecedented technology revolution and industrial innovation of the 20th Century together have combined to enable rapid communication, travel and commercial activities; with the attending risks and challenges to national security endeavours which seek to prevent and to combat serious crime, terrorism, economic sabotage, illicit trade and other acts detrimental to the human safety, harmonious social environment, national prosperity and well-being, national survival and preservation of the bio-physical environment. Hence, Leaders must understand now and envision into the future, how national security in Africa is inextricably inter-twined with the various aspects of global interdependence.

Furthermore, since that previously unchallenged position of global dominance occupied by Europe and North America has come to be challenged by China from the beginning of the 21st Century, a realistic vision of Africa cannot ignore or disregard the "China Factor". Hence, the Vision of Africa into the future must not be constrained by legacies of history, but must necessarily recognize and relate to the realities of the existing World Economic Order dominated by Europe and North America; as well as take proper cognizance of the rise of China as the world second largest economy, acting together with India as members of the self-styled "BRICS"[2] which is the latest emerging global economic power alliance. In that regard, African Leadership must seriously interrogate the global economic and geopolitical environment in terms of the existing regional and continental groupings, the rules of global interdependence which govern the interactive dynamics of investments, trade and finance; with a view to motivate serious reflection and search of answers to the vexing fundamental question: - "Does Africa matter to the Rest of the World?"

In his writing for the Journal "African Analyst Quarterly"[1], the renown American global economist David Hale expressed the following succinct perspective in terms of what in his view, the Rest of the World may consider to be the value and relevance of Africa in the equation of global interdependence: -

> *There has been great debate in recent years about the marginalisation of Africa and it is often argued that the end of the Cold war and a long era of dismal economic performance have combined to make the continent irrelevant. To count Africa out, however, it is to ignore two critical factors: demographics and resources. Thus, the real question is not "does Africa matter? But, "who wants Africa and why?"*

Writing for the same Journal in an article titled "Africa: More Important to Europe" Sir Malcolm Rifkind[134] from the United Kingdom expressed a clear Eurocentric view of the prospects of Africa's march into the future of global

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133   "BRICS" is an acronym made from the first letters that stand for Brazil, Russia, China, India and South Africa.

134   Rifkind, Sir Malcolm (2006) – "AFRICA: MORE IMPORTANT TO EUROPE". Published in African Analyst Quarterly Issue 1 Third Quarter 2006

interdependence with clear undertones of "Afro-pessimism", and wrote as follows with an opening disclaimer regarding the bias of his interest in the subject matter: -

"I AM NOT an African, black or white. I am a European and I, therefore, see Africa through European eyes. But I have lived and worked in Africa and have visited it on many occasions over almost 40 years. My first exposure was to the old colonial Africa of the late 1960s when I lived in what was then Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and lectured at its University. At that time, most of Africa had already achieved its freedom but apartheid still defaced South Africa, the Portuguese still ruled in Mozambique and Angola, and Ian Smith was still fighting his doomed campaign to preserve white rule in north of the Limpopo. I mention this period not for reasons of nostalgia but because there was then the assumption, both in Africa and Europe, that once colonialism and white rule was expunged, the whole of Africa could look forward to a bright, successful future of economic growth and social progress. Africa's new nation-states would join those of the rest of the international community in a new community of nations. It has not turned quite like that. Nevertheless, it is my view that Africa can make great progress in the years ahead and can become a more equal partner in the international community. From a development standpoint, legacies of the colonial period continue to pose challenges for today's independent Africa and its economic growth. For example, when describing the continent's inherited transport structure, Tony Blaire's **Commission on Africa** *points out that "The railways and roads put in place in colonial times were primarily designed to transport minerals and other raw materials from the African interior to its ports for shipping to Europe. They were not designed to join one part of the continent to another. India's railways link the sub-continent; Africa's merely link areas of extraction to the ports".*

Rifkind cited five reasons, positive and negative, to argue the case that supports his views as to why Africa is important to Europe. In that regard, he stated that Europe cannot afford to disregard Africa for a number of good reasons in relation to the following salient issues: -

Ethical and humanitarian international responsibility of Europe to help Africa to end the situations of abject poverty ascribed to the existence of abject poverty;

The imperative to deal with threats to global stability and security posed by the existence of failed states in Africa, such as Somalia;

The need to take cognizance of Africa as the last great emerging market with a growing middle class and young consumer population;

The geographic relevance of Africa to Europe, being at the centre of the world's shipping lanes with its trade and energy flows; as well as the geographic proximity to the oil and gas rich Arab world and the Gulf states;

Moral and pragmatic lessons in extraordinary example of reconciliation by South Africa under the leadership of Mandela, at the end of racial minority apartheid rule and the handover of power to a majority, non-racial and democratically elected Government. The lessons of South Africa are relevant to Europe in relations to the on-going sectarian violence in Northern Ireland, Basque country in Spain and elsewhere.

1.3   Current Progress of Africa Development and Future Prospects of the China Factor

In June 2010, the McKinsey Global institute ("MGI") published results of a continent-wide research study of the performance of African economies in a paper titled "Lions on the Move: The Potential and Progress of African Economies". The MGI independent research sought to examine and report on the sources behind Africa's economic growth acceleration that was taking place for nearly a decade between 2000 and 2008, with a view to establish the basis for analysis of the future prospects for growth and hence to identify some of the most compelling business opportunities that lay ahead. Nevertheless, the views of Hale and Sir Malcolm can be fairly construed to reflect and represent the unabashed, thinly veiled self-seeking mainstream political thought and mind-set which continues to formulate and to guide implementation of official policy that has maintained the relationships and attitudes of socio-political dominance by Europe and America towards Africa, with donations

of official aid as the main instrument of their foreign policy

In contrast, the speech delivered by President Xi Jinping of China in December 2015 at the opening ceremony of the Johannesburg Summit of the Forum on China-Africa ("FOCAC"), proposes a "New Era of China-Africa Win-Win Cooperation and Common Development"[135] with the following invitation towards creating an equitable partnership to govern the relationships of Africa and China that looks beyond the existing multiple socio-political and economic challenges of the African continent, going forward: -

"Today's Africa is a continent of encouraging and dynamic development. Africa has actively explored a path of development suited to its conditions and adhered to the principle of solving African issues in the African way. Such a momentum of independent development is unstoppable. Africa has actively advanced industrialization and pursued sustainable self-development. Such a momentum of rapid development is unstoppable. Africa has accelerated its integration process and speaks in one voice on the international stage. Such a momentum of pursuing strength through unity is unstoppable.... China and Africa share a common future. We Chinese and Africans have forged profound friendship through our common historical experience and in our common struggles... In the new era, we should carry forward the traditional China-Africa friendship and translate the strengths of our traditional friendship into driving forces to boost solidarity, cooperation and development, so that we will deliver more tangible benefits to our people and make greater contribution to the development of the world in a more balanced, just and inclusive manner and to building a new model of international partnership based on win-win cooperation.... The world is undergoing profound changes. Economic globalization and IT application have tremendously unleashed and advanced social productive forces. We are facing unprecedented opportunities of development. On the other hand, hegemony, terrorism, financial turbulence and environmental crisis have become more pronounced, posing unprecedented challenges to us."

