

# Tanzanian Affairs

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**Jakaya Kikwete's great election triumph**

**Controversy again in Zanzibar:**

*CCM's Karume named as President again*

*CCM wins all but one seat in Unguja*

*CUF's crushing victory in Pemba*

**An election diary and the detailed results**

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# KIKWETE'S GREAT TRIUMPH

## OPPOSITION ALMOST DEMOLISHED

On December 14th, Mr Jakaya Kikwete, Tanzania's Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Development for the last ten years, swept to a massive victory in Tanzania's general elections, considered to have been broadly free and fair.

The presidential result was expected but, when the results of the parliamentary elections came in, they were a surprise to many seasoned observers of the Tanzanian political scene and even to some of the leaders of the ruling CCM party. Many could not understand why Tanzania's love-affair with the CCM party, which has lasted for 44 years, has not diminished but actually appears stronger. Many had expected that, at least in the elections for MP's, one or two of the 17 opposition parties would have increased their representation but this did not happen.

In the presidential election, Kikwete secured just over 80% of votes. Interestingly, six out of the ten presidential candidates came from one region - Kilimanjaro.

In the election for seats in the National Assembly, CCM won 206 out of the 232 elected members, CUF won 19, all from Zanzibar (it lost both of its previously held mainland seats), CHADEMA 5, (formerly 4) , TLP 1 (formerly 4) and UDP 1 (formerly 3). The Guardian reported that some 60 new MP's will be sitting in the National Assembly for the first time. At least 40 of the newcomers are from CCM and the rest from three opposition parties - CUF, Chadema and TLP. Tanzania Labour Party leader Augustine Mrema came out fourth in the presidential race compared with third last time.

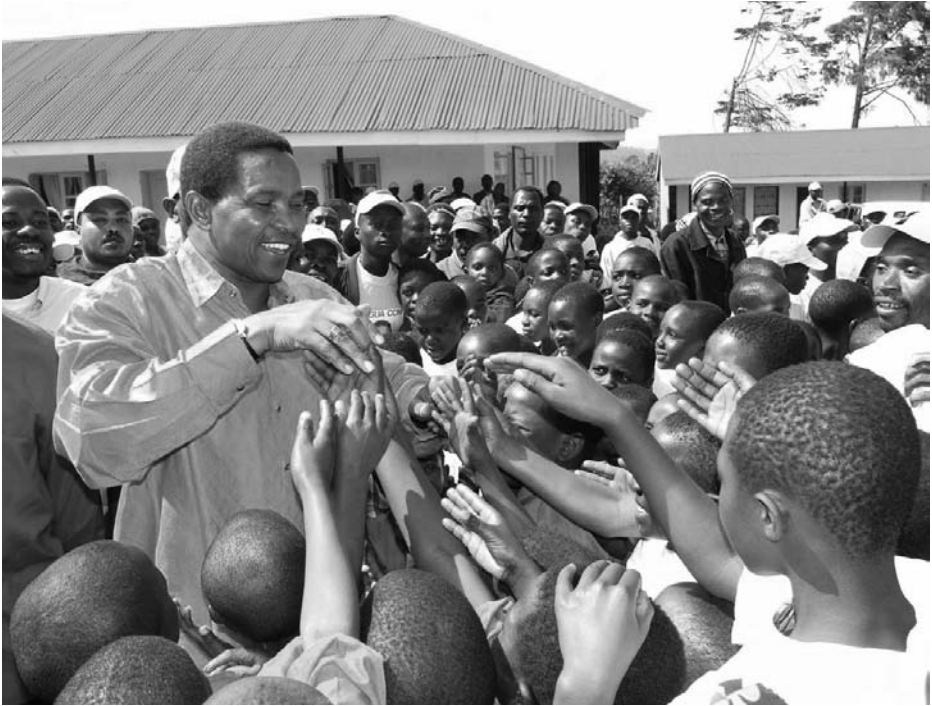
**WHY?** Why did most Tanzanians decide to virtually demolish all the opposition parties and revert to a situation, which, but for the strength of the opposition in Zanzibar, would have reverted to a virtual one party parliament ? When the late Mwalimu Nyerere introduced multi-party politics three elections ago, most Tanzanians were not keen on the idea. They had seen how much trouble had come out of competitive politics in other African countries and this time again they appear to have been determined not to let the peace and stability, for which the  
*cover photo shows Jakaya Kikwete being welcomed at a rally in Mwanza*

country is famed, be lost. Among other factors favouring CCM were the vast sums of money the party had at its disposal and the weakness and divisions between the 17 opposition parties and their lack of charismatic leadership. Only one of the opposition candidates for the presidency - Freeman Mbowe of CHADEMA - made a real impression, by coming up with some new policies and explaining them at up to ten meetings a day in remote villages as he travelled by helicopter. He must have been very disappointed to have increased his number of MP's from four to only five and to have lost stalwart former MP's in Kigoma and Kilimanjaro regions. During the campaign he was quoted as saying "Even if I don't win (i.e. making it to the State House) my message has at least reached the intended audience". He has been widely described as an 'up and coming politician'.

With the exception of a handful of seats, the CCM bulldozer reigned supreme even in many seats in which CCM had earlier been divided in its choice of candidate. The Chinese News Agency, which takes a close interest in Tanzania wrote: 'In a combination of the Kikwete factor, or more appropriately, the 'Kikwete avalanche' and the monies spent in the campaigns, the opposition stood no chance, as the devastation was total, a situation quite characteristic of any African country whose people reel in abject poverty'. According to Hilal K Sued in the Sunday Observer the only real news for journalists in the results was when the opposition took a seat or two from the ruling party, as in Tarime, Mpanda Central, and Biharamulo, or when they lost seats they already held as in Kilimanjaro and Shinyanga regions. CCM suffered a severe loss in the Moshi Urban seat which had been retained by the shrewd CHADEMA incumbent, Philemon Ndesamburo. At a fundraising event in Moshi, that had been graced by President Benjamin Mkapa himself, about TShs 500 million had been contributed by various people, including businessmen, to 'liberate' the four constituencies that were in opposition hands in Kilimanjaro region. CCM's candidate in Moshi Urban was President Mkapa's sister in law, Elizabeth Minde who lost for the second time. There were also one or two constituencies where the figures didn't add up. In Temeke in Dar es Salaam 100,000 registered voters were said not to have voted - one third of all those who registered. This problem was mentioned by the African Union's Observer Team although it gave the elections as a whole much praise.

**SOME INDIVIDUAL RESULTS** Veteran politician and CCM Vice-Chairman John Malecela won his seat in Dodoma with 42,994 votes against the CUF candidate who came second with 1,928 votes. New faces in the Assembly include Attorney General Andrew Chenge and seasoned politician John Magalle Shibuda, who won the Bariadi West and Maswa seats, respectively. The result in the Ubungu constituency in Dar es Salaam (see below), where there were over a dozen candidates, gave CCM's Charles Keenja victory by some 90,000 votes to the young CHADEMA candidate John John Mnyika's about 45,000. In Ulanga West Cabinet Minister Dr Juma Ngasongwa defeated Professor Melchior Mlambiti of TLP by a narrow margin of 3,747 votes. He got 22,186 votes. In Bukoba Urban CUF suffered a severe setback when its MP Wilfred Lwakatare (18,596 votes), who was leader of the opposition in the last parliament, was defeated by CCM's former diplomat Khamis Kagasheki (18,755 votes). Majority 186. In an angry demonstration during which he was arrested Lwakatare refused to accept the results and said that the election had been rigged in favour of CCM. Some of his agents had been prevented from witnessing the counting of votes, and voter intimidation had been widespread on election day, with 'hundreds' of riot police patrolling the streets instilling fear into voters minds. In Kilimanjaro Region, Basil Mramba of CCM retained his Rombo seat by polling 62,108 votes with CHADEMA's Lokori Damas Ng'anja coming a distant second on 12,335 votes.

**THE NEW PRESIDENT** *IRIN* (a UN humanitarian news and information service, which may not necessarily reflect the views of the United Nations or its agencies) has issued a profile of the new president. Extracts: Jakaya Kikwete, is widely regarded as a career politician and staunch socialist, though he has repeatedly expressed his commitment to continuing his predecessor's free-market reforms. Despite opposition complaints, these have left the majority of the people as poor as they were under the country's socialist system. Kikwete's affiliation with Tanzania's founding President, Julius Nyerere; his immediate successors Ali Hassan Mwinyi and Mkapa; as well as Kikwete's long-time membership in the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), are well known. When Mwinyi left office before the country's first multiparty poll in 1995, Kikwete unsuccessfully challenged Mkapa for the CCM nomination but gracefully accepted the party's choice. For this, he was rewarded the post of



*Jakaya Kikwete greets children in Morogoro during the election campaign*

Foreign Minister. Kikwete, 55, has been the country's longest serving Foreign Minister, marking a decade at that post this year. Before that he headed the ministries of finance, water, energy and minerals (1990-1994) after serving as deputy minister between 1987 and 1990. When introducing Kikwete at a campaign rally in Dar es Salaam on 21 August, Mkapa described him as a super-diplomat, in recognition of his role in the search for peace in neighbouring Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Kikwete graduated from the University of Dar es Salaam with a degree in economics in 1975 and immediately joined CCM, then known as the Tanzania African National Union (TANU). While serving as a TANU cadre Kikwete underwent military training and was seconded to the Tanzania People's Defence Forces as chief political instructor at the Monduli Central Military Academy, the country's top military training institution. He was commissioned as a lieutenant and retired as a colonel when political pluralism was reintroduced to the country in 1992. Born on 7 October 1950 in Msoga village, Bagamoyo District, Kikwete is a devout Muslim. He is also a lover of sports and is currently the patron of the National Basketball Assoc.

**UNION PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION RESULTS**

<i>Candidate (Party)</i>	<i>Number of Votes</i>	<i>% of Votes</i>
Jakaya Kikwete (CCM)	9,123,952	80.28%
Ibrahim Lipumba (CUF)	1,327,125	11.68%
Freeman Mbowe (CHADEMA)	668,756	5.88%
Augustine Mrema (TLP)	84,901	0.75%
Sengondo Mvungi (NCCR-Mageuzi)*	55,819	0.49%
Christopher Mtikila (DP)	31,083	0.27%
Emmanuel Makaidi (NLD)	21,574	0.19%
Anna Senkoro (PPT-Maendeleo)	18,783	0.17%
Leonard Shayo (MAKINI)	17,070	0.15%
Paul Kyara (SAU)	16,414	0.14%

Registered Voters 16,401,694 Total Votes 11,875,927 [Voter Turnout: 72.4%]

**NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION RESULTS**

<i>Party</i>	<i>2005 Elections Number of Seats (232)*</i>	<i>2000 Elections Number of Seats (231)*</i>
Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM)	206	202
Civic United Front (CUF)	19	17
Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA)	5	4
United Democratic Party (UDP)	1	3
Tanzania Labour Party (TLP)	1	4
NCCR-Mageuzi	-	1

\*Out of a total of 324 seats, 232 are filled through direct elections  
source: NEC, Guardian and <http://africanelections.tripod.com>

**THE INAUGURATION** of Jakaya Kikwete as President of the United Republic of Tanzania, together with his Vice-President, Dr Ali Mohamed Shein, took place on December 21. It was a colourful ceremony attended by dozens of local and foreign dignitaries and tens of thousands of Dar es Salaam residents at the National Stadium. Kikwete said in his first speech as president that he would not stray from the path set by his predecessors, adding that those expecting major policy changes would be disappointed. President Kikwete commended the opposition for its vigorous campaigning in the run-up to the general election, and asked opposition parties to work with his government in building Tanzania, since the poll was now over - Guardian

## AN ELECTION DIARY

*This daily diary was originally intended to cover the whole of the election in Tanzania but, three days before it was due to be held, the death of one of the Union Vice-presidential candidates caused the election on the mainland to be postponed until December 14th in accordance with the constitution. It was possible therefore for me to spend more time witnessing the election in Zanzibar but no time for the final stages of the elections for the Union presidency and for the National Assembly in Dodoma - Editor.*



**23rd October.** It is obvious that there is an election going on. All the way from the airport smiling photographs of Mr Jakaya Kikwete, the candidate of the ruling *Chama cha Mapinduzi* (CCM) party look down upon you. There are thousands of them. Small ones on lamp-posts and massive ones on billboards. There are also other posters, simpler in design and less colourful, from the more affluent of the 17 opposition political parties involved in the elections.

