

Tanzanian Affairs

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A New National Anthem - Mungu Ibariki Africa

Enoch Mankayi Sontonga

$\text{♩} = 80$

Mun-gu i-ba-ri-ki A-fri-ca Wa-ba-ri-ki vion-go-zi wa-ke
Mun-gu i-ba-ri-ki Tan-za-nia Du-mi-sha-u-hu-ru na Umo-ja

He-ki-ma u-mo-ji na A-ma-ni Hi-zi ni ngao ze-tu A-fri-ka na wa-tu wa-ke.
Wa-ke kwa Wa-u-ma na Wa-to-to Mun-gu I-ba-ri-ki Tan-za-nia na wa-tu wa-ke.

I-ba-ri-ki A-fri-ka I-ba-ri-ki A-fri-ka Tu-ba-ri-ki wa-to-to wa A-fri-ka.
I-ba-ri-ki Tan-za-nia I-ba-ri-ki Tan-za-nia Tu-ba-ri-ki wa-to-to wa Tan-za-nia.

God bless Africa
Bless its leaders
Let Wisdom, Unity and
Peace be the shield of
Africa and its people.
Bless Africa
Bless Africa
Bless the children of Africa.

God bless Tanzania*
Grant eternal Freedom and
Unity to its sons and daughters.
God bless Tanzania
and its people.
Bless Tanzania
Bless Tanzania
Bless the children of Tanzania.

**"Tanganyika" in 1961, changed to "Tanzania" following the Union*

cover photo: Prime Minister Julius Nyerere leaves Karimjee Hall in Dec 1961 and is enthusiastically greeted by his followers.

TANZANIA IS FIFTY

The last strains of the new national anthem die away. And across the dark bush and towering palms, over the roofs of clustered villages, even to Dar es Salaam, a blaze of coloured light four miles away echoes the triumphant roar with the incessant rumbling cries of Uhuru coming out from underneath. This is Tanganyika's finest moment. A fragment of time to be savoured, treasured and stored in the memory. An experience, emotional ... and unique. Tanganyika is independent; a nation is born ...

So wrote Graham Hulley in The East African Annual 1962-63



'Climaxing a feat which caught the imagination of the world, Lieutenant Alexander Nyirenda climbed to the summit of the mighty Mount Kilimanjaro and lit a symbolic torch next to the new Tanganyikan flag.

The Prime Minister said: Tanganyika wanted to light a torch which would 'shine out beyond our borders giving hope where there was once despair, love where there was hate and dignity, where before there was only humiliation.'



Above: The scene at the Independence ceremony in the National Stadium as the Duke of Edinburgh handed over to Prime Minister Julius K Nyerere the Constitutional Instruments which formally granted independence.



Left: Prime Minister Julius Nyerere leads the Governor, Sir Richard Turnbull back to the Royal Box after the raising of the new flag.

Many thanks Jim Watson for making available to us this publication with its excellent photos dating back to 1961 - Editor.

The main events in 2011



President Jakaya Kikwete hands over the Uhuru Torch (mwenge) to the Chief of Defence Forces, General Davis Mwamunyange, at the end of the countrywide Torch race in Dar es Salaam. Gen Mwamunyange later presented the Torch to a team that took it to the peak of Mount Kilimanjaro. Photo – State House.

In Dar es Salaam, the celebrations started in earnest in July. Ministries took turns to showcase their activities at the Mnazi Mmoja grounds.

Then on 9th December, over 40 Heads of State, Government and other dignitaries attended the main celebrations which included a guard of honour by the country's armed forces and a 21-gun salute to the Commander-in-Chief.

There was a display of the army's equipment ranging from tanks, armoured vehicles to trucks and other vehicles used in warfare. A number of fighter jets were flown in synchronized formations over the stadium. Some 4,500 children from primary and secondary schools entertained guests with a mass performance followed by traditional dances by four different traditional groups, hand-picked to proportionally represent Tanzania. The dances included Selo from Coast Region, Ngongoti from Mtwara Region as well as Msewe and Bugobogobo from

Zanzibar and Mwanza respectively.

President Kikwete's speech

President Kikwete said that some historical factors were to blame for the country's failure to attain higher levels of development as many people would have wished. He said that when Tanganyika gained independence from Britain in 1961, it was a very poor country with poor infrastructure and a relatively small pool of skilled manpower. "We had only twelve university graduates when we got independence and some people feared it would be almost impossible to attain reasonable levels of development," the President noted, adding: "With the cooperation amongst leaders in all phases of the government since independence and the general public, our country is where it is now...we have made big steps."

The colonial government, he explained, had no intention of developing the country but just wanted to exploit its resources.

"But Mwalimu Julius Nyerere and his colleagues vowed to fight for our independence and help Tanzanians climb out of abject poverty." The President also pointed out that many big challenges lay ahead.

Britain's congratulations

Queen Elizabeth II congratulated Tanzania on the 50th independence anniversary. She wrote that the 50 years had been characterized by peace and stability, a rare thing to find in many other parts of the world. "It gives me great pleasure in sending your Excellency and the people of Tanzania my warmest congratulations on this very special occasion," she said.

"The Prince of Wales and Duchess of Cornwall have told me how much they enjoyed your hospitality during their recent visit to your country as part of the celebrations for this special event. I wish Your Excellency and the people of Tanzania, my best wishes for growing prosperity in the coming years."

Fifty years ago HRH the Duke of Edinburgh, representing the Queen, was in Dar es Salaam at the ceremonies connected with the handing over of power from Britain to the new country, then known as Tanganyika. Fifty years later in November 2011 his son Prince Charles was in Dar es Salaam to join in the 50th anniversary of those momentous events.

Security

Tanzania tightened security to guarantee the safety of 14 foreign Heads of State and Government who came to mark Tanzania Mainland's 50 years of independence. Prime Minister Mizengo Pinda, said the government had upped the security profile as a precaution against threats from the Somalia-based Al Shabaab terror group.

The costs

Many people complained about the cost of the celebrations in view of Tanzania's shortage of funds for all kinds of development projects.

According to the Citizen the government spent a total of TShs 64 billion to facilitate the celebrations. Some TShs 8 billion was allocated to local governments. Regional administrations and local government authorities organised celebrations in all of the mainland's 21 regions, and 136 district councils.

Major items of expenditure included preparatory logistics, fuel, per diems for civil servants and printing costs for leaflets highlighting achievements that respective districts and regions had registered over the 50-year period.

About TShs 213 million was given to Tanzania Trade Development Authority to finance ministerial exhibitions as well as those of state agencies and the private sector, at the Mwalimu Nyerere exhibition grounds along Kilwa Road in Dar es Salaam.

The Ministry of Industries, Trade and Marketing reportedly received TShs 30million. Each of the nearly 5,000 youngsters who participated in the mass display was reportedly paid TShs 40,000 (£16).

Ubungu MP John Mnyika (Chadema) said the money should have been channelled into development projects. The Uhuru anniversary would have been more memorable if the money had been spent on settling teachers' debts, as well as those of other public employees. "We could also have spent the money on building feeder roads in Dar es Salaam, to ease congestion on the few major roads... people would have remembered that for a long time," he said.

THE NYERERE STYLE

President Nyerere gave hundreds of interviews before, during and after his terms of office. We are grateful to Peg Snyder/Paul Bjerk/Juhani Lomppololle/Aili Tripp for digging out and transcribing an interview given by Mwalimu in 1971 to a Finnish journalist. Extracts:

Nyerere: ... In 1961, what was our major ambition? Our major ambition was obviously to survive as a nation. We have survived as a nation, we have consolidated ourselves as a nation, and we have consolidated our independence. I suppose really, quite frankly, this is our biggest achievement. Only as an independent country could we do such things as raising standards of living, increasing education, and so forth. Well I can't say we have achieved all we would have liked to achieve.

Questioner: You place a very heavy emphasis on rural development... but in this report, you say, "indeed more money has in fact been spent on urban developments, industrial and business development, than on rural areas, in this post-Arusha period". So what could, in your opinion be the reason for that?

N: One is habit. The other is the ease. It's easier to invest in urban areas than to invest in rural areas. Simply habit. Habitually this is what happens, you establish a habit where investment flows into the urban areas because it flows there habitually. And apart from habit you have certain facilities which have been put in urban areas, and if you are going to use these facilities properly, really you are forced to put something in ... And I say secondly, it's easier to plan a textile factory than to plan a village. A village of three thousand workers, three thousand peasants requires a great deal more, more innovation if you like. We are less used to this. Basically I think, habit. We have to break the habit of thinking in terms of employment. Because even if, now, if we want to build a school, if we want to build a secondary school, ...the majority of the students who go into this secondary school are from the peasant areas, peasant sons and daughters. But we will have by habit put the school in an urban area...

Q: What are your reservations about foreign development corporations?

N: I think reservations would be quite normal. Quite normal. It is always a matter of judgment what country we are dealing with. Very often rich countries use their ability to assist poorer countries in order to dominate these poorer countries, to build spheres of influence, to keep

other competitors, other nations out. And they regard them as competitors. A kind of jealousy develops. I want to build a railway, and I try to get some money from the Western world; if I don't get that money then I try to get it from China. The fellows do not want to give the money, and then they ask why? why? This is introducing the Chinese to Tanzania. There is kind of feeling... keep the Chinese out, Tanzania is our sphere of influence. You know the Chinese should be kept out. It becomes a kind of instrument. Aid becomes an instrument of imperialism. And this is really the first reservation. Secondly, aid should help us to do what we want to do. It's no use some country coming here with some brilliant idea that they want to do xyz. And in our own priorities we don't want to do xyz, it is something that can wait until the 2000s.

Q: Do you see anything remarkable in the Chinese assistance causing any changes in the non-alignment policy?

N: I don't see why it should. Non-alignment has never meant that a non-aligned country should have nothing to do with an aligned country. This has never been a definition of non-alignment. It has the meaning that we must never behave in our relations with aligned powers as if we belonged to their blocs. We don't. And we have relations with China just as we have relations with the Soviet Union or relations with the United States. We see no reason why it should affect our non-alignment. Actually we feel it is an expression of our non-alignment. We would find it ridiculous that it is not alright for us as a non-aligned country to ask the Soviet Union or the United States to build a railway for us. But somehow it becomes wrong for our non-alignment if we ask China to build a railway for us (laughter).

Q: Your views of the present dispute between Tanzania and Uganda amidst reports of border clashes. Do you think there will be a danger of war?

N: Well, what you really want one never knows. I mean it takes two, to bring about war. But actually it doesn't take two, it can take only one. So in that sense, if one side decides to be foolish, this foolishness can lead to a dangerous situation. But frankly, I don't believe that these troubles on the border can cause, can be developed into anything more than troubles on the border.

Q: What is your comment on the British Foreign Secretary Sir Douglas



President Nyerere meeting with VSO volunteers in 1977 - see article on VSO in Tanzania on page 48

Home going to Salisbury trying to negotiate a settlement to the Rhodesia problem.

N: Our views have been very clear for years and they've not changed. It was Sir Alec, when he was Prime Minister of Britain, who formulated the so-called five principles. And it was while he was Prime Minister that we said we don't accept these principles as a basis of granting independence to Rhodesia, because they mean granting independence to a country on the basis of minority rule. And we don't accept this. And it is really this which he's going to negotiate with the Rhodesians. He's going to negotiate with the White Minority there. To hand over to them the government, the same thing that they did in South Africa. They want to create a second South Africa. This is really the whole basis of these talks, to create a second South Africa, and we've always said we can't accept this. What are we expected to say? 'This is fine'?

Q: Is there any settlement which you would not consider to be a sell-out?

N: Any settlement. Any settlement on that basis would be a sell-out. Handing over five million people to the good will of a tiny minority, and believing that this minority at some future date will hand over power to the majority. It doesn't happen.

Q: You said in September this year in this report, Tanzania has paid a heavy price in economic aid for her stand on these matters. But neither

in relation to Britain nor any other country have we wavered on the policies we believe to be right because of our desire to develop our country at maximum speed. Have you ever doubted?

N: Have I ever doubted our policy? Never.

Q: But you have paid a price?

N: Well surely you must pay a price for your freedom, if it is really freedom. If we wanted to remain a colony we could have remained a colony. As a colony our responsibilities wouldn't hold. I got my grey hair in our second year of independence. My hair was black, completely black when we became independent, and in two years it had gone grey, because of some of the problems of independence. If you don't want the problems of independence don't become independent.

Q: Do you think that the freedom fighters will succeed?

N: Why not? If we didn't believe they will succeed then there is no point in fighting is there? There's no point in the struggle is there? Unless it is a kind of religion. There's no point in struggling for freedom unless you believe you are going to win. And if we believed these people are wasting their time, why should we be working to get support for them throughout the world. We are trying to get the world to understand this problem in southern Africa, and to understand that these people are struggling for human rights, and they must be helped until they win. If we didn't believe they have a chance of winning there is no use helping them, or trying to get their world to help them.

Q: Now this is the last final question. Mr. Karalov has suggested that you have been translating William Shakespeare into Swahili. Have you yourself been writing any poems?

