National Language Policy :
The Tanzanian Experience

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Hampir semua negara bekas tanah jajahan di negara dunia ketiga mengalami masalah besar berkaitan dengan perancangan bahasa dalam perkembangan masyarakat yang berbilang kaum. Artikel ini membicarakan pengalaman Tanzania, sebuah negara bekas tanah jajahan Inggeris dan masyarakatnya bersifat majmuk, dalam proses perancangan dasar bahasa dan pemilihan bahasa Swahili sebagai bahasa Kebangsaan dan bahasa pengantar dalam perkembangan pendidikan, serta kedudukan bahasa Inggeris dalam tahun-tahun 1980an.

Introduction

Most former European colonial outposts in the Third World achieved their independence over two decades ago. In the meantime, their political goals and interests have shifted from mobilizing to achieve nationhood to a focus on such issues as, economic, political and national cultural development. Almost without exception, the multilingual nature of these countries had brought linguistic concerns into the foreground; and in many of them, a consideration of the effects of the country's linguistic profile upon development efforts, communication, education, and the nation state itself has entered the national political dialogue. The sorts of practical solutions have not, of course, been the same everywhere, since each nation's linguistic constitution and developmental history is, to a large degree, unique. Yet, much political attention continues to be devoted to language, while the linguistic complexity of these countries, at the same time, appears to shape and influence the political process itself. This paper addresses the Language policy and Language development in its relation to education in Tanzanian 1980's.

Principles and Process of Selecting a Single National Language

A Brief Review

Beyond the fact that governments are everywhere embedded in verbal communication systems politics: those situations in which governments intervene in and attempt to control the communication system itself; those in which language factors intervene in and thus affect the processes of government and politics; and those in which language and politics are in mutual interaction, feeding back one another (O'Barr, 1976).

In the first category, we refer here to those instances where governments attempt to manipulate or control the linguistic make-up of communities under their jurisdiction. One of the most common of such situations is the setting of language policies by national governments which state in specific terms what languages are to be used, when, by whom, and for what purposes (Weinstein, 1980). Related to this is what has come to be known as language planning in which governments consciously attempt to assess linguistic needs, problems and priorities and to establish guidelines whereby these goals may be met. The governments appear to have considered language policies to be within the domain of their jurisdiction and they have legislated and decreed about them, generally attempting to manipulate communication systems to suit political objectives.

Many new states include language planning schemes as aspects of their national development programs. The ostensible reason usually given for such programs is facilitating national communication and fostering national identifications yet those involved in the formulation and realization of language policies are quick to recognize the enormous power over people which stems from the ability to manipulate their language (Rubin and Jernudd, 1971).

In the Second category, we include all sorts of situations in which language is a resource in the political, social and cultural process, which individual actors or governments use to control or manipulate and achieve their ends.

Once the policies are established and a shift in the communication system has taken place, social life proceeds in an altered socio-cultural environment. Such environmental changes may in turn affect the social, political and cultural process in many ways, giving rise to new situations. It is here that we witness the complex chain of reaction of language that affects politics and society. (O'Barr, W.M., 1976:10).

Most large scale language planning attempts have been undertaken in developing countries, and their initial concerns have been those of identifying language problems. More recently in the evolution of language planning as a "discipline", language issues have been addressed not metaphorically as "problems", but as "resourcess". Language planning investigates the differential value and distribution of these resources and plans for their redistribution in a way that meets certain specified goals of particular planners, often national planners of a country. Goals may include, for example, distribution of a language which will allow access to certain social, economic, educational or political involvement and the consequent power that such involvement implies. Another goal may stress distribution of language resources in order to improve communication or emphasize national or regional unity. Rubin (1973:5) stress that "language problems are to be seen within the social and political framework and that language can be seen as one more resource which an administration may manipulate for its own goal".