*Posters in Nkrumah St, Dar. Kikwete's slogan "Ari Mpya, Nguvu Mpya, Kasi Mpya"*

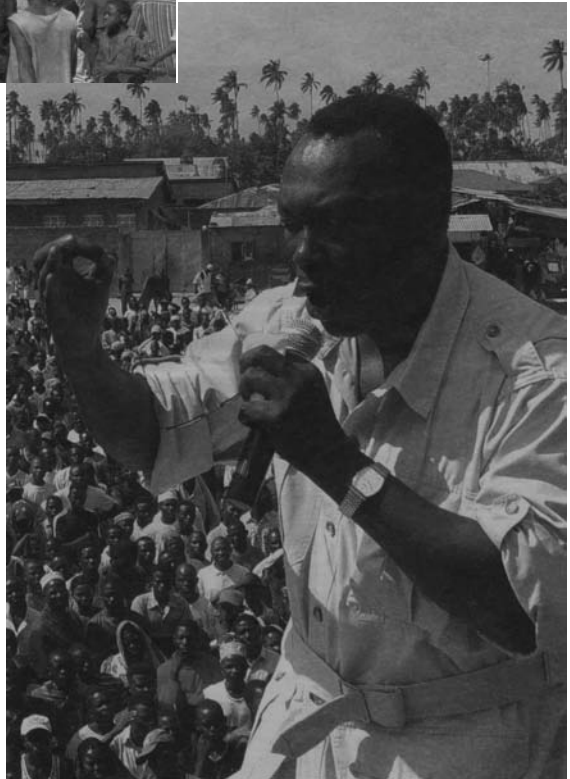
*roughly translates as "renewed enthusiasm, vigour and a faster pace"*

**24th October.** Morning. To the headquarters of the opposition CHADEMA party which presently has four MP's in the National Assembly. This time it hopes for at least 20, according to Acting Secretary General Shaid Ally Akwilombe who explains to me how the party's dynamic



young presidential candidate Freeman Mbowe (44) has vastly raised the party's image, by campaigning in a helicopter. He has been holding up to ten meetings a day, often in remote places where a presidential candidate has

never been seen before. One wonders how many of his votes will be for the helicopter and how many for him! He is offering new policies on education and especially on governance - the party wants to delegate more power away from Dar to eight new zonal authorities. Akwilombe gives me a list of the party's 25 target parliamentary seats and explains how disappointed they are not to have been able to reach an agreement with the largest opposition party, the Civic United Front (CUF) - which now has 18 out of 232 elected seats in the National Assembly - not to stand against each other in seats where one party is clearly in the lead.



*Freeman Mbowe addresses the crowds*

*(photo Peter Mgongo)*

Afternoon. To the campaign itself in the Ubungo constituency where the CCM Minister of Agriculture, Charles Keenja, is defending his seat



against 13 opposition candidates. Among them is CHADEMA's dynamic 25 year-old John John Mnyika who has found a small open space in an area of high-density housing to address an attentive small crowd. Main subjects: water supplies and the state of the market. He tells me after the meeting that he believes he can win and exudes enthusiasm. If he wins he might be the youngest MP.

**25th October.** Morning. To CUF HQ to learn that the party will be contesting all except 8 of the 232 elected parliamentary seats on the mainland and all 50 seats in Zanzibar where their real strength lies. They are not keen on coalitions with other parties because they want to put over their own message - improved tax collection to provide for free primary education, review of privatisation agreements, free primary health care, creation of 2 million new jobs..... (CCM promises one million during the next five years). There is an air of bustle and organisation in the office, lots of enthusiasm and plenty of literature.

Afternoon. To a CUF rally in Manzese. We almost missed it because of road congestion. Here we find one of the big guns of the campaign - Juma Duni Haji - CUF candidate for the Vice-Presidency of Tanzania. A spectacular performance, oratory of the old school. He holds the packed audience in the palm of his hand. They laugh at his jokes; they stand and cheer and wave when he explains what CUF will do for the underprivileged. Some of the things he says about past, present and future CCM presidents border on the libellous. But there are no police in sight.

I want to have a better view to take a photo. I find a handcart which I think I can climb on to. The six people already there make it clear that I am more than welcome so I try to climb up. To the great amusement of all around, I nearly fall off. Twelve eager hands pull me aboard. They had had to pay a little to the enterprising young cart owner for this excellent vantage point. I am not charged. But it's very embarrassing!

As I leave later, several people say how pleased they are that even an *Mzungu* has come to hear their hero. One brave CCM supporter circulates around the crowd strongly condemning CUF. Nobody objects. Is this another example of the tolerance for which Tanzania is so famous?



*The Duni Juma Haji Rally - photograph taken from a handcart*

**26th October.** First to NCCR-Mageuzi HQ. Meet Mr Beatti Mpitakana who explains that their presidential candidate Dr Mvungi is representing four small parties and is busy campaigning up country. Originally there were 12 opposition parties proposing to work together but 7 dropped out. Why? Because of the prestige which goes with having a presidential candidate, he said. NCCR is contesting 12 seats in Unguja, 23 in Pemba but only 67 in the whole of the rest of the country.

Then to CCM HQ. Made welcome by Mr Nape Mnauye, Assistant Secretary for Political Affairs. This new generation of politicians in all parties are refreshing to talk to. So knowledgeable and so open in discussion of even delicate issues, compared with the hesitations, and sometimes suspicion, of some of the older generation when they see a foreign journalist. He is very happy about the extraordinary popularity of his presidential candidate Jakaya Kikwete. TV pictures show Kikwete being received all around the country like a Messiah. Why is he so popular? Answer: He has been working with the CCM party since 1970 and has been on the National Executive Committee since 1982; members appreciate his loyalty; he is young; he has a very friendly personality and has good looks; Mwalimu Nyerere promised him that his time would come when he was by-passed as presidential candidate in the 1995 elections even though he was the party's favourite at that time. Mnauye admits however that CCM is unlikely to have such an over-

whelming majority of elected MPs as it had in 2000 (203 out of 232).

He explains how CCM is bound to win in Zanzibar because of demographic factors. There are more voters in the larger island Unguja, who will support CCM, and fewer in Pemba Island who will support CUF.

Afternoon back to the Ubungo constituency where a CCM rally is in full swing. The music is always better at CCM rallies. "Because they have more money" say the opposition. A kids' choir delights the crowd with comedy sketches and a trumpet and drum band livens up some of the more lengthy speeches. The local Mayor strongly attacks CUF and CHADEMA and seems to go on forever. It is now 5.45pm and all political meetings must stop at 6 o'clock. The local CCM candidate in the council elections, which are taking place at the same time, speaks succinctly, but it is now 5.50pm. Three lady defectors from CHADEMA mount the platform. Two of them turn out to be such powerful orators and hand over their CHADEMA party cards with such aplomb that one wonders whether they are professional defectors! Now it is 5.58pm and the Minister for Agriculture, the local MP, finally climbs on to the platform. He points out that the fine new tarmac road which runs alongside our meeting place has been built by the CCM government. In a two-hour-long meeting he speaks for just five minutes. Strange!

**27th October.** On the boat to Zanzibar. Arrive 1pm. Meet the Zanzibari who is to be my guide, bodyguard and interpreter (my 1950's Swahili is well out of date). I hire a taxi for four days. The driver has a friendly smile, sounds politically aware and geographically well informed. And the taxi is brand new!

The first and most urgent task, because it is Friday, when everything stops in Zanzibar, is to go to the Government Information Department to get a press pass. The army is here in strength. They are the opposite of friendly. However, when we get inside we meet a delightful young lady Information Officer who expedites the issuing of the card and even shows us the photographs of all the other local and foreign journalists who have already arrived and registered - Reuters, Agence France Press, Associated Press, China News Agency, Daily Telegraph, Financial Times etc. I ask my guide about his voting intentions. None of the people I have met so far seem to mind being asked this question and

all seem happy to reply. But the answer this time is different. He gives me a long and angry account of how he has been trying to register to vote for months. His family originate from Pemba, although they have been living in Unguja for more than ten years. But he hasn't recorded his presence with the *Sheha* (a government-appointed ward leader who has an important role in the voter registration process). My guide goes on: "I said to the *Sheha* - 'You know we've been friends for years. Surely you're not going to refuse me the right to vote.' But the *Sheha* remained adamant." My guide says he appealed repeatedly and wanted to take the matter to court but had no money. Out of his family of nine adults only his mother and father have been registered to vote.

Next, to a CUF election rally. Big crowd. Party Secretary General and candidate for the presidency of Zanzibar, Seif Sharrif Hamad's mellifluous voice carries far and wide. He seems happy and confident. Suddenly he interrupts his speech with bad news. CHADEMA Vice-presidential candidate Mr Jumbe Rajab Jumbe, has suddenly died. The cabinet and election authorities are meeting in Dar es Salaam to decide whether to stop the election. After offering his condolences, Hamad insists that the Tanzanian constitution is not the same as the Zanzibar one and that there is no reason to stop the election in Zanzibar. Then CUF's number two - Juma Duni Haji - speaks. He is full of funny anecdotes about his just completed nationwide tour of Tanzania and again lights up the audience with the power of his oratory.

**28th October.** To the National Stadium to see President Mkapa say his official goodbye to Zanzibaris. I try to be inconspicuous but a CCM official thinks I look like a VIP and insists on escorting me to the VIP stand. But there it is found that I am only a journalist and therefore cannot come in. In any case, this is a CCM family occasion. As nobody has given me a yellow T-shirt and everybody else packing the grandstand is wearing one, it is obviously better for me to leave quietly.

**29th October.** To State House where I meet President Karume's Chief Press Officer Abubakar Rajab to find out whether he is issuing any press releases in response to the numerous ones emanating from CUF. He takes my details and promises to let me know.

Then to the big final rallies of the campaign. A generally happy atmosphere at both. CCM has the bigger crowd but few are listening to the speeches. For them it is a big social occasion. The massed ranks of yellow and green T-shirt wearers, thousands of them, make for an attractive and colourful spectacle. Radio Zanzibar gives full live coverage of the rally but there is no mention of the CUF rally going on at the same time.

It is hot at the CUF rally and there are not enough trees to provide shade. I observe the Head of the Commonwealth Observer Team, a former President of Malta, sweating like the rest of us. A small snake appears in the grass and is immediately sentenced to death. In the evening - a stroll on the beach. A landing craft arrives and unloads a large troop carrier with a big gun and many military personnel. CUF's Hamad makes his final appeal on Zanzibar TV at 7:30pm.

### **30th October 30. Election day.**

8.00am. Streets deserted. Shops closed. Army and police everywhere.

8.30am. We go first to Jumbe Madawa constituency polling station. All equipment needed for the election has been supplied and voting is proceeding well. The CCM and five opposition party monitors watch the proceedings closely. Am told that just before our arrival a group of people from elsewhere had tried to vote. A CUF candidate for a council seat had tried to push them away and the police had given him a bloody nose. He looks sorry for himself. The CUF candidate for Stonetown in the National Assembly arrives on his bicycle wearing colourful headgear and tells people to calm down. Tension is relieved.

