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Investigative Journalism in Tanzania

Seventy-Seven Hotel
Arusha, Tanzania • 29 April–4 May 1996

*Sponsored by the Presidential Commission on Corruption and
the Tanzanian Association of Journalists and Media Workers*

*Facilitated by the Canadian International Development Agency and
the Economic Development Institute of the World Bank*

AJM
TANZANIA



THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN FIGHTING CORRUPTION

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Money is a more immediately controllable instrument of influence than guns in the hands of the ordinary policeman or soldier.... Money not only talks politics, it whispers conspiratorially and, at the extreme, sometimes shouts so loud that no other messages are heard.

—Charles Lindblom, 1977

A popular government without popular information or the means of acquiring it is but a prologue to a farce or a tragedy, or perhaps both. Knowledge will forever govern ignorance; and a people who mean to be either own governors must arm themselves with the power that knowledge brings.

—James Madison

Introduction

The press in modern times, is often referred to as the Fourth Estate coming after the Executive, Legislature and the Judiciary. There are several sources for expression, but the most accepted authorities are Baron Macaulay and Thomas Carlyle.

According to Carlyle, "Burke (Edmund) said there were three estates in parliament, but the Reporters' Gallery yonder, there sat a Fourth Estate, more important far than they all." And according to Macaulay, "The Gallery in which the Reporters sit has become a Fourth Estate of the Realm." (Hiebert and Reus 1987)

The central role of the press in the Tanzanian context was neatly summarized by Nyalali thus:

The mass media are to the body politic what the five senses are to the human body. It is through the mass media that a nation communes with itself and with other nations beyond. It is in that way that the authorities within a nation, such as the Legislature, Executive, and the Judiciary sense the problems and aspirations of the people they are established to serve. Conversely it is through the same channel that the people sense the capacity and policies of those authorities (*Sunday News*, September 10, 1992).

Two assumptions underlay the scholars cited above. First, that the effectiveness of the press in a particular society is measured in terms of how they are helping the people to maintain their independence and safeguard justice. Second, that people in a modern democracy are capable of

expressing their views only according to and to the extent of the information made available to them by the press.

To what extent has the Fourth Estate in Tanzania lived up to its expected role of defending and propelling people's democracy and justice? To whom is the press responsible, to the government or society? Does the press in Tanzania give people an accurate picture of the politicians? Can people rely on the press in Tanzania? How do existing press laws facilitate or frustrate efforts by the media to fight corrupt tendencies? Are pressmen immune from corruption? Who "owns" the press? In a word, is there press freedom in Tanzania?

This paper discusses the role of the media in promoting transparency, accountability and fighting corruption from within and without.

Part one provides an historical account of the role of the press from the colonial, post-colonial, mono-party hegemony, and the contemporary period, together with the relationship that exists between the press and various social groups.

In the second part, the new role of the press under liberal democracy is discussed with concrete examples highlighting why existing press laws frustrate press efforts to agitate for transparency, accountability and fair play among various actors in the political economy struggling for economic power and other advantages. Also a critical examination will be made of the depth of corruption in the media institutions and among journalists. This is crucial since corruption cannot be fought using institutions which are themselves hamstrung by corrupt tendencies.

The Historical Past

In the colonial days in Tanzania the press, like all other state organs (the Judiciary and Legislative Council), was established to deliver authority to the people. It did not exist to enable the people to commune with themselves or with the authorities as previously quoted by Nyalali. Different colonial powers used different methods in different colonies to attain the integration of African economy into the western capitalist economy. Hand in hand with the violent oppression of the people, euphemistically referred to in colonial history as "pacification of the natives," colonial powers everywhere used the media to tame the "natives to contain tribal wars and resistance from being developed."

This position, as we shall be able to show later, did not change under the post-colonial state. It continued to deliver authority from the top to the bottom in the name of bringing about so-called "guided development." While the governors wanted the people to listen and act on the orders being given, they were not ready to listen and respond to people's popular demands. As in the colonial days, the communication channel remained one-way with the press acting as a conveyor belt for the governing group.

The reason for this is very simple. Tanzania's post-colonial state is a colonial creature which carried forward all the institutions and colonial

structures created for the purpose of perpetuating colonialism. How such structures and institutions can be used to propel democracy and development, is a complex question. But what was done?

First, the post-colonial state became the principle actor in socio-economic development, emphasizing the state-central approach. Second, the practice of "unlimited government power," the use of power without restraint, was also extended by the post-colonial state through the dismantling of the (Westminster Model) multi-party political arrangement which colonial Britain bequeathed to her colonies on the eve of independence. Finally, the issue of the peoples participation, real democracy, and accountability to the people received no word other than lip-service. (Bgoya and Hyden, 1987).

The result was a confused situation in which, like the colonial state, short-term considerations took precedence over long term ones: use of power came before welfare, personal rule took roots at the expense of government by institutions, and security of rulers took precedence over economic development of the nation. (Babu, 1990)

The measures taken to forge unity (at the expense of co-opting or dissolving, autonomous institutions) saw even the representative institution—the legislature—losing its sovereignty being reduced to a mere committee of the party, a supreme organ of the state (Mwakyembe, 1985)

The Besieged Press

In the media sector, when Tanzania attained her independence in 1961, major institutions were part and parcel of the colonial system.

However, the biggest instrument of mass mobilization—the radio—which had been run by the colonial government was nationalized just three years after independence. The main papers of the country were socialized six years, and a news agency was established fifteen years after independence.

Several reasons have been advanced for the changes in the press system, but the major reason is that as an indispensable instrument and means for mass mobilization and education, it had to be socialized to mobilize the masses to embrace the policy of socialism and self-reliance. The national public media in the words of Nyerere "had to support the socialist ideology of Tanzania as defined in the Arusha Declaration Part I and II." (Nyerere, 1970)

The orientation of the press to support the government and the sole ruling party was immediately followed by the banning of imported books, newspapers and films which were in contradiction to the party policies (Nordestreng, 1982). Apart from prohibiting importation of foreign papers, several pieces of legislation were passed to curtail freedom of information in Tanzania.

The Independent government had inherited the Newspaper Ordinance and the Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation Ordinance which regulated and controlled newspaper publications and radio, respectively. The

Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation (TBC) was dissolved and the broadcasting simply became part of the government ministry in the name of Radio Tanzania-Dar es Salaam (RTD).