Although language planning is a latecomer to the family of national development planning (Das Gupta & Ferguson), 1977:4), literature in the language field parallels the transitions undergone in "modernization" and "development" literature in general. These have moved from an economic growth paradigm to a human resources development model. Access to certain languages and literacy are viewed as resources disproportionately held by some, thus implying the need for expansion or reallocation of these resources to others.

The interrelationships between the processes of "development" on the one hand and "language resources" within a nation on the other, have been investigated by some language planning scholars. Jernudd and Das Gupta emphasize that "modernization may create demands for language change and demands for standardization which may also be directed toward language" (Jurnudd and Gupta, 1971, pg. 205). The general phenomenon of modernization creates social, cultural, educational, economic and political demands on society which are consequently made on language *per se*. The development process requires that the functions of some languages will change, become expanded, become modernized. In this process "a major task of language planning is to identify the concrete areas of society that demand planned action regarding language resources" (Jernudd and Gupta, 1971, pg. 197).

Despite the change in perspective in development literature regarding language - whether it is seen as a "resource" or as a "problem" - , the predominantly used definition of language planning is still "the organized pursuit of solutions to language problems, typically at the national level" (Fishman, 1974: 79). Other definitions are evident, for example: Language planning involves "the evaluation of linguistic change" (Haugen, 1966: 65) "regulating and improving a language or creating a new language" (Tauli, 1974: 56), or more simply "decision-making about language" (Rubin and Jernudd, 1971: xiii). Paulston distinguishes between *language policy*, which deals with matters of society and nation, and *language cultivation* which deals with matters of language (Paulston, 1974).

Authors of language planning literature present numerous classifications of problems, aims and processes of language planning. Neustupny presents the problems of language planning as selection, stability, expansion and differentiation (Neustupny, 1974). These problems and processes are seen by Neustupny as standing in a rough sequential relationship to each other "such that the leastdeveloped speech and writing communities may need to be disproportionately concerned with policy formation planning, whereas the most developed or most advanced communities are able to devote proportionately more attention to cultivating planning" (Fishman, 1974, pg. 80). The "policy approach" which is generally concerned with problems of selection and stability is prevalent within developing countries, as is shown for the Tanzanians. In contrast, the "cultivation approach" which concerns expansion and differentiation is more prevalent in developed nations.

When the problem faced is one of language selection, planning is concerned with official policy formation. When the problem is one of stability of a language when competing language varieties exist, then planning is concerned with codification via dictionaries, spellers, and punctuation guides. When the problem is one of expanding functions of the language such as when a language is to be used in school subjects, the planning is concerned with elaboration. When the problem is one of differentiation of one varietyfrom another within a particular code, planning is concerned with cultivation which focuses on style, prose, creative explication (Fishman, 1974).

Parallel to the policy-cultivation dichotomy shown by Neustupny, is the distinction between *status planning and corpus planning* made by Kloss (Klass, 1968). The former encompasses government policy decisions concerning which language should be recognized for which purposes within a country. The latter encompasses "efforts to alter and improve the language per se whose status is the object of policy decisions "Fishman, 1977, pg. 36). Corpus planning involves the actual creation of writing systems, the

selection of standards, development of texts, dictionaries, and harmonization of orthographies, necessary to prepare the language for its new functions and its new status.

The potential of a language has been rapidly and universally recognized: "Language is a uniquely powerful instrument in unifying a diversed population and in involving individuals and subgroups in the national system" (Kelman, 1971, Pg. 21, Lindgren, 1973, Pg. 310). Natonal Language planning is most hotly debated. In the first instance is the decision inclining towards maintaining the colonial language and the desire of the local language group to reinstate its own language as the national language. Secondly, if the general decisions inclined for local language, then which local language is to beagreed upon? The effectiveness of whatever decision - status planning - is largely a function of the structural type of the state in which the issue occurs - unitary or consociational. Opposition to a national language policy may have little impact on a unitary state but can have too great an impact on consociational state.