9.00am. Raha Leo polling station. Voting proceeding slowly and peacefully. We notice that the 'Permanent Voters Register', which CUF has been demanding to see for weeks, has finally been pasted on the walls of the polling station on a series of A4 sheets of paper.

A few people complain that they have voting cards but are not on the list and are not allowed to vote. Observers much in evidence with the word 'Observer' prominently displayed on all their backs.

9.30am. Haile Selassie polling station. All going well. 10am. Jang'ombe. 10.15 Darajani. 10.30 Kikwajuni. Voting going well and almost



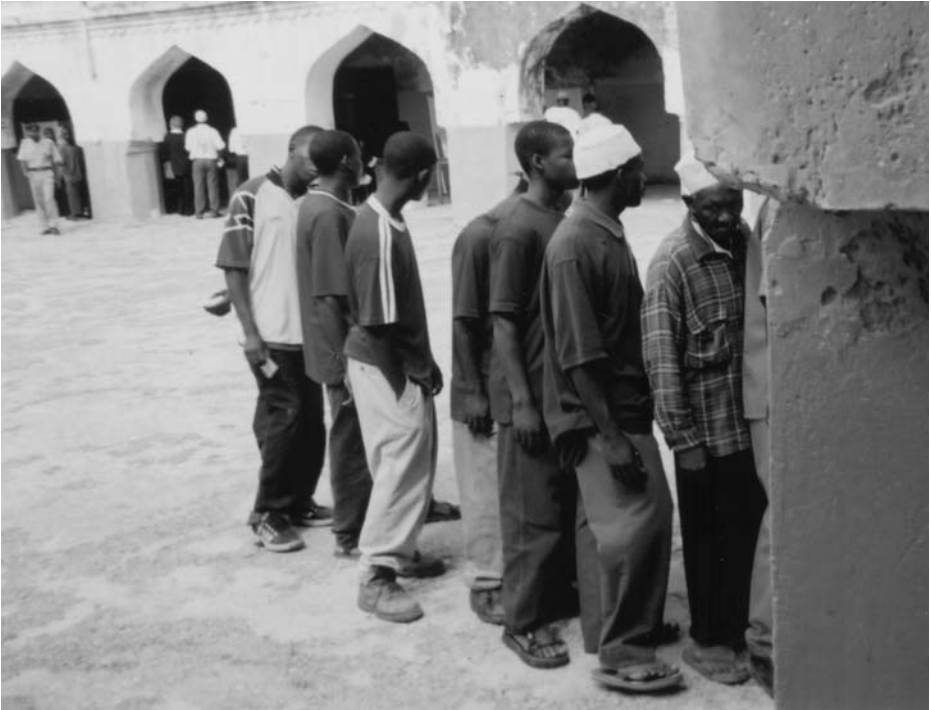
The "Permanent Voters Register" on the wall of a polling station complete.

10.00am. I am surprised to be told by a diplomat that the diplomatic corps have all been invited to attend the inauguration of the new president on Thursday November 3rd.

Noon. CUF press conference. Hamad expresses grave concern about absence of results books at polling stations. These well designed books include forms which record the results, which are then handed round the different party monitors who then sign to certify their agreement with the count.

2pm. We drive past a polling station and are surprised to see a compact crowd of young people filing in escorted by soldiers.

2.15pm. Forodhani, where there are eight different polling booths. Voting has finished. Clerks resting and waiting for the counting to start. Suddenly, a large group of about 100 young people, mostly men, closely escorted by *Kikosi Maalum cha Kuzuia Magendo* (KMKM) heavily armed anti-smuggling soldiers. I am told that these groups are known locally as 'janjaweed' after the Arab militias who kill and rape in Darfur, Sudan and that they have arrived in four big trucks parked round the corner. The youngsters are immediately attacked by a few angry CUF supporters who are hanging around the polling station. The youngsters soon come under all kinds of other pressures. Local and international journalists can always smell trouble and are here in strength. No observers in sight. The soldiers drive the CUF people away, protected by their shields and with the help of two gunshots and



*Alleged "Janjaweds" filing into a polling station to vote*

much tear gas. My eyes are sore as there is no air movement in the narrow streets. The youngsters are also being harassed by TV people pointing cameras in their faces. Journalists surround them trying to ask where they have come from and who they are but they all seem to have taken a vow of silence. I am told that they have most probably voted elsewhere earlier in the day, perhaps more than once. No observers to be seen.

With peace restored by the troops, the next stage of the operation begins. The youngsters are escorted to the entrance of the polling station in groups of about ten and are met by a rather formidable lady who is in a hurry to get them to vote.

She gets angry with those who have forgotten which desk they have to go to. I watch them all vote and trickle out again. I hear the lady say to one of them "*Sasa nenda mbali*" - "Now go away as far as possible." They waste no time in doing so. When they have gone, a polling clerk loudly protests to me at having been forced to help them to vote.

3.00 pm. We go back to the polling station where we had earlier seen a group of about 60 young people standing around. Now, fierce looking soldiers, standing five yards apart, have created a ring around the polling station with their guns pointing outwards. No observers in sight. Virtually nobody else in sight. We discuss whether to have a closer look. The driver is worried about his taxi. I am reflecting on things like discretion and valour. We decide not to stop.



*KMKM soldiers firing shots & teargas to clear the streets so that alleged "janjawees" can vote*

3.30pm. We drive along the wide street known as Darajani and see a group of about 30 young people emerging from the polling station. On the other side of the street are hundreds of (presumably) CUF supporters standing under the shade of the shops. They immediately start shouting angrily and move forward in a great wave. We fear for the safety of the youngsters. But more police and army reinforcements arrive quickly and they, together with the youngsters, start running away. No observers in sight.

6.00pm. Haile Selassie polling station. Counting going ahead slowly but correctly under the watchful eye of the Chief Commonwealth Observer. One of his colleagues suddenly cries out and applauds as a ballot paper is finally seen to be not for CCM nor for CUF but for one of the minor parties.



6.30pm. To Forodhani where the groups of young voters were so prominent earlier in the day. There are eight groups of ballot boxes. For six of them everything is open and straightforward. We can join in the counting and take photographs. Present are a Commonwealth and an American observer.



*Votes being counted, slowly & correctly*

We note that in one of the boxes used by the youngsters, out of some 250 ballot papers, 22 are declared 'undecided' and are to be sent to the ZEC for adjudication. 12 more are spoilt ballots. Some of the voters using this box have obviously been confused and some have put their ballot papers in the wrong box. At the other two places, just across the narrow street, things are different. A big old Zanzibar door is firmly shut (so we look through the window) keeping out not only the observers and the journalists but even the CUF parliamentary candidate for the seat. All these people become rather angry and there is a long argument with the polling clerk in charge. An observer makes a call on his mobile. The door is opened. Counting of the first box is finished. One of the observers asks if she can be given the results. "No. You are here to observe. Not to interfere in the counting process." Paraffin lamps are brought. Counting continues into the night.

Midnight. CUF holds a press conference. It is reported later that they had announced that, despite massive attempts at rigging by CCM, their statistics showed that Maalim Seif Hamad was the winner of the presidential vote by a small margin. CUF had learnt that the ZEC intended to announce CCM as the winner. CUF said that such an outcome could only be achieved by further doctoring results during the count. This appeared to be the reason why their agents had been denied entry into places where the collating of results was proceeding.

**October 31** morning. A diplomat tells me that CUF supporters have been celebrating in large numbers in Darajani, thinking they have won. Police are said to have driven them back with tear gas and rubber bullets. The diplomat shows me one. I have never seen a rubber bullet before. He said it had taken two hours to clear the area.

9.00 Media people gather outside the Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC) expecting some of the results to be announced as counting has apparently been going on well at many polling stations. The gates are closed. No news.

**November 1st.** Still no results. Only Zanzibar radio and TV people have been allowed into the ZEC compound.

10.00. A packed CUF press conference with some 60 media people present. We are told by Lipumba and Hamad that the electoral register had not been seen by the opposition until polling day; it had not been verified by UNDP (or anyone else outside the ZEC) as had been agreed earlier; some 70,000 people estimated to have been cut from the electoral register; CUF monitors at some thirty polling stations, which he names, had not been given copies of results forms; '*Janjaweed*s' accompanied by soldiers had appeared at many polling stations and had been allowed to vote. Hamad wonders why it was taking so long to count the votes at the ZEC. He says "We should have won in 10 constituencies in Unguja." (*CUF won only one seat*).

Mid-day. ZEC hands out to journalists the results from four constituencies, all CCM victories.

4.00pm. Full results are read out on Radio Zanzibar.


4.15pm. We set off to see reaction on the streets. In no time we are totally engulfed by cheering, singing, dancing CCM supporters. Driver is worried about his taxi. I am worried because we are trapped in the car and cannot move in any direction. But we are surrounded by joy and goodwill; so we wait.

5.00pm. We eventually find a quiet route through the narrow streets of Stonetown. CUF has announced an immediate press conference. We pass hundreds of people sitting in small groups on their doorsteps with their heads down. No one is talking. It is a scene of utter dejection and

despair. The press conference is over by the time we arrive but other journalists tell me that CUF has announced that it will not accept the election results and that it is collecting evidence on the way in which the election had been 'rigged'. Outside their HQ Prof. Lipumba and Hamad advise their hundreds of excited supporters to be patient. Peaceful demonstrations will be organised later, they say. 'No' the people shout back.

**November 3rd.** I meet a British nurse in the hotel bar in the evening. She says she cannot understand what all the fuss is about. "One death in Pemba (*see below*) and a bit of teargas!" "This is peanuts" she says. She lives in Afghanistan!

Two days later. Back in Dar es Salaam. Visit Wilbroad Slaa, Secretary General of CHADEMA to ask about progress in the selection of a candidate to replace the late Mr Jumbe. He tells me that six candidates are on the short list and the result of the selection will be announced in a day or two.



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Barabaig women, Mdori nr Lake Manyara - Photo Colin Hastings

# ZANZIBAR RESULTS & REACTIONS

## ZANZIBAR PRESIDENCY ELECTION RESULTS

<i>Candidate (Party)</i>	<i>Number of Votes</i>	<i>% of Votes</i>
Amani Abeid Karume (CCM)	239,832	53.18%
Seif Shariff Hamad (CUF)	207,773	46.07%
Haji Mussa Kitole (Jahazi Asilia)	2,110	0.47%
Abdallah Ali Abdallah (DP)	509	0.11%
Simai Abdulrahman Abdallah (NRA)	449	0.10%
Mariam Omar (SAU)	335	0.07%

Registered Voters 507,225 Total votes cast 460,581 [Voter Turnout: 90.8%]. Out of these President Karume got only 23,000 voters in Pemba according to the Guardian.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ELECTION RESULTS

<i>Party</i>	<i>2005 Elections Number of Seats (50)*</i>	<i>2000 Elections Number of Seats (50)*</i>
Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM)	30	34
Civic United Front (CUF)	19	16
Undeclared (by-election to be held)	1	-

\* Out of a total of 76 seats, 50 are directly elected.

The Zanzibar Electoral Commission declared President Karume to have been elected again. The opposition refused to accept the results. The division in opinion between the main island of Unguja where the ruling CCM won every parliamentary seat except one and Pemba, where the opposition CUF won every parliamentary seat and also every local council seat except one, became all too clear.