What is evidently common ground is the fact that the Rest of the World including China considers Africa as one, when it comes to serving their respective intended strategic goals and purposes.

However, in contrast to the American and European views on the importance of what Africa can offer to the rest of the world in the context of global interdependence scenario that has been presented respectively by Hale and Rifkind, the President of China has proposed a partnership which respects the right of Africa to chart her own destiny in choosing independently the path of development and to resolve her own issues. Furthermore, the Supreme Leader of China expressed support for the decision of Africa to industrialize rapidly as well as to accelerate regional integration.

1.4   The Imperative of Self-Determination for the Future of Africa

Elsewhere before, and more than three decades preceding the recent offer made by China to create a partnership with Africa that would be governed by the principles of mutual respect and equity, as it was pronounced by President Xi Jinping recently during the opening of FOCAC 2015, Justinian Rweyemamu of Tanzania had already expressed more than two decades earlier, the following views concerning the imperative of Africa to be able to envision, and thereafter to chart her own path of development with accent on industrialization, as an essential condition to be able to participate more effectively in and to benefit more from the world of global interdependence. In that regard, Rweyemamu stated as follows: -

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135   H.E. Xi Jinping (2015) – "OPEN A NEW ERA OF CHINA-AFRICA COOPERATION AND COMMON DEVELOPMENT". Address by the President of People's Republic of China at the Opening Ceremony of the Johannesburg Summit of FOCAC 4th December 2015.

"There are two basic preconditions whose fulfilment will enable African countries to participate more effectively and benefit from the establishment of the New International Order. First of all, the African people must, through their Governments and other institutions, recover their self-confidence in identifying, defining and solving those problems that are relevant to the socio-economic development and welfare of the mass of their people. This self-confidence is, to a large extent, a function of mobilizing national talents and capabilities and creating the right type of environment and motivations for unleashing inventive and innovative abilities. Secondly, and in the light of the above, Africans must seek to internalize their development process in order to ensure that they will not be perpetually dependent on transfers (whether of resources or technology) but will develop their own capability to generate and to hold onto an increasing share of world income. It is in this framework of self-generating and self-sustaining growth that Africa can be a full-bodied "partner" to a more equitable and stable world-development.

These conditions imply specific policies at both the national and international levels. At the national level, African countries must define an industrial strategy that is capable of liquidating the dependent relationships noted above and gear their economies on a self-generating and self-sustaining basis. Such a strategy involves the establishment of an organic link rooted in an indigenous science and technology between the pattern and growth of domestic resource use and the pattern and growth of domestic demand. It implies the establishment of engineering industries, basic industries par excellence"[1].

Having thus established the fundamental principles and key issues to guide and govern the participation of Africa in the future scenario of global interdependence, the African Leadership Vision of Africa into the 21st Century can be outlined to provide a coherent reference datum for home-made initiatives and action to take Africa from being a continent of fragmented power centres, regional conflicts, seemingly endemic poverty and insecurity of its people; into the future to achieve regional integration, peace and social tranquility, as well as sustainable growth with prosperity assurances of human security.

2   African Leadership Vision of Africa into the 21st Century

2.1   The Integration of Africa for Development and Progress to a Better Future

Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere devoted his life for the struggle that enabled our Tanzania to come into existence as an independent sovereign state in the 1960s. He strongly believed in the unity of African countries to provide the political and socio-economic development framework that would shape the destiny of Africa to occupy its rightful place in the global multiple aspect interdependence scenarios. In his address to the London School of Economics in 1997 as Chairman of the South Centre[136], Mwalimu Nyerere analyzed the African continent on the basis of its division as North Africa and Africa South of the Sahara, and stated as follows to describe his vision of Africa into the 21st Century: -

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136   Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere (1997) – "AFRICA TODAY AND TOMORROW"

"Africa is referred to as North Africa and South of the Sahara. This division of Africa is correct and significant ... North Africa is to Western Europe what Mexico is to the United States and Canada, and South East Asia to Japan. The desert to its South is a barrier, the Mediterranean Sea to its North is both a barrier and a highway, but more of a highway than a barrier. This region of Africa is sometimes correctly referred to as Mediterranean Africa ... The first thing to note about Africa South of the Sahara is its isolation from the major Economic Power Houses of the World ... In this particular sense of not being in the economic orbit of any of the three major economic blocs, Sub-Sahara Africa is on its own ...Investors from outside Africa will invest in this part of Africa just as they invest in other Regions of the World to seek economic gain. It will be up to the Governments of that Region to create the necessary conditions including a well-developed infrastructure; technical training and Good Governance ... The greater bulk of the resources for the development of this part of Africa will have to come from the Region itself. The countries of this Region, perhaps more than any other Region of the Economic South, will have to adopt policies of maximum national self-reliance ... And they must enhance their capacity to develop by co-operating with one another to the maximum extent possible. They have no other choice ... And sooner or later the two economic groupings: an East Africa Grouping which includes Rwanda and Burundi, and a SADC, which includes the Democratic Republic of Congo, will merge. That is not an idle dream; it will come true. And in the first two decades of the 21st Century, that huge chunk of Africa will be the ASEAN of Africa."

The analysis of Nyerere eloquently presents the rationale and imperative for EAC and SADC regional integration for economic development through self-reliance in terms of resources. He identifies Good Governance, infrastructure and technical training as the critical challenges facing the Region with a view to trigger investment flows for development, going forward.

Here, Good Governance in the context of economic development should be construed to mean the Enabling Policy Environment for innovation and technology development1. The development challenges of infrastructure provision and technical education belong to engineers as the profession of primary interest and responsibility to deliver. While Nyerere stressed maximum self-reliance in terms of resource mobilization, two African scholars, Diop and Juma have respectively put forward industrialization and agriculture, as the other critical areas which require both regional cooperation and technological development with innovation, for the sustainable development of Africa.

