THE PROPHETIC VISION IN KAGWEMA’S FEAR OF THE UNKNOWN

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ABSTRACT
From 1967 to 1986, Tanzanians passed through a very testing period full of challenging situations against ujamaa and self-reliance—the model of social and economic development Tanzanians choose. In Fear of the Unknown—a story and a prose narrative, Prince Kagwema presents the “truth” about socialism and capitalism in an artistic way. In Fear of the Unknown, the dialogue on socialism and capitalism is presented by the diehard capitalist and an unflinching, steadfast socialist. This paper examines the role of prophecy in Kagwema’s Fear of the Unknown. The paper argues that in Fear of the Unknown prophecy is used as a driving factor of a story, a sort of motivation to the writer and an outline of where events should go. Moreover, this paper argues that through literary skills the author has managed to predict and foretell the future of Tanzania. This paper uses the sociological approach to literary criticism. Under sociological approach, the assumption is that since literature is produced in a social context then literary writers affirm or criticise the values of the society in which they live. As such, in Fear of the Unknown, Prince Kagwema, the writer addresses the social economic and the political contexts in which this literary text was produced.

Key words: ujamaa (socialism), prophecy, socialist, capitalist,

INTRODUCTION
From historical and religious point of view, prophecy has been concerned with prediction of the future, divine condemnation and divine instruction (Wojcik and Fountain, 1984; Peterson, 2002). Watson (2009: 4) notes that “prophecy is the act of one predicting of what is to come and often what the prophet’s audience must do to escape or accept future events.” Earlier on, prophecy was associated only with the sacred because its presence heralds a change to come as ordered by the supernatural world (Hunter, 2007). From the 5th century BC to date, literary writers have been using the term prophecy as a device in predicting, warning or foretelling about events to come. For example, in some Greek plays, Medieval Literature, American and African American and African Literature writers have been using prophecy in foretelling the future. Great Greek writers such as Sophocles (496-406 BC) used prophecy as a source of information for the Greeks. In his most famous play Oedipus the King (also known as Oedipus Tyrannus), Tiresias, the prophet tells Oedipus the truth that he was the source of the problems facing Thebe which later prompted Oedipus to search for the truth about himself. As such, in Greek, a prophet passed down the messages from heaven to society. They also passed down messages from the future they had seen as advisors to civilians or to the kings. The African American literary writer Tony Morrison as noted by Watson (2009) is one of the prophetic writers who in her works has predicted and gave warnings about events to come. She has reinterpreted the past through what she calls “re-memory in order to guide her readers, and her society a greater understanding of the consequences of slavery and racism and to prompt both races to escape the pernicious effects of this heritage” (Watson, p. i). Through prophecy, Tony Morrison explains the social-political relation between the Black Americans and the White Americans and
Moreover, in her works, Tony Morrison engages in historical and contemporary subjects on the relation between the White Americans and the Black Race. Prophecy is used as “the tool by which to accomplish her objectives” (Watson, p. i). What can be argued here is that though the term prophecy originates from religious point of view, literary writers have been using the term to predict or warn about events to come.

**PROPHECY IN FEAR OF THE UNKNOWN**

Prophecy plays a very crucial role in Kagwema’s *Fear of the Unknown*. Throughout this prose narrative, Kagwema approaches the subject of prophecy in different creative ways sending his prophecies in different ways. Kagwema uses prophecy to advance and develop the plot and his characters, the *mjamaa* (the socialist) and the *anti-mjamaa* (the capitalist). In *Fear of the Unknown*, prophecy is interpreted in the plot device level, in foreshadowing and on the level of characterization. *Fear of the Unknown* is set in Tanzania in the late 1960s. This was a period when Tanzania adopted the *ujamaa* ideology. The institutionalization of *ujamaa* was a result of post-independence political disillusionment in Tanzania. Moreover, the reasons for institutionalizing *ujamaa* in Tanzania included the improvement of the workers’ and peasants living standard, to encourage collective efforts and avoid wealth disparities and land nationalisation (Nazfiger, 1988). Generally, *ujamaa* was against capitalism.