Examples of constituency results:

Tumbatu (Unguja) CCM 5,164 CUF 4,826

Uzini (Unguja) CCM 12,486 CUF 653

Kojani (Pemba) CCM 601 CUF 9,080

**President Karume**, at his inauguration on November 2nd praised the people for what he called their political maturity. This had given room for free and fair elections ...international observers had concurred that the elections were free and fair and this had earned respect for the



*Amani Abeid Karume (Zanzibar President)*

country. There had been minor incidents of violence but these had been in vain because the security forces had quashed them...the instigation of violence by CUF ...was a sign of political immaturity. His victory had been assured following various reforms he had introduced and the upholding of peace and security which he had ensured. This had been aided by the *Muafaka* agreement signed between the parties.....

**CUF Secretary General Seif Shariff Hamad:** "We do not recognise the new government. We will not cooperate with it". He accused CCM leaders of colluding with ZEC to manipulate the results of the election. "Votes were rigged. Some people voted more than three times....."

**CCM Party Secretary General Philip Mangula:** 'Foreign countries should desist from issuing statements that could fuel violence among Tanzanians..... a friend who wants to see Zanzibar and Tanzania as a whole in conflict cannot be counted among our true friends.... true friends should not issue statements which will encourage or incite bad intentioned people.... there had been some minor irregularities, especially in Stonetown, but these were too minor to render the whole exercise undemocratic. People were free to make their choices ....'

**Zanzibar Chief Minister Shamsi Nahodha:** 'Political pluralism has retarded development and fomented animosity among Zanzibaris.... the multiparty system is an impediment in efforts to bring about rapid development in Zanzibar, in addition to being a source of senseless enmity in the isles.....'

**Lord Steel of Aikwood**, the former Liberal Democratic leader and former President of Liberal International (to which CUF is affiliated) quoted in *The London Times*; "These are the least transparent elections I have seen in 30 years of observing elections" (*Thank you Simon Hardwick for this - Editor*).

**British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw**, answered questions in the House of Commons from Liberal Democrat Deputy Leader Menzies Campbell who wanted clarification on the elections which he said had been 'marred' by irregularities, especially in the counting of votes. Had the UK government communicated with the governments of Zanzibar and Tanzania regarding the irregularities? Why did the British High Commissioner in Dar es Salaam attend the swearing-in ceremony of President Karume despite the fraudulent elections? Straw replied: "Our diplomatic representatives in Dar es Salaam kept a close watch on the elections, and the general feeling of the international observers was that the polling was better this time than in past elections. Yet there were some irregularities, especially in Unguja. Many observers have called for a thorough investigation of the matter. Britain and the EU agree with this position and have communicated this to the governments of Tanzania and Zanzibar."

## THE OBSERVERS

**The Tanzania Elections Monitoring Committee (TEMCO):** 'The elections were free and fair despite a number of pitfalls. Irregularities were minor.....'

**The African Union:** The elections were free and fair.

**The East African Community Observer Team** commended the elections for the high standards of independence, commitment, non-partisanship and transparency. The BBC and CNN had blown out of proportion the isolated incidents of tension.

**The SADC Parliamentary Forum:** 'The elections were held largely in terms of regional electoral norms, standards and guidelines and were free and fair. They showed political maturity.....'

**The Commonwealth Observer Team:** 'In many parts of Zanzibar election day went well.... it was peaceful and the polling stations were orderly..... however, at some polling stations there was violence between police, local people and groups of male persons, who, it was claimed, were outsiders, and had already voted elsewhere.... in some places people with voters' cards were allowed to vote even though their names were not on the register and in most cases the results were not posted in public at the counting centres.....the team recommends that ZEC should publish the results sheets from each polling station to remove suspicions.....(later): 'The Zanzibar media was biased towards the ruling party; the collation process was not sufficiently transparent.... but overall, this was a good election.'

**National Democratic Institute for International Affairs** (New York. (Chairman of the Observer Group - the former speaker of the Nigerian Senate): 'The elections were a marked administrative improvement over past elections..... however, security forces in some instances used excessive force..... irregularities, such as under age voting and double voting were witnessed..... many voters in urban areas expressed distrust in the accuracy of the final Permanent Voters Register which was not available to the public until election day.....'

**British High Commissioner Andrew Pocock**, representing the **European Union** '.....although the EU did not officially observe the elections, we note the broad assessment by international observer groups that the electoral process was a marked improvement on past polls and that it was generally administered in an efficient manner. Nevertheless, there were instances, particularly on Unguja, where there were irregularities and a lack of transparency..... the EU supports the call of a number of observer groups for a thorough investigation of these anomalies.....'

**Norwegian Ambassador Jorunn Maehlum:** 'A successful power sharing agreement is crucial to avert a deepening of conflict....There is need for a thorough and transparent investigation of reported anomalies and a quick publishing of polling results at all levels. (ZEC response:

'Everything was done in the eyes of observers, reporters and political party agents. ZEC has done everything transparently').

**US Democratic Senator Russ Feingold**, a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee ...(who was not an Observer) 'The elections were a cruel repeat of the elections held in 1995 and 2000 ... the Bush administration should join with other donors to send strong, unmistakable signals to the Tanzanian government that the disenfranchisement of the people of Zanzibar is simply unacceptable....'

**The US embassy:** 'Because of serious irregularities observed, the US has declined an invitation to attend President Karume's inauguration..... some observers had noted cases of multiple voting and security forces were observed voting even though their thumbs had indelible ink indicating that they had already cast their ballots....' Tanzania's Director of Information Services responded: "It is very dangerous for a diplomatic mission of a big nation such as the US to agree to be used as a mouthpiece of other people and without proper verification.... Five observer missions have described the elections as free and fair."

The **Tanzania Election Media Monitoring Project (TEMP)**, which is managed by three partners, led by the Media Institute of Southern Africa (Tanzanian branch), and is supported by thirteen international donors, has been publishing weekly reports throughout the election campaign. Extracts from TEMP's report for September 23-29: 'Eleven radio stations gave CCM altogether 1,020 minutes during the week, TLP 261 minutes and CUF 91 minutes. Zanzibar Television gave CCM 16,263 seconds and CUF 262 seconds. In an earlier period (September 2-8) Radio Zanzibar gave CCM 5,500 seconds, CUF 370 seconds and other small parties 2,815 seconds.

## **THE LOCAL MEDIA**

Some front page headlines:

The Daily News: "Isles polls run smoothly "

*Mtanzania*: "Karume dume." [Karume is president]

The Guardian: "Karume floors Hamad, again."

Daily Times: "CCM *Nambari wani*." [CCM number one]

*Mtanzania*: "Maalim Seif *ajitangaza mshindi* " [Maalim Seif declares



himself winner]

The Citizen: "US rejects Zanzibar poll results "

The Guardian: "Karume: I'm President of all Zanzibaris "

Evarist Kagaruki writing in the Dar es Salaam **Express** - '....Looking at the complaints raised by CUF one gets the sense that some of the party's grievances over certain flaws may be justifiable. But one cannot see how these can be addressed because the final authority over the poll is the ZEC and no court can overturn its pronouncement of the winner..... it is up to CUF to learn to come to terms with this fact..... In the meantime, however, CCM should be a gracious winner. They must swallow their pride and accept the fact that, without CUF's cooperation in the management of social, economic and political affairs in Zanzibar, there will be great difficulties for the government in implementing development projects, particularly in Pemba. The ruling party must show readiness to invite CUF to share power with them.... CUF must behave as a respectable opposition party and renounce all forms of violence.....I have argued several times that the only viable solution to the political strife in the archipelago lies in the formation of a government of national unity....

Hilal K Sued, writing in the Tanzanian **Sunday Observer**: 'First the good news - the Zanzibar nightmare is now behind us..... the bad news is that the poll's verdict will not end Zanzibar's woes, not in the foreseeable future, unless Almighty God endows the country with cool-headed political leaders on both sides of the Union, who will be able to confront the Isles' teaser without the bipartisan approach that has always been the preferred style.....'

The **Citizen**: 'Elections in Zanzibar have become a nightmare for Tanzanians on the mainland, in Zanzibar and to many international friends who have stood by this country in times of need. Every five years the spectre of violent activism rears its ugly head besmirching the image of this country..... the international media - FT, CNN, BBC, South African Broadcasting Corporation, the Boston Globe have been awash with ugly stories about violence and allegations of 'rigging'..... the shameful spectacle played out in Zanzibar is un-Tanzanian and an embarrassment to all Tanzanians and friends of Tanzania.... the problem in Zanzibar is that the political class has imbued the electoral

process with such passionate intolerance that there is no room anymore for democracy and straight electoral contests.....'

The Government owned **Daily News** .... 'The technocrats making up the Western community in Dar es Salaam failed to understand the historical and geographical divisions in Zanzibar and truly believed in CUF's propaganda that CCM would be unseated. In their naivety, they have always subscribed to the principle that proof of democracy is in change of regime..... this short-sightedness has caused them to view CUF as the flag-bearer of democracy....the racial discrimination forming CUF's foundation is regarded as a means to an end - the removal of CCM from power.....'

The **East African**: 'CUF fell into CCM's poll trap.' They made an error in agreeing to the Zanzibar election being held on October 30, separate from those of the Union, with the result that the 'rigging machine' was not overstretched.....

Alfred Mlangila, writing in **The Citizen**: Many Tanzanians have been astounded by the zeal with which the US wants to see justice done in Zanzibar when the 2000 US elections were decided by a court of law rather than by voters.....

## **FOREIGN MEDIA**

The **Economist**: 'It is an article of faith among CUF supporters that the Zanzibar elections in 1995 and 2000 were stolen by the CCM. Probably they were. And despite a larger presence of international observers, the CCM was at it again this time round....Less educated CUF supporters were bullied or simply turned away; the CCM allegedly bought votes..... one CCM tactic, witnessed by the Economist, was to have registered boys as voters months ago, then whisk them through the polling stations to vote CCM when observers were not looking..... Just how many dodgy votes the CCM grabbed it is impossible to say..... Western diplomats tended to deride the vote in private but endorse it publicly, arguing that it is more important to keep mainland Tanzania stable, with its 36 million people, than to fret over the threat of more violence in Zanzibar with its one million people.

**The Financial Times** ... the poll was seen as a test of the democratic cre-

dentials of Tanzania. It was doubtful if the elections could be seen as free and fair..... the ruling party remains accused of retaining its one-party-state tendencies and the scenes in Zanzibar are likely to taint the presidency of President Mkapa.... *(Thank you Colin Hastings for this - Editor).*

**The Independent:** '.... while there are deep rooted reasons for the historical divisions between the two political parties, the action taken by the security forces was inexcusable.....'

**The East African:** '..... the government did not seem prepared to tackle the issues that the opposition had been most vocal about - voter registration, the presence of agents at polling stations and the counting of votes....this should have been streamlined long before the election ... the same issues surfaced in the 1995 and 2000 polls and raise serious questions about the Government's commitment to democracy on the Isles..... we would appeal to the President (of Zanzibar) to take a step back from the position that he has so far adopted - that there is no room for a government of national unity.....he would do Tanzania a lot of good if he showed more flexibility and aimed for a legacy of reconciliation.....*(Thank you Betty Wells for this - Editor)*

## ZANZIBAR AFTERMATH

**November 2nd.** Immediately after the results were declared, residents of Pujini village in North Pemba fled their homes after a KMKM soldier disappeared. Other soldiers retaliated later by raiding the village and beating and robbing people....*(later, on 16th November):* 'Police recovered the body of a soldier who was allegedly murdered by opposition party supporters. According to eyewitnesses, the deceased was abducted while riding a motorcycle with a colleague (who escaped) and was beaten to death by unidentified people. The police said that two suspects had appeared in the regional court in connection with the death - Guardian.