Next followed the gagging of newspapers through laws which are archaic even in the countries of their origin where they were enacted during the Second World War in Europe. In 1968, the colonial Newspaper Ordinance was amended. Rather than controlling the newspaper through the economic/market criteria, the strategy now was to vest wide, discretionary power in the hands of the Executive President who, at his pleasure, could prescribe a newspaper if in his (subjective) opinion, it was in the public interest or in the interest of peace and good order to do so. The noose tightening round the neck of freedom of the press, which is central in the freedom of expression, came in 1976 when the Newspaper Act 1976 (No. 3) and the Tanzania News Agency Act 1976 (No. 14) were passed.

Under the 1976 Newspaper Act, the minister responsible for information has powers to cancel the registration of a newspaper if he is satisfied that the paper "is being used or is likely to be used for unlawful purpose or for any purpose prejudicial to or incompatible with the maintenance of peace, order and good government." The Act takes the view that citizens are the servants of the state and any discontent or "dissatisfaction" among the inhabitants is criminal. (Shivji, 1991) Cheka, Michapo and Rafiki are vivid victims of this law.

The legal armory of state control over freedom to "inform" and the "right to know" was completed by the state monopoly over collection, processing and dissemination of information under the News Agency Act of 1976 under which no person other than the Agency or a person authorized by the Agency was permitted to collect, process and distribute news within and outside Tanzania. The creation of the News Agency it was argued, "would improve the collection of news from various parts of the country and would give it a common ideological line." A special party sub-committee on the mass media under the chairmanship of a central committee member was formed to oversee the press behavior while all media heads became presidential appointees.

Operating under an authoritarian model, the press turned out to be more concerned with "tax privileges of any fat cat than with the care of and feeding of any underdog." (Wechster, 1963). The critical inquiry and rebellious spirit qualities which normally are associated with journalistic traditions were replaced by "news management," a new model which combines Soviet communism and authoritarianism models. Thus unlike in the BBC where the judgment of what is to be produced is based on the process of news-makers, in Tanzania what is to be aired or published could come in the form of an order from above, even with insistence that it must go as is and in full. That trend lasted as long as single party hegemony lasted. In his popular book "Who Tells the Truth in Tanzania" (1991), Tegambwage has found that there is no press freedom in Tanzania. The central right in democracy—the right to information, knowledge—does not exist in Tanzania. In Tanzania, people are not told the whole truth about events and incidences that matter most in their

lives—that is to say, about the politics of their country, and hence the flourish of the rumor industry. But lack of information breeds non-accountability, arrogance and authoritarianism in government officials. The flourishing tendencies of oppression, corruption and misuse or abuse of power, is purely due to the suppression of truth by the powers that be.

Tegambwage has listed 87 case studies ranging from the Kilombero massacre, the fire that gutted the Central Bank building, the Nyarugusu gold ribs, the Sokoine crusade, and the resignation of Jumbe. But we can as well cite the Dar airport gold and foreign exchange scandal, the Riogate, Chavda, Loliondo and the OIC to name but a few.

We should remember here that, parallel with the erosion of powers of the press, the state went ahead to whittle down all possible pressure groups like workers, students bodies, trade unions, cooperatives and women groups by passing restrictive legislations like Trade Disputes (Settlement) Act 1962, Trade Union Ordinance (Amendment) Act 1962, Civil Service (Negotiation Machinery) Act 1962.

The post-colonial state also inherited and or legislated various repressive laws which do not augur well for the flourish of a vibrant press. These range from Public Security Act 1970, Preventive Detention Act 1962, Government Secret Act and many of 40 oppressive laws which the Nyalali Commission enumerated as unconstitutional which must be repealed from the statute books. All of them in one way or another inhibit the access of journalists to public documents and hence allow the generation of corruption, arrogance, unaccountability and misuse of official power by politicians and civil servants alike.

Despite operating under liberal multi-party democracy since July 1992, many of these laws still inhibit the press from their watch-dog role. The Majira case on the radar episode is a clear testimony.

It is against this background that we can now discuss the issue of corruption in the press, how they can in the fight from within and without together with the promoting transparency, and accountability in the public institutions.

Corruption in the Media

Is there corruption in the press? The answer is yes. There are several reasons for the development of corruption in the press, but the major one is the fact that journalists are not rootless people. They are part of a corrupt society from which they cannot be immune. In recent years, two journalists have appeared in courts charged with demanding and accepting bribes. Whether they were convicted or acquitted, the point is that corruption has penetrated into journalism.

There are rumors that (we say rumors because such cases have never been brought before courts), in one region, a radio programmer having finished recording "watoto wetu" (our children) program at a rural primary

school, boldly told the school's head teacher he could not air the program unless he was given a tin of beans. An Indian Contractor fled to Kenya abandoning a Shs 350 million project after a tip from an accomplished journalist. Elsewhere there are reports of journalists getting documentary evidence from public volunteers and hunting for the suspected culprit to coerce a substantial amount of money under threat. Unless the money was given the story would be exposed. Rumors of journalists who have been blackmailing people in this manner are many, in fact frightening. The sports field is equally filled with underfed reporters who spend endless hours hobnobbing for favors from corrupt football administrators and the so-called sponsors. Who has killed soccer in Tanzania?

But if corruption is to go by, then the power of the purse during the 1995 general election was over-whelming for reporters, editors and publishers alike. They were overwhelmed by political parties and individual candidates. And although no one can admit in public, the fact is that there was so much money circulating that no sane editor or reporter could have refused given the daily economic realities they face.

It is from these realities that we would like to discuss in detail with some case studies on corruption and abuse of office power in the media in Tanzania.

Senturia J.J (1993) defines Corruption as: "The misuse of public power." A useful way however, is to see corruption as a social problem which cannot be explained outside the social formation. In essence, corruption, is one among several manifestations of a deep-rooted state crisis and its various institutions, namely the Executive, Judiciary and Legislature, together with the press. Other manifestations include balance of payments, misdirected foreign aid, debt, break-down of economic and social infrastructure, rampant misappropriation of public funds, unemployment, urbanization, drug addiction and lawlessness. All these are symptoms of an ailing political-economic system due to overload or lack of memory and capacity to manage itself.

Taken as a system, it is clear the three most important aspects of the state—namely sovereignty, accountability and delivery—are in crisis. As the major actor in the international arena, Tanzania is besieged, in its relation to society it is set apart, and as an executor of public policy it is overloaded (Babu, 1990). The failure of the state to deliver the goods and distribute them equally is what has escalated corruption touching even institutions which were supposed to ensure fair play by the competing social groups for state rewards.