Tanzania Political, Social and Cultural Background

Tanzania's mainland encompasses 342,170 square miles with a wide variety of land forms. Tropical lowlands form the coastal belt along the Indian Ocean; at the center, dry savannah and scrub predominates; to the northeast are the mountain ranges, Tanzania is a primarily agricultural country, and is likely to remain so in the future.

Although it has over 15 million people in 1979 (20 million in 1985), no single ethnic group dominates the political life of Tanzania. There are over 99% Africans, comprising more than 120 differrent tibal groups of which the largest has less than 10% of the population. There are, on the one hand, a large number of ethnic groups, but, ethnic differences have not, on the other hand, been reinforced by the religious affiliations and the patterns of economic stratification which have been introduced in Tanzania. In addition to these indigenous groups, Arabs, Asians and Europeans live in the country, Religious identification - be they Christian or Muslim - do not closely coincide with ethnic differences. In most areas of Tanzania, Christianity was accepted by Africans living near points of mission contact, Islam by those in coastal areas or along trade routes where the Arabs who brought the Muslim faith had passed. Any given ethnic group is likely to have both its Christian and its Islamic subroups. The overall population breakdown is 26% Christian, 25% Muslim, with the remainder following traditional religions. In addition, economic differentiation has not folloswed exclusively ethnic lines.

During the period of 1919-1961, Tanganyika (later to become Tanzania) became a British protectorate. The British had little interest in any development activity that did not bring them profits in simple economic terms. Since the country was poor, all colonial activities were concentrated on agriculture. Owing to the increasing demand for their product on the world market, Tanganyika farmers tended to oppose obvious economic exploitation by the British and the Asian traders and the governmental marketing boards. Tanganyika's farmers by the 1950s were more ready to resist than they had been since 1905 (Hinzen,1979: 3, cited in John Iliffs). They formed cooperative unions in order to profit as much as possible from their own surplus. When their rights were seriously violated - as in the Maru case where the mandatory power expelled local inhabitants from their own grounds to sell their land to European settlers - they organized themselves into political groups (together with young African entrepreneurs, and the educated elites). They

demanded for themselves and all African inhabitants their rights. These three roots of the movement combined in 1954 into one central political organization Tanganyika African National Union, the TANU - under the leadership of Julius Kamberege Nyerere.

Unlike independent movements in other African countries, TANU was able to take its complaints against the British Mandatory Power to the United Nations Organization (UNO) trusteeship Council and the General Assembly, and thus drew the world attention to events in Tanganyika. It proved to be a mass movement when it won all elections that were permitted by the British Administration. During the first general election in 1960, victory was so complete, that TANU got all but one of the seats in Parliaments.

On December 9, 1961, Tanganyika finally became a sovereign state, after a battle without violence led by the representatives of TANU, a true mass movement that had united all the different political streams under the banner of independence (Hinzen, 1973: 3). A year later the country adopted a republican constitution with a president as both the head of state and government. In April 1964, there was the union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar forming the United Republic of Tanzania. It become a one-party state. Nyerere was elected President of the Republic, and has since been reelected until he resigned in 1985.

Principles and Process of Selecting a Single National Language Care of Tanzania

As mentioned earlier, language planning is a political decision, and thus the principles and process of selecting a language or languages are closely related to political decision making. Any decision to adopt a language as national and/or official language will creat linguistic and socio-linguistic trends. Notwithstanding the "radical" nature of this decision, the choice will often be found to be a logical one when viewed in the context of the politicaland social history and modern political thought of any country. Various historical, political, religious and socio-cultural factors precipitated a linguistic situation which favored the emergence of a language as an accepted national language. However, in the theory of language planning, there are three basic principles that determine the selection of one of competing indigenous languages to function as a national language (Rufai, 1977). They are: efficiency of the language in terms of properties; adequacy of the language in terms of function; and acceptability of the language in terms of attitude. .mb6 Bantu languages of East Africa, of which Swahili is one, are very closely related with comparable structural organization at all the linguistic levels (a notable exception is absence of lexically significant tones in Swahili and a few other languages of this area). In addition, they have a large core of common basic vocabulary. This, together with comparable cultural systems, have given rise to high degree of isomorphous semantic structuring which makes it easy for a speaker of one Bantu language to learn another language of this family, and even develop native speakers' competence in it. Acceptance of Swahili to a large extent is due to the fact that it can be learnt easily and even used creatively by speakers of other mother-tongues in East Africa (Abdulaziz, 1971).