President Karume reappointed Shamsi Vuai Nahodha as Chief Minister. He also revived the post of Deputy Chief Minister and appointed Ali Juma Shamhuna. The House of Representatives also re-elected Pandu Ameir Kificho (CCM) as Speaker; he got 44 votes against

Aziza Suleiman of CUF with 25 votes. With more members to be appointed, the House will have a total of 80 members of whom 50 are elected. Fifteen members will be nominated under the special women seats arrangement while the president can appoint up to 10 MP's. He also appoints five regional commissioners who enter the House as *ex-officio* members. At the end of the day the composition of the House will be such that CCM will have a large enough majority to dominate - *Mtanzania*.

**5th November.** A mob of CUF supporters attacked and seriously injured two local photojournalists in Dar Salaam as they tried to cover a post election CUF meeting; a third, who was about to be attacked, jumped on the passenger seat of a passing motorcycle and escaped; some of those in the mob angrily declared that journalists were enemies of CUF .....the action was later condemned by almost everyone and did little to help the CUF cause.

**11th November.** The two CUF Commissioners on the Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC) at a press conference in Dar es Salaam, created something of a sensation when they said: "We are not satisfied with how the whole process was conducted in Unguja. We were not involved in verifying the results gathered from polling stations. The ZEC did not want to involve us in monitoring the exercise. ZEC election rules and regulations were violated, including the failure to reveal the voters register until the morning of the election and the failure to allow us to see the original forms of the election results from polling stations signed by party monitors. Published results show that some 45,000 eligible voters did not cast their votes. This was due to intimidation from the heavy presence of security forces. We believe the results in Unguja were 'cooked'. Asked why they had been so long in making their statement and making it in Dar es Salaam rather than Zanzibar, they said that they feared for their safety in Zanzibar. But they intended to return - Guardian.

**11th November.** CUF members of the House of Representatives boycotted its inaugural ceremony.

**21st November.** The House of Representatives elected 3 CCM MP's and 2 CUF MP's to serve in the National Assembly in Dodoma.

**24th November.** The Guardian reported that President Karume had appointed 13 cabinet ministers for his second term, ten of whom had served in the previous cabinet. There were three new faces and a total of three women. Only one Minister comes from Pemba - Ms Zainab Omar Mohammed, Minister of State in the President's Office (Special Duties).

**November 28th.** Leaders of 13 Tanzanian opposition political parties issued a statement castigating the role played by paramilitary forces in the Zanzibar elections, which they said were skewed in favour of CCM. They wanted the National Electoral Commission (NEC) in Dar es Salaam to remove Zanzibar paramilitary forces and Zanzibar Electoral Commission officials from the forthcoming Union elections in the Isles, because these elections were outside the jurisdiction of the Isles' electoral body. The leaders said that they were taking precautions to avoid a repeat of the electoral malpractices that led to some observers claiming that the Zanzibar polls were flawed. In addition, the parties asked the NEC to display the voter registers at polling stations in advance so that voters could verify their names before election day. The leaders also warned that they would resist attempts to ferry non-residents to vote in Union elections on the Isles - Guardian.

**November 26th.** CUF accused the government of using its police force to arrest two CUF leaders (Mohamed Dedes, a member of the CUF General Council and Said Abdullah, Director for Youth) in order to 'intimidate and silence' them during the on-going electoral campaign in Zanzibar. No excuse for the arrests was given' - *Tanzania Daima*.

**November 26th.** President Karume, campaigning in Tabora, predicted the demise of CUF. It was in the doldrums after its defeat in the elections in Zanzibar and it would not be long before the party disintegrated, he said. Despair was now setting in among the CUF rank and file after the party's 'dismal' showing in the 1995, 2000 and last month's elections. He criticised CUF leaders for having an 'obsessive fixation' with State House. He maintained that Zanzibaris knew exactly what they were doing when they re-elected CCM. President Karume said it was time the international community stopped being deceived by CUF - Guardian.

## THE COSTS

Prior to the postponement of the election the government budgeted Tshs 94.2 billion for the elections. TShs 9.4m of this came from donors for civic education and journalists' training being conducted by NGO's. The government then had to disperse an extra TShs 5.3 billion to cover ballot paper printing and training, ahead of the main elections on December 14th.

The government continued its monthly payment of subsidies to five political parties according to the number of MP's they had in the previous parliament. Thus CCM got TShs 553 million per month, CUF TShs 80 million, TLP TShs 32 million, CHADEMA TShs 5.6 million and UDP TShs 1.3 million - Express.

## TANZANIA IN THE INTERNATIONAL MEDIA

*(In order to make this section as interesting and representative as possible we welcome contributions from readers. If you see a mention of Tanzania in the journal, magazine or newspaper you read, especially if you live overseas or travel outside the UK/Tanzania, please send us the relevant item together with the name and date of the publication to the address on the back page. If you do not wish your name be published please say so - Editor).*

Uganda's **THE MONITOR** published an article in June under the heading 'The Grave of Kiswahili'. Extracts: 'One of the jokes that Tanzanian army officers told after they overran Uganda and threw out dictator Idi Amin in 1979 was that they had also discovered the 'grave of Kiswahili'.....After the beautiful language was born in Zanzibar and grew up in Tanzania, it had been killed in Kenya and buried in Uganda.... But the Kenyans are not the only guilty ones in practicing 'lingocide', and nor are Ugandans the only lingual undertakers in the region. The Tanzanians themselves are guilty of a similar offence. What Uganda and Kenya did to Kiswahili, the Tanzanians did to English. Suppose you met this smart young lady dressed in a business suit on Parliament Avenue in Kampala and, on asking her for directions, she smiles apologetically and says in her language that she does not know English! It would be odd, wouldn't it? In Dar es Salaam it would not be. They killed English decades ago. It was the language of colonialists,

exploiters and all those things. They reasoned that English is not the same as knowledge and went ahead to promote Kiswahili as the official language in which everything is transacted. Coupled with massive primary education, they soon achieved 100% literacy, probably the highest in the world ever. All citizens could read and write Kiswahili and everybody was happy, for a while.

People in their late-twenties now tell you with regret how they used to escape learning English in primary school. If a teacher insisted on making them speak English, they just had to report the matter to the local party chairman and the teacher would be sorted out. You can still hear the advocates of Kiswahili advance arguments like 'Chinese and French scientists do not know English yet they manage to invent things.' However non-English speaking Tanzanian scientists are taking their time inventing anything, and the free market forces are not waiting for them. In the not-so-new post-cold war world of unipolar politics, everyone is rushing to learn the language of the Americans. It is called English. And the free market forces are bringing back the language to Tanzania.

But these are days of willing-buyer-willing-seller. If you want to learn English, you have to pay for it. Gone are the days when adult literacy classes were popular. Today if you are too old to learn US President George W. Bush's language (in our days it was the Queen's language) at least your child is not. That way, your child has a better chance of one day getting a job in the growing private sector.

**MICROSOFT** appear to have a different view, and in December, as reported in the **BBC** and elsewhere, they launched a Swahili version of their Microsoft Office 2003 software (Word, Excel, Outlook etc). Targeting the 110 million Swahili speakers in East Africa, they hope this software, together with a Swahili version of Windows to be launched next year, will inspire East African governments to expand their IT economies, encourage literacy campaigns and attract more computer users. Others suspect it is related to the existence of a Swahili version of the free open source software **OPEN-OFFICE** see [www.kilinux.org](http://www.kilinux.org)

Kenya's **SUNDAY NATION** (August 30) reported that the owners of the two giant passenger boats being transported to the Tanzanian port

of Mwanza through Kisumu breathed a sigh of relief when the vessels were finally offloaded into Lake Victoria after 18-days ordeal on the Kenyan roads. The boats, each with a capacity of 90 passengers, are owned by the Dar-es-Salaam based Lake Fast Ferries Ltd and were imported from Asia. They are now cruising between Mwanza and Bukoba.

A fascinating 10-page article in **VANITY FAIR** (May issue) described how, deep in the Tanzanian bush, David Robinson, the 53-year old son of American baseball legend and civil rights hero Jackie Robinson, had exchanged his 'uneasy compromise with US culture' for a tribal adoption, an arranged marriage, and an economic crusade. Extracts: 'As one of the founders of a farmers' co-operative with 330 small farms, he is using the world's second most valuable natural resource - coffee - to spur social change. Robinson is organising a 280-acre patch of land called 'Sweet Unity Farms' in Mbozi in the Southern Highlands which grows some one million pounds of coffee annually and sells to cafes in New York and to several major league baseball parks. He routinely travels between the farm, where there is only enough solar electricity to power a few light bulbs and a radio, and an office in a midtown Manhattan skyscraper where the nearby 'Union Square Cafe' sells the same coffee. Robinson has 10 children - three from his first marriage in America; a daughter born to a Namibian girlfriend; and six children with his Tanzanian-born wife. (*Thank you Elsbeth Court for sending this - Editor*)

**WANDERLUST** described in its December issue a three-day event recently held in Pangani. The aim was to face down the HIV epidemic with creative drive and energy. The event used films, plays and songs relevant to Tanzanian culture. The play revolved around an argument between the parents of a girl just coming of age. The mother gives her condoms hoping she'll protect herself; the father is furious, claiming his wife has turned his daughter into a whore. The catch is that the father has been cheating on his wife all along, putting the whole family at risk from HIV. "This is ground breaking stuff for this traditional Muslim enclave" said the organiser Dr Pieroth.

The London **EVENING STANDARD** published an article on 16th September headed: 'As world leaders meet yet again to discuss Africa's



plight, why are they still not waking up to the real solution?' Extracts: 'The day before, at the UN in New York, the wives of world leaders, delivered by limousines.... sat down to the finest food tended by the highest security. But there was one orphan female in the room who was not a first lady....her life had been nothing but insecurity. 24-year old Lydia Wilbard, who came to New York from a remote village in Tanzania, suggested a way forward. With the \$1.50 she had left from the \$2.50 she had been given at her father's funeral, she bought postcards which she then sold on. Within a year she had enough money to meet her expenses at school. Now she is at a medical college.... She made it clear that the answer to the problem was simple. The longer you keep a girl in school, the smaller her eventual family will be..... female education was the most reliable form of contraception and was the only thing to have any proven effect in halting the spread of Aids.....' (*Thank you Liz Fennell for this - Editor*).

According to the Kenyan **THE NATION** (7th November ) the Catholic Church's grapevine is abuzz with news that Tanzania's Catholic bishops plan to push Rome for the canonisation of the late Mwalimu Nyerere who, they state, served his people selflessly for 24 years and was a daily communicant..... 'Interestingly, of the many things that Mwalimu is well known for, parading his Christianity was not one of them. Even when the cornered Iddi Amin appealed to the Pope to intervene and dissuade the Catholic Mwalimu from overrunning Kampala, few associated Mwalimu with the religious world. His Christian Gospel came to life in his ideals, humility, inspiration, fortitude, courage, vision, selflessness, discipline and desire to teach and help others.... Hate him or like him, the fact remains that Nyerere towers over the African scene as a Kilimanjaro of intellect and an unwavering proponent of social justice.' (*Thank you Christine Lawrence for this - Editor*).

An estimated 80% of Tanzanians - from the rice farmers of Shinyanga to the fishing communities on Lake Tanganyika - now have access to a mobile phone according to the December issue of the magazine **DEVELOPMENTS**. New technology was also said to be making a big difference in its application to education and training. The University of Dar es Salaam had been investing heavily in ICT resources so that it's library holdings were now available on the Web, making them accessi-

ble from every office and laboratory within and outside the university. (Thank you John Sankey for this - Editor).

South Africa's **AFRICAN DECISIONS** in its latest issue has an article on the wet lands of southern Africa. The Ramsar Convention, signed in Iran in 1971, defines wetlands as areas of marsh, fen, or peatland with water that is static or flowing. They can reduce floods, recharge groundwater or augment low water flows. The International Union for the Conservation of Nature is supporting SADC in promoting the wise use and integrated management of wetlands. In Tanzania it identifies the Kilombero Valley Floodplain, Lake Natron Basin, the Malagarasi-Muyovozi-Wetlands and the Rufiji-Mafia-Kilwa marine sites as wetlands of international importance.