It is in this sense that even Kagwema in *Fear of the Unknown* uses the words or ideologies; capitalism and socialism as names of the characters to symbolically mean opposing forces. The behaviour of the two characters is based on the characteristics of the ideologies. The possible reason for the writer to use the names of the ideologies is to make readers aware and remember whenever they read the nature and the way each ideology operates. Throughout the narrative, the two characters are motivated by their ideologies. Thus, in Kagwema’s *Fear of the Unknown*, there are two voices; the voice of the *mjamaa* (the socialist) and the voice of the *mbepari* (the capitalist). The socialist believes in socialism and the capitalist believes in capitalism. Kagwema uses the capitalist to set the tone of the narrative. In Chapter One, the capitalist offers the background of Tanzania. The capitalist gives the background and the reasons for institutionalising the *ujamaa* ideology. The capitalist asserts that because the independence of Tanzania came suddenly and leaders did not expect it, they jumped into the world of the unknown because they had not planned a programme with which to serve the people (p. 1). Furthermore, the capitalist contends that Tanganyika’s independence caught many people unprepared and leaders lacked strategies on how to manage the country’s development programmes. On the other hand, the socialist defends the *ujamaa* ideology. He argue[s] that *ujamaa* ideology was discussed and adopted on 29th January, 1967 by TANU National Executive Committee. The socialist explains the reasons for adopting the *ujamaa* ideology. Some of the reasons mentioned by the socialists are political disillusionment after attaining independence and the class structures inherited from the colonialists. On the question of political disillusionment, the socialist contends that soon after independence some leaders amassed wealth and exploited the masses hence became richer. At the same time, the socialist explains that leaders who came into power inherited the colonial structure since they began to be property owners (pp.6-10). Thus, the socialist sees socialism as the only alternative to human development. In one of his arguments, the socialist tells the capitalist:

- Ujamaa’s a model of development
- Fundamentally combining two elements;
- The best in Tanzania’s traditional culture
- And the best from other nation’s cultures...
- We’re not putting back the clock
- By adopting enlightened socialism;
- Socialism is the next logical stage
- After imperialistic capitalism...
- The Declaration makes more it difficult

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1 Tony Morrison has written a number of novels. Reference here is made to her novels entitled *The Bluest Eye*, *Song of Solomon*, *Beloved*, *Jazz* and *Paradise*. 

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For a leader to improve his lot in life
By unashamedly exploiting other people,
Including those he claims to lead (pp.61-63).

From the beginning of the narrative, the socialist equates *ujamaa* with a beautiful woman who is loved and has been engaged by a man. Contextually, it means that *ujamaa* is an ideology loved by many for according to the socialist it is a path for the development of the nation. This is why the socialist tells the capitalist that *ujamaa* was jubilantly welcomed by all true Tanzanians and many marched to support the ideology. In fact, the socialist defends the *ujamaa* ideology because the ideology is for promoting equality of all human beings. According to the socialist, *ujamaa* intends to foster human dignity and abolish all forms of social discrimination, exploitation of man by man, oppression, colonialism and imperialism. As argued by the socialist (pp 60-70) poverty, ignorance, diseases and general distresses will be removed by *ujamaa*. Therefore, according to the socialist, the Tanzanians were not draped into the world of the unknown as the capitalist suggests (pp. 10-15).

As argued in this paper and as far as the history and development of *ujamaa* in Tanzania is concerned, the capitalist’s views are relevant. The capitalist argues that the policy of *ujamaa* was ill-conceived and driven by a deep set fear of what the unknown future held, in the light of the events that had come before, and in the face of a restless public besieged by poverty, ignorance and disease. The voice of the capitalist further suggests that Tanzania’s policies were hatched by a political team that found itself suddenly forced to walk into the unknown. Because of these, the capitalist accuses the socialists of engaging in a wrong ideology which does not expedite the development process of the country as well as alleviation. The capitalist charges that the leaders “made a tragic error [by] brutally dragging Tanzanians, screaming, kicking and crying into the unknown, unexplored world of *ujamaa* and self-reliance” (p. 5).

From the beginning of the narrative, Kagwema through the capitalist stresses that the biggest mistake Tanzania leaders committed was to drag the country into *ujamaa*. The capitalist argues that even when the leaders saw the weaknesses of *ujamaa* they never turned back to assess the ideology. The capitalist says: *It is now nearly twenty-five years since you started toying with the ideas in the Arusha Declaration and a few years less since you took this road to social, political and economic development. All the evidence one looks at shows that your road so far is strewn with glaring faults and you appear to have absolutely no courage to turn around and face in the opposite direction with a view to starting all over again by avoiding past mistakes...*(p. 5).

