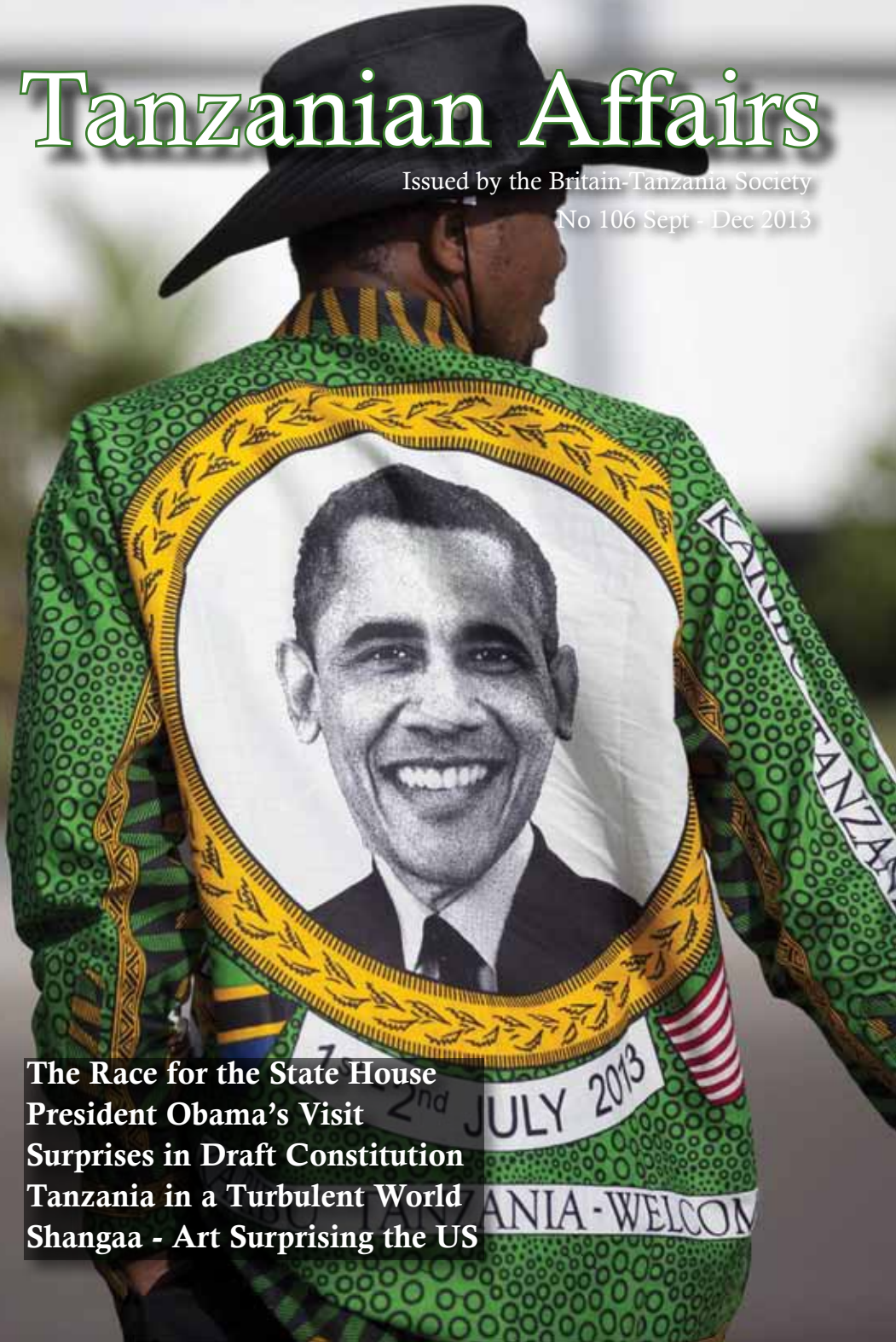


Tanzanian Affairs

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**The Race for the State House
President Obama's Visit
Surprises in Draft Constitution
Tanzania in a Turbulent World
Shangaa - Art Surprising the US**



Newspaper cover featuring twelve people said to be eying the Presidency.

cover photo: Shirt celebrating the visit of President Obama to Tanzania.