2.2   Africa Regional Integration in Alliance for Progress

In his work published in 1987, Diop[137] presented an eloquent argument for the unification of Black Africa (read "Sub-Sahara Africa") which is in harmony with Nyerere's decade later advocacy for EAC and SADC integration; and furthermore, proposed the conceptual framework and a broad strategy for industrialization based on the abundant mineral and energy resources of the Region[1]. The industrial development concept of Sub-Sahara presented by Diop included the construction of multi-model transport infrastructure to interconnect the vast Region of Africa, as well as to interlink with the rest of the World. The requirement of human capacity building was clearly recognized and understood by Diop; however, the strategy he proposes for implementation is merely presented as a conceptual, broad scope of skills-training needs assessment[138].

While Diop merely outlined the conceptual development of agriculture to produce food and raw materials as part of the broad conceptual industrialization framework, Juma presents coherent and practicable proposals for advancing agriculture as the strategic development sector for Africa to attain food self-sufficiency and to meet the growing demand for food in emerging markets of China and Asia[139]. Industrialization cannot be established if there are not large food surpluses because industrial populations do not grow food, but rely on food surpluses produced by the rural areas. Populations with food surplus, reliable sources of energy and well-established education system have the possibility for very rapid industrial growth.

137   Cheikh Anta Diop (1974) – "BLACK AFRICA – The Economic and Cultural Basis for a Federated State". Translation of "Les Fondaments Economique et Cultures d'un Etat Federal d'Afrique Noir" by Harold Salem (1978).

138   Cheikh Anta Diop (1974)

139   Calestous Juma (2011) – "THE NEW HARVEST – Agriculture Innovation in Africa"

2.3 National Security System to Anchor Socio-political Stability

The regional integration of EAC and SADC in Sub-Sahara Africa as envisioned by Nyerere and others, who are like-minded, presupposes political and macroeconomic convergence; as well as social stability manifest in peace, social tranquility with social harmony and the lack of conflicts. The socio-economic transformation and development path postulated by Diop, Juma and other African Thinkers of similar calibre require long term social stability without disruptive conflicts. In that regard, a functional "National Security System" is the primary basic and indispensable institution for building business confidence at levels that will motivate capital inflows for investments in industry, agriculture and other sectors of the economy.

The quest for Africa to attain socio-economic transformation with sustainable development has not progressed along a straight line. In his classic and accurate analysis of the prevailing situation

and social conditions of the emerging sovereign states of Africa, Frantz Fanon accurately predicted and described The pitfalls of "The Pitfalls of National Independence" which would handicap Leaders of the newly independent emerging National Governments to lead in the way of socio-economic transformation that would deliver on the promises were made to the people during the struggle to attain national independence, in order to win their support. As it turned out true to the socio-political analysis and prediction made by Fanon, Africa became embroiled and engrossed with multiple civil wars and internal conflicts which have created a general state of turmoil, to the extent that Afro-pessimists have roundly dismissed the quest for socio-economic transformation of Africa with growth sustainable development as a lost cause.

3 The Key Strategic Issues – Insights on Aspects of National Security

3.1 Insights on Global Challenges to National Security and the Eurocentric Perspective

SECURITY is about protection from risks or threats, both real and perceived. Whereas, objectively real risk cannot be gainsaid much because it is tangible and per chance measurable, the same cannot be said about the "perception of risk" because that can be a subject of debate and diverse opinions. Education, culture, past experience, prejudices, faith beliefs and other factors which influence the way of thinking will determine the type and extent of risk perception.

Frontline threats to breach internal security reside with people who are resident within the Country, and hence part of the local social environment. In that regard, knowledge and understanding of social conditions is most important as the basis for the formulation of strategies to deal with the security risks and threats.

Hence, it cannot be right to accept that a certain part of humanity with scanty or superficial knowledge of the local or domestic social conditions has finally come up with a framework of security risk analysis that is relevant for universal application, unless there was evidence to validate and support that notion.

3.2 Threats to National Security from the Eurocentric Perspective

There is ongoing scholarly debate about "the new definition" of National Security in considering "the multiple challenges and how to deal with the new threats" to "human safety, human rights violations, genocide, extreme poverty, hunger, diseases, terrorism, desertification and illicit trade" and the list keeps growing. That view is merely regarded as admission of ignorance about the reality of social conditions in parts of the world where the everyday security challenges are formidable. Therefore such views have been termed herein as the "Eurocentric Perspective" of National Security challenges, in countries and societies which have lived for many years in safety and under protection within their domestic security bubbles; unlike the many countries in Africa, Middle East and Asia where the social conditions with embedded systemic challenges of human safety, human rights violations, extreme poverty, hunger, disease and many such social and economic ills have become to be nearly taken for granted by the Rest of the World as being deservingly endemic to those societies.

The countries which regard the multiple social and economic ills listed above as NEW serious threats to National Security are mostly European (belonging to the European union) and North.

American *(the USA and Canada).* However, a cursory glance of the modern World history with a truly universal and anthropocentric perspective will quickly lead to the conclusion that, the so-called "new threats" to National and Global Security are not at all new to many countries of Asia, Latin America and in particular Sub-Sahara Africa.

During the last two centuries, more than two thirds of humanity has had to endure and attempt to fight back in order to survive in the face of the onslaught of the very "threats" listed above, which were in the main caused and perpetrated by European Nation States and Kingdoms, as they competed to expand their empires to occupy large territories in Africa, Asia, the Americas (North and South) and Australia. In that regard, we may wish to reflect on the following sample of a few leading questions for an interactive discourse to test and validate the novelty in the definition of being advanced to describe a new perception of the prevailing threats to global security and the security of Nations: -

In considering human rights violations, what can be said about slave trade which shipped Africans to North and South America? Was that a threat to National Security, and if so, what Nation? On the same vein, what can be said about the colonial occupation of Africa and the subjugation of Africans to the will of the Colonial Masters being described as a threat to National Security?

With regard to genocide perceived as a threat to National Security, what happened to the Natives of Australia **(Aborigines)** and North America *Red Indians ")*? What happened to the Herero people who resisted German occupation of what is nowadays Namibia? How many people were killed and many more starved to death by the Germans during the *Maji Maji* Uprising of the Southern regions of the Imperial German colonial territory known as " Deutch Ost Afrika"?