The capitalist suggests before and after institutionalising the *ujamaa* policy, leaders should have made thorough researches on the *ujamaa* policy. Otherwise, as the capitalist suggests *ujamaa* was an unsafe road and was doomed to fail. The capitalist counter attacks by strongly denouncing *ujamaa* as a trial-and-error exercise. In his arguments, the capitalist blames the *ujamaa* ideology by killing creativity, innovation and production. The capitalist’s views are that *ujamaa* advocates laziness for other people do not work but rather depend on others to work for them. Therefore, according to the capitalist, *ujamaa* encourages laziness as people lack the motivation to work: The capitalist tells the socialist:

Scholars assert that men are naturally greedy, individualist, competitive and the like making it impossible for socialism to be implemented and survive (Ksundheim, 2007). It is further argued that capitalism drives creativity, innovation and the desire for progress. Moreover, scholars add that capitalism punishes the lazy and calls for people to work hard and be paid for the results they produce (Ksundheim, 2007). Kagwema in *Fear of the Unknown* tells the capitalist that by killing creativeness among Tanzanians, *ujamaa* will likely fail. The capitalist sees *ujamaa* as a coherent ideology but a confused mass of ideas and an amorphous doctrine, prone to giving simplistic solutions to complex problems. The capitalist poses questions to why should the government worry on individual’s wealth while it has government machines:

*Why should an individual’s wealth pose a problem or his influence be an embarrassment to the government? If an individual has broken any law in the process of acquiring such wealth or influence, surely the proper step to take against him must be in line with what the law provides. In other words it should be enough to pass just and human laws under solid and humane institutions with which to curb the ugly aspects of the wealth and powerful *(p. 31).*
Kagwema’s concerns have become more pertinent today. Under capitalism, Tanzanians are working hard to build a better life of the people themselves and the nation at large. From his views, Kagwema sees capitalism as an ideology which reinforces creativity, innovation and production. The other mistake which Kagwema depicts bitterly is the policy of nationalization programme. The capitalist tells the socialist that the policy of nationalization will bring troubles to the economic development of Tanzania in future. The capitalist tells the socialist:

Young Tanzania’s making a big blunder;
On reaching adulthood, it’ll flounder
And long after becoming old and weary
It’ll live forever to regret and cry.

For goodness sake, you Tanzanians,
It’s not too late to do something now;
Kick hard at your funny socialism
Give it crippling or death blows now (p. 98)

The capitalist’s words foretold the truth for in the late 1960s and early 1970s Tanzania faced economic hardships which slowed the pace of the economic development of Tanzania. Thus, the economic problems of Tanzania of the 1964-1965 and 1969-1974 are the results of the policy of nationalization. Scholars such as Ibhawoh and Dibu (2003) point out that the nationalization programme was a challenge and a difficult policy to implement in Tanzania. One of the aims of nationalization was to make sure that the state controls the major means of production. In this case, all major banks and large industrial enterprises were nationalized. However, Ibhawoh and Dibu note that nationalization had negative effects to the economy of Tanzania:

...Three large British banks-Barclays, Standard, and National and Grindleys-adopted a strategy on non-cooperation aimed at ensuring that public sector banking in Tanzania failed. Rapid withdrawal of personnel, instructions to staff to “work to rule” and highly polemical statements apparently designed to destroy international confidence in Tanzania’s export economy, followed in quick succession...State control of the economy did not exactly appear to guarantee a more effective restructuring of the national economy towards the envisaged self-reliant model... (Ibhawoh and Dibua, 2003:65-66).

The above views are also supported by Nazfiger (1980). He asserts that in the five year plans of 1964-1969 and 1969-1974 Tanzania experienced serious problems of falling export prices, agricultural settlement failures, inadequate benefit to the rural areas, increasing inequalities among people and growing unemployment. On his part, Vidrovitch (1988) also blames the nationalization programme because it brought inequality, poverty, inefficiency of leaders, selfishness and corruption. In the narrative, the capitalist prophecy that:

Anything that can be eaten
Will be in short supply;
The so-called luxuries’ be dear
Until you change your policy.
Because many items will be scarce
The black-market’ll thrive:
Regardless of you do with racketeers
They will triumph and put government to shame.