The growth of Swahili as a Tanzanian language is closely linked with the historical development of this country as a nation state. During European penetration of the interior of Tanganyika such auxiliaries as soldiers, teachers, policemen, guides, interpreters, junior administrative officers (Liwalis and Akidas) were Swahili, or Swahili-speaking Tanganyikans from other mother-tongue groups. This brought about the effect of further spreading the language in administration, education, and modernity. For example, as early as the end of the nineteenth century, Pare people in north-eastern area, were sending their sons to stations on the plains situated on the caravan routes to learn Swahili (Whiteley , 1969; Abdulaziz, 1971). In some areas there were cases of chiefs being deposed by the Germans because they did not speak Swahili. This policy of using Swahili in the lower levels of administration and in the field of education was continued during British rule.

European missionaries, too, played an important part in the spread of Swahili. The universities Missionary to Central Africa (U.M.C.A.), for example, started using Swanhili as a back as the 1890s. The reason for using this language was partly historical, in that their first mission centers was established in the coastal areas of Tonga and Zanzibar. Most of their religious hymns were written in Swahili (Morrison, 1976). They even started Swahili religious newspapers and prepared a Swahili-English Dictionary. In fact what is considered to be the first ever newspaper in Tanzania was in Swahili published in 1895 at Magila by the UMCA. The Lutheran Church, too, put an emphasis on Swahili and used it as the language of instruction in their schools. Another important religious body whose official policy was to use Swahili both in their schools and as the language of religious instruction was influential over the whole of southern Tanganyika. The White Fathers on their part encouraged the use of Swahili in their churches, especially those around Mbeya and near Lake Tanganyika (Morrison, 1976). Today it would seem to be the policy of most churches in Tanzania to use Swahili wherever they can. One of the arguments put forward for the adoption of Swahili as the Church language was that it would provide an inter-tribal integrative factor that would help to build the new community of Christians, just as it had done for Islam.

Swahili has thus played a very significant role in the development of political values and attitudes in Tanzania. Its integrative qualities have influenced the style of Tanzanian politics, especially its non-tribal and egalitarian characteristics. All movements of national focus have used Swahili as an instrument for achieving inter-tribal unity and integration. The Maji Maji War of 1905-7 against German colonial rule drew its support from mother-tongue speakers who already possessed a rallying force in Swahili. Other movements of national appeal which took advantage of the existence of a common Tanzanian language were the Tanganyika Territory Civil Servants Association (TTCSA), founded in Tanga in 1921; the African Welfare and Commercial Association (AWCA), which was founded in Dar es Salaam in 1934 and aimed at looking after the interests of African traders; the Tanganyika African Association (TAA), and Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) (Abdulaziz, 1971; Whiteley, 1969 and Morrison, 1976). The TAA, a territory-wide political movement which many people would consider as the fore-runner of TANU did most of their organization in Swahili and had their constitution in this language.

> As an example, the TANU publication stated that: Yet another of the
> blessings of Tanganyika is the   presence of a universal language -
> Swahili.   This has been the political language.   It has provided a
> universal medium of expression. It has made it easier for the leaders to
> be able to communicate with their people .   (George, 1969:84).

Another illustration of the part Swahili played in TAA political organization is provided by an incident that happened in 1947 during their annual meeting, which that year was being held in Zanzibar. Delegates from all parts of Tanganyika had attended the meeting. The Chairman made his introductory address in English, whereupon a number of delegates protested and demanded that the speech be translated into Swahili. From that incident it was agreed that all future TAA meetings should be conducted wholly in Swahili (Abdulaziz, 1971).