N: No. Not poems in that sense, not poems in that sense of William Shakespeare. Everybody. Every literate person has written some verse. So that's all. This question of Shakespeare is really you have read Shakespeare, so have I. Some. I have not read Shakespeare, I have read one or two books, not more than one or two books. And then sometimes I, because of my interest, not so much because of my interest in Shakespeare, but in Swahili. I have translated some bits of Shakespeare into Swahili because of my effort to learn Swahili rather than to translate Shakespeare.

FIFTY YEARS OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

A NOTABLE ANNIVERSARY. On 20th October 2011 the Presidents of Tanzania and Uganda, as distinguished alumni, officiated when the University of Dar es Salaam celebrated its Golden Jubilee. The University College established on 1st July 1961 with one Faculty (Law), three teachers and just 14 students has grown into the University which now has several campuses, over 1,000 teachers and more than 15,000 students. One of the earliest achievements of the new Government led by Chief Minister Nyerere, the college was (like Makerere University College in Kampala) 'in special relationship' with the University of London, awarding London degrees but teaching an appropriate local syllabus. In its first session the tiny college had a Principal, Professor Cran Pratt from Canada (who had taught at Makerere), a Registrar/Secretary, Jock Snaith (former DC Arusha), a Librarian (Harold Holdsworth) and a Law Faculty with three Oxford graduates (Professor A.B. Weston from Australia via Canada, William Twining, previously lecturing at the University of Khartoum, and Patrick McAuslan, who had West African experience) and 14 students, from Uganda and Kenya as well as Tanganyika, pioneers of legal education which colonial governments had neglected. This small team built a solid foundation for the Law School and University, developing an extensive library, attracting international visitors and establishing a strong tradition of local teaching and research.

TANU, the ruling party, had just completed a new building on Mnazi Moja as its headquarters but lent this to accommodate the college until in 1964, after a rapid building programme, the college became multi-disciplinary and moved into its first fine buildings on 'The Hill' at Ubungu. On 1st July 1963 the University of East Africa came into being, composed of the University College, Makerere and Nairobi University College. When in 1964 President Nyerere presided, as Chancellor of the University, at the first Graduation Ceremony, held in the open air at the college, he conferred London LL.B. degrees on those first 14 graduates, and also an honorary degree of the new University on Dr Louis Leakey, celebrated for his discovery of *Zinjanthropus* in the Olduvai Gorge.

The college was transformed into the University of Dar es Salaam on 1st July 1970.

Jim Read

AMBITIOUS PLANS TO END ENERGY CRISIS

The East African and other media outlets have been reporting on the ambitious new investment plans being drawn up which should fairly soon see a dramatic improvement in production of energy - and hopefully an end to the energy crisis.

In what African Report described as the largest ever single Chinese investment in Tanzania, an agreement worth \$3 billion (about TShs 4.8 trillion) has been signed to develop the Mchuchuma coal and Liganga iron ore projects (The Citizen). The NDC will hold a 20% stake with the Chinese firm holding the remaining 80%. The projects will be implemented in two phases - the first phase will entail laying the groundwork at Mchuchuma and eventual mining of coal to be used in generating electricity, while the second phase will involve exploration and extraction of iron ore from Liganga.

Symbion is set to supply 205 MW to the national power grid in support of the government's emergency power plan. Under the firm's expansion plan, Symbion would import more than 205 MW of generating equipment, adding new power to the grid incrementally from October, and the full 205 MW capacity will be available to Tanesco by the end of the year (The Guardian).

The country has borrowed \$63.4 million from the Export Import Bank of Korea which will help to build a power transmission line which will link future sources of electricity in the south of Tanzania with the north of the country.

Plans are being drawn up for a huge 2,100 MW new electricity plant at Stiegler's Gorge in the Rufiji River Basin. It will be built using Brazilian technology and will be developed by Brazil's Odebrecht company.

A Norwegian power engineering company has signed an agreement for a 100 MW turnkey project at Ubungu (using natural gas) in Dar and another at Nyakato near Mwanza (using heavy fuel oil). Finance totalling \$530 million is coming from HSBC in Norway to support 15% from the government. Power is due to be switched on by June 2012.

Tanzania has also secured a \$250 million dollar loan from a consortium of local and global financial institutions, including the Standard Bank of South Africa, to fund rural roads and production of electricity.

Finally, Tanzania has signed production sharing agreements (\$75 million) with two oil companies to explore for oil and gas at Lake Rukwa and Nyuni East Songo Songo.

The blame

Rice farmers in the Ruaha River Basin have been blamed for the ongoing power crisis. The principal engineer at the Mtera Dam has claimed that uncontrolled rice farming is behind the decreased water flow into the dam.

Judie and Thomas Mwarabu have sent us the following weather warning published by the Tanzania Meteorological Agency (TMA) in *Mwananchi* in September which was partially vindicated by a week of early and heavy rain in mid-October:

TMA predicted that several areas of the country could face serious disasters such as floods, soil erosion and major damage to the infrastructure and environment during the short rains (*vuli*) between October and December. Other areas, which would not suffer from the effects of flooding, are expected to be faced with food shortages and perhaps famine due to insufficient rainfall. TMA has for the first time not only published this information in a highly professional way, but has also made clear which areas are threatened and gone on to make recommendations to deal with them. The government was advised to prepare itself thoroughly by designing strategies and creating new ways of protecting the economy of the country, by putting pressure on the Disasters Corps to ensure the preparation of sufficient and up-to-date supplies of all kinds, including air, road and waterborne transport, tents, blankets, medicines and rescue equipment.

People complain that Tanzania has repeatedly suffered from such disasters but they come again and again because the government has not learned from them.

The Tanesco monopoly on power production might be abolished, according to a report in *Tanzania Daima*. The government was said to have plans to amend current electricity laws to allow private companies to produce and supply. Minister of Finance Mustapha Mkulo said that "Currently we have power producers who remain with excess energy but they cannot sell it on to neighbouring communities. The new

amendments will allow them mechanisms to sell it”.

The dependence of energy supplies on rainfall was demonstrated once again by the following report (slightly abridged) from The Guardian of 7th October before the very heavy rains mentioned above. By early October, hydropower generation at the major dams, Mtera and Kidatu, had been drastically reduced as water levels dwindled even further, President Kikwete admitted. This was after the President was informed that the Kidatu plant, with a capacity to generate 200 megawatts, was producing only 40 MW and the Mtera plant was generating only 30 MW while it has the capacity to produce 80 MW. The Kihansi plant was producing 90 MW against 180 MW, Nyumba ya Mungu 3.5 MW against 8 MW and New Pangani 20 MW against 68 MW. The country was relying on electricity from Songas - generating 182 MW, Ubungo 100 MW, Tegeta 45 MW and Symbion 70 MW.

50 YEARS OF CONSTITUTIONAL EXPERIMENT

As Tanzanians celebrated fifty years of independence on 9th December 2011, they also engaged in an animated national debate over constitutional developments anticipated for 2012 (*see TA No 100*). This is not for the first time, nor are the basic issues unfamiliar: citizens are concerned to improve democratic structures, protect human rights and clarify the uneasy relationship between the mainland and Zanzibar.

In 1961 the Trust Territory of Tanganyika, to most people's surprise, overtook its neighbours Kenya and even Uganda in the race to independence but, following the pattern of previous British decolonisation, paradoxically became for the first time part of the dominions of HM Queen Elizabeth II, represented locally by Governor-General Turnbull! (Zambia broke the mould in 1964, when it passed overnight from Protectorate to independent Republic.) Tanganyika also joined the Commonwealth (Nyerere's ultimatum on apartheid having earlier forced the withdrawal of South Africa, a founder member of the organisation).

More surprises lay ahead. A month later, in a move unique among African nationalist leaders, Prime Minister Nyerere (still awaiting a biographer) resigned, replaced by his loyal deputy, the late Rashidi Kawawa. Nyerere spent much of 1962 as leader of the Tanganyika

African National Union (TANU), which dominated Parliament and therefore controlled the Government, visiting local party branches to study and strengthen its democratic structures, based on ten-house cells at village level. Following constitutional amendments, Tanganyika became a Republic on the first anniversary of independence and Nyerere was installed as President, to lead the Government and country for more than 20 years.

Zanzibar gained independence on 9th December 1963; a month later the Sultan and Constitution were overthrown by revolution and the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) assumed control. In April 1964 the Articles of Union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar were signed, establishing the United Republic which later adopted the name Tanzania. Thus began a unique and troublesome quasi-federal relationship, which continues to dog national politics.

In 1965, in accordance with a TANU and Government decision and following a draft prepared by a Presidential Commission, the innovative one-party Constitution was adopted (*TA No 4*). Redrafted in 1977, when TANU had become Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), it lasted for over 25 years and still casts its shadow. It effectively subordinated national organs like the National Assembly to the primacy of Party organs. At elections voters chose between two TANU candidates selected by primary (party) elections, although in Presidential elections they voted for or against the single candidate nominated by TANU. Uniquely, Tanzania was a one-party state with two ruling parties (CCM on the mainland, ASP in Zanzibar), two Constitutions (Zanzibar adopted its own in 1979), two Presidents, two Parliaments and two governments.

Tanzanian leaders had rejected the inclusion of a justiciable Bill of Rights in the independence Constitution, but to protect citizens the 1965 Constitution adopted a novel form of collegiate 'Ombudsman' - the Permanent Commission of Inquiry, to investigate citizens' complaints of maladministration. The only other Ombudsman then in the Commonwealth - in New Zealand - provided the model for the law Tanzania adopted. Not until 1984 did Parliament respond to public political pressure and add the Bill of Rights, enforceable by the courts, to the Constitution. The celebrated Arusha Declaration 1967 had constitutional implications, especially in the Leadership Code, as did the elaborate but ill-fated project of decentralised government in the 1970s.

Major constitutional change followed the Nyalali Presidential Commission (1991) (TA No 50). This reflected and focussed public opinion in favour of a multi-party system, which was established by constitutional amendments. However, loyalty to the former single party CCM has given it overwhelming Parliamentary majorities at successive General Elections, only slowly eroded by the several opposition parties.

Jim Read

Now, for the latest information on the constitutional debate we are grateful to Frederick Longino who has brought us up to date:

BUMPY RIDE FOR THE CONSTITUTION

Compiled by Frederick Longino

Few issues in Tanzania recently have attracted the attention given to the first stages of the constitutional review process now under way. Recent debates in parliament have attracted an unusual amount of interest and controversy.

After months of consultation, meetings of legislative committees, and waiting, a Bill allowing for the establishment of a Constitutional Review Body was read for the first time in the National Assembly on 18th April 2011. Following many complaints it was then amended and presented again.

A Tanganyika Law Society (TLS) press release stated that the Bill didn't accurately reflect the will of the people. Many Zanzibaris in particular were unhappy. Many people wanted a new, rather than a 'rewritten' constitution, and the removal of inviolability clauses to ensure greater representation on the proposed Constituent Assembly. The Guardian reported 'Constitutional Review Bill still drawing fire'. Suggestions came from human rights groups like TAMWA, The Legal and Human Rights centre, the Tanzania Retired Judges Association, the Trade Union of Tanzania, the University of Dar es Salaam academic staff assembly, the Centre for Democracy and the opposition parties. Consequently, the Citizen wrote that 'elders should step in and rescue the Bill.'

In November, the government continued to solicit last minute consultations with constitutional experts from the University of Dar es Salaam and ex-prime ministers including Joseph Warioba and Salim Ahmed Salim.

This last minute opposition by activists, academics and civil societies didn't diminish the government's determination to take the Bill to parliament in Dodoma for the second reading in November. The main object of the Bill was to set in motion the process of collecting people's views and re-writing the country's basic law.

In the debates in parliament, MPs gathered amidst half a dozen media cameras. CCM MPs cheered wildly when anything was said to ridicule the opposition Chadema and NCCR-Mageuzi MPs.

Walkout

There was a walkout after Chadema's Tundu Lissu MP had read an alternative draft Bill and rejected the government Bill. He objected that the Bill did not contain the various recommendations made by parliament when the first draft was rejected in April 2011. However both the government and Speaker refused to withdraw the Bill on the grounds that Tanzanians had been consulted and all legal processes had been followed. Chadema argued that the proposed Bill had given super powers to the President, including him being the only appointment authority of the constitutional commission, the qualifications of the constitutional commissioners, timescales for both debating the Bill and the proposed completion time. Eventually Chadema and NCCR-Mageuzi MPs boycotted the session by walking out prompting wild boos and cheers from CCM MPs (*Mwananchi*).

No volume of cheering CCM MPs could drown out the technical mistakes that afflicted the Bill but it was finally endorsed by parliamentarians on 17th November 2011. Retired Justice Khamis Msumi said that: 'The terms of reference of the people who will draw up the constitution are the heart of the matter because they are the ones which lead the commission...the consequences of having bad terms will be the forming of a bad constitution' - *The Citizen*.