In considering illicit trade in drugs as a threat to National Security, what do you make of the ***"Opium war*** that was waged by the United Kingdom in order to force China to allow   British companies to sell the intoxicating and debilitating drug of opium to the people of China?

It is common ground that, the various threats to National Security which have been listed above are real security risk factors; however, it is evident that they are not new to Africa and other Continents outside Europe, as it has become obvious in reflecting upon and pondering over the few questions that have been raised above. The described threats are new only in having breached the traditional and conventional security "fire walls" which hitherto protected modern Europe and North America (USA and Canada). Technology has now made it possible for people with evil designs to communicate and coordinate their criminal activities; as well as for resources to move far and quickly around the World to support people who are prepared and ready commit stand-alone or synchronized crimes. The motley collection of various "partisan groups" created as "native allies" to advance or protect the global interests of European and American Powers in Middle East (e.g., Iraq), North Africa (e.g., Libya) and Asia (e.g., Afghanistan) has now acquired capacities to cross national borders to terrorize neighbouring countries (e.g., the subversive terror groups which infiltrated Mali from Libya); as well as to operate with a borderless outreach which is global (e.g., recent terror attacks in France and Tunisia). Undoubtedly, the issues of security threat to Mankind have become borderless, and for the first time in World history all Nations are facing the same threats from common adversaries.

Therefore, for the purpose of this presentation, the discursive perspective of "new threats" being debated by Western scholars and others who are like-minded, is considered to be Eurocentric and more of academic interest, with little empirical value in shaping mindscapes of the kind of Men and Women who will provide effective leadership in the design and implementation of coherent and practical strategies of National Security, which are more anthropocentric with a global perspective and outlook.

 As a matter of fact, for the case of Africa in general and broadly speaking, the salient issues do not so much pertain to coming to terms with "the emergence or development of new security threats". The key issue is to shape the future of the Continent in making sure there is an end to the long suffering of the people of Africa under the scepter of the perennial scourge of ignorance, poverty, hunger, diseases and their attending negative effects such as regional and internal conflicts, human rights violations, genocide, illicit trade and desertification.

3.3   Liberating Human Capital from the Scepter of Resource Conflicts and Poverty in Africa

The current socio-economic development state of Africa is paradoxical because it is simultaneously a Continent of vast natural resources and home to the poorest population on earth, measured in terms of human development indices. Evidently, the instrumental cause of the poverty of Africa is capacity deprivation to create wealth which is locked in its vast reserves of natural resources. Furthermore, the serious situation of endemic poverty, diseases and ignorance has been worsened by internal and regional conflicts originating from domestic social contradictions, which are fanned by the global scramble for the ownership of natural resources.

Therefore, in order to move forward to a better future, Africa needs to end all regional and domestic conflicts that weaken national unity and solidarity, as well as frustrate initiatives for regional integration. The energies and talents of Africa must be usefully engaged in various development initiatives and gainfully employed in tasks designed to unlock the potential to create wealth and prosperity of Africans from the vast natural resource base of their Continent.

In order to be able to unleash the potential of Africa to achieve high growth rates with transformative socio-economic development which will end abject poverty, the vast potential of human capital in the predominantly youthful population of Africa must not be wasted in political protests or civil conflicts which foster nihilism manifest as "radical terrorism"; but rather using the instruments of proper education and skills development, the human capacity potential of the African youth must be tapped for sustainable growth which help stimulate wealth creation and promote equitable distribution of income and wealth for social harmony. This different view of the real and significant threats to National Security is considered essential to the "Vision of Africa" beyond tomorrow into the 21st Century; a pragmatic view to understand the fundamental challenges of security in Africa, as well as to call the right of order of priorities in tackling those challenges.

3.4 Empirical Model of National Security System and Domain Fields

It should be evident from the foregoing that, Europe and America for all their scholarly advancement and sophistication of their Think-Tanks, cannot be expected to supply a readily usable model (i.e. "cut-and-paste") as a framework of analysis or applicable template in formulating solutions for the security challenges of Africa; for the simple reason that, the European and American scholars as well as strategic analysts cannot fully understand the social conditions of Africa they are not part of. To borrow and paraphrase the moral of a favourite maxim, it will be a veritable exercise in futility to seek to outsource thinking that will bank on European and American scholars and strategic analysts to find solutions to the national security challenges of Africa having social institutions and environments which are at variance with the European and American social models.

In considering the challenges on the ground pertaining to the national security challenges of Africa from a practical perspective, there is a continuum of roles, functions, duties, responsibilities and activities at all levels in society, that seamlessly link individual human security and personal safety to collective security and safety of communities; which in turn forms the bedrock foundation of the composite and comprehensive National Security System empirical paradigm. In that regard, National Security System key issues or elements in the general situation of Africa may be described as an indivisible chain loop that is created by the linking of the following five strategic domain fields, namely: -

National Independence;

National Survival;

National Development;

National Interests; and National Protection.

The following is a brief discourse which expands and presents, **ads eriatim,** the five key domain fields listed above, that collectively constitute the essence of National Security Systems for African countries. The various domain fields of National Security System ("NSS") which have been listed above act like interlocking rings that are joined in a loop wrapped around the "NATION" at the core (See Figure 2). In that regard, the demonstrative diagram serves to illustrate interdependence of the various domains of institutions of the State and Society at all levels, as well as the imperative for them to act and operate in a cohesive and collaborative manner at all times in order to ensure the desirable level of state National Security to maintain social stability is achieved and sustained.

3.4 Description of the Composite National Security System Model and Domain

The illustrative diagram of the National Security System clearly indicates each domain field as a discrete entity, denoting the existence of distinct clear boundaries, in respect of institutional functions and areas of responsibilities. Nevertheless, it will become evident in following the clockwise arrow movement of the loop, that there is reciprocal interdependence and need for mutual support of the various domain fields displayed without subjugation of one to another. This is a very important point that Top Leaders should clearly understand and grasp this concept in order to

promote institutional cooperation and collaboration between national security domains and to avoid inter-agency turf rivalry or power struggles that dissipate energies and compromise overall national security.

It is important to underscore two key messages in the illustrative diagram of interlinked domain fields of the National Security System. First, it is important to point out that the diagram shows a thick "wire" or "wire-rope" that strings together and connects the rectangles representing the various domain fields of National Security. It represents the institutional mandate and statutory function of the "National Security Organization" (in Tanzania it is "TISS") to link the various domains. While functional compartmentalization is good and necessary for the domain fields and constituent institutions to maintain focus with distinct areas of primary responsibilities, it is equally important that National Security domain fields should be interlinked to collaborate and support one another in the quest to attain the overall common strategic goals and objectives of the one and the same Nation.