Price controls will always be ineffective
As long as individuals want to survive;
They’ll pay for services and buy any item
And in their hearts they’ll curse the system.

In long queues for basic necessities
You’ll never see senior Tanzanian leaders;
It’ll be the common men of all ages
Who’ll bear the brunt of shortages (p.41)? What the capitalist prophesized is what really happened in Tanzania in the 1970s. In that period there were scarcity of commodities and people had to struggle to get them at a higher price. For instance, in 1979 Tanzanians experienced the shortage of foods and the rising rate of inflation. Although other factors such as the rise of price of oil in the world and the war between Tanzania and Uganda contributed to these problems but the decline of agriculture production as a result of the *ujamaa* policy was the major reason (Nagar, 2000). The hard years of economic scarcities for the masses became golden times for racketeers, smugglers, embezzlers (Nagar, 2000). This situation is predicted by the capitalist in *Fear of the Unknown*. For example, the capitalist warns the socialist:

- Top leaders will appeal to the public
- To expose price cheats and racketeers
- As if price hikers operated in secret
- And as if leaders weren’t part of the public...
- Until your *ujamaa*’s scrapped
- Queues for goods and services
- Will remain a permanent sight
- Both in villages and in towns (p.42).

Therefore, in *Fear of the Unknown* the capitalist is not far from other critics of the nationalization programme. He does not see the rationale of the nationalization programme (pp. 91-94). It is because of these reasons that the capitalist keeps on foreshadowing that *ujamaa* will one day perish. According to the capitalist, as pointed out above *ujamaa* has ruined incentive, talent, drive, initiative and inventiveness (p. 90). The capitalist warns the leaders that *ujamaa* will lead people in the wilderness (p. 38). The capitalist offers suggestions [currently followed by the country] for a country to prosper economically:

- Combination of some free-market features,
- With some essential government controls,
- Are found in all capitalist countries;
- Practical needs dictate the mix.

Differences between capitalism and socialism

- Generally spring in the main
- From differences about means
- And to a small extent about ends...

- Prosperity and thrift aren’t mutually exclusive
- Nor are the strong and the weak;
- To help small men you don’t destroy big men
- And you don’t destroy the rich to help poor men (pp.36-37).

Furthermore, the capitalist insists:

- Any developing country’s goal
- Should be to bring itself as fast as possible
- Into the current century,
- A century marked with individual and group well-being (p. 52).

The capitalist’s views are clear and are quietly related to what the Breton Woods institutions were insisting to the government of Tanzania. In order to remedy the economy of Tanzania, the Breton Woods institutions urged the country to direct and shape the country’s economic policies by adopting a more liberal approach. Through the capitalist, Kagwema suggests that capitalist elements were necessary in economic development and this is the reason that the capitalist tells the socialist to dump immediately socialist ideals. From the above quotation, it is evident that the capitalist is aware that Tanzania cannot isolate itself from the rest of the world especially capitalist countries. Later, the capitalist reminds the socialist:
Tanzania cannot afford to disengage herself
From international capital and finance;
She must improve her productive capacity
And the capability of defending her interests (p. 50).

Again, in *Fear of the Unknown* Kagwema becomes a prophetic figure by telling us what is about to happen in Tanzania. When the economic situation continues to worsen in Tanzania, the government is forced by the World Bank and the IMF to implement the recommended structural adjustments. Tanzania embarked on structural adjustment programme in 1986. Because of economic problems, Tanzania accepted the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank conditionality’s. Thus, the government embarked on a deliberate but carefully computed move to abandon its *ujamaa* and nationalisation policies. As noted by many scholars, the key objectives of structural adjustment include the reduction of balance of payment deficits to make the economy less vulnerable, elimination of hunger, malnutrition, alleviation of poverty, to accelerate economic growth and to reduce inequality (Streeten, 1989). As pointed above, the capitalist in *Fear of the Unknown* had already told the socialist that in future the Breton Woods institutions will interfere in order to save the country from the *ujamaa* ideology. The capitalist tells the socialist:

- Ownership of the means of production
- Is only a juridical one;
- I.B.R.D. and I.M.F with metropolitan capital
- Will relentlessly frustrate your *ujamaa* (p. 51).