When the opposition parties and civil societies came out in protest, even after parliamentary approval, the sealed Bill had already become an Act. The Minister's envelope resembled a Christmas party gift on Christmas Day. The Bill was immediately dispatched to the State House for President Kikwete to assent, as explained when all local newspapers featured the story on 19th November.

At the last parliamentary debate arguments by both CCM and opposi-

tion MPs made MPs seem like a 'grade-school talent pageant'. It is unfortunate that the few MPs from the opposition could not block the motion going through against the majority CCM MPs. The home audience following the debate through Star TV and TBC1 would have been baffled by what they saw - *Mtanzania*, *Majira* and *The Citizen* reported on 15th November that 'the road to the new constitution will be very bumpy'.

Immediately after walking out, MPs from Chadema and NCCR-Mageuzi indicated that they no longer wanted to participate in the debate and the passing of the Bill, but preferred to speak directly to Tanzanians nationwide. The Guardian reported this on 16th Nov, but the Police immediately banned all political rallies.

Chadema meets the President

Earlier Chadema had requested to meet President Kikwete to discuss the Act. Chadema claimed that the President had been misinformed of their party's views. The two met in talks described as fruitful and apparently agreed that there was a need for the government and other stakeholders to hold constant meetings and consultations, for the purpose of soliciting a national consensus. But government believed that the bill was perfect and the day after the President met Chadema he signed the Constitution Bill. The President made it clear that he would continue to receive views from stakeholders on how to best to improve the situation. Chadema then indicated that they would be boycotting the entire process of constitutional review, according to *The Citizen* on 30th November.

For the huge majority of people abroad and in Tanzania it appeared that Chadema had not been much involved in deciding the contents of the Bill.

The Constitutional Review Act 2011 stipulates that 'politicians including MPs, councillors, security organs, officers or anyone charged in court with offenses related to ethics and losing trust, will not be nominated to the Commission' and that the Constitutional Assembly would comprise all union MPs, all members of the House of Representatives, ministers responsible for the constitution and justice from the Union and Zanzibar and Chief Justices from both sides of the Union. In addition, there will be 116 members who will be selected from NGOs, religious



Chadema leadership meet with President Kikwete

organisations, political parties, higher learning institutions and groups of people with special needs. The Bill stipulates in section 27 (1) that the Tanzania Electoral Commission in collaboration with the Zanzibar Electoral Commission would supervise a referendum to decide whether the country should have the new constitution or not.

However, *Tanzania Daima* reported on 12th November that Zanzibaris wanted the new union constitution to recognise Zanzibar's status as a country. It is currently 'seen' as one of the regions of the United Republic of Tanzania. There were threats of demonstrations to make their voices heard, *Nipashe* reported.

If there is to be a moment of anxiety for Tanzanians it would probably be during this period until the review is completed. The government said it is very much committed to a 'new' or 'lipsticked' constitution. But, to fill time, the government has fulfilled its duty to present the Bill in parliament for debate.

The constitution, to Tanzanians, is the mother of other laws that all Tanzanians need to adore, and they could do a lot of good with it for their future. When the new constitution is ready Tanzania will be brighter. However, the 'lipsticked' constitution will certainly be unfit for the forthcoming challenges in the ever-changing Tanzania, Zitto Kabwe an MP for Chadema, writes in his facebook.

IGUNGA BY-ELECTION

The Igunga district in Tabora Region might have become prominent in the history of Tanzania if, in the recent by-election there, Tanzania's main opposition party Chadema had wrested the seat from the ruling CCM party. Both parties made tremendous efforts to win in some of the most active political campaigning Tanzania has ever seen. But Chadema lost and Igunga will now presumably return to its previous political obscurity.

Former President of Tanzania Benjamin Mkapa was chosen by CCM to lead its campaign. In his opening speech he slammed the opposition parties for trying to persuade the public that CCM had done nothing since independence. He said that during his term in office he worked closely with the existing Igunga MP, Rostam Aziz, (a prominent figure in the CCM leadership) to bring development to the area. "Such cooperation had made Igunga one of the most exemplary districts in Tanzania in terms of social development" he said.

The ruling CCM won the by-election by a narrow margin over the opposition party. Dr Peter Kafumu of CCM got 26,484 votes while Chadema's Peter Kashindye got 23,260. Leopold Mahona from the Civic United Front (CUF), who was earlier considered a threat to CCM although the party's main strength is in Zanzibar, was far behind with only 2,104 votes – *Majira*.

It was a highly eventful by-election in which all three main candidates used helicopters. Among the incidents reported in the press:

- the CUF candidate exchanged blows with Field Force Police after he was forced down from a podium. The police discovered that CUF had organized a meeting in an area already designated for Chadema.
- former President Benjamin Mkapa asked voters to choose CCM and not 'childish' political parties – *Mwananchi*.
- all parties fielded many of their top people including Chadema chairman Freeman Mbowe, Secretary General Dr. Wilbroad Slaa and youthful and charismatic MPs like Zitto Kabwe, Joseph Mbilinyi, Halima Mdee and John Mnyika.
- the media were there in strength. One journalist wrote how a CCM leader had been found in bed with another man's wife but had escaped



Newly elected MP Peter Kafuma (CCM) is held aloft by his supporters

being beaten (*Tanzania Daima*). Later, CCM was reported to be buying up all newspapers in Igunga to bury the scandal – *Mtanzania*.

- Chadema supporters temporarily arrested the Igunga District Commissioner, who was said to be addressing an 'illegal party meeting' and the police then arrested two Chadema MPs said to have been involved.

How did CCM win?

The answer to this question (CCM had to defeat seven other candidates) was given by Ray Naluyaga in the *Citizen*. He summed it up as CCM's clear message delivery, a well-coordinated party network, its campaign strategies and its long experience in local politics.

Admission by CCM that the national cake was small and that it must prioritise on what it does with it, made people understand why Igunga lacked bridges and roads, he explained. While Chadema enjoys immense support among the youth, CCM has women as permanent voters.

A PhD student was quoted as saying: "I attended Chadema's campaign closing rally. It was the largest compared to those of CCM and CUF, but the crowd comprised mostly youths between 15 and 17 years of age who were not registered as voters.... "

CCM's decision to use Rostam Aziz at its opening ceremony (after he had resigned from the party) restored the lost confidence among some voters who had started to see it as a party marred by internal conflicts. As for Chadema, he said it failed to give its candidate enough time to campaign. At the first rally party chairman Freeman Mbowe spent most of the time faulting President Kikwete, a thing that was not a priority for Igunga voters. The Chadema candidate was given only three minutes, though most people wanted to hear from the person seeking to be their MP. At other villages the candidate spoke for only five minutes. Chadema's defeat was also blamed on the party's failure to localise its campaign. Chadema used people from outside Igunga such as its MPs and other party officials while CCM relied heavily on locals. Wherever CCM held a rally, people close to Dr Kafumu, who were Igungans and spoke the local dialect, remained behind and chatted with the people face to face about their candidate and the party. This is something that Chadema did not do.

ZANZIBAR FERRY TRAGEDY

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Nation mourns
 On the coast, 39 have already been identified by relatives, while 39 have been buried

197

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A very large number of people – some estimate that it could be over 2,000 - died on 11 September 2011 after a ferry they boarded from Unguja to Pemba sank several kilometres from its destination. Rescue boats, helicopters and divers reached the scene hours later and some 600 were rescued. Most survivors drifted ashore clinging to foam mattresses.

The ferry, MV Spice Islander, began its journey in Dar es Salaam, where it was loaded with passengers and cargo. When it reached Zanzibar it took on many more passengers for the trip to the smaller island of Pemba. The boat was said to have been grossly

overloaded and some passengers complained of loss of balance even when the vessel was still in Zanzibar port. Two prospective brides were among the passengers, accompanied by 36 relatives; only four were rescued.

President Kikwete was forced to suspend a scheduled tour to Canada. Zanzibar President Dr Ali Mohamed Shein announced that there would be three days of mourning when flags would be flown at half mast.

First Vice President of Zanzibar Seif Sharif Hamad announced that the government would launch a thorough investigation into the accident and take necessary actions – *all media outlets featured this news very fully*
– Editor

BIG GOLD – THANK YOU AND GOODBYE?

Gold is the most important driver of investment that Tanzania has ever seen. Foreign direct investment in gold exploration and mining totalled USD 2.5 billion from 1997 to 2007. Between them, African Barrick Gold (ABG), AngloGoldAshanti (AGA), and Resolute Mining Ltd currently produce over a million ounces of gold a year, worth USD 1.8 billion at the current (September 2011) price of USD 1,800 an ounce. Last year, gold accounted for nearly half of all exports. The three companies' mines (Barrick has four, the other two companies one each) employ about 15,000 Tanzanians, with another 50,000 jobs created through local procurement of goods and services. The mining companies build roads, power supplies and water systems that serve local towns and villages. ABG has invested USD 100 million in electricity alone. The mines build schools and health facilities and pay local authorities to help run them. They are already among the biggest tax payers to the Tanzanian Revenue Authority (TRA) and they should pay more taxes as they finish paying back the loans that financed their mining operations.

With all this apparent good news, why do most Tanzanians consider the presence of foreign mining companies 'a curse, not a blessing', to cite a typical recent newspaper editorial? My recent research with the Africa Power and Politics Programme (APPP) suggests the following explanation [1].

First, enforcing mining rights proved to be a protracted and divisive process, irrevocably souring relations between the foreign mining

companies (FMC) and local artisanal and small-scale miners. In August 1994 Sutton Resources, a small Canadian company, signed a Minerals Development Agreement (MDA) with the Tanzanian government for Bulyanhulu, located in Kahama District, Mwanza Region. Sutton spent the next two years trying to enforce its mining rights against resistance from local small-scale miners (dubbed 'illegals'), who refused to move from the site. On 5 August 1996 54 miners were allegedly buried alive following the bulldozing of small mines during the enforcement of an eviction order.

Subsequent investigations found no evidence to support the claim of over 50 dead through 'extra-judicial killings' (Amnesty International's description), but the damage was done. Sutton's uncompromising approach in clearing the Bulyanhulu 'illegals' without compensation prepared the way for increasingly hostile relations between the FMCs and their Tanzanian hosts. In 1999 Barrick Gold, the largest gold mining company in the world, bought Sutton, and further acquisitions made it by far the largest player in Tanzania, producing about three-quarters of Tanzanian gold [2].

Second, the public outrage triggered by Sutton's unsubtle approach to acquiring mining rights galvanised both local and international civil society opposition to the FMCs' presence. Local NGO and media coverage of instances of alleged water pollution, mine invasions and shootings and the destruction of property reinforced latent public antipathy to the FMCs, who were also accused of benefiting from overgenerous tax breaks, fuelling suspicions that the secretly signed MDAs involved corruption among senior government officials.

On coming to power in December 2005, President Jakaya Kikwete promised that mining contracts and laws regulating mining activities would be reviewed. Opposition parties were quick to make political capital out of the FMCs' poor public image and suspicion of corruptly negotiated deals. When in August 2007 Chadema opposition party MP Zitto Kabwe challenged the government's non-transparent approach to its dealings with the mining companies, he was banned from parliament and instantly became a popular hero. Realising its mistake, the government quickly launched a Mining Sector Review Committee, headed by former Attorney General Mark Bomani. The Committee's recommendations to raise both tax and royalties were incorporated in a



Bulyanhulu mine, located in Kahama District, Mwanza

new Mining Act, passed by Parliament in April 2010.

To the FMCs, the new mining law simply worsened an already deteriorating investment and business environment. They claimed that the TRA did not respect the tax conditions contained in the MDAs and that TRA officials practiced extortion, leading to costly litigation and arbitration. Another major issue for the FMCs was the empowerment of the Minister of Energy and Minerals to enter into negotiations to obtain an equity stake in any new mining venture at any time. ABG considered that the 2010 Mining Act, by granting ‘ministerial discretionary powers to make or interfere with commercial decisions’, was the source of ‘insecurity and unpredictability’, had a negative impact on ‘governance and transparency’ and gave ‘room for abuse of power.’

While gold exploration slumped after the 2008 financial crisis, fears of further financial turmoil pushed up the value of mining shares. Big Gold in Tanzania has benefited tremendously from soaring gold prices. For example, ABG posted net profits of USD 223 million in 2010, an increase of 237% over 2009. [3] Resolute’s Golden Pride mine was scheduled to

close, but is still producing after posting record profits in 2009. [4]

Between the big three and the thousands of small-scale mines employing hundreds of thousands of miners there is a 'missing middle' of small-to-medium mines. The explanation for this anomaly emerging from my research is that only large foreign companies can afford the high costs of Tanzanian gold mining. Lack of infrastructure means that FMCs have to invest in roads, water and power. Skilled labour is in short supply. The costs of maintaining mine security are high. Theft and destruction of property are quite common. Tax assessments are unpredictable and extortion practiced. [5] 'Negotiations' are time-consuming and costly. Expatriate staff frequently have immigration problems. Last, the process of allocating exploration and mining rights is slow, corrupt and inefficient. It can take up to two years to obtain a prospecting licence.