Taken that way then, the underlying cause of corruption in the media and elsewhere is poverty. Resources have always been very scarce. Poverty is said to be brought about by various factors: poor economy, drought, debt, unjust international economic order, economic mismanagement, rampant embezzlement of public funds, and now the Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs). Other invisible causative factors of corruption are changes in people's lifestyles (the case of western consumerism), cultural heritage and

erosion of moral values with the advent of a monetary economy centered around private property (individualism).

However, looking beyond the manifestation and the underlying causes, one realizes that actually, corruption has to do with power relations—the crisis of state power. The weakness of state apparatus to supervise the distribution of resources among social groupings is the basic cause of corruption in Tanzania. The problem becomes more serious when a public bureaucracy whose top echelons lack clear direction, strong leadership and even morality exists. Following are two such examples.

The Ruvuma Scenario

In July 1994, a group of 30 local journalists in the Ruvuma region teamed up to form the Ruvuma Press Club after the Regional Commissioner declared he was the sole spokesman. But the group which had been formed to resist intimidation by the regional boss, was soon divided into two hostile camps. A mission by AJM sent to study the problem in Ruvuma found the division to have been triggered by disagreement and hatred between top public officials at the regional office, who were competing to use their political and office powers, and journalists seeking personal survival goals instead of serving the public.

In one case, a bogus tender to repair district hospitals was awarded under questionable circumstances at a cost of Shs 30 million which was paid without the rehabilitation being completed. The Regional Commissioner wanted to use the pressmen to support him against the Regional Development Director (the tender board chairman) who issued the tender. But the RDD was equally smart, he bought some of the journalists who, instead of reporting on the scandal, reported only the negative things about the regional boss. To make matters worse, one journalist was given a tender to supply stationary to the regional office at higher quotations than stationary sold at a nearby Peramiho Mission.

Having noticed the weakness of journalists, the Regional Commissioner responded by buying another group of journalists very cheaply. He decided to supply them free fertilizer and transport it to their farms by using office drivers who were paid their allowances by the regional commissioners office. This exercise was repeated during the harvest period, ferrying the produce back to town.

The AJM Mission reports:

In Ruvuma, because of a failure by state apparatus to live in the context of ethos and morality of society, mainly due to economic crisis, personal interests have taken priority in the place of public good. Public offices are being used for personal survival goals instead of the survival of the organization. With non-adherence to law and order, regulations and rules together with the moral decay, corruption, embezzlement and fraud of public funds, self-aggrandisement and outright arrogance have come to dominate the public office in this region. (Mbwinu and Kilimwiko, 1995)

The 1995 General Elections Scenario

In the case of the October 1995 general elections, there were several scenarios to explain the existence of rampant corruption in the Tanzania media industry. In one instance, there is a scenario in which three-quarters of the articles in one newspaper were being written by a parliamentarian aspirant who went on to foot the printing costs. In another scenario, editors launched pre-emptive journalism to defend a candidate who is alleged to have pumped up to Shs 60 million in the election campaign. (TEMCO Monitors, 1996) Similarly, there is a scenario in which reporters traveled in the most comfortable manner with all expenses being funded by a campaign manager of a political party. And yet, all publishers and editors had been forewarned not to allow their reporters to be funded by presidential or parliamentary aspirants during the campaign trail.

The behavior described in the above three scenarios reveals that within journalism, there is professional corruption and calls into question the ability of the press to fight corruption in Tanzania.

Writing on Press Freedom and the power of the purse, Kilimwiko notes:

The state has tried to control the media with the help of a variety of techniques ranging from the hot iron approach, censorship and oppression to more subtle means which often combine ownership with a system of economic awards to those in the media who tow the line, and reprisals against those who do not (the stick and carrot approach). (Kilimwiko, 1996).

The Basic Cause of Corruption in the Media

From what has been said, it is clear corruption is a social problem which cannot be explained outside an analysis of social formation. In other words, it is a crisis of state and the issue of power relations.

The crisis of power has two sides. One is related to the weakness of the state and the other is related to the weakness of the media (journalists) itself. Because the state is weak in its neo-colonial stage, it has been suspicious of the media perceiving it as sowing dissent. Consequently, the state tries to control the media through a variety of techniques described previously.

The crisis has been strengthened in the context of declining economic resources and in a situation when modern institutions and their corresponding values and regulations are ignored by officials who man the state apparatus.

Likewise, the weakness of the media (journalists) is manifested in the crisis of resources at all levels. The experience and education of media personnel in Tanzania by and large is low. This crisis in turn affects the journalistic competence and self-assurance making them all the more susceptible to pressure.

The general shortage of material resources hampers the development of the media and also makes them vulnerable to political and economic pressure evidenced by the Ruvuma case. The poor training which many

journalists have received, and their own social standing easily exposes them to the whims of powerful groups in the society (this is clear in the election scenarios described above). At the same time the economic crisis has punctured many illusions and national myths, liberalization has opened up the floodgates to a stratified society which is not sufficiently developed in terms of common values and morals, law and order to manage its affairs and become itself. The Ruvuma situation is therefore, a manifestation of an undeveloped social formation. It is not an isolated case, we have reporters across the country who practice sunshine journalism, in which they act as if they were public relation officers of some politicians and businessmen, right or wrong. What is clear is that enough groundwork has not been done to change the content and context of politics so that those who are in constant struggle for economic power and advantage do so according to the rules of the game.

Policies which alienate the poor from the state, dampen or negate the spirit of patriotism, tolerance, fair competition and nationalism. That is why we say in the delivery aspect, Tanzania's state was overloaded. Poverty allows the manipulation of vulnerable groups by those with money. Alienation allows for a lack of concern for the public good and hence cases of fraud, plunder, drug addiction, and dubious tenders and contracts.

Powerlessness in the final analysis is what has led to the current situation. Many of those in the decision-making bodies pass decisions that marginalize the poor because they (decision-makers) do not feel the pinch. A glaring case is SAP. Why should you care about cost-sharing in hospitals or education fees when your children are studying comfortably in Europe from money accrued from dubious contracts? We have cases of corrupt leaders who allow foreign companies to dump toxic waste condemned in advanced countries in rivers or open land after a 10 percent kickback, yet innocent people get leukaemia, cancer and other debilitating diseases. Equally we have politicians who collude with corrupt bureaucrats to enter into questionable agreements like the Loliondo case which dispossess their people of the very basic form of survival—land.