FIGURE 2 – NATIONAL SECURITY SYTEM ("NSS") OF INTERLINKED DOMAIN FIELDS

National Independence

National Protection

National Survival

National Interests

National Development

Secondly, the arrowhead of linking "wire-rope" does not close to touch the "National Independence" domain field. The "gap" is intended to act as a constant reminder which signifies the fact that the National Security System will always have risks and threats to deal with.

Therefore, effective functioning of the National Security System demands constant vigilance!

4   National Independence – Sovereignty as the Foundation Cornerstone of National Security

4.1   The Role of National Consciousness

National Security must first and foremost be about the imperative to protect National Independence, which is the same thing as to safeguard and assure the integrity of "National Sovereignty". The struggle for the first phase of the liberation of African colonial territories to gain national independence and become self-governing states with sovereign identity was motivated by that quest and desire for self-determination of the African people to advance their own agenda for holistic human development and to achieve material prosperity. As a matter of fact, the celebrations of attaining national independence and the birth of new African sovereign states took place amid widespread hope and expectations for rapid socio-economic transformation that would set free the people from the yoke and heavy burden of abject poverty. Hence, the end of the struggle to gain national sovereignty by any means necessary, came with the attending rights for self-determination and marked the beginning of the second phase of the liberation struggle through socio-economic transformation and growth that would finally lead to economic emancipation.

National Independence, as in true sovereignty, means having an effective Government in place with "national consciousness"; and hence the ability of the Nation to assert itself by making decisions independently in the best interests of the people by way of protecting their national identity, way of life, national ethics, national borders, social values, culture and whatever else protects their right to self-determination as a people. An independent nation will not

allow itself to be coerced and be prevailed upon to succumb to the imposition of the will of another nation, which has the effect of surrendering sovereignty; and in the course of doing that to surrender the fundamental rights of all human societies to self-determination.

4.2   The Importance of Patriotism to Cultivate Security Consciousness

"National Consciousness" finds its best and positive expression in "Patriotism". It has been argued that, National Security must be "anthropocentric" or "people-centred" to be most effective. However, it is only a society of people imbued with "national consciousness" that one will find and observe the true patriotism that is prepared to volunteer participation in the National Security network as a civic duty, which will be discharged with no small pride. As a matter of fact, "national consciousness" provides fertile ground to cultivate and plant the seeds of "security consciousness" that become manifest in the state of vigilance found among the general populace, as well as the willingness to collaborate with the State Organs of security. In that ideal and highly desirable situation, National Security becomes a truly national agenda which unites all the people and the Leadership of the Country at all levels to work for the common goals that guarantee security assurance of the Nation. The enemies of the State and the Nation will not find any space to locate and hide or operate without being identified and neutralized.

5   National Survival – The Ultimate Basic Human Motivation for National Security

5.1   The Basic Necessities and Essentials for National Survival

It may be fairly postulated that, apart from the air all living humans breathe, there are four other absolute essentials for

National Survival with a functional economy, namely: -

FOOD – essential as a basic necessity for life survival. Shortage of food supplies will create food price inflation which in turn causes urban wage inflation that will ruin industry and commerce, as well as precipitate human misery from the health challenges of malnutrition. Starvation will also lead to deaths and create general social instability;

WATER – essential as a basic necessity for life of humans and livestock, as well as wildlife and plants. Shortage or lack of domestic water will create health problems to human and animals alike with death as possible outcome. Acute shortage or the lack of industrial water will shut down processing plants which produce drinks, pharmaceuticals,

petrochemicals and food items such milk. Lack of water will also create acute challenges to provide necessary medical services such as surgery as well as cause disease epidemics on account of poor hygiene. The resulting total cost in human lives, lost production in industries and medical curative services will be staggering;

ENERGY – is necessary to sustain life as domestic fuel for cooking and heating, as well as fuel for modern vehicles used in the multi-model systems of transportation (automobile vehicles, locomotive trains, marine vessels and aircraft). Energy fuel is necessary for the production of electric power to drive industries as well as to provide Households with electricity supply to the various domestic appliances which have come to be part of the essentials of modern lifestyle e.g., refrigerators, computers, mobile telephones and television. Without energy supplies (fuel and electric power), a modern Nation would literally grind to a halt and even the Defence and Security would be incapacitated by the inability to move about in response to a situation that requires their intervention;

FINANCE – money is necessary for industry and commerce to function in a modern economy. The Government requires financing using tax revenue that is paid in money, in order to be able to fund the essential functions of governance including maintenance of law and order, as well as to deliver on essential social services such as health and education. In particular, foreign currency reserves are necessary for a Country to be able to import whatever is essential for survival of the Nation e.g., petroleum products.

5.2   Vital Institutions for the Physical National Survival

It should be evident the National Security System that ensures and guarantees National Survival means much more than the frontline Defence and Security organs such as TPDF, POLICE and TISS which have primary responsibility for the physical protection and security of borders, vital installations, as well as the maintenance of law, order and peace with human safety. In fact, in view of the foregoing, the National Food Reserve Authority, Water Utility Authorities, Bank of Tanzania National Custodianof foreign Reserves and Banker of Government Finances `tax Revenue Collector and Goverment Funder Custodian of National Interests in Petroleum *Sector and Supplier of Natural Gas and TANESCO (Generator, Transmitter and Distributor of Electric power)* are strategic institutions of vital importance for National Survival in the context of National Security System.

Before proceeding further, a few leading questions may assist to reflect on the issues of vulnerability in considering possible scenarios and the underlying risks to National Survival: -

What scenario could possibly unfold if electric power generation and transmission was left to transfer in entirety to the private sector domain?

Given the drought conditions which have dried up the dams that store up water for hydroelectric power generation what scenario could have unfolded if the Government of Tanzania acting through TPDC had not built the Mtwara – Dar es Salaam Gas Pipeline? What could possibly be the consequences if the Private Sector decided to create a shortage of petroleum products imported from the Middle East? What if the shortage was caused by Al Shabab intercepting to blockade oil tankers voyaging to Tanzania?

What scenario could possibly unfold in Zanzibar if there was to be an acute shortage of rice, sugar and wheat flower during the Holy Month of Ramadan that coincides with General Elections?