New cover design - we are trying a new printer who offers full colour. Comments welcome, and please send photos for future covers to editor@tzaffairs.org

David Brewin: THE RACE FOR STATE HOUSE

Americans usually start campaigning for the next election contest almost immediately after the completion of the previous one. Tanzania seems to be moving in the same direction. Although the elections are not due until late 2015, those aspirants who are considering standing for the top job are beginning to quietly mobilise their support. Speculation is now rife in political circles on the issue of who will succeed President Kikwete. Unlike some of his opposite numbers in other states, notably Zimbabwe, he is expected to comply with the law and retire at the end of his second term as all his predecessors have done.

A number of prominent figures are expected to compete in the elections. One factor which could become crucial is a long established 'understanding' that, if the president is a Muslim, as is President Kikwete, his successor should be a Christian. President Nyerere was a Catholic, former President Mwinyi is a Muslim and President Mkapa is also a Catholic. As both the Christian presidents have been Catholics the large Protestant community might be wondering when its time will come.

Among possible candidates are the following:

Former Prime Minister **Edward Lowassa** is considered by many as the front runner. He is popular in many areas of the country because of his diligence and active implementation of development projects, especially the ward secondary education project. He is a Protestant and a member of the Tanzania Evangelical Lutheran Church but he was alleged to have been corrupt in the Richmond electricity scandal (*see many earlier issues of TA*) and has had some recent health problems.

The Chairman of the Parliamentary Select Committee which investigated the Richmond scandal, **Dr Harrison Mwakyembe**, pointed out alleged corrupt practices and gained some popularity as a result. However, most Tanzanians seem less influenced by allegations of corruption and more interested in overall competence in their leaders. Dr Mwakyembe has now taken on the post of Minister of Transport – one of the most demanding positions in government as it includes the railways, roads, airlines and ports with their numerous problems. When he addressed members of the BTS in London he impressed them by his command of every part of his portfolio and his innovative proposals for reform. It was clear that he is intolerant of corruption and inefficiency, although his candid and explicit approach might not be the best way to

make friends and influence people if he has higher ambitions.

Another possible candidate who is high in the popularity stakes is the former Prime Minister under President Mkapa, **Frederick Sumaye**. He has the advantage of being a Protestant and is generally considered to be honest. Having been largely absent from front-line politics under President Kikwete, he has recently sought more of a public profile.

Samuel Sitta, the Minister for East African Cooperation and former Speaker of the House of Assembly, is outspoken, commands popular support, and is widely regarded as fair and incorruptible. He is a Catholic but his advancing age may harm his prospects. In addition, he does not have the same level of support as his key rivals among the party's power-brokers and key donors.

Former Prime Minister **Salim Salim** who has held many senior positions outside and inside Tanzania is a Zanzibar Muslim, but he seems to be keeping a relatively low profile. His ambiguous relations with the Isles might be a handicap so far as the presidency is concerned.

Current Foreign Minister **Bernard Membe** seems to be growing in stature and his honesty while leading an observer mission to the recent controversial Zimbabwe election plus his serious criticism of their conduct, was brave in view of the great esteem in which Mugabe is held in many parts of Africa. Membe is a Catholic. It is to be noted that both Presidents Mkapa and Kikwete were Foreign Ministers before becoming presidents.

Dr **John Magufuli**, Minister of Works, is organising an ambitious road building programme and might be a candidate.

For the first time, the charismatic leader of an opposition party, Chadema's Dr **Wilbrod Slaa**, is considered by some as having an outside chance of winning the presidency. He won many votes in urban areas at the last election and his party is using the time before 2015 to strengthen its support in rural areas where the government CCM has always been very popular. Dr Slaa is a Catholic.

The dynamic campaigner against corruption and Chairman of Parliament's Finance Committee, Chadema's **Zitto Kabwe** is a man with a future but because of an unusual clause in the current constitution is too young to run for the presidency in 2015.

Alternatively, this may be the time for a female candidate. Two names are regularly mentioned as among the contenders for the CCM nomination. **Anna Tibaijuka** is Minister of Lands, Housing and Human Developments, and the former Executive Director of UN-HABITAT, while **Asha-Rose Migiro** is a former Minister of Foreign Affairs and served as Deputy Secretary General of the UN between 2007 and 2012. She is not currently a Minister but retains influence within the party.

By David Brewin (with considerable help from Dr Juma Ngasongwa, the former Minister of Natural Resources and Tourism, later Industry and Trade and then Planning, the Economy and Empowerment. He is not standing for the presidency or for parliament. He says that he is enjoying his retirement).