Concluding Recommendations

What should be done to contain corruption in the media and also to tune the media into useful institutions to propel and enhance transparency and accountability in the government office? The recommendations we suggesting are based on the fact that Tanzania has never had a free media. The media has been hamstrung by very restrictive laws. The totality of the media laws existing in the country is unconstitutional. It puts the press at a crossroad, obeying totalitarian laws while serving a society in transition to liberal political economy. Completely new laws are needed to regulate the media. In other words, liberal democratic laws should replace those authoritarian laws currently in operation. This is the only way to exercise checks and balances in the state institutions.

Likewise, the government is based on authoritarian laws and yet it is heading towards liberalism. Funny enough most of these laws, explained previously, were used during war time in England, meaning they are outdated, and their immediate deletion from statute books should be promoted. The first suggestion, therefore, is for a completely new constitution which can cater to a liberal political economy.

The second proposal is the inclusion of the Freedom of Information Act in the constitution so that both the media and public have access to public documents if really we are serious in stamping out corruption and enhancing transparency and accountability.

Third, the 1976 Newspaper Act must be amended to reduce the powers of newspaper abolition of the minister. Courts of Law can arbitrate such issues.

Fourth, the 1993 Broadcasting Act, which restricts transmission to geographical areas should also be rescinded. It is unconstitutional because it denies access to information necessary to make decisions those outside the geographical area the radio station is allowed.

Fifth, the 1970 National Security Act together with the Public Secret Act, should be amended as they make very serious inroads to freedom of information.

In the six proposal, the government should do away with the registration and licensing of journalists. That task should be left to professional associations. Firm control of the mass media by the state must be eliminated in order for the press to become a tool of the people and not of the state or the ruling party.

Seven, for the sake of diversity of opinion and news, there is no need for having a registrar of newspaper. This should be determined by the market forces—Ghana which championed the single party and personal rule under Nkrumah, has already done away with the registration of newspapers. This right is now guaranteed under the 1992 constitution. Anybody with the ability to withstand market forces should be free to do so. Tanzania can learn from the Ghana experience.

Eight, it is strongly suggested that under liberalism there is no need for the so-called Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. Professional bodies affiliated to the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) are suggesting the creation of information desks in each ministry rather than a complete ministry. Under the outdated single party rule, these were mere propaganda ministries. It should be remembered that even in Europe, the last information ministry was in France during the reign of President Charles De Gaul. No room exists for such ministries.

Another suggestion is that, just as there is no room for information ministries, there is no room for public media. These should be privatized or run by media professionals bodies themselves.

There is equally, a strong need to strengthen the Media Council (Press Ombudsman) so that it can effectively ensure high ethical and professional standards among practicing journalists.

There is an equal need to strengthen journalists associations and press clubs as regulatory bodies for their members. Corrupt journalists should be exposed with maximum publicity. Journalists must be educated on their new role in society and how to deal with the state organs. The media must open up and respond to the public's signals instead of responding to politicians or individual businessmen however rich they may be. **THERE IS NO ROOM FOR SUNSHINE JOURNALISM.** It is sunshine because it is, technically bad, pedagogically poor in its sycophant, unquestioning and uniformed way of presenting important issues.

Within the newsrooms, transparency must be sustained. There is a serious need for internal and editorial democracy in newsrooms. Freedom of press belongs to the citizens and not press owners who, as seen elsewhere, have strong links with policy-makers and decision-makers together with vested interests in the status quo.

The 40 laws which were recommend by the Nyalali Commission as unconstitutional should now be deleted as they are a serious impediment to the growth of liberal democracy based on transparency and accountability.

It is also strongly suggested that ordinary people be empowered so that they may participate effectively in decision-making especially in how public goods are being shared. Likewise, the rule of law should be strengthened by establishing a mechanism which will make the government accountable by law to its citizens and not the citizens to be accountable to the governors. **WE NEED A TRANSPARENT, ACCOUNTABLE TALKING NATION.**

When everything suggested above is said and done, there is yet a final question. Who should be the guarantor of a free press?

Laws declaring "freedom of expression" require support and enforcement from the courts. An independent judiciary is a handmaiden of free press. Without an independent judiciary, press freedom is likely to be illusory. A prerequisite for building a free press, therefore, is a legal system that is independent of political influence and has a firm constitutional direction supporting the concept of free press. This direction to the courts may be influenced by Article 19 of the International Convention of Civil and Political Rights, which states that:

Everybody shall have the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice. This right, though equally guaranteed under article 18(1) and (2) of the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania, has always been abused because of numerous drawbacks elsewhere.

We subscribe to Transparency International that a free press ranks along side an independent judiciary as one twin power that should not be beholden to politicians and that can serve as a powerful counter-force to corruption in

public life. Unlike judges, public prosecutors and Attorneys-Generals, a privately-owned media is not appointed or confirmed in office by politicians. The media is self-appointed but sustained by a public that sees their output as valuable and which is prepared to pay for it. The media should be, and can be, free of the political patronage system.

Guide Questions for Discussions

1. How does the media deal with corruption issues?
2. Which section of the media establishment is more prone to corruption in Tanzania: sports, news desk, editors or publishers? Give reasons.
3. Should we expose corrupt journalists? How?
4. Why do you think journalists get corrupted?
5. Is there a process of debate and dialogue within a newsroom which can reduce or eliminate corruption from within and without?
6. How can journalists resist corrupt inducement?
7. How can journalists fight against repressive laws on freedom of the press?
8. What is the best way of fighting for the Freedom of Information Act? Give practical suggestions.

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HOW CORRUPTION HAS AFFECTED TAX COLLECTION IN TANZANIA AND ITS REMEDY

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Corruption is as ancient as history; recall that God told Moses "Neither shalt thou take bribes which blind the wise and pervert the words of the just." But in recent times the politics and economics of graft and corruption have absorbed businessmen and policy-makers to an extent never before seen. There is corruption in France, Italy, India, South Korea and Africa and many other countries, but of late the real focus on corruption is in the economies of the developing world, especially in those making the transition from Socialism to Capitalism.

In some countries the evidence of corruption is so pervasive that it risks causing political unrest and scares away potential good foreign and local investors. Corruption has become the subject of political debate today. Before 1987-1990 the World Customs Body did not discuss the issue of integrity among Customs Administrations of many developing countries—it was taboo to raise such a subject for discussion.