The issue of National Survival cannot be overemphasized in the context of National Security because the contrary is national disintegration, a failed state and social chaos created by people who have will become ungovernable due to the collapse of law and order. People will cooperate with State Organs on National Security issues and harbour a positive attitude towards the Government of the day, if there is belief and trust that their Leaders are working and acting through the National Security System to protect, and hence assure or guarantee their physical survival. National Survival with means of livelihood depends, first and foremost, on having a functional and stable economy which provides the life basic essential human survival requirements of food, water, apparel, shelter and domestic fuel. When those essentials are in acute short supply, the situation in any Nation can deteriorate to a point that will trigger "food riots" and result in social breakdown as well as law and order to render the population ungovernable.

Once there is a breakdown of law and order as consequence of social instability, National Security is compromised from within and hence the Nation becomes vulnerable to any kind of sabotage or attack.

The storming of the Bastille at the start of French Revolution was precipitated by extreme economic difficulties which people considered unbearable due to widespread hunger. The "Arab Spring Revolution" in Tunisia was triggered by popular reaction of youth dissatisfied with a situation of high unemployment ascribed to unhealthy condition of the Tunisian national economy.

Therefore, a healthy and functional stable economy is necessary in order to ensure the physical survival of the Nation and to maintain the social conditions that will enable the Government establishment to govern as well as to provide National Security.

The bio-physical environment which comprises land, water bodies, forestry, wildlife and fisheries may be counted as an asset which can be exploited economically for the direct benefit of the

people who will be engaged in the economic activities as well as the Nation. For farmers, fishermen and livestock keepers, the negative impact of environment degradation can spell doom to their economic activities and by implication; threaten income levels which are necessary to sustain their livelihood. Hence, the promotion of National Security also requires the protection and prudent exploitation of the bio-physical environment as an economic asset that provides people with productive economic activities which help to maintain social stability.

5.3   On the Survival of National Identity

Apart from physical survival rendered possible by satisfying the human needs supplied through economic activities, the survival of the Nation as a stable society requires the development of national ethics and cultural values which are the foundations for the social institutions that regulate human behaviour. The identity survival of any Nation depends very much on the establishment of those social pillars as the "soft structures" which reinforce the "national consciousness" that has already been demonstrated to be the bastion of National Security.

6   National Development – The Collective Aspiration of People to Progress and Self-Realization

6.1   Strategic Elements of the National Development Domain

There are five strategic key areas that are fundamental to the National Development domain which is sustainable and with outcomes of building capacity for wealth creation and prosperity for all, namely: -

AGRICULTURE (lumped together with livestock and fisheries); INDUSTRIAL MANUFACTURING and PROCESSING; COMMERCE (which includes trade, financial services and tourism);

ECONOMIC SERVICES INFRASTRUCTURE (which includes infrastructure for multi-modal transportation, electric power generation, water supply and communication);

SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY and INNOVATION (to build human capacities with skills for research, production and innovation).

People of all human social groupings and persuasions have in common, the desire to achieve a standard living and prosperity which guarantees their basic needs of survival, in order to have a life that means more than the provision of food, shelter and apparel. Freedom in terms of the right to self-determination in order to achieve progress and to enjoy prosperity through socio-economic development is fundamental right of individuals in their single and separate ways, as well as in their various collective groupings in society.

Once the basic human needs have been supplied to guarantee physical survival of the Nation, the pent-up energy of the African people that has been galvanized by national consciousness needs to be channeled to various activities of National Development programmes. Africans were subdued and ruled by Europeans because the latter could impose their will on account of having superior technology manifest in the superior weapons; as well as an industrialized economy that could create wealth and prosperity for its people from exploitation of the natural resources of Africa.

6.2   The Strategic Impact of National Development to National Security

The struggle for national independence by the African people was impelled by the strong motivation to acquire national sovereignty that would allow their self-determination, and hence the opportunity to initiate national development programs which would bring about national salvation from the bondage of mass poverty that is concomitant with ignorance, diseases, hunger as well as other social and economic ills that can be ascribed to extreme poverty. In that regard, the National Development programs of individual African countries, which above all will have to be fundamentally national programs to fight poverty, would have to be designed to have 4-way impact that is pertinent to the establishment and development of durable National Security systems in the following ways below: -

National Development programs to eradicate poverty would ensure physical survival of the people and henceforth anchor social stability, which is fundamental in the quest to achieve national stability as the bedrock foundation of National Security establishment; National Development programs which uplift the Nation fulfil one of the key aspirations of the struggle national independence which envisioned the transformation and change of Africa from an area where people eke out an existence and adapt themselves to their environment, to a continent which challenges the environment and adapts to the needs of people; as well as to create wealth and prosperity for all. A prosperous Africa would be worth fighting for in order to protect the value that has been created; and hence, would provide sufficient motivation for people to support or participate in the National Security endeavours;

National Development programs of Africa in scientific progress and technological innovation would catalyse and spearhead sustainable economic development, which is the key enabling factor for the building and sustenance of durable National Security institutions; and

National Development programs will enable African countries to develop capacities to become self-reliant and henceforth be able to safeguard national independence; which is fundamental to the establishment and maintenance of National Security systems that can protect national interests in international relations. For example, the successes of national economic development of China, Japan, India, South Korea and other Asian countries have not only brought prosperity to the people of those countries, but have earned them the respect and recognition they deserve in the international arena dominated by the historic dominant economic and military super-powers of North America and Europe. China has now been admitted to become a permanent member of the UN Security Council.

7   National Interests – In Considering the Social, Economic and Security Interests of the Nation

7.1   Defining Matters of National Interest

It has been said elsewhere before that people don't fight over ideas, but rather over resources and specifically in order to gain possession of what has been provided by nature such as land or water; or to protect what has been created or earned by means of self-sacrifice and hard work. People may also fight when they feel left out or dispossessed of what they regard as their rightful entitlement to sharing the benefits which accrue from the exploitation of those resources. Successful development programs of the Nation will create wealth and increase the stock of national assets which are worth protecting by all means necessary. Nevertheless, people will also seek to protect and defend.

In order for the Nation to be at peace within itself, the National Security System will be required to protect the well-being of the people; and in practical terms that translates into human safety, as well as the protection of their properties and way of life which includes their basic freedom and human rights proclaimed in the Universal Charter of the UN Declaration of Human Rights; as well as their social institutions of values such as ethics, customs, traditions, norms and taboos. Moreover, people will also seek and expect the National Security System to guarantee their safety, as well as to safeguard the acquired or inherited natural economic assets and man-made assets. In practical terms, it should be obvious now that to defend or safeguard National Interests will involve both physical assets, as well as other valuables which cannot be physically touched and hence remain to be intangible.