It has been the policy of TANU (founded in 1954), right from the start to encourage the use and spread of Swahili. It is said that only on a few occasions during the whole of the TANU independence campaign did Nyerere, the then party President, use interpreters in vernacular languages. Thus the policy of the Party and the Government has consistently been one of making Swahili an essential component of Tanzanian identity and culture. Swahili was declared the national language soon after self-government in 1961.   From then onwards the Tanzanian Government has taken practical steps towards developing Swanhili into a workable modern language for the nation.

Abdulaziz points out that the landmark in the history of the development of Swahili as the official and national language of Tanzania was the Republic Day speech on Decemmber 10,   1962, which was delivered in Swanhili by President Nyerere (Abdulaziz, 1971). The following is an extract from that speech:

> The major change I have made is to set up an entirely new Ministry: the
> Ministry of National Culture and Youth. I have done this because I
> believe that culture is the essence and spirit of any nation. A country
> which lacks its own culture is no more than a collection of people without
> the spirit which makes them a nation. Of all the crimes of colonialism
> there is none worse than the attempt to make us believe we had no
> indigenous culture of our own; or that what we did have was worthless -
> something of which we should be ashamed, instead of a source of pride.
> (Nyerere, 1966).

The present policies of socialism, egalitarianism, and self-reliance enunciated by the Arusha Declaration of 1967 and the other policy-making statements such as Education and Self-Reliance (Nyerere, 1967), are creating conditions that will further entrench the use of Swahili in the different spheres of national life.   The Declaration states that TANU must be   "a Party of Peasants and Workers and that it is necessary for the government to be elected and led by Peasants and Workers". Already the ruling Party draws most of its support and leadership from the   broad masses of the people.   Knowledge of a European language is not a necessary qualification for leadership. On the other hand, good knowledge of Swahili is essential for those who want to participate fully in the national life of the country (O'Barr, 1967, Pg. 78).

On the whole, the principles and process of selecting Swahili as the national language of Tanzania are closely related to the political ideology and political movement in the country. However, Swahili also has a number of characteristics which make it appropriate in fostering national identification and in contributing signifiantly to mass involvement. First, Swahili carries no stigma of European colonialism. It has been the language of wider communication of many communities in Eastern Africa. Second, it is not clearly identified with any single ethnic group, thus Swahili is a neutral language, a language of the people. It is widely spoken throughout the country, and it had made contribution to political consciousness and participation, and acted as an egalitarian force (O'Barr,1961, Pg. 74). An extra-linguistic factor which has given Swahili its great assimilating power in East Africa is its Bantu-based culture. Original Swahili culture in the coastal and island settlements grow as a result of continued contact between Bantu and Arab-Islamic Cultures. The Arab-Islamic component did not superimpose itself but rather acted asastrong cultural stimulus. Bantu culture responded well to thisexternal stimulus and adapted itself over centuries to emerge as an urban form of local African culture. Yet itwas precisely this indigenous base which gave Swahili culture its assimilating qualities whenever it came into contact with other local cultures in East Africa. Being a product of the environment, it could easily be adapted in other areas, and was therefore almost imperceptibly assimilated.

Swahili culture has greatly influenced regional cultures in Tanzania. In turn, regional cultures have in many ways enriched Swahili culture. The result of this bidirectional influence is the gradual emergence in Tanzania of a national culture which is a true synthesis of the various cultures of the country. Strikingly similar patterns of behavior are emerging throughout the country, and especially among schoolchildren. Swahili language is an important component of this national culture as well as its bearer.