Scientists who trained rats in Tanzania to sniff out landmines are to branch out into diagnosing tuberculosis in HIV patients and catching smugglers bringing drugs or guns across the borders according to the **DAILY TELEGRAPH** (4th October). Early tests in a Belgian research programme at Sokoine University indicate that the rats are more accurate and much faster than humans - they can respond to 150 samples in 30 minutes - something which would take three lab technicians a day or more. (Thank you Pru Watts-Russell for this - Editor).

## MIGRATING BIRDS & BIRD FLU

Tanzanians have cause to worry about 'bird flu'. The country is at risk because of migrating birds which have a major stopover in Tanzania. Jason John, a Birdlife Officer with the Wildlife Conservation Society of Tanzania was quoted in *The Express* as saying that migrating birds from the North usually make a brief stopover in North Africa before coming to the East African coast between September and December, on their way to South Africa. The big threat was that the disease might be borne by water birds particularly those in the duck family as Tanzania has good habitats for such birds...The other threat is the presence of house crows that scramble for food and may easily interact with these migrant birds in coastal areas. He said the virus was found in the mucous of the birds. In rural areas people shared rooms with domesticated birds and depended greatly on birds as a source of food.



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# TANZANIA'S ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENTS

By Joseph Kilasara

Tanzania has come of age with the onset of the fourth phase government as we like to call it. The third phase government of Mr Mkapa made tremendous achievements in addressing the macroeconomic fundamentals of the economy with the exception of unemployment which remains astronomically high.

At the start of Mkapa's government in 1995, the economy was in a dire state with inflation hovering around 29% and growing; the currency was depreciating daily; foreign donors had deserted the country; tax evasion and corruption, both high level and petty, was seen as a norm; and, as the government was not collecting revenue, salaries were extremely meagre and frequently delayed. For some time the economic and business environment was all but chaotic and the government had lost its credibility and was becoming something of a joke.

Mkapa's government's first task was to restore its credibility to foreign donors and creditors as well as the people. Hence the decision to almost freeze expenditure and pay foreign debts much to the distress of the people. Basically, the country had to pay her debts in order to qualify to borrow again and with more than 50% of the national budget dependent on donors, the word 'choice' was not in the government's vocabulary. In this task Mkapa has passed with flying colours as not only has Tanzania qualified for the HIPC debt relief initiative, it has also qualified for the G8 debt relief programme, as well as being among 23 countries around the world to qualify for funding from the Millennium Challenge in the current year.

Some of the key indicators of the government's achievements include bringing down inflation to 4%, massively increasing revenue collection from TShs 509bn in the year 1996/97 to TShs 1,625bn in the year 2004/05. The next government however cannot afford to relax on revenue collection as, despite the massive increase (150%), it amounts to only about 13% of the national budget which is lower than that of Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda and Malawi. The flow of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) has

been improving consistently from around US\$50m in 1996 to more than US\$240m at the end of year 2003 which demonstrate the increasing confidence of foreign investors on the future performance of the Tanzanian economy.

These achievements have been widely recognised, with Tanzania emerging as the leader in the region's competitive index moving to 71st position from 82nd last year. Kenya and Uganda were down to 82nd and 92nd respectively as indicated by the World Economic Forum.

However in addressing macroeconomic stability the government has not shown a concerted effort in addressing the high level of unemployment. This can partly be explained by the lack of a clear strategy to boost growth of the agriculture sector. By 2003 agriculture contributed about 47% of the national GDP but only grew by a paltry 5%. A high growth of 15% was achieved in the mining sector but this had little impact on the GDP as its total contribution is only about 3%. This situation is not at all helped by the increased inflow of FDI to the country as only about 7% went to agriculture with mining taking a whopping 39% (Bank of Tanzania -2003). It is the agriculture sector, where the majority of the working population are self employed, that will be crucial in maintaining the peace and stability of the country and hence the benefits of economic growth. Mkapa's government has laid the foundation. It is crucial for the new regime to ensure that the benefits trickle down to the masses; there is no better way of doing this than by modernising the way we farm.

The problem of unemployment is further exacerbated by the low level of public spending on education of about 4% of GDP. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) has stated: "The low level of education and skills contributes to low productivity which necessitates constant supervision and motivation". Though Universal Primary Education is being seen as a way forward, more needs to be done to ensure that quality is assured rather than just an increased quantity of school leavers.

## BUSINESS & THE ECONOMY

In an effort to boost the capacity of local microfinance institutions the Governor of the Central Bank of Tanzania, David Balali, has launched the 'The Financial Sector Deepening Trust (FSDT)'. The objectives of the fund are to support any organization that contributes to realizing the objectives of the government's 'Poverty Reduction Strategy Plan (PRSP).' The Trust's investments will include research and development of financial markets, products and services, training, capacity building, strengthening smaller financial institutions as well as developing regulatory and supervisory frameworks - The Guardian.

The Guardian has also reported some good news for coffee farmers in Kilimanjaro thanks to the introduction of the Tanzania Kilimanjaro brand initiated by a company called Peet's Coffee & Tea. The coffee is being marketed as a single origin coffee in the US as the result of a project funded by USAID, the Swiss State Secretariat for Economic Affairs, Farm Africa and other private donors.

Creditors have been closing in on the once high-flying flag of the road transport sector - The Scandinavian Express Services Limited - which operates throughout East Africa with its luxury buses. The liquidation bid has been filed in the High Court by Shell Tanzania seeking to recover about TShs 1.5bn in unpaid oil supplies. This petition was immedi-

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ately followed by those of several major local banks leaving the future of the company in a gloomy state. Nevertheless, this could in a way be a blessing in disguise to the credit market in general as it will instil a much needed debt-repayment culture.

## MUHIMBILI DOCTORS STRIKE

Doctors at Muhimbili Hospital went on strike over pay in November demanding that their starting salary should be raised substantially. On November 20th the government complied by raising junior doctors' salaries by over 60% from TShs 226, 000 to TShs 420,000 and to TShs 1,141,000 from TShs 1,030,000 for specialists and consultant doctors.

On November 25th the doctors rejected the award. The government then sacked 176 doctors, nurses and pharmacists and quickly moved to replace them with doctors from the Tanzania People's Defence Forces (TPDF) and Ministry of Health. Heavily armed police stormed the hostels to evict the sacked junior doctors and the interns who were still at the hospital. Some retired doctors reported at the hospital for duty. When the striking doctors changed their minds and accepted the pay award, the government said it would consider only individual requests to return to duty.

In an interview with *The Express*, MNH Managing Director Dr. David Treggony said the hospital administration was forced to take the decision to sack the doctors but they had not wanted to do so.

## MISCELLANY

Lake Victoria, the source of the White Nile could be reduced to a swamp within decades unless action is taken to save it according to the Executive Director of the UN Environmental Programme, quoted in **THE TIMES** (2nd November). The report compared past and present satellite pictures revealing the growing danger to African Lakes. The water level of Lake Victoria, which provides fishing and transport for 30 million people, has dropped by a metre in the past 10 years alone he said. (*Thank you Simon Hardwick for this - Editor*).

The British government through its nature conservation programme - the Darwin Initiative - has granted £144,268 to support black-wood conservation projects in Tanzania. The Mpingo Conservation Project in Kilwa and Fauna International of the United Kingdom received the grant for three years. Other areas where the fund has been directed are research projects on black-wood conservation, and support to Kilwa District Council in managing the black-wood and other high value timber stocks. The Mpingo Project was founded in November 1995 and started off as a series of joint British-Tanzania student expeditions, which investigated the distribution, ecology and exploitation of Mpingo in southern Tanzania - Express.

British Airways has chosen Tanzania as the setting for its new commercial to be shown as part of the airline's in-flight entertainment and used at airports, exhibitions and other related events around the world. BA Tanzania Country Manager Saada Juma said that Tanzania had been selected from among 83 countries in Asia, Africa and the Middle East and added that this was the first time that the carrier was using locations in Africa. The market in Zanzibar had been voted as the best scene for the film, beating famous sites in various big cities around the world - Guardian.

The government has announced that ten new Arabica coffee varieties, developed at the Tanzania Coffee Research Institute (TACRI) at Lyamungu, Kilimanajro Region, are now ready for distribution to farmers. They were described at the inauguration ceremony as having outstanding performance and beverage quality.

The Chancellor of the Open University of Tanzania (OUT), Dr John Malecela, has declared former Vice-Chancellor, Prof. Geoffrey Mmari, Professor Emeritus. He conferred the award at a colourful prize giving ceremony during the 14th Convocation and AGM of the university. In his speech, Professor Ralph Masenge described Professor Mmari as a distinguished scholar of rare stature and calibre, who stands to be honoured by the institution he founded and nurtured during his 12 years of service.

The University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) has been ranked 13th out of 100 top African Universities, ahead of other universities in East Africa, in terms of the quality of education and research. According to a recent





*Professor Esther Mwaikambo, Vice-Chancellor Hubert Kariuki Memorial University and vice president of the Britain-Tanzania Society (left), with Minister of Higher Education & Science Professor Pius Ngw'ando at the third graduation ceremony of the University on Nov 17th 2005*

study by an international website research group, InternetLab, which has its headquarters in Madrid, UDSM is behind 11 South African universities and a US university based in Egypt. The criteria used in the exercise were teaching staff qualifications, the relevance of the academic programmes and the quality and usefulness of publications. The only local university that came close the UDSM in the list was the Morogoro-based Sokoine University of Agriculture (SUA), which ranks 56th - Guardian.

It has been discovered that many young people in Dodoma Region buy condoms for fashion only, but do not use them when they have sex. Research conducted by an organization which provides AIDS education has established that such a habit contributes greatly to the spread of HIV and AIDS. Young people were said to only buying condoms to satisfy their partners' requests but then leave them unused - The Express.

A total of 7,090 remandees were languishing in Tanzania mainland prisons in 2004 awaiting trial, according to the International Federation for Human Rights Report for 2005. Some 34 prisoners on remand had spent 10 years in prison prior to trial. 93 had spent between 8 and 10 years in prison. Those having spent between 6 months and 2 years incarcerated totalled 2,561. 360 prisoners were awaiting execution - The Express.

Zanzibaris started getting their new national identity cards in mid-October. The main objective is to prevent local jobs from being taken by foreigners. Under the law, in the event of jobs falling vacant they can only be given to foreigners where there is no qualified Zanzibari. The cards are also designed to stem the rising crime wave and to 'hedge the holders against unnecessary political disputes arising from registration of voters or when voting.'

Three foreign oil companies have won tenders for offshore oil exploration in Southern Tanzania, the Tanzania Petroleum Development Corporation (TPDC) has announced. Managing Director Yona Killagane said that Statoil of Norway had won a block on the north of Mafia island, Petrobras of Brazil, a block east of Mafia and Ophir Energy of Australia/South Africa, a block close to the Mozambique border. Eleven companies were already engaged in exploration of gas and

oil in Tanzania with 34 exploratory wells drilled in 280,000 square kilometres of land since 1950. The TPDC chief said it was too early to say when Tanzania would strike oil, but several technical reports showed great potential - Daily News.