National Interests may be within the Country, but may also straddle across Nation borders into neighbouring countries. Shared water bodies like Lake Nyasa, Lake Tanganyika, Lake Victoria and the Ruvuma River are real life examples of National Interests which straddle across borders into neighbouring countries. The Serengeti National Park of Tanzania and Masai Mara in Kenya is yet another example of cross-border National Interests.

What then, it could be asked, qualifies to be classified as a matter of National Interest? It is submitted that, there is no cut and dry formula of what may be classified as matters of National Interests. However, it can be fairly postulated and stated as a general rule that, all key issues or factors that pertain to the protection of sovereignty and hence National Independence, should be rightly classified as matters of National Interests. Moreover, all key issues or factors that will ensure National Survival, or will promote and support the realization of the National Development initiatives must be treated as matters of National Interest.

7.2   Identifying Priority Matters of National Interest

A cross-section of what may be classified as matters of National Interests of Tanzania will include the following: -

HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT (specifically access and quality to lifelong education and training that is tailored to prepare Tanzanians for their present and future needs. Leaders at all levels are products of the formal and informal system which influences the way those Leaders and the general populace think. The way people think is the people is the process; what people think is the product. Evidently fidelity the processing will determine quality of the final product);

i.   CULTURAL HERITAGE AND ARTS PROMOTION (which influences the way people behave, development and evolution of social values, as well as their lifestyle);

ii.   MASS MEDIA COMMUNICATION (to continuously inform and educate the Nation with awareness of events and developments in the domestic arena and internationally); NATURAL RESOURCES EXPLOITATION AND CONSERVATION (to include land, water bodies, minerals, natural gas, petroleum, wildlife and forestry);

iii.   INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT, OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE (for transportation, electric power supply, communication and other economic activities or services, as well as for the delivery of essential social services such as health and education);

iv.   INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND INVESTMENTS PARTNERSHIPS (in the realm of international treaties, regional economic integration and bilateral or multilateral economic diplomacy);

v.   REGIONAL STABILITY AND SECURITY FOR PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE WITH NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES (in considering the need to strengthen inter-state relations with a view to promote the regional economic and socio-political integration of EAC and SADC; as well as to avoid internal conflicts which create and impose on Tanzania, the humanitarian burden of receiving and hosting large numbers of refugees);

vi.   BIO-PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT CONSERVATION AND PROTECTION (pertaining to global climate change issues; the protection and conservation of sources of water; the treatment and use water resources as well as treatment and disposal of waste water; the sustainable use of arable and pastoral land; the sustainable exploitation of forestry and wildlife; urban planning and the management of urban development; rehabilitation of mining sites)

Vii.   HERITAGE SITES AND ASSETS CONSERVATION (of both National and Cultural heritage).

This presentation will not attempt to produce the complete list of matters of National Interest. The list above has been prepared as an attempt to sufficiently demonstrate the type of issues and diversity of factors that are matters of National Interest because of their significant impact to the security national independence or successful endeavours in the domains of National Survival and National Development.

8   National Protection – The Obligation and Duty to Safeguard the Nation

8.1   Citizen Duty and Obligation for National Security

In simple terms, National Security is popularly construed to mean the same thing as National Protection. However, this discourse has already demonstrated that National Security covers a much wider scope than mere National Protection to include the domains of National Survival, National Development and National Interests. In terms of the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania, it is the duty and obligation of every Citizen of Tanzania to participate in the defence and security of the Nation. Therefore, it may be fairly postulated that the National Security System domain field of National Protection encompasses ALL Citizens of Tanzania by of the Constitution. Nevertheless, National Protection is the one domain field that has statutory mandated institutions charged with specific responsibilities to cover the operational domains of prevention, protection, security, combating, fire and rescue, as well as defence functions.

8.2   Statutory Institutions of the National Security System

Institutions with statutory mandate for operational functions within the domain field or cluster of National Protection include TPDF, TISS, POLICE, IMMIGRATION, KMKM, PCCB, PRISONS SERVICE, CHUO CHA MAFUNZO, FIRE AND RESCUE SERVICES, NATIONAL SERVICE and JKU.

It is beyond the scope of this discourse to dwell and discuss any further, the individual or coordinated functional and operation statutory mandates of the institutions which have been presently listed. However, it is important to point out and highlight the following issues with regard to the domain field of National Protection in considering the entire NSS down to grassroots level: -

The National Defence and Security Council ("NDRC") is positioned at the apex of the hierarchy of Defence and Security Committees ("DSCs") which begin at the Village or falat Mtaa and Ward level under Local Government Authorities ("LGAs") and climbs up to District and Regional levels under Regional Administration. Strengthening of DSCs in terms of human capacities at all levels is critical in order to have in place an effective NSS that has deep outreach into households and the general populace which can harbour subversive elements to national security including terrorists. The DSCs can also be used very effective in respect of coordinating the functions and operational responsibilities of the other domain fields of the NSS at Regional, District and Grassroots Levels;

National Security is seamless and indivisible between public and private sector in terms of the requirement to rendered security services. There are numerous registered "Private Security Companies" which provide static and mobile response security services that would otherwise be provided by State Security organs of the NSS. The private operators which include foreigners are effectively within the functional domain of the NDRC and its subordinate structures. The point to consider is whether this practice of allowing foreigners to establish "Private Security Companies" does not create the risk for subversive elements including terrorists and poachers to set up themselves under cover of "privatized" security services. Perhaps two questions could be asked to stimulate and lead discussion going forward. The first question would be to ask whether or not national security functions should be entrusted to operations by foreigners who are totally concerned with the business aspect to make a good profit and not really concerned with National Security. The second question is to ask how effective are the existing regulation and control of private security operators.

9   The Role of National Security System in Tanzania Development Vision 2025

9.1   Strategic Importance of Social Stability in the Long-Term Development Vision

SOCIAL STABILITY is the single foremost and necessary precondition for any economic development whatsoever to take place. Social stability anchors socio-economic development by way of building business confidence that will allow capital to take investment risk in medium to long term undertakings. Industrial development is a long-term undertaking that requires substantial investments in capital equipment and machinery for production, as well as investment outlays in providing facilitative economic services infrastructure and to create the requisite

human capacities. In a country such as Tanzania that is emerging from legacy of being an agrarian economy, the social impact of industrial development will be to accelerate urban development with labour migration from the rural economy to find employment opportunities in the urban centres. The resulting change in social demography always carries risks and may result in the creation of threats which must be dealt with by the National Security System. The National Security System ("NSS") has already been defined in terms of its domain clusters, within the context of this discourse. However, NSS cannot be very effective in carrying out its domestic mandate without a clear appreciation of the situation on the ground and that includes the prevailing social conditions.