Corruption is not a necessary fact of life, it is simply an evil. Every government worth the respect of its people must fight this evil. Government departments most prone to corruption include Tax Departments, Judiciary, Police, Immigration, Trade and Commerce, some local authorities, Ministries of Finance, and Transport and Communications. These ministries and departments are integral to the management of public affairs, civility and economic development. Thus, corrupt practices in these institutions undermines the tranquillity of the state and frustrates national economic development. This is the reason one prominent British Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mrs. Linda Chalker, argued that corruption can act as a major impediment to development.

The view of corruption in Tanzania is that it is not so organized that every officer takes bribes independently.

Corruption has a delimiting effect on the economy hence the rising concern among donor countries. Some economists and highly placed decision-makers in the international arena have realized that the economic reforms being implemented in many developing countries, as well as in the former Communist countries, are often colored with corruption. A glaring example of this occurred in Venezuela immediately following the acceptance and introduction of economic reforms by the government in 1989. While the government was trying to introduce elements of sanity in public finance and abolish subsidies, the sites of corruption were quickly shifted. Some senior government officials in positions of authority, together with their accomplices in commerce and industry, manipulated the newly introduced Foreign

Exchange Rules which meant to assist exporters—they demanded, and received, kick backs from foreign investors who were rushing into Venezuela's newly liberalized economy. In 1993, an investigative reporter discovered a US\$ 7 million payment voucher made by the Venezuela Central Bank to a presidential "discretionary fund." As a result, President Peres was forced from office in late 1993.

The same dangers are evident in Africa. Many African governments, including that of Tanzania, are concerned with the growing wave of corruption. Unless the menace is eradicated, the public at large will question the benefits of economic reform.

The anti-corruption concern is very high and in the Tanzanian context it can be termed a second wave—after the economic reforms and the drive towards poverty alleviation. The concern here is that all public revenues due must be collected. In other words, the government machinery must ensure that those who should pay tax do so within the time prescribed by law. The third concern is ensuring that the gains from economic growth are distributed equitably.

Journalists are concerned with corruption in developing countries because corruption has become both an economic and political issue. From Venezuela to Dar es Salaam, journalists are busy chasing down corruption stories. China, which was once thought to be a corrupt-free state, had 5,000 anti-corruption cases which were exposed by government agents between 1990–1993.

The concern of journalists and politicians is the continued prevalence of corruption even in developed countries. The BCCI scandal of the 1990s shocked the world; it was certainly a Bank of Crooks and Criminals in that it was used by drug lords, money launderers and in the case of Nigeria, high-ranking officials used it to transfer hot money abroad. Such hot money was obtained through the corrupt awarding of government tenders, tax evasion and over-invoicing of imports to facilitate capital flight.

Some intellectuals argue that in centrally controlled economies corruption, red tape and sheer inefficiency were inseparable evils. Excessive red tape in conducting business encouraged traders to make short-cuts to save time so they paid bribes to expedite the work. In Tanzania, such bribers are called "Tea (chai) money" but the amount of chai money varies depending on the business. Traffic police, doctors and nurses, and court clerks may demand chai money to move case files from one table to the next. In tax issues, tax-payers dish out large sums of money in order to evade taxes.

But scraping all government controls or privatizing the economy does not provide a complete solution to eradicating the culture of corruption. The government machinery may still house corrupt officials in tax departments, central banks, judiciary, and ministries because such officials become accustomed to the support of hot money from corrupt practices. All dirty elements must be removed from positions of power and influence. In order to

Community. The Community was an agent for collecting revenue on behalf of the governments of east African States.

The work was done satisfactorily because the Community ensured that rules, ethics and work procedures were adhered to. One of the major functions of the Revenue Commissioners was to ensure that every officer was properly trained for the job they held and each one in the team observed the Professional Ethics and Standards Performance.

Weak performers in any respect of the profession could never be promoted. Misconduct was dealt with swiftly and strictly so the culture for respecting the Law and accountability was kept live and respected at all times. Recruitment for new employees and promotion in the service was based on merit facilitating the maintenance of high standards of discipline among the work force because any misconduct or disloyalty was considered as a breach of contract. Employees had to sit for advancement professional examinations and had to appear for interviews before they were promoted.

After the break up of the east African Community in 1977, the two major Revenue Departments were transferred to the Civil Service bureaucracy under the Ministry of Finance. From that time until today, Revenue Administration has not been quite so efficient because ethics and professional standards were gradually eroded. Privileges which officers enjoyed in the old days of the Community were withdrawn. At the same time the purchasing power of the Tanzanian shilling deteriorated sharply and inflationary effects in the economy were hitting everyone including the tax collectors.

Trade liberalization is another factor which has contributed heavily towards corruption and inefficiency because importers have greater latitude for cheating the on valuation of their imports. Importers use their "own funds" to finance their imports so what they actually do is to arrange with suppliers (who are often their cousins and friends) to declare rock bottom values in order to evade taxes.

Customs Departments have often studied prices for different commodities and put up indicator values in an effort to protect public revenue. Such studies cannot effectively cover all sorts of goods imported from different sources.

It should, however, be appreciated that the period of Liberalization from 1984 to 1995 was the time when corruption in this country took root in the society. The rigorous leadership code of the Tanzanian government was unfortunately forgotten over the years. The situation deteriorated to the point where last year 1994-1995 one Member of Parliament raised an independent member's motion to restore the leadership plate. A law to that effect has promulgated and a commission to study the causes of corruption and the remedy thereof has been appointed.

The period of July 1993 to October 1994 was also characterized by massive tax exemptions which together with rampant corruption in Revenue Departments conspired to frustrate revenue collection. Some exemptions

were silly because they appeared incredible even to the laymen in the street. No one has actually worked out the arithmetic for the exact amount of Revenue which has endangered by the exemption, but the quantum is believed to be very colossal.

The other problem which also conspired against public revenue interests was the notorious postponement of taxes payable. Importers with "influence" in the system were given facilities to pay their taxes by installments which ranged from 6 months to 12 months.

The rationale or legality for such payments of public funds by installments has never been established because "hot cake products" like sugar, wheat flour, beer, etc. were accorded with this facility. This is why some experts say importers of these products had undue influence, otherwise they could not have obtained such generous treatment.