Today in Tanzania, and indeed the rest of East Africa, there is no serious alternative to Swahili as a basis of intertribal integration. No other tribal language in East Africa is likely to be accepted with less resistance over the whole area. Besides, Swahili is the most developed of the local East African languages as a modern vehicle of expression. English, potentially an alternative national language in Tanzania and the rest of East Africa, is still spoken by a very small percentage of the population (O'Barr, 1976, Morrison,1976). It is estimated that about 94% of the population of Tanzania speak vernaculars of the Bantu group of languages, which might explain why most Tanzanians find it easy to learn Swahili, also a Bantu language (O'Barr, 1976). Whereas only about 10% of the population of Tanzania speak Swahili as their mother tongue. It is estimated that about 90% of the population are bilingual in Swahili and a vernacular language (Abdulaziz, 1971). In some areas, where vernacular is predominant, vernaculars are used in schools.

Two ministries most closely involved with the development of the Swahili language are those of Education and of Community Development and National Culture. The Ministry of Education had been paying close attention to the teaching of Swahili at all levels of theeducational system. The Ministry of Community Development and National Culture have been concerned with the development of Swahili as an expression of national culture.

In 1964, the post of "Promoter for Swahili" was created within the Ministry of Community Development and National Culture (Abdulaziz, 1971 and Whiteley, 1967). Its function is "... to widen its (Swahili's) scope so that it may be sufficiently useful in all government

activities, in schools and commercial circles ... to rid the language of bad influence and to guide it to grow along the proper road ... tostandardize its orthography and usage ... to encourage all people to learn to speak and write properly grammatical Swahili (Whiteley, 1976, Pg. 104). Interests and works on the promotion of the standardization and development of the Swahili language had started in early 1930, when the Inter-Territorial Language Committee was formed among officials of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. The objective was "to select a language which would serve as a linguaranca for use in as large a number of schools as possible right across the Territory" (Whiteley, 1976, Pg. 79). Swahili was selected.

An important step that the government of Tanzania has taken in its efforts to promote the development and usage of Swahili is the setting up of the National Swahili Council. The Council was established by an Act of Parliament in August, 1967 (Abdulaziz, 1971 and Whiteley, 1969: 112). The Act spells out the functions as:

a) to promote the development and usage of the Swahili language throughout the United Republic;

b) to co-operate with other bodies in the United Republic which are concerned to promote the Swahili language and to endeavour to co-ordinate their activities;

c) to encourage the the use of the Swahili language in the conduct of official business and public life generally;

d) to encourage the achievement of high standards in the use of the Swahili language and to discourage its misuse;

e) to co-operate with the authorities concerned in establishing standard Swahili translation of technical terms;

f) to publish a Swahili newspaper or magazine concerned with the Swahili language and literature;

g) to provide services to the government, public authorities and individual authors writing in Swahili with respect to the Swahili language (Whiteley, 1969, Pg. 112).

Language Policies and The Medium of Instruction

To the Africans, especially the supporters of TANU, Indepencence promised the end of humiliating inferiority. To them, education appeared to be the panacea for most of the problems of underdevelopment. Almost the first move of the Tanzanian government upon Independence was the introduction of the Educational Ordinance of 1961, which repealed former education ordinances (Kuntz, 1972, Pg. 130). This ordinance required a very complete reorganization of the system away from the loose and incoherent education system inherited from the colonial regime, towards a single unified national system suited to the aims and requirements of the new nation. The 1961 Education Ordinance made provisions for integration, uniformity and centralization (Kuntz, 1972). The ordinance abolished the former racial divisions of the educational system and substituted a single national school system based on a common syllabus and a common organization. At the same time, it aimed to bring the formerly semi-independent religious school system that

existed within the African   sector, more firmly and effectively into line with national aspirations.