David Brewin: OBAMA IN TANZANIA

Huge crowds lined the streets, often twelve deep, with warm welcoming smiles on their faces. There were also a few articles in the media from some of the professional classes questioning President Obama's motives in coming to Tanzania. This probably sums up the historic visit by President Obama to Dar es Salaam from June 29 to July 1 accompanied by a large contingent of business leaders.

And then, by coincidence, another American President was found to be there too. Former President Bush, who had made himself popular in the country by arranging substantial support for a big US-supported AIDS relief programme which had saved many lives. He was attending a conference on empowering African women, organised by an institute he had founded after leaving office. Mrs Bush was holding a summit meeting for African first ladies.

And then there was somebody else reported to be on the way from her home near Kisumu in Kenya. It was Mama Sara, President Obama's grandmother and the second wife of his maternal grandfather.

President Obama in his speeches stressed America's commitment to improving electricity supplies as well as other aid and investment.

At the end of the visit, as the Global edition of the New York Times put it (*Thank you Elsbeth Court for sending this*) the two presidents stood solemnly together as a US marine placed a wreath to mark the memory of the Tanzanians who were killed in the US embassy grounds by Al Qaeda terrorists fifteen years ago.

Ben Taylor: SHANGAA – SURPRISING THE US

A new exhibition of traditional Tanzanian art in New York, titled *Shangaa* is receiving positive reviews from art lovers and critics. It is “sensational” according to the New York Times reviewer, Holland Cotter.



“As was true of most East African art, Tanzanian material was overlooked by 19th and 20th century collectors, who had their sights on other parts of the continent,” wrote Cotter. “And because so little art from Tanzania was in museums, the assumption grew that there was none worth having. One look at the tiny, disc-shaped Makonde mask that opens the show tells you otherwise.”

Many of the pieces are on loan from German museums, where Tanzanian art has been relatively well-known. Yet the show makes it clear that the colonial history that produced the German familiarity with Tanzanian art was not a happy one. Depictions of slavery, and of the indifference

of slave masters, are among the exhibition’s most striking sculptures.

Traditional medicine and witchcraft are another recurring theme. Many of the objects were originally intended for use in healing and divination practices.

Shangaa: Art of Tanzania, was on show for three months at the QCC Art Gallery of the City University of New York, under the curation of Gary Van Wyk, and for three months at the Portland Museum of Art. (*Daily News*)

Mark Gillies:

TOURISM & ENVIRONMENTAL CONSERVATION

The Loliondo Land Issue

In April the ongoing issue of land use in the Loliondo Division on the borders of the Serengeti National Park came to the fore once more as headlines declared 'The End of the Maasai' (*Survival International* 28 March 2013). This is an emotive issue that combines the themes of the rights of indigenous people, environmental conservation, historical grievances, a perceived uncaring central government (with worse implied), and foreign hunters [see also TA 95,97,105].

The current issue dates back to 1992, when an Emirati hunting company, the Ortello Business Corporation (OBC), owned by the businessman and member of the Dubai royal family Mohammed Abdulrahim Al-Ali, secured the rights to a hunting concession in Loliondo Division of Ngorongoro. However the problem can only be understood in the general context of land use and the displacement of peoples.

According to the house blog of *Just Conservation*, an online forum for academics and activists interested in equitable conservation, the 1992 allocation was done with a lack of procedural clarity and without consulting the relevant community representatives. As the 1990s progressed, there were accusations of dubious hunting practices, including the export of live animals, although these have not been verified or recently investigated. (<http://www.justconservation.org/grabbing-land-for-conservation-in-loliondo,-tanzania>)

In 2009, the severe drought experienced in northern Tanzania led to conflict between OBC and the local Maasai communities as the herders endeavoured to water their livestock in an area where access was prohibited by OBC. In the ensuing conflict, a Police Field Force unit restored order with a level of force that resulted in the burning of several homesteads and accusations of physical and sexual abuse. OBC defended their position by stating that herders are only denied access to the water sources during the hunting season. This runs from July to September, which unfortunately coincides with the dry season.

So, when in March this year it was announced by the government that a 1,500 square kilometre 'wildlife corridor' would be created in the Loliondo that would displace an estimated 30,000 people and affect

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thousands more who use the grasslands for seasonal grazing, the local communities engaged in vociferous protest.