The FMCs are waiting to see how the 2010 Mining Act will be enforced. The ruling party CCM and Chadema, the main opposition party, agree that the government should take a greater cut from FMC profits, and sky-high gold prices are likely to renew pressures to introduce a wind-fall tax on gold sales. In 2010, ABG made pre-tax profits of USD 309 million - more than double the previous year--on gold production of 701,000 oz. Yet the USD 86.5 million paid to the Treasury in taxes represented only a 28% effective tax rate, compared with 56% in 2009. [6]

The confrontational relations that have developed between the Tanzanian government and FMCs are not conducive to the long-term sustainability of 'modern' mining in Tanzania. One mining executive cited by the Fraser Institute (2010) put it thus:

"... Tanzania has changed from a country encouraging foreign mining investment to one which actively discourages new investment, constantly harasses resident foreign miners and keeps changing the laws and regulations or abusing the operation of current laws and regulations to the detriment of the foreign miner and the benefit of the corrupt government." [7]

As long as gold prices stay robust, ABG will continue to earn fabulous rents from mining Tanzanian gold and exporting its profits. Whether or not this is sustainable or 'developmental' is open to debate.

Brian Cooksey

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- [1] *Financed by the British and Irish governments, APPP (www.institutions-africa.org) is managed by the Overseas Development Institute (ODI). 'The investment and business environment for gold exploration and mining in Tanzania', can be found at: <http://www.institutions-africa.org/fileinfo/20110606-appa-background-paper-03-the-investment-and-business-environment-for-gold-exploration-and-mining-in-tanzania-brian-cooksey-june-2011>*
- [2] *Excluding small-scale gold production, which may be the equivalent of another large mine.*
- [3] *ABG Annual report 2010, www.africanbarrickgold.*
- [4] *www.resolute-ltd.com.au/. Resolute posted a gross margin of USD 71m on gold sales of 148,000 oz.*
- [5] *ABG have outstanding tax claims with TRA of USD 120 million.*
- [6] *ABG Annual report 2010, www.africanbarrickgold. In 2010, ABG paid only USD 0.5million in corporate tax.*
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EDUCATION – NEW DEVELOPMENTS

Compiled by Anne Samson

In September 2011 the Uwezo report on Education was released. This compares education in Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda and Rwanda. The report compared pupil ability in English, Swahili and Mathematics. Tanzania did not fare too well on pupil ability – most standard 7 pupils operating at standard 2. However, access to education in Tanzania is easier than in the other countries. Many of the education announcements in the subsequent months have been in response to the issues raised in this report.

A new pass mark for Form II National Examinations will be introduced in 2012, although in November 2011 it was not clear whether the mark would be 21, 25 or 30. A new pass mark for Standard IV exams was also being contemplated. These changes are intended to “improve them [exams] and make them more competitive” (Daily News, 5 Sep 2011).

The move to single text books has been started. Government has already selected two textbooks per subject for primary Standards I-V and a single science textbook for secondary education. Minister for Education



President Kikwete talks to science pupils at Versity Secondary School - Photo State House

and Vocational Training Shukuru Kawambwa has said that these books will be used for a trial period of 3-4 years. Selection for other subjects is currently under way. The importance of books was reinforced by Vice President Dr Mohamed Gharib Bilal at the opening of the book festival when he “challenged teachers to build a culture of reading books” and added that “students must read various text and reference books to improve in studies” (Daily News, 23 Nov 2011).

Primary education – big changes proposed

In November, a proposal was put to Parliament to change the structure of primary education. This would involve making one year of pre-primary education compulsory and, in effect, removing Standard VII. Ministerial policy analyst Calistus Chonya explained: “This means one year for nursery school, six years for primary education, four years for ‘O’ level secondary education and two years for ‘A’ level secondary education. ... A child reaching five years must attend nursery school and start Standard One at the age of six years. Talented, gifted and slow learners will be developed accordingly.” (Daily News, 13 Nov 2011).

Nursery school education would be a full day and free meals would be available. Swahili would be used as the medium of education in nursery

schools and Swahili and English in primary and secondary schools. Other proposals included opportunities to enable girls who had missed out on education due to pregnancy to catch up and a review of the curriculum to ensure a smooth flow between primary and secondary school.

It was also hinted that continual assessment during the academic year could influence a student's final grade. Distance learning would be more formalised and there would be greater alignment and harmonisation of curriculum and cost in higher education institutions. Local authorities will need to source funding to support education more fully, including the setting of school fees.

The proposals were challenged by a number of politicians opposing the reduction of primary education by one year. In addition, groups such as Twaweza, the Economic and Social Research Foundation, Ford Foundation International and the Foundation for Civil Society voiced concerns at the proposed changes, noting that the quality of teaching needs to be addressed to have a positive impact on education (The Guardian & Daily News).

The Ministry of Labour and Employment called on educational institutions to teach students skills and entrepreneurship to help reduce unemployment. The announcement coincided with the launch of the German Foundation for World Populations (DSW)'s three year "Working together for Decent Work" initiative.

Over 88% of teachers who sat exams in 2011, including the Grade A Teacher's Certificate and Diploma in Secondary Education examinations, passed. However, there is concern that only 42% of students who applied for teacher training places in government and private teacher training colleges were accepted. Government is working to pay teachers' pay arrears, depending on the level of available funding and verification of individual claims.

Funding for higher education

Provisional registration loans are being withdrawn, while interest of 6% on student loans has been introduced. According to academics, this is having a negative impact on Tanzania's position as an 'education hub'. They have called for a review of the funding of higher education (Daily News).

TANZANIA & LIBYA

The Tanzanian government (and many of the Tanzanians who have commented) have made their views on what happened recently in Libya very clear. They were opposed to the NATO intervention (which was said to be designed to prevent the rebels in Benghazi from probable killing by Gaddafi forces); they objected to the involvement of Britain and France, especially as they considered that these countries were exceeding the UN and Arab League mandates for action. They then (in common with most of Africa) refused to recognise the rebels as a legitimate transitional government of Libya and expressed horror at the brutal way Colonel Gaddafi had been killed in the final days of the insurrection.

Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation Minister Bernard Membe said that that the Colonel did not have to die, as his pursuers had 'seized him alive.'

According to the Minister, those who boast of being pioneers of human rights and justice should have arrested him and allowed him to be tried in court instead of killing him point blank. "The killing of the Libyan leader might trigger an endless war since there are many people in that country who have lost beloved ones and could be keen on revenge.... experience shows that an undemocratic regime leads to insecurity."

Some people however felt that Gaddafi's demise should act as a lesson to other leaders across the world and that the desire of the majority was more powerful than any individual. Others said: "Gaddafi was a brutal fascist dictator who mixed elements of Islamic religious fanaticism with Arabic nationalism and who put up a pretence of being a Pan Africanist."

Others accused the African Union of not acting while a member state was being attacked.

Tanzania decided not to recognize the new Libyan government because it believed that international laws were violated in the overthrowing of Colonel Gaddafi. Tanzania did not allow the Libyan embassy staff in Dar to fly the new Libyan flag. The influential African magazine 'New African' wrote of what it described as 'the new British/French colony' that had been established in North Africa.

BUSINESS & THE ECONOMY

Compiled by Valerie Leach

The main preoccupation of consumers in Tanzania has been the continued rise in the cost of living, caused by higher food and energy prices and exacerbated by the falling value of the Tanzanian shilling.

As illustrated in the graph in *TA No 100*, the Consumer Price Index has risen significantly over the last year. Overall, the consumer price index in October was 17.9% higher than it had been a year earlier. Food prices have continued their sharp rise. The National Bureau of Statistics reported that the prices of food and non-alcoholic beverages rose by 22.8% for the year ending October 2011. Fuel prices have also risen sharply - by 37.4% in the same period. The increasing prices of food and energy contrast with relatively stable prices of other items in the consumer price index (www.nbs.go.tz).

The exchange rate has been volatile. In mid-November 2011 the Tanzanian Shilling was around TShs 1,650 to the US \$ and TShs 2,600 to the UK £ (Bank of Tanzania). Earlier in the month, it had depreciated to TShs 1,840 a dollar. The BoT Governor, Prof Benno Ndulu, announced measures to curb inflation and shilling depreciation that include tightening monetary policy, stemming volatility in the foreign exchange markets and curbing currency speculation. Some economists have faulted this stance, saying that these are simply short term measures and that the factors behind galloping inflation and shilling depreciation are more structural than monetary (Daily News).

Monetary and fiscal policies

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) said sub-Saharan countries' monetary policies need to firmly focus on bringing non-food inflation back into single digits and sustaining it there to prevent inflationary expectations from becoming entrenched. "A tighter fiscal stance would also facilitate monetary authorities' task of getting inflation under control," IMF said in its June Regional Outlook released in October (Daily News).

The need for a tighter fiscal stance in Tanzania was highlighted by Peter Allum, division chief at the IMF African Department at the conclusion of the IMF's latest Policy Support Instrument (PSI) review early in November. He warned that Tanzania's overall recurrent spending

had out-paced revenues and grant financing, contributing to growing fiscal deficits and a rising public debt stock. "It was agreed that the budget deficit in 2011/12 should be allowed to exceed the earlier programmed level of 6% of GDP to help finance the emergency power plan and accommodate expanded social spending," said Allum. Savings in non-priority programmes were expected to reduce the budget deficit to around 6.5% of GDP by the end of June next year, and help tackle inflation, he said (Reuters and The Guardian).

Government Liquidity Problems?

Signs were reported that State coffers are running dry. Reliable sources have confided to The Citizen that in October a number of government workers in some district councils failed to get their pay in time, while some received partial payment. But Minister for Finance and Economic Affairs Mustafa Mkulo quickly dismissed the concern and maintained that the government was in a sound financial position and capable of meeting its financial obligations without any unnecessary delays. A source that asked not to be named at the Finance ministry said Geita was one of many councils whose workers either received their pay late or received less than what was due to them. The source also said the government had also failed to release funds for other charges (OC) for the second quarter of this financial year. According to the Finance Act, OCs for the second quarter are supposed to be released on October 1 (The Citizen).

Tanzania's growth may top 6% this year

Tanzania's growth this year may exceed the 6% forecast earlier due to the strong performance of its telecommunications, construction and financial services sectors, the IMF has said. The IMF cut this year's growth forecast for the country to 6% from 7.2% in March, saying frequent power outages would hurt output. while food and fuel prices could push inflation higher. Tanzania's economy grew by 6.3% in the first half of 2011 (Reuters and the Guardian).

Waiver of embargo on export of food crops

In mid-November, amid signs that there was no critical national shortage of food, it was announced that the government will soon waive the business embargo previously imposed on export of foodstuffs. Deputy Minister for the East African Community Dr Abdallah Sadalah revealed

that the government would soon allow food transportation ahead of the embargo expiry towards the end of this year. Dr Sadalah said after signs of relief against the hunger threat the government was now looking at some possibilities to allow cross border food trade, especially to countries like Sudan and Somalia which were suffering from a severe food crisis. This follows President Kikwete's mid-October directive that government institutions allow local traders to export surplus food to neighbouring countries, without causing any shortage. He also sanctioned selling of food to the United Nations World Food Programme (WFP), saying however, the country should remain with enough stocks. The President also urged government institutions to ensure surplus food in some regions is transported to urban areas to contain soaring prices and enable the poor to get food at affordable prices (Daily News).

But transport problems continue...



Section of the Arusha-Karatu road washed away by flash floods and landslides near Mto wa Mbu in November, causing communication routes to the Ngorongoro and Serengeti areas to be cut. (Photo Prisca Libaga - Maelezo)



Residents of Spenco Vingunguti area in Dar es Salaam head for higher ground to escape the flooding (Photo Richard Mwaikenda/Michuzi Blog)

Floods in Dar es Salaam

As this issue goes to the press in late December there are reports of severe flooding in Dar es Salaam following three days of torrential rain with 156mm of rain recorded on just one day, the highest since 1956. Over 30 people are reported to have died, with 5,000 inhabitants of low-lying areas such as Jangwani forced from their homes. Water pipes and other infrastructure have also been damaged. President Kikwete has promised TShs 3 billion to help resettle those affected to Madale, Kinondoni area (Gaurdian).

Investment and technology

More promising news on economic development came from Kigoma, where Tanzania is about to have its own first ever copper smelter following an agreement between the Kigoma Regional Administration and an international firm, City Energy & Infrastructure, which has signed a Memorandum of Understanding committing itself to undertake a number of projects in the Region worth \$500 million (about TShs 850 billion). Technicians are assembling a new power plant in Kigoma which is expected to make power shortage in the region a thing of the past (The Citizen).

Jatropha was in the news again. The Jatropha plant, which was previously avoided due to fear that it threatened food production, has reportedly gained popularity among smallholder farmers due to good prices offered in the market. Programme manager with Faida Market Link organisation, Thomas Silayo, said that over 19,000 smallholder farmers in central and northern Tanzania have started benefiting from the plant (The Guardian).