At the time of independence, Swahili, though in common use throughout the country, was neither the national nor the official language. Even after it was recognized as the language of the people, English remained the official language through which government and large scale commercial business transacted.   In 1967, Swahili became the official language, and English was thus relegated to being the main means of international communication. A quotation from the Government's blue-print on education entitled `Education for Self-reliance' will give some idea of the place of Swahili in the educational system of Tanzania:

But even if this suggestion were based on provable fact, it   could not be allowed to over-ride the need for change in the   direction of educational integration with our national life.   For the majority of our people the thing that matters is   that they should be able to read and write fluently in   Swahili, that they have an ability to do arithmetic, and   that they should know something of the history, values, and   working of their country and their government, and that they   should acquire the skills necessary to earn their living.   Things like health, science, geography and the beginning of   English are also important, especially so that the people   who wish may be able to learn more by themselves in later   life. But most important of all is that our primary school graduates should be able to fit into, and to serve, the   communities from which they come". (Nyerere, 1967).

There is no doubt that Tanzania is ideologically committed to Swahili as her national language, as can be evidenced by the use of this language in official correspondence, in parliament, in public rallies (Rubagumya, 1986). In 1967, Swahili was made the medium of instruction throughout primary education. In 1973 there was a plan to switch from English to Swahili as the medium of instruction in the first two years of secondary school, but up the end of 1980's only Political Education is officially taught in Swahili, (Morrison, 1976; Whiteley, 1969; and Abdulaziz, 1971). The 1982 Presidential commission on Education recommended that as from Januari 1985, all classes in secondary schools should   be conducted in Swahili.   However, Rubagumya pointed out that suchpolicy was skeptical, and quoted an announcement by the Minister of Education that English would continue to be used as a medium of instruction in secondary schools for a long time to come (Rubagumya, 1986). There are cases of unofficial use of Swahili as medium of instruction in secondary schools when pupils find it difficult to understand what is being taught in English. This is understandable as pupils entering secondary schools are faced with two tasks: learning the subject matter as well as the language in which the subject is presented. Thus, in schools, Swahili, the national language of Tanzania, has a limited role as the language ofinstruction.   It is the medium at the primary level, and at secondary, it becomes a subject, and a medium when teaching Political Education. Now, there is a growing concern to improve the function of Swahili and making it the medium of instruction in secondary schools (Rubagumya, 1986). There is another important aspect of education in Tanzania, where Swahili plays the most important role as medium of communication. It is in the area of adult education. It is estimated in 1985, that theadult population is 85% literate, and millions of people are attending adult education classes (Nyerere, 1985).

The future of Swahili in education seems to be bright. The Ministry of Education treats as very urgent the problem of improving Swahili teaching method, the production of teaching materials and teacher training (Nyerere, 1985, Abdulaziz, 1971 and Rubagumya, 1986). In the Ministry's Institute of Education agroup of trained staff are working on the Production of Swahili science and mathematical text. At the University College of Dar es Salaam, the Department of Language and Linguistics already offered an optional course in Swahili literature. The course is taught in Swahili (Abdulaziz, 1971). The plan to conduct a degree course, Bachelor of Arts, in Swahili and linguistics had been approved (Abdulaziz, 1971).

The Status of English

Early in 1967, second Vice-President Kawana of Tanzania declared that Swahili was to be used at all times and in all government and other national business whenever it was possible and convenient to do so; that was wherever this would not adversely affect efficiency in Tanzania. He also emphasized that English would continue to be used as a second official language to supplement Swahili, especially in functions where the latter language still needed developing (Abdulaziz, 1971). This is the official status of English language in Tanzania, as the second official language.

In Tanzania English is spoken by a very small percentage of the population. It is estimated only about 10% of the pupulation have any knowledge of English (Abdulaziz, 1971). However, English as a language has still a very important function in the national life of Tanzania. The importance of English as a language of science, technology, higher learning in general, international trade, and communication is still recognized. English is also the language of the high court. In the educational system of Tanzania, it plays a vital role. It is a subject in the primary schools, introduced at third grade; and the medium of learning in secondary schools and higher institutions. It is also the main language of banking and commerce (Abdulaziz, 1971).