Following the Breton Woods institutions’ demands, Tanzania started implementing Structural Adjustments Programmes mostly in form of the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP). Since agriculture was the backbone of the country’s economy, appropriate reforms in agriculture to raise the economy of the country became essential. The main objective of the Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) was to increase output and exports of cash and food crops, to rehabilitate physical infrastructures, raise industrial capacity utilization and restore external and internal balances through prudent fiscal and monetary policies (The United Republic of Tanzania, 1986). From the stand point of the capitalist and as noted above, Tanzania could have never escaped the conditions of the Breton Woods Institutions for her economy to be revamped (pp.42-52).

In Tanzania, the *ujamaa* ideology went along with the villagization programme. The villagization programme was aimed at increasing efficiency in production, speeding up economic development and centralizing the provision of social services such as education, water and health care. In *Socialism and Rural Development* (1967) Nyerere stresses that the agricultural system that evolved during the colonial era and in the early years after independence had a number weaknesses. These weaknesses as discussed by Ghai and Green (1975:235) include “the existence of dualism, growing economic differentiation among small holders, low productivity and a low level of labour utilization in the small holder sector and the pattern of rural settlement with a preponderance of isolated home stead’s spread over a vast country.” The socialist in *Fear of the Unknown* praises the villagization programme as the only weapon in developing the rural communities of Tanzania. The socialist speaks boldly that the villagization programme intends to put the scattered people together, build planned houses for the people, teach people the principles of *ujamaa*, make people run their own affairs and make these villages centres for socio-economic development (pp. 23-24). The capitalist opposes the villagization programme and tells the socialist that the programme will fail. The capitalist tells the socialist that the villagization programme will not aid the government of Tanzania to build socialism (p. 51). The capitalist tells the socialist that the villagization policy will not succeed because the government was using force in evicting people from their former villages and it was moving people from fertile soils to unfertile soils. The capitalist’s views are fulfilled for it did not take long before the villagization programme died. Scholars contend that reasons which led to the failure of the villagization programme include, people’s reluctance to leave their ancestral lands, the rising costs of running the new villages, people’s fear of their land being nationalised and that people were not involved from the initial stages of establishing the programme (Hyden, 1980; Ibhawoh and Dibua, 2003).

In defending socialism, the socialist speaks firmly that socialism will bring positive moral values. The socialist asserts that socialism is the best ideology in bringing about moral values amongst Tanzanians. The socialist explains that all persons are equal and as persons of infinite worth and value. He further says that
the core aims of socialism are to call for human rights, social justice and peace (pp.19-23). From the socialist point of view, capitalism is callous, exploitative, oppressive, dehumanizing, enslaving and a class based ideology. In this way, as the socialist argues, *ujamaa* is a viable way in creating a just and moral society. On his part, the capitalist foreshadows that the moral values inherent in socialism are ideals difficult to implement. The capitalist says:

> Your high moral socialism I maintain  
> Is absolutely impossible to attain;  
> On paper it may be a good idea,  
> In practice, it’ll an ideal...  
> This is not an exaggeration,  
> But no religion or moral code  
> Can answer the deepest human issues  
> Hydra-headed as they always come (p. 94).

In his views, the capitalist asserts that by stopping or blocking people in struggling on their own and by limiting their creativeness it means creating an unjust society where individuals are not free to pursue happiness. This is the reason the capitalist opts for capitalism because in it [as also viewed by Thompson, 1993] there are people who are honest, industrious, thoughtful, prudent, frugal, responsible and efficient. In fact, what we witness later in the story is that in Tanzania, despite the fact that it is a socialist country there are categories of people; the high class or upper class and the lower class. These kinds of classes were already foretold earlier by the capitalist. The capitalist warned the socialist that the socialist party will bring classes or grades: The capitalist says:

> You want to abolish classes,  
> You want to achieve human equality  
> And yet you’re introducing grades  
> Of first and second grades!  
> You’re turning the only Party  
> Into a ladder to social status  
> For individuals material advancement  
> By your courses of indoctrination (pp. 94-95).