Telecentres - The government plans to build about 3,000 telecentres in underserved areas in a bid to narrow down the digital gap existing between urban and rural areas. At the telecentres the community will be able to access information through television and ICT tools such as the internet, fax and telephones.

Land - During the royal visit to Tanzania, pastoralists told Prince Charles and his wife Camilla that the current land tenure system was marginalising them. They also complained that foreigners were acquiring huge tracts of land in many areas for cultivating biofuel plants and for carving out conservation programmes at the expense of the indigenous people who were left landless (The Citizen).

AIRLINES

Precision Air

Local investors have shown an impressive response to Precision Air Service's initial public offering (IPO) of shares on the Dar es Salaam Stock Exchange. This was described in the Daily News as an indication of the growing interest in Tanzania in investing in shares.

The airline is selling its shares at TShs 475 to increase its capital and expose ownership of the firm to Tanzanians. The money raised is earmarked for the purchase of ground handling equipment and aircraft spare parts. The airline will remain with a 35.5% shareholding, Kenya Airways with 34.1%, and the public sector 30.4%. The airline plans to fly to 15 international and regional destinations in the next two years. It currently has a fleet of eleven aircraft serving 13 domestic and regional destinations, with five international routes (the Comoros, Entebbe, Johannesburg, Mombasa and Nairobi).

Air Tanzania

The national carrier, Air Tanzania Company Limited (ATCL), whose

planes had been grounded for several months, resumed operations at the end of October, flying to two destinations –Tabora and Kigoma.

The new ATCL acting Director General, Mr Paul Chizi, said that the Tanzania Civil Aviation Authority (TCAA), had already granted ATCL an Air Operators Certificate after inspections proved that the company had fulfilled all the conditions. ATCL has positioned itself to compete in the aviation sector for the next five years.

The plan was unveiled by Deputy Minister for Transportation, Dr Athumani Mfutakamba, who said that the plan put ATCL at a good position to regain its lost glory in the aviation sector not only in Tanzania, but in the East African region as a whole. In the last budget the government set aside TShs 16.7 billion to enable ATCL to resume operations. The government has also promised to pay ATCL workers' back salaries -The Citizen.

MISCELLANY



Then and now - aerial photographs of the Dar es Salaam harbour in the 1960's compared with a more recent shot. Further construction work is currently underway (photo (r) Michuzi)

Kilimanjaro Hotel

The State House has strongly refuted claims in leaked US embassy confidential diplomatic communications stating that President Kikwete accepted gifts from the owner of the Kempinski Hotel chain, a citizen of the United Arab Emirates. It was alleged that in 2006 the owner flew President Kikwete to London when he was the Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, for a “subsidised shopping

expedition" and made a \$1 million contribution to the ruling CCM party. However, the cable accepts that the latter was a "legal contribution under current Tanzanian law". The President was said to have authorised the company to construct two new hotels on the rim of the Ngorongoro Crater and another on the Serengeti Plains, overlooking the main animal migration routes.

The Director of State House Communications denied the allegations, dismissing them as outright lies. He also produced an e-mail message from a woman who is quoted by the former US ambassador denying to have told him so.

A presidential spokesperson said: there had never been a time, ever, when President Kikwete was flown by anybody to London on a subsidised shopping trip to buy suits. "All his travels to London or any other places in the world, have been duty assignments paid for by the government of Tanzania" he said.

On the reported authorisation to construct hotels, permission was given by the third phase Tanzanian government and not by Mr Kikwete's administration. President Kikwete had declined to grant permission to Kempinski Hotels to build on the Ngorongoro Crater on the strength of environmental concerns. "The President is a modest man. He wears very simple suits. And the government has an adequate clothing budget for the minister for Foreign Affairs and the President.

Contacted in Australia the US Ambassador said: "It was absolutely not true, a complete load of rubbish and an absolute defamation of my personal character." The Kempinski management has since left and the former Kilimanjaro Hotel is now trading as the Hyatt Regency, Dar es Salaam – The Citizen.

Chinese businessman's wife killed

Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, Bernard Membe, has assured the Chinese community in Tanzania that the killing of Han Bing, the wife of the Chairman of the Chinese Business Association in Tanzania, had been an incident of banditry and was not xenophobia. Han was carrying some TShs 30 million without any security escort. Dar es Salaam Special Zone Police Commander, Suleiman Kova, said three people were being held over the incident – *Mwananchi*.

TANZANIA IN THE INTERNATIONAL MEDIA

Compiled by Donovan Mc Grath

To our readers: We need to broaden the sources on which this column is based. If you see an interesting mention of Tanzania in the newspapers and magazines you read, please let us know or send us a copy. Many thanks. Editor.

Ali Sultani: The unrepentant Zanzibari revolutionary - East African (March 14-20, 2011)

This article, which includes a conversation between the subject and a US diplomat code named ZAO (carried verbatim from Wikileaks), graced the entire front page and the next two pages of EA.

Extract: 'Ali Sultani was one of the leading figures of the 1964 Zanzibar Revolution, but later spent eight years in prison as one of the conspirators of President Abeid Karume's assassination (father of the current President Amani Abeid Karume)... He is outspoken and angry about the present state of Zanzibar. He hopes for political change, yet sees little difference between ruling party CCM and opposition CUF...'

Ali Sultani's maternal grandmother's first marriage was to Sultan Ali ibn Hamud 'whom some say was deposed by the British for "decadent ways.'" Extract continues: '... En route to King George V's coronation in 1911, the Sultan was delayed in Paris. Back home the British engineered a new Sultan to take his place - Hamud's brother-in-law Sultan Khalifa ibn Kharub (1911-1960). Sultan Hamud died in Paris in 1918, while Ali Sultani's grandmother meanwhile remarried. From her second marriage came Ali Sultani's mother, who wed a prominent Arab-Indian businessman from Pemba. Ali Sultani was born there but moved to the main island of Unguja as a child.

Ali Sultani's childhood best friend was Abdulrahman Mohamed Babu (who became Secretary General of Zanzibar's first political party, leader of the Zanzibar revolution and a renowned Pan-Africanist) ... When Babu went to England on a scholarship in 1952, Ali Sultani followed him ... One day in the mid-1950s, the two young Zanzibari students were passing Speaker's Corner in Hyde Park and heard an impassioned speech by a man from the British Communist Party (BCP). The speaker talked of liberating Africa from the "imperialist oppressors," a theme that had resonance with the young Ali Sultani, despite his patrician upbringing. Ali Sultani joined the BCP shortly thereafter... Babu later

joined the British Labour Party.

In 1957 Ali Sultani paid his own way to attend a Global Youth Conference in the USSR, where he met and befriended what became the pantheon of African anti-colonial revolutionaries: (Banda, Nkomo, Kaunda, Lumumba etc.)... Ali Sultani returned to Zanzibar in 1958 ... He immediately became an organiser for, and senior member of, the Zanzibar National Party (ZNP), from which he later founded a sub-sect of Communists called the "Umma" (People's Party). Ali Sultani claims he was one of the principal ideologues for the ousting of the Sultan of the short-lived independent nation of Zanzibar... In mid-1964, Ali Sultani was sent to be Commissar for Pemba to consolidate the revolution there post-Okello (a Ugandan and main instigator of the violent anti-Arab uprising targeting civilian men, women and children in Zanzibar).

Ali Sultani said he used to personally drive Consul Frank Carlucci [his closest US contact] around during his visits ... in Stone Town Carlucci used to be in the habit of jogging in the pre-dawn hours and would usually stop by the back door of Ali Sultani's house for an hour or so, "until neighbours complained ... and fellow revolutionaries began questioning"... By the end of 1964, now Minister of Education of the Revolutionary Government, Ali Sultani gained popularity by securing scholarships for young Zanzibaris in Comintern countries and, later, China. As a delegate to an UNCTAD Conference in Geneva, Ali Sultani met Roberto Mondlane and befriended Che Guevara... Ali Sultani claimed that while he was in Geneva, he and his friend Babu were offered \$10,000 by "American agents." Ali Sultani told Babu that he should take it since "it didn't change anything." So they did, splitting the money three ways: Babu used the money to pay for his travels to the UK and Ali Sultani returned to Zanzibar where he gave the remaining third to President Karume...

By 1970 Ali Sultani was Minister of Health. He had picked as his Deputy a younger party member named Hussein Ali Hassan Mwinyi ... In the 1970s, Ali Sultani and his Umma colleagues were starting to grow depressed. There was a chronic food shortage, and the public health situation under his watch was deteriorating. "Karume was moving too fast. Change had to be gradual. Furthermore, some of the decisions of the Revolutionary Government just did not seem to make sense. There

did not seem to be a systematic or scientific approach toward social change, and the way in which decisions were made became more and more obscure." His comrades of the Umma began to talk about how to re-align the Revolution back toward its "historical course."

Ali Sultani said any number of people would have eagerly done-in Karume, but as far as he knew, the triggerman was "a young guy whose father had killed a politician during the British mandate" ...

While the assassin's motive might have been revenge, the Umma plotters' plan was that after Karume was out of the way, the Army would restore order and restart the "proper revolution" ... Ali Sultani claimed to have had nothing to do with implementing any of it. When Karume was killed, the army kept still, but the East German Stasi-trained internal police went to work with vigour... Ali Sultani was arrested while he and his wife were watching an evening movie at the Cine Afrique in Stone Town... He was held for eight years and treated very badly. He said he was beaten unconscious and almost died four times. He said his captors let him write his own confession used for his trial - the only one of the dozens of conspirators allowed to do so, he claimed proudly... In 1980 Ali Sultani was released and deported ... on leaving Tanzania he made the Haj to Mecca and then to Britain to "recuperate" ...

Ali Sultani had a British wife, but left her and drifted back to Zanzibar in the late 1980s. As a convicted "traitor of the Revolution," his return was illegal, but his presence was apparently tolerated so long as he kept a low profile. His rehabilitation occurred when Ali Hassan Mwinyi (Ali Sultani's old deputy at the Zanzibar Ministry of Health) became President of Tanzania and returned to Zanzibar for a "victory lap." Ali Sultani said he was driving in a remote part of Zanzibar's interior when Mwinyi's vast motorcade approached. Ali Sultani said he pulled over, stood by the side of the road and saluted. Mwinyi saw him from the tinted window of his limo, recognised him, stopped the motorcade and doubled back. The two hugged each other on the side of the road. Ali Sultani said Mwinyi's strap-hangers were shocked to see the president embrace a "known traitor," but news of the event spread and people no longer shunned him...

Ali Sultani used his connections to Mwinyi and the "Revolution veteran's network" to acquire land and build two hotels. He is finan-

cially comfortable, if not rich, and lives inland in a modest cottage in the “middle class” Zanzibari suburb of Bububu. There he counsels young wannabe politicians, “only when asked,” and settles local disputes, sponsors weddings and sometimes gives money to both the CCM and CUF, although he claims he would never join either party... Since both parties were close in ideology, Ali Sultani said he might support CUF “as CCM reformers,” if it were not for CUF Zanzibari leader Seif Hamad, whom Ali Sultani reviles. “If they could choose a better leader, they might go somewhere,” he said... What was needed was a true national government, “so we can at last fight for an independent nation and fulfil the goals of our revolution.” Ali Sultani is working with an American academic and hopes to publish his autobiography shortly.

Golf has strong roots in EA, going back to the beginning of the last century - East African (September 19-25, 2011)

‘... The oldest course in Uganda, and indeed East Africa, the Entebbe Golf Club, was set up in 1901, when Entebbe was the seat of government, by Sir Harry Johnstone, the British governor of Uganda at the time.’ Three Tanzanian golf clubs – TPC Golf Club, Arusha Gymkhana Club and Dar es Salaam Gymkhana Club – are mentioned in this article :

‘TPC Golf Club, Tanzania (4 stars): Located a few kilometres from Moshi town on the southern slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro on an agricultural estate of 15,800 hectares, out of which 7,700 hectares are under sugar cane, This course is a nine-hole course ... “In my opinion, TPC is the best golf course in Tanzania at the moment”, says Mohammed Sadiki [Secretary-General of the Tanzania Golf Union]... Arusha Gymkhana Club (4 stars) is a nine-hole course located in Arusha town ... standing out for its scenic views and good course quality. “In my opinion, Arusha is tops in Tanzania when it comes to the scenery of the course, as well as the condition of the club house... Though it only has nine holes, it could have the capacity to host major tournaments.”

Dar es Salaam Gymkhana Club (3 stars): Established in 1926 as a horse riding facility for the then Tanganyika Governor Sir Donald Cameron, this club has an 18-hole course ... “The views of the ocean are scenic, and though we’ve seen some improvements, the course still has some challenges in terms of maintenance,” says Sadiki. Over the past few years, the course has changed from its traditional brown to green ...’

Bike work: How T-shirt slogan can save Tanzania - East African
(September 5-11, 2011)

EA columnist Elsie Eyakuze offers a solution to city congestion.