The negative side of these installments is the fact that importers were not required to give any guarantees or safeguards for the revenue tied up in the installments. They were actually given interest free tax money without any security up front.

Customs officials who operate in the same environment quickly learned that some of the exemptions and installments were improper. The Tanzanian business community is small and financially powerful. Some members of this community do not hesitate to boast when they have secured unfair or underhanded deals so that the ordinary man in the street, including tax men, eventually come to know of the goings on from the corridors of the power. This undue influence in the corridors of power is what created a negative executive environment which facilitated tax evasion and corruption. In taxation, if the junior officers perceive correctly that the boss is corrupt they will rock the boat. This is what happened between July 1992 to October 1994.

The Zanzibar Route

Having noted that customs were doing something about cheating on import valuation, some "powerful" importers started off-loading their wares in containers in Zanzibar, and gradually and surely transferred some on boats and smaller ships to the mainland.

The Customs Law and the regulations thereof is a union matter, but in practice the administration in Zanzibar is more liberal in applying customs rules so importers find it very lucrative to use the Zanzibar port in their concerted efforts to evade taxes they actually do it with impunity.

Transit Goods

Traditionally transit procedures to neighboring countries were very strict to the extent that only proven Customs Agents were given licenses to operate transit trade. Operators were required to secure insurance bonds or bank

guarantees in order to safeguard the potential revenue which inherently tied up in transit goods.

Given the period of deteriorating standards in the conduct of public services, tax officials became somewhat indifferent in applying the law and in supervising importers and customs agents giving transit permits to almost anyone who applied. It has subsequently been learned that many unscrupulous importers and seasoned tax evaders collude with customs officials, port officials and shipping agents to prepare and execute false transit documents to facilitate removal of goods from the port. Once their contraband leaves the port area the importer or his customs agent quickly takes the fake documents to the transit exit/border where he bribes customs officials who endorse and authenticate the documents to purport that subject goods have exited from Tanzania when in fact they have been dropped and sold in Dar es Salaam or Morogoro tax free. It is believed that most textiles and especially ready-made garments and khangas sold in Dar es Salaam are channeled into the market through transit abuse channel.

The tax abuse and evasion has been so disturbing that sometimes in January 1995 the Confederation of Tanzania Industries (CTI) wrote a report to show that the major tax evaders are well-known so they should be made accountable because they are killing local industries and are robbing the government of its revenues.

The Confederation argues correctly that the tax evaders would not have succeeded in their tax evasion game without the support and collaboration with the government officials—including some customs officers! Some customs officials have formed unholy alliances with importers in order to rob public funds. The Confederation further argues that in order for the government to succeed in the tax collection efforts, all tax evaders must be made to pay their tax arrears and all corrupt officials must be dealt with. Above all, loopholes in the Tax Departments must be curbed.

Loopholes

Effects of Higher Tariffs

Over the last three years there has been a general effort by the government towards implementing higher tariffs across the board. This has been counter-productive in two respects:

- a) Tax evasion has become extremely lucrative; and
- b) Consumers have seemingly benefited from lower prices which would have been unavailable without evasion of due taxes.

The so-called Zanzibar route is a concrete manifestation of the effects of high tariff rates, particularly on basic commodities such as rice, sugar, wheat flour, cooking oils, soap and detergents, etc. All efforts by the government have to date failed to close this loophole because of political sensitivities which often arise when dealing with the Zanzibar route issue! Ways and

means to make the Zanzibar route unprofitable to tax evaders have to be found as soon as possible.

Tax Profile

Tanzania has far too many taxes and tax laws. One tax payer, for example a manufacturer or a whole-saler, is required to observe all of them. One frustrating aspect of tax administration is the fact that one tax-payer may be visited by several different tax collectors in a day or in a week so some naturally feel overwhelmed by the sheer numbers of tax officials who knock at their doors. These visits are time-consuming and some of them are not conducted professionally so an element of underhand pressure is visible to the tax-payers who may choose to bribe off the taxmen in order to get rid of the bother at least for the day.

Some experts have argued that insignificant taxes should be delegated from the central government to the local authorities. Whatever the approach, it is advisable for the government to devise for ways and means of rationalizing the taxes so that they are fewer and more manageable.

Cumbersome Procedures

Customs procedures must be rationalized in order for imports to be cleared from ports within a maximum of three working days from the date the import bills are presented to customs.

The manual procedures in the main documentation room are far too cumbersome for the job to be interesting. An import document has to move between several tables/stages before the importer pays the taxes due. This process frustrates the importer and the tax collectors so much so that both are happy to create short-cuts at a price to the government.

Poor and Irresponsible Cargo Examination in the Ports

Recent reports from the port of Dar es Salaam clearly reveal that some clearing agents, importers, shipping agency officials and some port officials have teamed up to defraud public revenue. Strategic and selective examination of imports which is usually done to determine the type of goods imported, quantity, value and classification and correct tax rates applicable is never done properly. An importer who can bribe his way through will have the goods "examined in the office theoretically" so that his containers are never opened at all, but his import documents will be endorsed with the remarks "container opened—and goods found as declared—no revenue loss!" This is one of the heaviest crimes in the management of a customs organization because such illegal practices often endanger not only the revenue, but the security and the integrity of the nation. A clear example of this hopeless stage of corruption and negligence recently occurred in the port of Dar es Salaam when a container, purported to have been stuffed with coffee/tea from the Zambian border, was found to contain over ten tons of heroine and over 20 tons of hashish all destined to a port in southern Russia. Behind this

scandal were one customs officer, one port officer, one shipping agent and others. People now wonder how many such containers may have entered the country or been exported through the port of Dar es Salaam!

Use of Fake Revenue Receipts

Corruption and sheer theft of public funds has reached such alarming proportions that some traders con-men and fraud stars have printed parallel revenue receipts and given these to some tax collectors who use them to receive and pocket public funds. Last year the police force was able to intercept and arrest illegal printing machines in Dar es Salaam. These machines were used for printing fake receipts and other security documents such as checks, etc.

Weak Management

The Revenue Departments from district, regional and national levels must be managed by well-trained managers in tax laws and procedures as well as being seasoned managers. Current managerial skills are far too low or none existent in the Revenue Departments so much so that senior officers and those in charge of large collection centers in ports, airport, district and regional heads are unable to carry out studies to diagnosing the causes for poor collections or the causes for increasing tax evasion and poorer tax compliance. Some of them are unable to arrange work programs and schedules. The situation is such that in many centers there are leaders or managers who cannot lead or manage and thus cannot monitor or control the behavior and performance of those whom they lead.