Thus, through the capitalist, Kagwema suggests that moral socialism is difficult to attain because of the persistence of classes and the individualistic tendencies among Tanzanians. As noted by the capitalist, in Tanzania there is a widespread misappropriation of funds, corruption, nepotism, theft and inequality (p. 40; pp. 46-47). Kagwema’s views are in line with Spalding (1996: 91) who suggests that “a coherent way of life requires that the people’s belief system and social relations support each other, so a way of life is morally coherent and internally consistent; with a world view which outlines morality, the good life and the good society.” In the case of Tanzania as argued by the capitalist, the *ujamaa* ideology ‘had to die’ because what the ideology preached was contrary to reality. Ibhawoh and Dibua (2003:78) note that “*ujamaa* was also conceived as a development strategy, a path to social equity and distributive justice based on a self-reliant development strategy.” The capitalist says that “Everything ujamaa has been promising, judging by its performance so far, seem doomed to recede into the future” (p. 97).

Kagwema’s *Fear of the Unknown* is an artistic work. It was written in 1985 when Tanzania was under a single-party system. A close reading of the narrative foreshadows the multy-party system which began in 1992. After independence, Tanzania abolished the multy-party system claiming the multy-party system fuelled separatism and threatened unity among the people in a young democracy of a young nation (Biemen, 1970). The one party system was adopted because it reflected the African traditional culture hence viable and democratic (Zolberg, 1966). In general, as laid down in the *Arusha Declaration*, a party’s blue print and guide for socialist construction, the government asserted that a single party system was necessary to avoid unnecessary frictions, internal divisions, consolidate national consciousness, bring unity and enhance democracy (Nyerere, 1968).
Kagwema’s *Fear of the Unknown* presents the disadvantages inherent in a one party system. The capitalist is unhappy with the single-party system and predicts that the single-party system will not work. The capitalist sees that democracy is not found in the single-party system because usually the single party system serves one class—the elite and not the lower class (p. 44). The capitalist equates a single party system with dictatorship since its power is controlled by a few; the elite (p. 92). Furthermore, the capitalist argues that a one party parliament cannot be representative for Members of Parliament coming from a single party—cannot make the parliament accountable:

- M. P. S will become successful and rich;
- They’ll become mere rubber stamps
- Under the thumb of the Party
- Instead of representing their constituents...

Individual ideals and beliefs will vanish;
Leaders will act and “think” like the Party
As this will be the only condition
For one to have bright prospects in life (p. 44).

In this respect, the capitalist suggests that a single party system undermine democracy. It is argued that in many socialist countries, the parliament is the ultimate legislative body that enacts and endorses government bills (Okumu, 1979). In other words, in one party-state, one cannot make a distinction between the government and the party. The Members of Parliament cannot disagree or oppose the government. This tendency as viewed by the capitalist is undemocratic for Members of Parliament are not accountable to the people who elected them. As pointed out earlier, the capitalist tells the socialist such kind of democracy is an utopia which will never succeed (p. 48).

**CONCLUSION**

In *Fear of Unknown*, the serious tone of the capitalist reinforces the idea that the *ujamaa* ideology was doomed to fail. Thus, the general theme in *Fear of the Unknown* is the failure of *ujamaa* in Tanzania. The socialist is hopeful that the *ujamaa* ideology will at the end succeed. The socialist says “We will steadily march to our goal: We’re sure in the end all’ll come right. For we’re almost certain our cause’s just, And so the Tanzanian dream will never die” (p. 114). However, readers know that *ujamaa* ideology is no longer in existence in Tanzania. What the capitalist predicted is actually what is happening in Tanzania. Like many African countries, Tanzania is adopting the free market economy. In the closing remarks of the capitalist arguments in *Fear of the Unknown*, the capitalist concludes:

- Capitalism is here in the world to stay;
- The actual results of competition
- Depend entirely on the governing rules
- For competition to be health or unhealthy...

- Today’ competition’s conducted within a framework
- Strictly based on legal and conventional rules
- Designed to almost obviate anti-social results
- In the interest of the human society as a whole (p. 89).

From the quotation above, the capitalist is possibly right because the new global economy is run and directed following rules and regulations. Throughout the story or the narrative, the capitalist suggests that capitalism is a system that rewards merit, ability and achievement. The capitalist tells the socialist that one cannot blame modern capitalism and that “inequality of wealth is unavoidable, wealth’s payment for genius, hard work or luck” (p. 89). There is no doubt at all that Kagwema’s *Fear of the Unknown* presents artistically the historical facts of Tanzania. The use of prophecy has revealed the dynamics and problems of *ujamaa* which led to its death.
REFERENCES