Extract: 'Dar traffic, as demonic as it is, has its uses... Recently I was at a junction where the workforce of Tanzania were all stuck waiting for some Honourable or other to slide on through ... The Honourable was very late for work, which was costing us all revenue in terms of lost time - his and ours. And: Bicycles for Development! ... I happen to be the proud owner of a collectible T-shirt ... On the front of the T-shirt is a picture of Julius Nyerere ... perched gleefully on an old-school bicycle ... It is an iconic photo ... During the fuel crisis . . . one issue that didn't gain much traction in the press, was a push for alternatives that would help reduce our fuel dependence ... How about if we inject some public funds ... to make those awesome bicycles ... a Chinese model ... The next phase would involve some aggressive marketing to capture the biggest spender of them all: The Government of the United Republic of Tanzania. A good entry point would be to distribute these bikes for free to public servants, in exchange for their government-provided Toyota Land Cruiser VXs. Yes, suggesting that senior employees of the Tanzanian government humble themselves so far as to ride bicycles in public is tantamount to calling for a civil war. However, I think that the T-shirt provides the ultimate weapon in justification: Nyerere did it... After that, a much more serious campaign could be mounted to get as many citizens and residents onto a bicycle as possible ... The money that would result from the sale of the Land Cruiser VXs... would be put in a special fund used strictly to support the improvement of maternal health services in Tanzania. That way, every time you see a Mheshimiwa biking to work, you would be assured that one more newborn Tanzanian and her mother have a fighting chance to survive... And we could all thank that one T-shirt, and by extension, Nyerere. Foolproof, right?'

Dar to deploy troops in parks with poaching out of control - East African
(September 5-11, 2011)

Extract: 'The current price of rhino horn in Asia is \$55,000 a kilogramme, making it more expensive than gold or cocaine... Last year poachers killed one of five endangered black rhinos that were relocated to the Serengeti National Park from South Africa. Latest statistics show

that 1,370 poachers had been arrested in various national parks and game reserves, and 171 guns confiscated. . .a spokesman said poaching had reached such deadly proportions that the government could not continue relying on park rangers alone to combat heavily armed poachers. The idea of deploying TPDF troops was first floated by President Kikwete when he toured the Natural Resources and Tourism Ministry recently... The military engagement comes amid reports that Tanzania has lost 35% of its wildlife population due to poaching in the past decade.'

Never smile at a donor, he'll be in your bedroom next - East African (November 14-20, 2011)

EA columnist Elsie Eyakuze writes: '... I don't hold much truck with the word independence because I suspect it misrepresents a few things. First of all, how do we call ourselves independent when so much of our development budget comes from the donor community - especially the former colonial power? The government of Tanzania might be independent in the sense that it collects our taxes and recycles them in to Recurrent Government Expenditures (cars, houses and the other benefits of power that we don't talk about in polite company). Tanzania's people, however, are still heavily dependent on donor support for basic goods and services... Development is a heavily hierarchical industry that requires constant vigilance because of the not-so-hidden power dynamics. The attitude of gratitude has no place in these relationships, it creates freakish outcomes. Why else would a British premier get it into his head that he can tell African countries how to legislate their sexual politics and hope to get away with it?'

Eco dream of UK firm wrecks life for African village - Observer (30/10/11)

The collapse of a British biofuel company has left hundreds of Tanzanians landless, jobless, and in despair for the future. "People feel this is like the return of colonialism," says Athumani Mkambala, chairman of Mhaga village in rural Tanzania. "Colonialism in the form of investment."... A quarter of the village's land in Kisarawe district was acquired by a British biofuels company in 2008, with the promise of financial compensation, 700 jobs, water wells, improved schools, health clinics and roads. But the company has gone bust, leaving villagers not

just jobless but landless as well. Josie Cohen at development group Action Aid says: "Like it or not, everyone who drives a car or catches a bus is involved in this problem, as all UK petrol and diesel is mixed with biofuels." ...' *Thank you John Sankey for this item - Editor.*

Tanzanians most secure people in EA - East African (October 17-23, 2011)

'This article indicates that the country is committing enough resources towards safety of its people.' Extract continues: 'Tanzania leads other East African Community members in ensuring that its citizens are secure, a new report [based on a study by the Mo Ibrahim Foundation] has indicated. The study on national security covered such areas as cross-border tensions, domestic armed conflict and government involvement in armed conflict. On people's safety, Tanzania ranked high, scoring 49 with Kenya coming last with 31; Uganda had 46, Rwanda 40 and Burundi 34... In the 2011 Ibrahim Index of African Governance, Tanzania was again the top overall performer, coming in at position 13 out of the 53 African countries ...'

So, Jay Kay was just a pretty face after all? Damn! - East African (March 28-April 3, 2011)

EA columnist Elsie Eyakuze expresses her opinion on Tanzania's President Jakaya Kikwete. Extract: '... I actually happen to like my Head of State... I am convinced that there is a strong correlation between the uniqueness of a head of state's fashion statement and the amount of sanity said head of state is likely to display... It is a simple formula: the more accessories, the more outlandish the costume, the crazier the leader is. You will be happy to note that Jay Kay has a penchant for ankle boots, which is nothing to write home about... Just after the elections that enthroned him in 2005 ... Jay Kay was the toast of the Swahili coast. He was a breath of fresh air in an establishment that seemed to be going down the drain. He was dynamic, charming, smiled a heck of a lot more than his predecessor. The media couldn't get enough of him and neither could we. Sure, some of us heard rumours - about his lack of vision and resolve, his inability to control the party, a certain unfortunate disinterest in the nitty-gritty of governance... But he was pretty and he was fun ...

Fast forward to 2011, and the picture is no longer promising... These

days, the only papers that put Jay Kay on the front page as a matter of course are owned by the establishment... Jay Kay is looking tired and unfocused. Worse yet, I suspect he is being overshadowed by his prime minister, who projects mature leadership with such confidence it is hard to believe that they are only a year apart in age. Our handsome charmer is turning out to be exactly that - a pleasant and largely ceremonial ornament... I already know what I'll remember fondly from the Kikwete years: His (mostly) fearless backing of media freedoms through personal example, his accessibility to the common man and his democratic nature... Kilimo Kwanza? Jay Kay's Billions? ... Maybe Jay Kay will go home without a grand opus to show for his stint at Ikulu. But you know what? At least he was as pretty as a cake in a bakery window.'

100 Most Influential People of Africa - New African (June 2011)

This is the headline that graced the front cover of the 'bestselling pan-African magazine'. Due to space constraints, only Tanzanians will feature in the following extract:

'Dr Asha-Rose Migiro: Appointed Deputy Secretary-General of the United Nations in 2007 ... the first black woman to hold this esteemed position. A lawyer by profession, she has a special interest in issues around peace and the elimination of violence and discrimination against women...

'Dr Frannie Léautier: Executive Secretary of the African Capacity Building Foundation [and a former vice president of the World Bank]... This powerful but softly-spoken and humble woman has totally transformed the face of the ACBF, to the extent that today, when she speaks, big men sit up and listen...

'Ndesanjo Macha: A popular blogger, journalist, lawyer and digital activist. Ndesanjo set up Jikombe (Swahili for "Free Yourself") the first ever blog in an African language...'

January Makamba: Parliamentary Energy Committee Chairman, Tanzania – The Africa Report (Dec 2011-Jan 2012)

Extract: 'Becoming MP for Bumbuli at only 37, January Makamba is a rising star of Tanzania's Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) party and chairman of the Parliamentary Energy Committee. He is the son of the recently ousted CCM secretary general Yusuf Makamba... He turns 40

in 2015, the year of the next presidential election, and bloggers have started discussing how his candidacy might transform local politics... He is the first Tanzanian politician to set up a corporation for his constituency. The Bumbuli Development Corporation will invest \$10m, borrowed from Wall Street philanthropists, in East African treasury bonds and stocks.'

MV Liemba: The Oldest Operating Ship in Africa – Habari (Swedish-Tanzania Society, 3/2011)

The MV Liemba has already been featured in TA (*Issues No 3, 4, 21, 29, 34, 64, 87, 98!*). The following extract contains the latest development in the story.

Extract: 'The Tanzanian Government is currently holding talks with the German Government to see the possibility of the latter financing major rehabilitation of MV Liemba. MV Liemba is of immense importance to Tanzania linking other neighbouring countries for handling passengers and transit cargo to Zambia, East Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Burundi. The technical status of MV Liemba needs to be improved so that she may continue providing the service. Thus, major rehabilitation of MV Liemba will improve performance of the rail system, bring down maintenance costs, attract more customers due to greater reliability of service and will encourage Zambians, Congolese and Burundians to use Dar es Salaam Port thus boosting the Tanzanian economy... Installation of new engines in the vessel will minimize emissions of hazardous smoke into the atmosphere and the present oil-spill from worn out engines will be minimized.'

Dikakapa Tour - Botswana Daily News, 17 November 2011

The Botswana traditional music group, Dikakapa, recently toured Tanzania performing in Dar es Salaam, Bukoba, Opunga, Nyimanye, Ndeya and Songea. Grace Ramaphoka, a member of the group, said more than 3,000 spectators attended each show. which was far more than they would have back home where they would normally count 100 people; "if only people in Botswana would be so enthusiastic then the industry would grow to become a global brand." She also said that there were a variety of performances by Tanzanian traditional music artists.

VSO TANZANIA

50 years of partnership. VSO started working in Tanzania in September 1961. Since then, more than 2,200 international professional volunteers have worked in close partnership with over 500 Tanzanian partners in the fields of education, health, disability, agriculture, governance, community development and wealth creation.

The VSO approach has changed over time. While in the past, VSO volunteers (mainly teachers, doctors and agriculture specialists) were providing direct services to the most vulnerable populations in all regions of the country, the new strategy ensures capacity building and scaling up of 'best practice' in targeted geographic and thematic areas. VSO volunteers are also now more experienced and specialized professionals.

During the 50 year partnership VSO has had with the Government, Tanzania has made impressive progress in many areas. For example Zanzibar and Tanzania mainland are well on track to meet the millennium development goal on access to education, with over 80% of children being enrolled in primary schools in Zanzibar and over 90% in Tanzania mainland. Despite those tangible successes, several challenges remain and the current strategy of VSO addresses those, in particular in education, health and wealth creation. Through delivering change and sharing learning, VSO also directly contributes to the Government's Poverty Reduction Strategies (MKUKUTA and MKUZA).

VSO is currently reaching more than 500,000 poor people in Tanzania, with a relatively limited budget. During 2011 3,000 teachers were supported by VSO volunteers, which resulted in improved teaching that in turn will reach more than 42,000 children.

Jean Van Wetter, Country Director, VSO Tanzania writes:

"At the occasion of our 50th anniversary, we want to celebrate successes, but also reflect on our own practices and role in reducing poverty in Tanzania. In December 2011, we therefore invited development leaders in Tanzania to come together to review progress in delivering change in the lives of poor people and share their ideas on how to do development differently.

"I want to take the opportunity of our 50th anniversary to also thank the Britain Tanzania Society for this support to our work. Our volunteers recently received significant support from the Tanzania Development



Prince Charles and Camilla celebrating VSO's 50th anniversary in Zanzibar with Jean Van Wetter, VSO Country Director and school children.

Trust, the charitable arm of the Society.

“Last but not least, I would like to extend my sincere appreciated to all current and past volunteers for their continuous generosity and motivation in improving the quality of life of the most vulnerable”.

OBITUARIES

MAJOR BRUCE KINLOCH (90), who was born in India, was awarded the Military Cross while fighting in Burma during the Second World War and later served in Kenya before becoming Chief Game Warden in Tanzania from 1960 to 1964. He launched the College of African Wildlife Management at Mweka before retiring, and wrote several books on the fight to save East Africa's herds of game.

BERNARD VERDCOURT who has died aged 86, was a botanist at the Royal Botanic Gardens Kew for several years. He also made contributions to two distinct fields of East African natural history. He

was responsible for almost one third of the great 'Flora of Tropical East Africa' which covers 12,500 species. He was also, unusually, an expert on non-marine molluscs - snails and slugs. He began his distinguished career at Amani in Tanga Region under the eminent botanist P J Greenway. *Thank you John Sankey for sending this and the one above from the Daily Telegraph – Editor.*

PETER YEO died on 30 July at his home in Leicestershire. He served as a District Officer in Mwanza and Musoma from 1959. During his interview for the job he was asked what changes he anticipated if Tanganyika became independent. Not in his life time was the answer. It happened after 18 months! Later, in Tanga Region he trained local courts officers and after leaving Tanzania he worked at the International Co-operative Training Centre, Stanford Hall. The Plunket Foundation published his book on Cooperative Law and one on basic Economic Concepts. He wrote for Tanzanian Affairs on various developments in the then highly influential cooperative movement. *Thank you Marlene Yeo for this - Editor.*

Dr Hildebrand Shayo, Senior Lecturer (OUT) and Fund/Asset Manager-NICOL National Investment Company Limited (with John Nyoka) has sent us a tribute they have written on the distinguished journalist who contributed so much to broadcasting in Tanzania and Africa, **DAVID GERALD WAKATI**, who died in November. Extracts: "David had a glorious record of service to the country and press. He was not only a gifted presenter; he was also a brilliant orator who spoke with frankness, and with a very good sense of humour. He will be remembered for his commitment to the cause of excellence in journalism and his contributions to promoting the freedom of the press in Tanzania. We really have lost a true champion of the highest traditions of Tanzanian journalism.