There was a crime wave in Zanzibar in September. Gangsters robbed a wholesale shop of 34m/- in Darajani Street injuring a bystander. The incident took place just hours after gangsters opened fire on a car carrying prominent businessman Naushad Mohammed. No one was injured in the attack. Armed robbers also staged a daring raid on the Nungwi Village Hotel in Zanzibar on September 9 and made off with TShs 18 million and guest's valuables including laptops, mobile phones and cash. This robbery followed a raid a week earlier on the Coral Reef Hotel where millions of shillings and valuables of an unspecified value were taken. They robbers also took two watches and eight mobile phones from members of the hotel's staff before speeding off in a Suzuki Escudo whose registration number plates were hidden - Guardian

## OBITUARIES

**ROGER CARTER**, who died in December, was one of the founders of the Britain Tanzania Society (BTS) and built it up over the years into the significant organisation it has now become. He originally graduated in Natural Sciences and Economics from Cambridge and then, in the 30's, worked with an educational settlement during the depression. He later helped the Quakers in Germany to assist people wanting to leave the country and was himself on the last train from Berlin before the second world war began. From 1964 to 1976 he was in Tanzania, firstly as an Educational Planner in the Ministry of Education, and later at the University, helping in the development of the Department of Engineering.

*(Thank you Nick Carter for giving me this information. A much fuller obituary has been published in the BTS Newsletter. Readers wishing to see this are invited to contact the editor, Julian Marcus at e-mail address: julian@marcus11.eclipse.co.uk - Editor).*

**DR FREDERICK THOMAS KASSULAMEMBA** (61) who had a long career in secondary education in Tanzania from 1971 onwards took his PhD at Reading University. He then became a lecturer in the Foreign Languages and Linguistics Department of the University of Dar es Salaam and later worked on education with underprivileged ethnic minority children in England. He died on October 3. (*Thank you Ken Mpopo for this - Editor*).

**MRS RUTH JASON KESSI** (68) died in a hospital in Geneva on 26th October from breast cancer which she had been battling against for two years. She was a teacher and had taught in many countries including Russia where she married her husband Jason. She was also a member of the Britain Tanzania Society. Prof. Esther Mwaikambo writes that she was a woman of strong character, courageous and highly principled. Her body was cremated in Geneva and the ashes were spread in the gardens of her homes in Marangu and Dar es Salaam and in the Indian Ocean near her beach plot.

**MRS SOPHIA MUSTAFA** (82), one of the most famous freedom fighters of Asian origin in the 1950s died in Toronto on September 1 after a short illness. Known in Tanzania as 'Mama Sophia' she lived in Arusha from about 1950 to 1980 and played a huge role in helping nationalists led by Mwalimu Nyerere to gain independence for Tanzania in 1961. She was elected an MP in the 1960's, representing both Arusha and Moshi districts - Guardian.

**FATHER GEOFF SWEENEY**, who died in December 2004, first went to Tanzania as a missionary in 1945 and worked in the country for 50 years. He was essentially a pastoral man in Bukoba and Singida dioceses where his little white Suzuki became a familiar sight on the rough roads of the area. He grew to love the people and they loved him. From 1987 to 1990 he took over as guestmaster in the Regional House at Nyegezi. (*Thank you John Sankey for sending this - Editor*).

# REVIEWS

Edited by John Cooper-Poole (UK) and Marion Doro (USA)

**TREVOR HUDLESTON - TURBULENT PRIEST.** Piers McGrandle. Continuum, 2004. ISBN 0 8264 7123 4 h/b £16.99.

*'Trevor meant nothing to people of my generation; he is as relevant to them as the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the three day week'*

So Piers McGrandle starts his biography of Trevor Huddleston. It was a sentence that brought me up short. To people of my generation, Trevor was a household word, the scourge of apartheid, a highly political presence in Stepney and subsequently Archbishop of the Indian Ocean. He was also an unyielding critic of anyone who could not recognize that the one subject which could not be discussed objectively was the sin of apartheid. In spite of some 30 years of friendship, I fell victim to his wrath when treading the BBC's path of objectivity at the World Service.

'I want to show why he matters and why he should be remembered' McGrandle goes on, and in many ways that is what his book does. Unlike the deeply unsatisfactory biography by Robin Denniston with its host of inaccuracies, and its obsession with the all too few years spent in South Africa, this does attempt to evaluate the variety and effectiveness of Trevor's ministry and explain how he could move from a high profile in Sophiatown through the confining atmosphere of Mirfield to a Bishopric in Tanganyika. It makes a serious attempt to show how each stage was enabled and informed by the earlier.

The coverage of Trevor's early years is episodic but perceptive, drawing on early friendships, letters and personal reminiscences. Reference to a pilgrimage in 1935 when Trevor spent Holy Week in the Holy Land 'in the footsteps of his hero Charles de Foucauld' - explained for me why the only reliquary in Masasi Cathedral contained not a relic of an African martyr but the Greek Testament of Charles de Foucauld, himself no easy a character!

Sophiatown was for Trevor, 'one of the most vital places on earth, I think that the main characteristic of the African people is this extraordinary zest for life at all kinds of levels. I loved every minute of my life there'. Perhaps it was this passion which made his commitment so absolute and which ultimately drove the weak Bishop Clayton to demand his withdrawal back to Mirfield. Curiously McGrandle writing about Trevor's time in Sophiatown reflects

'Trevor was never a good preacher, but he was able to spread the message': curious because anyone who heard Trevor preach could not but be influenced by his delivery and its content and passion. He was no academic exegete but his use of scripture was effective and the stories he told, magnetic.

It is sad that McGrandle reproduces some of the irritating errors of the Denniston biography, referring to Rosettenville as Rosenville, and his predecessor as Bishop of Masasi as Bishop Wilfred Mark. His predecessor was Wilfrid Lewis Mark Way, but known as Mark Way, a distinguished and gracious missionary who succeeded to the see in 1952 and whose widow, remains an active Anglican in the diocese of Durham. He also makes reference to the problems in the diocese of Masasi where 'clergy are paid at £5 an hour'. Possibly £5 a month in 1960 - if they were lucky and if the money could be raised by the local congregation! His predecessors, Bishops Stradling and Way, both complained of the inability of local Christians to pay for their clergy.

One suspects that Trevor was always one of those people who was happiest in the job before last - his frustrations with Masasi and his reaction to the problems it offered suggest that ANYwhere else would have been better, but it was a place where he was loved, admired, able to function as a Bishop and, politically to be engaged with the development of an independent African socialist country in a positive and realistic way. His friendship with President Nyerere was manifest in many ways and his input was respected at many levels.

McGrandle is not afraid of confronting the question of Trevor's sexuality, the allegations of misconduct in Stepney which led to his ultimate removal to the Indian Ocean. He looks at the power and influence of South Africa's Bureau of Social Security BOSS and its concern to damn anyone involved against the apartheid movement. It was not only Christians who were muddled, a high ranking Muslim cleric had to take refuge in Europe as a result of the malefactions of BOSS. He concludes, with the evidence of none less than the Archbishops Desmond Tutu and Walter Makhulu - 'we shall probably never know the full truth'.

McGrandle is the first writer to consider Trevor's management of the church in the Indian Ocean. It had a febrile inbred churchmanship which needed exposure and development, he was not afraid to face the issues of theological education, of parish mismanagement and of a lack of serious churchmanship. It was also the place where Trevor's engagement with other faiths became impor-

tant and influential. Gone was the introverted Anglican of Mirfield, Swindon and even Masasi; in was a priest concerned with working out how people of faith could live together, work together and enjoy their specific expressions of religion. If not sunset years, the Indian Ocean was a time for a broadening and expanding his agenda making new friends.

Retirement was never on Trevor's agenda and when, finally he returned to London, it was to rooms above St James' Piccadilly from which he marshalled his uncompromising opposition to the apartheid movement in South Africa. McGrandle is a good analyst evaluating the powerful rhetoric and charting the tidal changes in public opinion. He identifies the impossibility and lack of reality in Trevor's attempt to retire in South Africa. Who, present in Trafalgar Square on that day in 1996, could forget Mandela's challenge that Trevor was needed still in the United Kingdom to continue the struggle for which he had devoted his life?

Prelate brethren were always held in some suspicion by the ordinary brethren of the Community of the Resurrection. Trevor, never one to do things quietly, recognising that he would find Mirfield as difficult as they would find him, only returned to the Community at the end of his life, effectively to die.

At the end of my review of Denniston's biography, I wrote that Trevor was a great man who deserved a proper appreciation. I think McGrandle's work does that: there is objectivity and understanding, compassion and criticism. I suspect Trevor would have approved.

David Craig

**CONSERVATION AND GLOBALISATION: A STUDY OF NATIONAL PARKS AND INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES FROM EAST AFRICA TO SOUTH DAKOTA**, by Jim Igoe. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2004. xii + 183 pp. p/b. ISBN 0 534 61317 9.

Good authorship requires two things - a story to tell and good way of communicating it. Jim Igoe has both in buckets. Conservation and Globalisation is a clear and challenging story of how conservation practices can disrupt local lives and how apparently straightforward solutions to the problems resulting are riven with complexity and difficulty.

The book is based primarily on fieldwork in East Africa and Prof Igoe enlivens his account of the problems of understanding the worlds he encountered there

with a down to earth uncomplicated style that takes the reader right out to the towns and plains where the work was conducted. This is a must-read for any student contemplating ethnographic or anthropological fieldwork. But its scope is far more than merely East Africa. Prof Igoe's pen takes us to England before the Industrial Revolution and to the latest developments in National Parks in the US, Australia, Nepal, Brazil and Panama. He quite clearly shows how the problems of conservation and civil society are global in their origins and nature and have to be understood through a multitude of sites.

One of its greatest strengths is its analysis of civil society, local movements and non-governmental organisations. At a time when much hope and expectation is vested in democratisation and local empowerment this work is a sanguine wake-up call to the problems that these notions bring with them. It quite clearly demonstrates how these ideas are manipulated by local actors, often with very different agendas from global organisations, and transformed by the perpetuated dysfunction typical of the institutions implementing global development and conservation ideals.

I would, therefore, recommend this book to students, conservationists and development workers in all situations. Its language and style are accessible to all. Its questions and challenges will inform expert practitioners, university teachers and PhD students. This is an excellent book.

Daniel Brockington

**TO AN ISLAND IN AFRICA: WORKING, WALKING AND PAINTING IN TANZANIA 1951-4.** Dr Vivian Usborne Child (as told to Julie Savage Lea). Philadelphia 2004. 80 pages. ISBN 1 4134 4124 5 h/b. ISBN 1 4134 4123 7 p/b. Available from orders@xlibris.com US\$32.99 and US\$26.99.

This is a most attractive and entertaining book. The author, a Senior Registrar at a London hospital, decides to join the Colonial Medical Service and is posted to Ukara Island in Lake Victoria. Arriving in October 1951, she falls in love with the local people, their way of life and their unusual methods of farming, which she records in charming paintings and drawings. Then she is moved to Ngudu in Sukumaland, which she finds less attractive ("there wasn't much to see, but there was a lot of it"). Becoming bored with the East African Medical Survey work and fearing that she is losing her medical skills, she takes a post as a locum at the Anglican Mission hospitals at Lulindi and Newala, in the far south of the country. She undertakes the safari from Lake Victoria to the Ruvuma River in a battered Ford Consul, via Dodoma and Mbeya. When the



hand brake comes away in her hand near Njombe, she is forced to wait two weeks for spare parts and stays with the District Medical Officer ("Dr Woodman is tall and scholarly looking ... slightly like Rex Harrison might look at 53"). She finally arrives at Lulindi in July 1953 and spends six months there, caring for her patients and painting the local people and the countryside. She finds the High Anglican (sic) nuns at Newala stricter than their Roman Catholic counterparts at Ndanda! At the end of 1953 she is transferred to the West Indies and her African adventure ends.

What gives this book its special appeal is the author's punchy and no-nonsense style of writing and her remarkable powers of observation and sense of colour. There are excellent reproductions of forty-three paintings - eighteen depict Ukara and its people, five are of Ngudu and eleven show Lulindi, Newala and Masasi. Views of the cross on the hill at Mkomaindo and the old German boma at Newala, as well as the snowy summit of Kilimanjaro, will revive memories among BTS members. Altogether a delightful book and an ideal Christmas present - only make sure that you read it yourself first!