Accelerated rural-to-urban migration will be one of the outcomes of the desired socio-economic transformation of Tanzania from its present status of an agrarian economy with a majority rural based population to become a semi-industrialized country. The resulting social changes which will bring together individuals and groups hitherto unknown to each other, in a situation which lacks the traditional social structures and institutions that simultaneously support individuals and regulates the social behaviour of individuals. It is a situation that will necessarily create new social groupings and associations that will influence behavioural changes and lifestyles of the new urban workforce and inhabitants.

It is not possible to avoid the social and demographic changes that will necessarily follow in the wake of the socio-economic transformation which will be triggered and further driven by the national initiatives for industrialization. Nevertheless, the National Security System must have the capacity and means to influence as well as to manage the changes by devising strategies that will eliminate outright or militate against the risks of group dynamics which have negative influence or consequences such as anti-establishment radicalization and substance abuse of illicit drugs.

9.2   National Security as Social Capital to Attract Investments for the Development Vision

In terms of the national composite Tanzania Development Vision 2025 ("TDV 2025"), Tanzania will have attained the status of a semi-industrialized Middle-Income Country, living at peace with herself and her neighbours. The national GDP will have reached US $ 3,000 per capita with a population of 50 million inhabitants. In other words, in terms of the objectives of TDV 2025 attainment of the economic development and growth aspirations will bring Tanzania to boast a gross GDP of US $ 150 billion. In considering the gross national GDP which currently stands at US $ 50 billion the attainment of TDV 2025 aggregate economic performance benchmarks will entail achieving and maintaining double digit growth rates over the next decade.

In considering the realities of global interdependence as well as the imperative to be able to mobilize investments and to trade within Africa and internationally, it is equally important for the NSS to undertake its external mandate in relation to the issues of National Development and National Interests already defined herein before. Hence, it is necessary for the NSS to have a clear understanding and appreciation of the regional and global dynamics of commodity trade, investments, capital markets, technology developments and economic diplomacy. Therefore, in order to achieve the desired level of industrialization with high growth rates, Tanzania must attract substantial inflows of foreign direct investments ("FDI") to supplement the rather limited resources available for direct domestic investments ("DDI"). In that regard, the NSS must play its effective role in the discharge of its external mandate.

The management of regional and international relations will be challenging in considering the quest for political stability within EAC ("Burundi") and SADC ("DR Congo"), as well as the strong back push of the Western Nations led by the US in attempt to stop the economic advance of China into Africa to create partnerships that threaten to alter and supplant the economic relationships existing from the legacy of colonialism.

It is beyond the scope of this presentation to go into details and henceforth to suggest what needs to done by the NSS in respect of the realization of TDV 2025. It should suffice for now, to point out and to state as a matter of fact that the National Security System has a critical role to play both in the domestic sphere, as well as the external arena of regional security initiatives and international economic relations.

9.3   The Dual Role of National Development Programs in the Context of National Security

National Development Programs of economic importance are primarily motivated by considerations of economic viability and commercial sustainability. Nevertheless, such programs can play a dual role by building capacities that are required for national security requirements. For example, the garments and apparel industries established to supply the domestic and external markets can be switched to produce uniforms for the defence and security forces. Likewise, the national infrastructure of road network can include stretches of highway which can be used as emergency landing runways for aircraft. Therefore, it is possible to incorporate the special needs of national security functional operations to be factored in the plans and implementation of National Development Programs. It just serves to underscore the fact that the National Security System is a nationwide web that should be interwoven with the entire social and economic fabric of the Nation.

10   Towards the Realization of TDV 2025 and Challenges for the National Security System Going Forward

10.1   The Imperative to Manage Change with Stability

The desire and determination to attain and maintain stability with transformative socio-economic change characterizes the vision of Africa and Tanzania moving into the 21st Century and beyond. Change is the one socio-political theme that has special appeal to the youthful and increasingly educated population of Africa, because more Africans desire that the Continent must change from an area where people struggle laboriously to make a living and adapt themselves to their environment; to a Continent which challenges the environment and adapts it to the needs of mankind. However, change must take place and social stability must be simultaneously maintained because the desire and agitation for change without maintaining stability is NIHILISM.[9140] In fact nihilism is the perpetual and underlying threat to national security that can be unleashed with devastating effect. It has been argued that stability must be anchored with and effectively managed by a functionally robust National Security System and that is the first key strategic issue in the African and National Visionary context.

10.2   Challenging the National Security System to Anchor Social Stability

Tanzania Development Vision 2025 is a vision for the people of Tanzania to live a more prosperous life compared to the status quo. In that regard, Tanzania has set for itself attainable and tangible development over the next decade. However, the national development aspirations of Tanzania cannot be achieved with disregard to Africa regional integration or the reality of global interdependence. Regional markets create critical economies of scale which can attract global capital investments that will unleash and accelerate growth to create more wealth for greater prosperity. Therefore, the challenge of the National Security System ("NSS") is to ensure there is enduring social stability such that there will be confidence to invest long term in infrastructure and industrial development. The domain fields of the NSS Model have already been elaborated herein before and it should be clear how the various units of Government are interlinked; as well as interdependent to ensure national stability that will bring peace to people for progress and prosperity. The National Security System must anchor social stability for national peace, because it is the fundamental and necessary condition for progress and prosperity to be realized.

10.3   The Importance of National Security for Regional Markets Integration

Besides the economic rationale for regional integration of markets to create economies of scale in the context of globalization, Tanzania cannot develop sustainably as an island of peace and prosperity in a region of conflict and poverty. The arbitrary territorial borders which were drawn by Colonial Rulers and divided ethnic groups remain to be porous as people challenge them at all times. Whenever conflicts have flared inside neighbouring countries around Tanzania, there have been large movements of displaced people into the border regions of our country. The resulting sudden increase of population would create tremendous pressure on the bio-physical environment including, land, water, forestry and natural resources. Therefore, once again it should be evident that Tanzania must work for both domestic and regional security in order to create the enabling environment for the desired socio-economic development and transformation for the realization of the objectives of TDV 2025.

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140 The term "NIHILISM" is used in context to mean the same thing as "ANARCHISM".