"Do you remember the stamina he had in broadcasting? He broadcasted the whole night while the body of former Prime Minister Edward Sokoine was in Karimjee Hall where people were paying last respects. Personally I knew David Wakati in the late 50s when I was in middle school. His morning BBC news bulletin in Swahili was to us a time keeper. Once it was finished we would rush to school to be on time. If you were late, before you got the lashes, the teacher would shout at you, "didn't you hear David Wakati this morning?"

REVIEWS

Edited by John Cooper-Poole

Suggestions from readers about items for future review are always welcome.

BRIEF AUTHORITY. Charles Meek, edited by Innes Meek. Published by The Radcliffe Press. ISBN 978 1 84885 8336.

This is a memoir, published after his death with an introduction by his son, written by a man generally acknowledged by his contemporaries to have been one of the most able colonial administrators in what was then Tanganyika during the 20 years leading up to Independence. The bulk of it deals with his time as District Officer and District Commissioner in widely dispersed parts of the territory and gives a fascinating description of the work of those who spent their time far from Government Headquarters and of how many of them felt closer to “their people” than they did to their superiors in the Secretariat in Dar es Salaam. The last chapter describes his later work in that Secretariat, where he rose to the rank of Cabinet Secretary following Independence, having been asked by the first Prime Minister, Julius K. Nyerere, to stay on in his service. That invitation was revoked by Kawawa whose first act on becoming Prime Minister was to dismiss both the Commissioner of Police and Charles Meek as a demonstration of Africanisation of the public service.

Tanganyika/Tanzania clearly won the hearts of many who ruled it while it was administered by Great Britain. This is illustrated by the fact that several felt moved to record their experience. First, there was Randal Sadleir in 1999, then Michael Longford in 2001 and now Charles Meek in 2011. All genuinely protest their love of the country and its people. There were many such. I recall my own first District Commissioner, Cecil Winnington- Ingram, whose relationship with the people of North Mara was so full of mutual admiration. Sadly, there were others of a wholly different persuasion. A District Commissioner in Bukoba could regularly be heard shouting at local people who came to his office that they were ‘ Washenzi ’ (barbarians) and his South African wife inveighed against the building of schools, saying it would “give the natives ideas “ and turn them into communists.

For those who have not read the Sadleir and Longford memoirs, this book is an invaluable record of how the system of “Indirect Rule” worked in Tanganyika Territory and of the remarkably speedy and relatively peaceful move to Independence under the fruitful relationship between Nyerere and the last Governor, Turnbull. However, it must be said that, for those who have read Sadleir and Longford, this most recent work will add little to their understand-

ing. Longford's 443 pages are more detailed in their descriptions of work in the Districts and Sadleir's 328 pages are more informative than Meek's relatively short work regarding the lead up to Independence and the twelve years that followed it. Nevertheless, it is a useful addition to the history of those times, seen from the perspective of those in charge. Perhaps one day we shall see equally interesting memoirs from those who were ruled, such as J.K.Chande's "A Knight in Africa", the recollections of a Tanzanian who achieved high office both before and after Independence.

Trevor Jaggar

TINGATINGA – KITSCH OR QUALITY Hanne and Tine Thorup. Published by Thorup Art, Copenhagen, 119 pages, ISBN No. 978-87-992635-2-3 (*see also TA 97*)

Tingatinga painting, introduced by the ill-fated Edward Tingatinga in 1968, when he was 37, is traditionally carried out using bicycle enamel on Masonite board, depicting highly stylised African animals, birds, trees and other motifs, often in unnaturally brilliant colours. The almost childlike simplicity of form, the unsubtle colours and the artists' infatuation with spots and stripes has sometimes caused the genre to be classified as "naive art". And as the artists have always had one eye on the expatriate and tourist market, often slavishly copying popular themes and techniques and painting on boards (or in later years canvas) that can be easily transported, the rather derogatory term "airport art" has also been commonly applied.

This apparent dilemma - "Which is more naive, the paintings or the people who buy them?" seems implicit in the title of Hanne and Tine Thorup's *Tingatinga – Kitsch or Quality* and in her introduction Hanne Thorup herself admits that the "Tingatinga style...seen with western eyes, sits uncomfortably between art, craft, kitsch and commodity".

But this implies a spectrum, with kitsch and commodity at one end and art at the other, and perhaps most forms of art, if not all, have always had to fight for recognition. The works of the Impressionists, now not only accepted but widely admired, were initially regarded as "an assault on proper painting". This is not to say that one day the best of the tingatinga painters will be hailed as once-misunderstood geniuses, but they are surely artists, not merely "mango tree *fundis*" armed with paintbrushes.

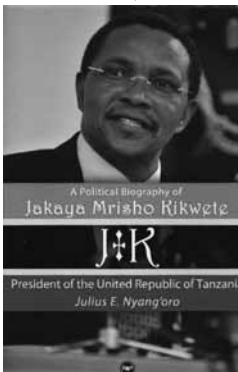
It is true that within fifty metres of the baobab tree (now sadly gone) where Edward Tingatinga once painted and displayed his work, you will see many

“tingatinga” paintings that are not worth the board they are painted on, but if you are selective and persistent you will come across works of undeniable quality. Of those featured in the book under review *Crocs in the River* (Abdallah), *Animal Safari and Flock of Birds* (Lewis), *Jungle Flowers* (Mzuguno), *Giraffes and Leopards* and *Leopards* (Rubuni) and *Two Leopards* (Said Omary) are worthy of mention, plus the more esoteric works of Lilanga, the half-serious, half-tongue-in-cheek erotica of Mitole and the street scene *Traffic Jam in Dar es Salaam* (Sey).

I would have welcomed a few more paragraphs on each artist’s style as interpreted by a connoisseur, and a brief indication of what we, as non-experts, should look for, but overall the book is a well-produced, informative, interesting and colourful introduction to the tingatinga painters and some of their better works, and very much recommended.

Graham Mercer

A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY OF JAKAYA MRISHO KIKWETE, J+K, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED OF REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA. Julius E. Nyang’oro. ISBN- 1 59221 775 3, h/b pp308. 352pp. Africa World Press, Inc. 2010. \$34.95



Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete has become famous in Tanzania and the world, but few understand who he is; Nyang’oro presents him to the world. He examines his humble beginnings, his rise to power and his avid attempts at advancing the country. This political story of the incumbent president up to early 2010 forms the first volume; the second volume will look at the outcome of the president’s policies. This work is recommended to readers interested in Tanzania politics, especially given the very few political biographies available.

Eloquently, Nyang’oro examines the president’s life from birth on 7 October 1950 at Msoga village of Bagamoyo District in Coast Region. His early involvement in politics started in the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) Party Youth League at Kibaha Secondary School. Full-time party engagement as TANU secretary in Singida started in 1975 after university graduation; his leadership philosophy being influenced by the founding father of the nation, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere. At national level he became Deputy Minister of Energy and Minerals, then Minister of Finance under the second

president Ali Hassan Mwinyi (1985 – 1995). For a decade thereafter he served as the Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Relations under the third president, Benjamin William Mkapa (1995 – 2005). The President's first and commendable attempt at nomination for Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) party candidacy at the presidential election in 1995 was followed by a second and successful run in 2005.

Starting as a son of a District Commissioner in the 1950s, one of the highest posts held by Africans in the colonial administration, and having dedicated himself to politics from an early age, President Kikwete's unmatched success in politics is unsurprising. Following selection as CCM candidate for the 2005 presidential elections, the president's mixed emotions in his acceptance speech, with references such as the Chinese proverb '*...the more you sweat in peacetime, the less you bleed during war...*' hinted how much this meant, and how prepared he was for the political battles to come.

Various successes of the president in his first tenure are highlighted by Nyang'oro. As African Union (AU) Chairman for 2008, along with continued efforts to stabilise the region, his key achievements were the Tanzania-led invasion of the Comoro islands to remove the unconstitutional government of Mohammed Bacar and facilitation of Kenya's power sharing agreement after the 2007 election violence. Through the AU and the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), he contributed to the establishment in Zimbabwe of the Government of National Unity in 2009, easing a long-standing dispute between the ruling party of President Robert Mugabe and the opposition party led by Morgan Tsvangirai. President Kikwete continues to advance the country's international relations, a job he started well when Minister for Foreign Affairs. In-country, efforts to implement CCM's 2005 election manifesto have included the fight against HIV/AIDS and Malaria, enhancing education with extended secondary school provision and the establishment of the legacy- beckoning University of Dodoma.

The President's 'Kilimo Kwanza' (literally 'Agriculture First') initiative to modernise agriculture, Tanzania's major employer, is not covered as explicitly. Very modest progress could be objectively reported on the implementation of good governance, with most of the grand corruption trials still dragging on in the courts; averting the country's year-on-year severe energy crises; the government's unsuccessful grappling with inflation; the deteriorating education standards; and the feet- dragging attitude towards regional integration. To the Tanzania majority, the fourth President's delivery of '*Better life for*

every Tanzanian, It is possible' is a far cry from 'New Zeal, New Speed, New Strength', the CCM campaign slogan in the 2005 presidential elections.

In a straightforward manner Nyang'oro has presented chronologically the president's life story, interweaved with relevant facts from Tanzanian and African history as well as brief country statistics. Although understanding the complexity of writing on a president still in office, he takes an utterly sympathetic view of the president. Whether this view is due to his choice of sources is hard to tell. The biography would have had added benefit by covering the wider political choices available in the country. While some interpretations provoke alternate views, others seem unfair assessments of past presidents or of Tanzanian democracy; eg, '*... as expected he will still be president for another five years beyond 2010.*'

I have the advantage of doing this review after the country's October 2010 elections. The president returned to office indeed, though with a reported 61.16% majority, down from 80.28% in 2005 and a decreasing voter turnout-in contrast to the immediate past president, whose majority rose from 61.8% of 1995 to 71.7% in 2000 with an increased voter turnout. While the parliamentary election seats won by the CCM consecutively inched up from 1995 to 2005 under the chairmanship of the immediate past president, reportedly the CCM election seats tally after the 2010 election is back to the 1995 total. Clearly the popularity of the President and the CCM needs re-interpretation. Hopefully in Volume II the author has the opportunity to rigorously re-analyse the fourth President, thereby vitally contributing to the political knowledge of Tanzania.

Siya Paul Rimoy

EXIT FROM EMPIRE - A BIOGRAPHY OF SIR RICHARD TURNBULL by Colin Baker, published by Mpemba Books of Cardiff, 2010. ISBN 978 0 9542020 5 7. Book is available from Colin Baker at 55a Lon y Deri, Cardiff CF14 6JP for £17.50 plus P & P, UK £3, Europe £5.70, ROW £10.60.

For us the most relevant part of Colin Baker's extremely detailed account of Dick Turnbull's life and career is the short period of only four and a half years of his service as Governor and then Governor-General of Tanganyika. It saw the rapid advance of Tanganyika from being the least developed and least sophisticated of the three East African territories into becoming the first to achieve full independence, peacefully and without the internal tensions which had arisen in Uganda and in Kenya. Baker's account contains more detail than has been published before, but the book is a biography, not a political history.

That independence came so soon was chiefly due to the personal relationship that developed between Turnbull and Julius Nyerere. It was not what anyone had expected. Turnbull's reputation when he came to Tanganyika was of the hard man from Kenya – regarded as “the hammer of Mau Mau, the oppressor of the nationalists, the associate of the wicked Kenya settlers” as Turnbull himself put it. His previous 27 years service in Kenya had shaped his character, and built his reputation. Baker reproduces copious extracts from Turnbull's own letters and diaries describing his experiences and his generally low opinion of Africans and of his Colonial Service colleagues during his Kenya days. He highlights Turnbull's belief in his own abilities and his determination to advance his career by whatever means. Turnbull's prowess in long foot-safaris, especially in the harsh conditions of Kenya's Northern Frontier District (NFD), deliberately out-walking his fellow officers, was well-known. Once he walked 200 miles to meet his DC, decided not to make the call, and walked back again. He planned to be seen by his superiors as more competent, more knowledgeable and more effective than his colleagues. After only 4 years service he was appointed DC Isiolo, and at the age of 39 became Provincial Commissioner in the NFD, a post that was often a stepping-stone to a Governorship. One might wonder how these attributes would have developed in the generally gentler environment of Tanganyika, if Turnbull had been posted there as the Colonial Office had initially intended? It just happened that the Tanganyika vacancy was filled unexpectedly by an officer transferring from Kenya, so Turnbull was sent to Kenya instead.

Little of that background was known when Turnbull arrived as Governor in Dar es Salaam, only days after his 49th birthday. The task facing him then was very different from what it had been in Kenya. The challenge was to manage the pressures of increasingly assertive African nationalism spreading across the continent, inspired by the independence of the Gold Coast in 1956, and given an immediate local boost by the holding in Mwanza of the founding conference of PAFMECA (Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa) when Nyerere, as TANU leader, voiced demands for early independence of Tanganyika.