John Sankey

**HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY OF BAGAMOYO: EXCAVATIONS AT THE CARAVAN-SERAI.** Felix Chami, Eliwasa Maro, Jane Kessy and Simon Odunga. Dar es Salaam University Press Ltd.: Dar es Salaam, 2004. vi + 109pp (paperback / hardback). ISBN 9976604025. £9.95/£12.95 (distributed by the African Books Collective Ltd., Oxford, orders@africanbookscollective.com).

Bagamoyo is currently enjoying something of a renaissance. The new road from Dar means that it can now be reached with ease by tourists and day-trippers escaping from the hustle and bustle of the city, and likewise by workshop organisers and participants eager to collect their out-of-town allowances. The folk etymology of Bagamoyo (Swahili *bwaga moyo*) alludes to the origin of the mid-nineteenth century settlement as the place where caravans from Zanzibar were assembled before setting out for the interior - and where the slaves that they returned with were held (and in some cases "fattened up") before being shipped to the slave market. This is where slaves "threw down their hearts" in despair (or where the returning porters "lay down the burden" of theirs, depending on which translation you prefer).

Bagamoyo's *caravanserai* or 'caravan inn' is a surviving monument to this history. In 2001-02 Felix Chami, Tanzania's most active archaeologist, directed

excavations designed to uncover the history and purpose of this rectangular structure and associated buildings on what was once the edge of Bagamoyo. Chami and his colleagues conclude that the *caravanserai* was, as its name suggests, a place where caravan owners and others rested. The evidence for this is presented in this slim but informative book, which discusses many different aspects of the historical development of Bagamoyo. Visitors to the modern resort could do worse than taking a copy with them.

Martin Walsh

**THE HISTORY AND SOME TRADITIONS OF THE MAASAI.** National Museum of Tanzania, Village Museum, Dar es Salaam, 2004. 109pp (paperback). ISBN 9987683045. £5. Available from Richard Wood, 15 Church Street, Wymondham, Norfolk, NR18 0PH. Tel 01953 600800.

On 7-8 November 1998 a Maasai Cultural Festival was held at the Village Museum in Dar es Salaam - one (or rather two) of a number of Tanzanian Cultural Days organised by the National Museum of Tanzania. A video cassette was made and a Swahili booklet produced which compiles the speeches and papers that were given during the event. The booklet was published under the title *Historia na baadhi ya Mila za Maasai*.

This has now been translated into English by Victor P. Kimesera. The main body of the book comprises papers on a variety of topics: 'Brief History of [the] Maa people', 'Beliefs and Religion of the Maasai', 'The Female Child', 'The Male Child', 'Security and Defence', 'Betrothals and Marriage', 'Curative Health and Medicaments of the Maasai', 'Maasai Diet and Nutrition', and 'Prospects and Expectations for the Future', one of four contributions by the translator himself.

The 1998 festival received a lot of publicity at the time - much of it reproducing existing stereotypes about the Maasai. It is probably fair to say that middle-class Tanzanians are as fascinated by a certain image of the Maasai as many overseas visitors are. The value of this collection is that most of the papers were written by Maasai themselves, and much of what they write forms a useful antidote to popular imagining. We need to see more works like this in which Tanzanians write about their own communities, and the National Museum and its sponsors are to be congratulated for making this particular one accessible to a wider audience.

Martin Walsh

**A KNIGHT IN AFRICA:** Journey from Bukene. J.K Chande.

ISBN 1- 894131-83-5. Penumbra Press, Canada [www.penumbrapress.ca](http://www.penumbrapress.ca) (*My bookshop tells me that the publishers have no distributor in U.K. ed.*)

The book is an invaluable account of Tanzania's transition from colonial rule to independence and of the growing pains of a nation that plays a vital role in the future of Africa.

J.K. (Andy) Chande was brought up in a close-knit Asian trading family - learning business the hard way even when he was still at school (Ch. 3). At independence in 1961 and even when he was made bankrupt though the nationalisation of his milling business six years later, he chose to stay because of his attachment to Tanzania and his determination to support the country of his upbringing. He was a close friend of President Nyerere for more than forty years, though they often differed on the best route to take to ensure economic growth and equity.

He recounts how, in the heyday of parastatals he sat on innumerable boards endeavouring to bring a commercial perspective to institutions lacking business know-how (Ch.11). He developed a huge network of friends in Tanzania and internationally. He also brought African concerns and needs to the attention of Rotary International and Masonic circles in both of which he played an active international role.

The continuity of Andy's involvement as both participant and observer in the development of Tanzania comes out strongly in the book. He notes that Tanganyika, unlike India, was singularly ill equipped for independence by the colonial power (page 38). Again, in the chapter on the Mwinyi Years he says, speaking of Ujamaa: "I have had twenty years to think of what went wrong" (page 171). And, he is critical of the international development community that too often used Tanzania as a test-bed for new ideas but failed to ensure sustainability.

The book gives an authentic picture of the process of change, the centrality of his respect and concern for ordinary people, and how Andy, with the strong support of his wife, Jayli, has enjoyed it all.

Ron Fennell

**THE STORY OF MINAKI.** P M Libaba Second edition 2005, with additions by Peter White. Printed by Imberhorne School East Grinstead: 71 pp. £2. Available from Peter White tel.01622 673466.

Doreen.Peter.White@talk21.com

'The Story of Minaki' was written to mark the seventy-fifth anniversary of Minaki Secondary School (1925-2000). The history of the school can be traced back further than this, however, since the school, as St Andrew's College, was originally founded in 1869 at Kiungani in Zanzibar as a UMCA mission school for freed slaves. The anniversary marked here celebrates a watershed in the history of the school with its transfer to the mainland in 1925.

A 'towering giant' among the early schools in Tanzania, Minaki richly deserves a history of its own. Not only does Minaki predate all other present-day schools but it has also enjoyed a particularly distinguished academic history. As nucleus of the early UMCA venture, the history of the school is also intriguingly bound up with the beginnings of medical education and of teacher-training.

The narrative is based on oral accounts by distinguished alumni (many of whom went on to hold important positions in national life, as documented in an appendix), on written histories, including an earlier account by J E F Mhina, the first African Headmaster, and on back-copies of the school magazine *Twende*. The author regrets the lack of archival material from the Zanzibar days (possibly available via the UMCA in London?), but a useful bibliography is provided. The history of the school is usefully framed within three distinct phases (Kiungani in Zanzibar 1869-1925, the time of expansion on the mainland 1925-1970, and the period after 1970 when St Andrew's became Minaki Government School). The early years were closely bound up with the wider mission enterprise and a map would have been useful. It is a pity that poor reproduction of the many original photographs detracts from the visual impact of this booklet.

Much of the material, such as domestic detail about individuals, timetables and examination results, will be of greatest interest to alumni. Others, if familiar with Tanzania, will read this as an account of how a particular school responded to the local situation. While Chapter 1 provides the general reader with a useful backdrop to the early 'empire-builders and evangelists', in later chapters

external tensions and pressures, religious, educational, and political, make tantalisingly brief appearances - mentioned rather than described or analysed. But while space limitations have understandably precluded much discussion of wider issues, the author clearly laments the recent academic decline of Minaki and ends with his own manifesto for selective education, including a plea for Minaki to re-establish itself as a new sixth-form college: for Minaki to be once again, as in the past, a national centre of excellence.

**DHOW CHASING IN ZANZIBAR WATERS.** Captain G. L. Sullivan, R.N. (edited by Gemma Pitcher). The Gallery Publications, Zanzibar, 2003. 233pp (paperback). ISBN 998766704X. £12.99.

“Dhow Chasing in Zanzibar Waters and on the Eastern Coast of Africa: Narrative of Five Year's Experiences in the Suppression of the Slave Trade” first appeared in London in 1873. It was reprinted in 1967 by Dawsons of Pall Mall, together with a useful biographical introduction. The full title and original date of publication have been unaccountably omitted from this new edition of Sullivan's text produced by The Gallery (a.k.a. Javed Jafferji) in Zanzibar, as have the map and some of the illustrations. Nonetheless it is good to see this work now available in paperback and for sale in Tanzania.

Captain Sullivan's book is an awkward cross between personal narrative and dry reporting on the state of the slave trade in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Sullivan did his dhow chasing throughout the western Indian Ocean and he recounts his adventures with wry humour as well as the robust prejudices of his day. The second half of the book comprises parliamentary and other records relating to contemporary debates about the nature of the slave trade and the future course of British government policy. This material may be of use to scholars, but will be of less interest to the general reader.

Sullivan's own proposal was that liberated slaves be settled on the coast near Dar es Salaam, a first step in the establishment of an English colony on the mainland, with its headquarters eventually to be sited somewhere in the mountainous interior.

The worst place to settle ex-slaves, he thought, was Zanzibar, where they would remain in the employ of a local population that had no interest in their "moral improvement", i.e. conversion to Christianity. As Sullivan intimated, the slaves that were freed in Zanzibar did indeed become the mainstay of the islands' economy, though no one could have predicted the long term political consequences that this would have.

Martin Walsh

Just occasionally, because of pressure of other work, reviewers fail to produce a review which they have undertaken to provide. Our readers may therefore be unaware of something which might be of interest to them. Here are two such items:

**SERVING THE COMMON GOOD: A POSTCOLONIAL AFRICAN PERSPECTIVE ON HIGHER EDUCATION.** Nkulu Kiluba L. Pub. Peter Lang AG , Switzerland. [www.peterlang.net](http://www.peterlang.net). ISBN 0-8204-7626-9. h/b £35. It has six chapters, three of which are of a general nature about education in Africa, followed by three on Tanzania. These are, Nyerere and Social Transformation in Tanzania, The Dar es Salaam Model of Higher Education, and Nyerere and the Idea of Higher Education in a New Century.

**THE IMPACT OF CIVIL WARS ON BASIC EDUCATION IN THE GREAT LAKES REGION OF TANZANIA.** William A.L. Sambo. 43 pages. In the OSSREA Social Science Research Series, 2004. Further details from African Books Collective Ltd, Unit 13 Kings Meadow, Ferry Hinksley Road, Oxford OX2 0DP. 01865 72668. [www.africanbookscollective.com](http://www.africanbookscollective.com) . It tells how primary education suffered in Karagwe District as a result of disruptions caused by the influx of refugees. There were armed criminals among them who drove out the locals and destroyed the means of livelihood.

Marion Doro writes:

Tanzanian related faculty and graduates presented thirty-six of the 933 papers offered at the November 17-20 meeting of the US African Studies Association in Washington, DC. Eight of these were by Tanzanians, currently teaching or studying in the United States. Paper topics varied greatly, ranging from specific issues, e.g., water, to religion particularly Muslim related, gender, health, and aspects of the colonial era. Politics was the most frequently offered topic, including Goran Hyden's paper on Tanzania's one party system, and Roger

Southall's analysis of Julius Nyerere's presidency. In addition to individual papers there were three Roundtables, which dealt with a) aspects of civic life, b) the Maji Maji War, and c) popular culture. Apart from topic or country focused panels the Tanzanian Studies Association organized a gathering of Tanzanian related faculty and students. This was one of six specific country related 'studies association' meetings, as well as numerous regional or topic membership groups.

Readers interested in obtaining a copy of the titles of the various papers should e-mail: [john@cooper-poole.freesev.co.uk](mailto:john@cooper-poole.freesev.co.uk)

Those seeking further information about the ASA annual meeting should see: [www.africanstudies.org](http://www.africanstudies.org)

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**The views expressed or reported in Tanzanian Affairs are those of the person concerned and do not necessarily represent the views of the Britain–Tanzania Society**

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