The Effect of Corruption and Weak Management in Revenue Administration

Poor revenue collection due to corrupt practices and tax exemptions, and weak management has brought about the following negative effects in the Tanzanian economy:

Notorious Budget Deficits

Budget deficits have forced the government to resort to excessive bank borrowing which virtually means printing more and more paper money. This has generated and fueled inflation in the country. Inflation and especially hyper-inflation distorts almost all positive economic factors in the country and perpetuates under-development.

Notorious Mini-Budgets

From the 1992/93 to 1995/96 budget year the government had to resort to mini-budgets in order to bridge the deficit. Mini-budgets are notorious because they raise tax rates in any economy which already suffers from the fangs of inflation.

Poor Public Services

It is generally believed that public services in health and education could be improved tremendously if all the potential taxes were collected promptly each financial year.

Withdrawal of Donor Support

In October 1994 the donor community withdrew their support of Tanzania because of a failure to collect tax revenues and because of poor administration of import support funds. The withdrawal of donor support and the chronic failure to realize revenue targets created the Tanzania Revenue Ordeal-which has been a subject of serious concern both in and out of Tanzania.

The Tanzania Revenue Ordeal has eroded the country's credibility which the present government is working hard to restore, hence the concern and fight against corruption and accountability throughout the public service and parastatals. Reforms and changes in revenue administration however need a particular approach because of the strategic importance of efficient revenue collection machinery for the government.

The Need and Importance of Transparency in Revenue Administration

A change process for improving Revenue Administration, and curbing corruption and negligence has been discussed in the previous pages but what is most important in the success of the whole exercise of change is transparency. The public must be made aware of the tax procedures on the ground. Clear and simple working manuals must be made available to the public and the media so that people know what to expect from the revenue seriously and in cases of doubt, where to address questions. Transparency in this regard will thus promote and facilitate investigative journalism, and will go a long way towards eradicating corruption and laziness by making all employees in the public service aware of public scrutiny. A watchful public will inevitably leave no room for compromise. Public interest will thus be served fully and efficiently hence the need for changing the managerial styles in Revenue Departments.

Need for Change

Changes of attitudes and management style in the Revenue Departments are very necessary. There are 14 guiding principles which will facilitate change, and promote efficiency and productivity in the Revenue Departments. The changes are certainly going to be overwhelming and massive, calling for a thorough and timely re-examination of leadership attitudes. Large scale change projects demand new levels of honesty, new courage and new respect for the diverse views and backgrounds of those within the organization who can truly help to achieve success. The management of such projects is a school for leadership. Tanzania is now a quotable good example for poor Revenue Administration. The cause and effects of the Tanzania Revenue Ordeal have already been discussed.

Tanzania has gone through a horrible period of published ordeals due to failure of tax collection. The cost of the Tanzania Revenue Ordeal has been exacerbated by the withdrawal of support from donors and well-wishers.

Large scale changes will raise public confidence with regard to revenue administration if revenue collection performance makes the government self-reliant in tax revenues. The changes to be introduced must dramatically change the revenue administrative landscape by dramatically improving the performance. The present rather hopeless situation provides the greatest opportunity for performance building and capacity building in the Revenue Departments.

If we fail to re-work our Revenue Departments into sharply tailored and intelligent ways, the public will be disillusioned because in the majority of cases they will not be able to differentiate between the old ways and the new ways of doing work. The whole country has recently been humbled and astonished by the disturbing failure to reach revenue targets. Corruption, poor management, poor skills and questionable massive tax exemptions have conspired to lower the levels of tax collections.

The entire population and the work force must be made to appreciate that all efforts towards change and the change process itself are geared towards steering the revenue boat out of the turbulent waters of corruption and dishonesty. The boundaries of activities, responsibility and accountability must be re-defined and be published so that the public know who is who, who is where and what they do. Revenue targets for each collection center should be made known to all government leaders. The District Tax Officials must account for their revenue collection efforts to the District Commissioners and Regional Commissioners accordingly. The public, and taxpayers in particular, must be educated to appreciate the need for urgent change. It is up to the management to determine the magnitude of the change in order to manage the change process successfully. Revenue Managers and their strategic change teams must observe and adhere to the following broad principles:

1. Focus attention on the Revenue and Human Resource Development Strategy

2. The change process must continuously raise monthly and yearly revenue collection, that is the people of Tanzania and the government must see improved results, after all a lot of funds will be invested in the change process per se
3. The change process must be fueled by the brightest, most creative people of ability and integrity. Individuals with practicable ideas can be sourced from commerce and industry, from government, and universities, from within and from without the country
4. Change has to be supported by properly qualified and motivated employees
5. The work force must be performance-oriented so management must set out performance measurements and standards
6. Costs of revenue collection must be controlled and must be guided by a standard formula or guidelines. In the old days of the East African Community the cost of collection ranged between 1.4 percent and 1.7 percent of total revenue. A collection cost above 2 percent is grossly inefficient
7. The Revenue Management Team must inculcate and popularize a culture that values high standards of professional morality and values continuous improvement

Confront Reality

No system is stagnant and perfect. Our present procedures for collecting and accounting for tax are old fashioned and inefficient. Computer technology must be introduced—so that current procedures may be simplified and harmonized.

Focus on the Global Strategic Context

Most organizations world over and in Tanzania are experiencing explosive change in order to benefit from the fruits of technology and innovations. This trend is accelerating and therefore the need for change and the opportunities for change will be endless. The Management Team must therefore continuously ensure that the improvements achieved are never left to collapse again. A team of tax management experts has to be arranged to watch performance trends and make innovations as and when necessary.

Summon a Strong Mandate

Change must be supported by a strong mandate. The mandate for the Revenue Departments must come or flow from the central government. Journalists and the public will be required to amplify the mandate from time to time so that tax collection and tax payers do not lose trace. Without a strong and consistent mandate, people in the work-place tend to think that it is business as usual. This state of affairs raises the cost of change but also produce discouraging results in the short run and in the long run.

Set Scope Intelligently

Setting appropriate scope for the change effort is critically important. Focus and mental attention must be put on measurably improving performance in the most important areas of revenue generation. In the case of Tanzania, Dar es Salaam region produces 80 percent of the total revenue for the state, so all strategies and resources must be distributed accordingly, including journalistic attention. For the media and journalists, Dar es Salaam is their spring board thereby assuring that no stone will be left unturned.