In Tanzania, as in many other African or developing countries, knowledge of English is associated with being "educated" and consequently moving up the socio-economic ladder. In the present system in Tanzania, the students' future is determined by examinations, which are in English. As things stand now, one must study and sit for examinations in English in secondary and higher educational institutions. Even though the use of English outside the classroom is very limited, yet the people know that to "get on" in school the system and in society, one has to learn English. Rubagumya quoted a research in 1972 which pointed out that Tanzanians preferred books and journals inEnglish to those of Swahili, even if the equivalent in Swahili was available. Persons who were able to speak English have higher social status, and always have some advantages over someone who do not (Rubagumya, 1986).

The status of English in Tanzania could also be explained in economic terms. An economist looks at language as human capital, i.e. that knowledge of the language can bring reward. This is an answer to the question: why do individuals learn a given language? It is found that the net return to that investment, that is the gross returns minus the costs, can explain in part, the motivation for learning it. Learning English in Tanzania brings economic and status rewards.

Current Problem Related to Language Policies

It has been observed that there are already some serious discussions to promote Swahili as a medium of instruction in secondary and post secondary schools (Rubagumya, 1986). There is already unofficial use of Swahili as the medium of instruction in secondary schools, because teachers see it as the only effective way of communicating with their pupils (Rubagumya, 1986). It would be acceptable, therefore, if the trend is towards the use of Swahili in the classroom, that making it the official medium of instruction is taking this trend to its logical conclusion. Even though for those Tanzanians who get higher education in English, their working language, in most cases, is Swahili. Another factor to consider is the envisaged expansion of secondary education "whose major aim is to impart skillsand not to prepare young people for employment" (Nyerere, 1984; Rubagumya, 1986). Since 90% of the population speak Swahili, and 10% speak English, it is therefore justified that Swahili be he medium of instruction in secondary schools.

There are many problems that Tanzania will face in the process of changing medium of instruction to Swahili. One of the main reasons why English is still the medium of instruction in secondary schools as well as in institutions of higher learning is that most textbooks and ohter reading materials are in English. The argument put forward is the cost involved in producing Swahili books and/or translating existing English texts into Swahili. The market for Swahili books is limited, because neighbouring countries such as Kenya and Uganda are using English as the medium of instruction in schools. Another problem is that the inadequacy of Swahili technical and scientific terminology for use in technical and scientific subjects. In addition, the lack of academic staff to teach in Swahili is a serious problem in Tanzania.

The promoters of Swahili believe that the first thing that must be done is to break the vicious circle whereby reasons of lack of Swahili teaching materials prevents decision makers from declaring Swahili as the medium of instruction. The philosophical argument used by this group is that no language can grow and become sophisticated without being used in the fields in which it is said to lack precision. Once the vicious circle is broken, the group feels that the second thing would be to strengthen the teaching of English as a subject in schools. On the other hand, there are people who would argue that instead of replacing English with Swahili as medium of instruction, the teaching of English should be strengthened and improved at all levels. These people believe that being University academics is impossible without the English language (Rubagumya, 1986). One of the most difficult situations posed when a local language is chosen as the national language of a country, is its relationship to the national culture. In Tanzania, the great strength of Swahili is the fact that it is associated with no single tribe. Swahili language is generally the dialect of an Islamic coastal community, by no means characteristic of the country as a whole. When a national culture is represented by the national language, there is a strong possibility that the regional culture would be lost, or be given no place (Whiteley, 969: 101).

Tanzania and many other multi-ethnic nations have demonsrated a common theme that Language Policy and Language Planning are problems which need to be tackled from different perspective: technical, linguistic, financial, political and socio-psychological. Solving the technical and the financial aspects of the problem may not be enough. National language planning is concerned with belief, opinion, attitude

and ideology. We can inform ourselves of other people's experience and try to emulate their success, and avoid failure, but in the final analysis we are faced with a political issue which only politicians are in the position to solve. This is one of the reasons why the national language issue is very volatile in many countries.

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