Baker examines the significance of Turnbull's first meeting with Nyerere, only nine days after his inauguration, and while Nyerere was still awaiting judgement in the trial on charges of criminal libel against two British DCs that the government had brought against him. Knowing Turnbull's record in Kenya in suppressing the Mau Mau insurrection, which had entailed work-

ing closely with the European community there, Nyerere had not expected him to talk about “working together to solve difficult problems” on the way to Independence. Turnbull knew that senior officials in the Administration and Police considered that TANU had extremely wide support throughout the country, and was capable of organising effective action that could completely disrupt normal Government activities.

How serious was the risk of widespread civil disobedience, leading to violence, if TANU’s demands for early self-government (*madaraka*) by 1959 were not met? There was little hard evidence, save for some incidents in Geita District in Lake Province that had revealed a degree of unrest and a potential for trouble that the Government would have found hard to control. Turnbull told the Colonial Office that the threat was real but political concessions would avoid conflict. Nyerere himself was being pushed by some in TANU who wanted even faster progress. The Colonial Office believed that Turnbull was yielding unnecessarily to fears of a breakdown of law and order. Turnbull took what security precautions were possible, but reported that he could not cope with a serious state of emergency without substantial military assistance, suggesting “eight battalions of British troops”. With considerable reluctance the Colonial Secretaries, first Lennox-Boyd and then Macleod, agreed to each progressive advance that Turnbull recommended, trusting in Nyerere’s good faith, and as each stage was passed so the next one became easier.

The final year as Governor-General was a boring let-down. Turnbull had no power, and his advice was not wanted. On the last day people gathered by the harbour entrance at Magogoni Street to see Turnbull’s departure aboard a Royal Navy frigate. After it had gone, they streamed back towards the town, passing the entrance to what had been Government House, now renamed State House or Ikulu. “Now this is all ours!” they exclaimed. The next morning the PWD began erecting new strong gates and a high security fence to replace the existing low wall around the grounds.

As well as the political record the book includes a revealing section about Life and Work at Government House, describing the human side of Turnbull’s personality, immensely softened from his earlier Kenya bachelor days by the pervasive and supportive influence of his wife and ever loyal companion Beatrice. Baker goes on to recount Turnbull’s later service in Aden, ending in disappointment and a sense of betrayal at being held responsible for the failure of the British Government’s policies which misjudged the force of Arab nationalism in that region.

The book is not a light read, but it is the substantive record of the nature, the career and the life of a man who played such a decisive role in the history of Tanzania.

David Le Breton

DAR ES SALAAM CULTURED STATES: YOUTH, GENDER, AND MODERN STYLE IN 1960's. Ivaska, Andrew. 2011 Durham and London: Duke University Press. ISBN 978 08223 4 7705. p/b 312pp. £15.99.

Accounts of 1960s Dar es Salaam frequently focus on the 'high politics' of *Uhuru* and life in the new Tanzania. Ivaska's investigation into official cultural discourse and interventions offers readers an opportunity to (re)live a parallel cultural politics – 'the long sixties moment' – as it was played out in the country's capital. It is a sixties familiar to many; rebellion in afros, played to a soundtrack of soul music that competed against the establishment. As in other capitals of the newly independent African nations, Tanzanian officials attempted to clamp down on this promiscuous urban youth culture, and in so doing plunged themselves into the thick of sharp debates over the meaning of James Brown and hot pants. This was a time of vigorous contestation, and also of apparent paradox: while efforts were made to ban miniskirts and wigs were ceremoniously burnt in the national stadium, Ivaska describes how at the same time in Tanzania the 'Maasai Progress Plan' ('Operation Dress-Up') attempted to outlaw Maasai traditional dress. These campaigns are covered in scintillating detail, against a background of the shifts in urban demographics and the fault lines of late colonial debates about culture. Such conversations were carried out in the national newspapers that inform *Cultured States*, which is punctuated with quotes from newspaper letters sections that still resonate in public debate today: "It is a pity to see parents including young children," wrote 'Fairness' in *The Standard* in November 1969, "mouth-open clapping hands at and even giving 'tuzo' [tips] to the actor or actress who performs sexual play (buttock shaking) properly." The contests over culture are embedded in the book's exploration of urban struggles around gender, generation, and wealth. These come together in a splendid section on the rise and fall of the university left.

A number of Ivaska's central arguments cluster around the relationship between the state and cultural production. They provide a lens through which to engage broader themes animating African and postcolonial studies, particularly the issue of power. The kind of prominence official rhetoric achieved on the urban landscape, suggests Ivaska, was often testament less to the power of the state than to its limits. This resonates with Achille Mbembe's call to approach the

state and its subjects as bound up in a domain of ‘conviviality’ in which rulers and ruled are enmeshed in shared categories and discourses. Again, some of these conversations are on-going today: the running commentaries on rumours of scandalous liaisons between ‘city girls’ and elite ‘big men’ that was produced in Dar es Salaam’s popular tabloid press in the sixties, for example, are still being published in newspapers today – albeit now with lightly-censored, graphic photographs.

Ivaska concludes that the long sixties moment still lives on in Dar es Salaam today, and he ends with a brief description of public debate over contentious popular cultural forms at the turn of the century, including hip-hop music and style, beauty contests, comic books, and the ever-persistent miniskirt. New forms of media and communication mean that capturing this contemporary commentary now will take a different methodology to that which has been employed for this study, but one that Ivaska is clearly well-placed to undertake – and, upon reading *Cultured States*, it is hoped that he uses his considerable knowledge to do so. *Cultured States* is an engaging and readable commentary on high cultural politics that will appeal equally to those who remember the sixties in Dar es Salaam, and those who don’t.

Thomas Molony

THE LAST SLAVE MARKET – DR JOHN KIRK AND THE STRUGGLE TO END THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE, by Alastair Hazell, published by Constable & Robinson, London, 2011, www.constablerobinson.com. ISBN 978-1-84529-672-8 £16.99

The Slavery Abolition Act was enacted in Britain in 1833 and this brought to an end the trade in human beings throughout the British Empire, especially that between Africa and America. However, there were a few exceptions to the areas covered by the new law, the most notable of which was East Africa, where the trade still flourished and was one of the mainstays of the economy of the island of Zanzibar. This exception seemed to go largely unnoticed by the British public, who felt the job was done, and the political lobby to abolish slave trading had all but died out. However, those British subjects posted to East Africa, and in particular Zanzibar, were only too well aware of the continuing trade as dhow loads of slaves passed through the port with regularity.

One of those posted to Zanzibar was John Kirk, a Scottish physician and botanist. Kirk had already seen the trade whilst travelling with Livingstone up the Zambezi River, but never challenged it during his early days on the island. His

attitude seemed to be ‘that of a man who gets involved only when he can do good’. As medical officer to the British Consul on the island he was not in a position to do anything, so did not initially get involved.

Hazell tells the story of how Kirk began to study the slave trade, the difficulties he encountered working within the politically charged arena of East Africa, facing unfair criticism at the hands of Henry Morton Stanley, but ultimately playing a pivotal role in abolishing the trade in that area of the world. The book has been well researched, clearly sets out the backgrounds of the major players and explains the events that led to the last slave markets being abolished. But it is not a ‘just the facts’ affair. Hazell manages to inject touches of description into the text which bring it to life. His knowledge of the area, and reading between the lines in the documents he has looked at, allows him to speculate on the kind of weather the island would be experiencing when an event took place, or to give an opinion on how one of the ‘characters’ really felt, despite the politeness of a letter.

These touches help draw the reader into the story and allow them to ‘live through’ the events with those involved. The build-up to Kirk getting the treaty signed felt a little bit like approaching the climax of a thriller as you are eager to find out how he managed to persuade people to abandon a practice which to them was as natural as trading in any other commodity and who saw nothing wrong with it.

‘The Last Slave Market’ is an important book that looks at the life of a relatively unsung hero of the battle against human trafficking and, as the evocative foreword hints, a reminder that the job is still not finished.

John Samson

STREET LEVEL – A COLLECTION OF DRAWINGS AND CREATIVE WRITING INSPIRED BY DAR AS SALAAM. Illustrated and compiled by Sarah Markes. Pub. Mkuki na Nyota 2011 pp 152 ISBN 978-9987-08-117-2. Available from www.africanbookscollective.com and Amazon £18.95

British illustrator Sarah Markes was greatly taken with Dar es Salaam when she first visited in the year 2000 and dreamed of capturing its atmosphere in her drawings. When she finally returned to live in the city in 2002, she became increasingly unhappy to see more and more solidly built, often unique, old buildings being demolished piecemeal to make way for modern, multi-storey, steel and glass structures. She was determined to do something to raise awareness about what was happening and this book is the result. It is a collection of

coloured line drawings interspersed with pieces of prose and poetry by local writers. (A few biographical details would have been welcome here.)

There are eight sections covering not only buildings but also the street vendors who depend on them for a living. A useful map shows the location of the buildings illustrated, and there is a glossary for non-Swahili speakers. In the opening section, architectural historian Karen Moon traces the history of the city from its foundation in 1862 and follows this with an analysis of the way a city's architecture defines its identity. This is complemented at the end of the book by heritage specialists Simon Odunga and Jeremy Cross with a carefully argued but passionate plea to halt the destruction of that very identity.

The majority of the buildings in the book are (or were) to be found in the old Indian bazaar area of the city that used to be known as *Uhindini*, but not, as the book states, because most of its residents were Hindu; *Uhindini* was the common Swahili word for the part of town where Indian traders lived. Here, from the 1920s up until the 1950s, Hindu and Muslim alike invested their profits in highly individualistic buildings, many with names and dates displayed on the façade. Several German colonial buildings are included, as well as a few examples of art deco buildings in the Sea View area.

The book is only slightly marred by a few obvious spelling bloomers and minor factual inaccuracies: Gandhi is misspelled as Ghandi throughout and there are others that should have been spotted by a careful proof-reader. But this does not seriously detract from this delightful coffee table book that anyone with fond memories of Dar es Salaam would be happy to own.

G. Mawji

LETTERS

In total agreement with the congratulatory message from President Kikwete introducing your 100th issue, I am glad to have the opportunity to write to thank you for your commitment and imagination concerning Tanzania both today and in the past. TA shows a great sense of history and in-depth contemporary issues from all your very professional writers.

....I personally am very excited every time TA arrives and fascinated by the detailed articles and news items. Despite being part of the Teachers for East Africa Scheme in 1962 and not returning home until 1986 I find all news of Tanzania, past and present, vitally important to me now....

Others of your readers will probably remember this Government scheme involving young graduates idealistic to do their best towards the development of newly independent East African countries.....it was during this period that I met and later married my dear late husband Charles the local agricultural officer and we moved to Kenya....

Mrs Veronica Ziegler, Dorset Tel: 01308 862 542

I write to congratulate you on your number 100 ... It gave me huge pleasure to read the synopsis by edition number describing all the other material - reminding us of many memories. The celebratory cover also deserves special mention....

Ms C Coppard, London

We have received many other letters about our edition No 100 but space constraints have made it necessary to abbreviate the ones we have published above and to omit others. Much the same applies to several of the other articles we have received for which we wish to say thank you – Editor.

Dear Editor, your latest issue reminds me that I have meant for some time to write to you and say how good it is that TA is now online. Thanks for all your work. I still wonder however why it is not possible for the hard copies to have a contents page. TA is such a useful resource, but tracking back through issues is not easy.

Prof. Pat Caplan, Department of Anthropology,
Goldsmiths College, London

Space is always limited, and we have decided to stay with the current format with the major articles listed on the front page, and titles at the top of each page to aid navigation. Searching is best done using the website, where you can search for any text, and also restrict your search to a particular issue number or a particular article type (eg “reviews” or “obituaries” etc). There is also a “historic index” page listing the major articles in each issue - On-line Editor

Dear Editor, I am a regular visitor of TZAffairs.org. A few months ago I requested that all copies of TZ Affairs be made available online in the belief that it is the only undiluted and unadulterated account of events in Tanzania during those years. I am writing to sincerely express my thanks to the editorial board of TZ Affairs for deciding to spend time to see that those who are hungry for that record get easy access to it.

I wonder if you guys have copies of state-monitored newspapers of that time: for example *Uhuru*, *Daily News*, *Mfanyakazi*, *Mzalendo* and *Sunday*

News. Front pages and editorials of those newspapers would be good reading for those interested like me. As I said before, I will volunteer anything in my power to help this website to expand its mission on spreading information about Tanzania.

Majura F. Selekwa, PhD. Assoc Professor/Mech Engineering, North Dakota State University.

This issue is dedicated to Letsopa Knight, born on 25th November 2011, and to the memory of his mother Kelebogile who sadly passed away on 1st December. Letsopa is a Setswana word for a clay used for making pots, but traditionally it can also be used to describe something beautiful, tough and resilient, which rather than being broken by fire becomes stronger. Jacob Knight

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