Build a Powerful Case for Change

It cannot be assumed that others are prepared for change since changes are always uncertain. Once the case for change has been built, the top management team must work relentlessly to generate consensus from the top, and eradicate it down and across the entire organization. Journalists and the media have to play their positive educational role here.

Who Are the Clients or Customers?

The product that is produced is public revenue. The owner of the product is the government so the government must be supportive of the change effort. The revenue needs of the government should and must be prepared to invest large and larger sums of money in order to modernize and change the management of the Revenue Departments.

Once the government has committed their hard monies to the change process, it is up to the Revenue Management Team to produce enough revenue to justify the investment. They must deploy all available skills to capture all the potential revenue without increasing tax rates. This is their performance contract. The central government and the revenue team must respect the performance contract.

Involve All Tax-payers

Revenue collection function is a service which should be carried out diligently and fairly so as not to frustrate tax-payers. In this regard therefore, tax-payers as well as transporters, shippers, exporters and manufacturers should be given all available opportunities to express their views regarding the quality of work, and the versatility and advantage of change.

They must be made to feel that they have a role to play in making the change smooth and successful. Powerful groups and individuals have stakes in the changes being contemplated. Therefore, it pays to understand their concerns. It is advisable that Regional Revenue Boards be established to meet once every three months to discuss tax compliance and other tax-related reform measures. District Commissioners and regional Commissioners should be involved and may take chairmanship.

Continuous Communications

The case for change and the style of communication must convince the tax-payers and the tax collectors that new ways of conducting work introduced which are better and more efficient. The messages must be clear, succinct and honest, otherwise there will be no believers in the new vision. Communication skills must be taught and introduced to Senior Managers in the Revenue Departments because such skills are an important tool and weapon in winning the war for change. It is a war in a mild sense of the word because it calls for dedication, sacrifice and tremendous deployment of human and other resources. It is however a war which is ever-lasting.

Change Procedures and Measures

Driving changes through any system requires skills and boldness. Thus, the management team has to build a vision and design new measures which are consistent with strategies and goals. Old and cumbersome procedures must be abolished and the public must be so informed.

Use Change Factors

Public opinion is a powerful factor. At present the public has a negative opinion towards revenues administrators in Tanzania. The common man has reason to believe that the present work-force in the Revenue Departments is weak and corrupt—they see the life styles of many of the revenue collectors. Some tax-payers believe that to evade tax by whatever means is being smart. Conversely or paradoxically, some tax collectors also believe that to reap cheap and dirty money from tax revenues in collaboration with tax payers is being smart. Thus, there is a team of dirty tax payers and dirty tax collectors - they have a common goal and similar modus operandi. Their blind eyes and deal ears are not aware of the existence of a government and the basic needs of the people of Tanzania. For them their ill-gotten money enables them to live in paradise on earth.

When the change process begins on day one a clear and loud message must go out to say that both these dirty groups are required to change or perish.

Reward System

People will change if change is rewarding. In this respect therefore, the organizational structure and the personnel advancement system or schemes of service must be based on ability, quality of work and integrity. The salaries and privileges must be clear and attractive. The punishment for failure to perform or misconduct must also be swift and severe so that employees know both the risks and rewards. All they can do is make a choice between the two sides of the professional coin. The carrot must be big, healthier and sweet, and the stick must be long and bitter.

Building Skills

A program for Human Resources Development must be in place because human capital is paramount in the change process. Building skills should be a key performance measure for all employees. Those who fail their professional exams must be dismissed from the service or remain stagnant in their positions.

Plan

To make change a success there must be a documented and detailed action plan for change. The plan must include and adequately cover all major actions required, including changes in process, systems, people, organizational structure, plant, housing, equipment and training needs.

Initiatives to Be Integrated

Once the work-force is geared to higher performance levels and professional pride is restored, intelligent employees can begin to explore new ideas for improvement so sooner or later there are different initiatives from different managers. The top management must be capable and willing to take stock of such initiatives, polish them and orientate them to fit into the over-all organizational strategy. It is critical to maintain a consistent and integrated rationale for the whole pattern of change.

Smarter employees who come up with workable schemes or initiatives should be rewarded nationally. Recognition for excellence is the most positive motivation in today's competitive world.

Code of Ethics for Employees

The change process and improvement in performance will not be realized unless employees work in accordance with a vigorous or draconian code of ethics. A code of ethics has to be drawn by serious-minded professionals in taxation and management.

Each employee must be provided a copy of the code of ethics because it is the only yard stick which will be used by the public and government officials to measure or vet the behavior, performance and conduct of each employee of the Revenue Departments.

Code of Ethics for Tax Consultants

The Income Tax Law provides for Private Tax Auditors and consultants who help tax payers to prepare and submit accounts for taxes due to the state. It has always been said that many business concerns in Tanzania maintain two or three different books of business accounts, that is one for income tax, one for the banks and one for the tax-payer. The books for the income tax have very low profits or only reflect losses! These are three sets of books of accounts which are deliberately concocted in order to evade taxes.

Code of Conduct for Customs Agents and Shipping Agents

Unscrupulous customs clearing and forwarding agents, or customs brokers (in USA and Japan) are often used by importers to cheat in their import declarations in order to facilitate tax evasion. Shipping agents may do the same or they devise schemes where they present false bills of landing or fake cargo receipts or load un-manifested cargo in ships calling in Tanzanian ports.

Courage and Determination as Change Factor

All that has been said in this paper, and in particular the need for change and the ways and means by which meaningful and fruitful changes can be effected, depend almost entirely on the levels of courage and determination put up by those who will lead and promote changes. They have to manage their courage so that others buy the need for change as a new and necessary philosophy of life in the public service.

Vision

There has to be a national vision with regard to taxation. A revenue policy has to be implemented and be published for public consumption so that revenue collection is related to other sectors of production and services in a national frame. Some schools of thought argue that for Tanzania's social economic development as sustainable government machinery all that is needed is self-reliance in food production and export surplus, self reliance in revenue collection and funding of government services, and efficient minerals exploration and marketing. It may be argued that if all three pivotal economic functions are managed carefully and efficiently, this country may or should soon come out of the poverty vicious cycle which it is currently experiencing. Many believe that this can be done provided there is courage, determination and a national vision.