The story has interesting local – and national – political implications. In addition to the 2012 threat to blockade the Ngorongoro Crater (*The East African* 8 December 2012), one protest took the form of a mass burning of CCM membership cards by Maasai women. This move caught the attention of local CCM officials who, according a BBC report, made the long drive to Loliondo from Arusha to denounce the proposed corridor.

The affected communities plan to lodge a legal challenge, but as a previous action from 2009 remains unheard, they are not hopeful. However, on 29 June, Prime Minister Pinda told the National Assembly that the Government had “received complaints from various stakeholders and the people of Loliondo” and would therefore review its most recent decisions regarding the Loliondo land concessions and OBC. (*Daily News* and <http://allafrica.com/stories/201307010357.html>).

Serengeti Highway proposal remains live

On 27 June word emerged that the proposed Serengeti Highway, which has provoked international condemnation [see TA 97/99], may nevertheless still be a viable project in the eyes of the Tanzanian government. The proposed budget for the financial year 2013/14 appears to contain an allocation of funds to advance the planning and design of the highway. This is despite the reported offer by the German government and the World Bank to finance the construction of an alternate southern route that will protect the Serengeti ecosystem and arguably reach more people than the original proposed northern route. The southern route would, however, not suit the interests of mining and soda ash extraction interests operating in the northern areas. (*27 June Wolfgangthome's Blog*)

Tourism taxation

On 1 July the new Tourism Development Levy came into force. The levy imposes a 2% bed night charge on all tourist accommodation. Of even more concern was the proposal to make tourism products and services liable to VAT at 18%. This move had been adopted by Uganda but rejected by Kenya. Fortunately, on 28 June the Tanzanian Assembly also rejected the imposition of the tax, which in one move would have made Tanzania a far more expensive destination (in general) than Kenya - a dangerous move.

Edward VIII: The Lion King

And finally, on 28 May in the UK, a documentary aired on Channel Four entitled 'Edward VIII: The Lion King'. The programme was a fascinating account of the transition of Edward VIII, in his time as Prince of Wales, from hunter to one of the earliest advocates of African conservation. Working with the famous Denys Finch Hatton, after developing an understanding of the bloody reality of the growing hunting trend, the Prince used his celebrity to draw attention to the increasing threat to the wildlife and integrity of what we now call the Serengeti ecosystem. Which just goes to show that some issues have an enduring importance beyond their local significance.

David Brewin: SURPRISES IN DRAFT CONSTITUTION

Historical background

Tanganyika at independence in 1961 had its own government and three years later Zanzibar at its independence also had its own. It was a time of great local and international tension. Tanganyika had had an army mutiny and Zanzibar had had a violent revolution. The East-West cold war was in full swing and both sides were worried about what might happen in Zanzibar, as its frequently unpredictable new President Abeid Karume had invited the Soviet satellite East Germany (not recognised as a state by most of the West) to send experts and establish a presence in the Isles. America and the Western countries were alarmed at the potentially destabilising effect in East Africa of a communist state like Cuba (which still makes trouble for the US all these years later) on the doorstep of East Africa. Both sides were impressed however by the new leader of Tanganyika Julius Nyerere and relied upon him to come up with a solution.

Few know precisely what happened during the Tanganyika – Zanzibar negotiations which were conducted personally by the two presidents, but the result was a new Constitution (two, in fact, because Zanzibar had its own) which were ingenious and innovative and have stood the test of time, in spite of years of friction between the two sides. It created a new nation with two governments called the United Republic of Tanzania. The Union government had wide powers in both countries,

and the Zanzibar government, which was not granted sovereign status, had certain powers in Zanzibar. There were two presidents, two governments and two parliaments (not three, which many thought would be more logical). Nyerere, a man of great sagacity, realised that the new Union was a delicate flower likely to die unless there was a strong central government and the Zanzibaris were given influence and power far beyond what their respective populations (now 45 million and 1.5 million) would justify.

Many people on both sides have complained over the years about this unusual set up. But Nyerere insisted over and over again that the Union must remain constitutionally as it was. He said that if three governments were set up this would lead to the end of the Union. All subsequent presidents and parliaments have followed the same line.

The new draft constitution

Following many expressions of opposition to a continuation of the *status quo*, as explained in recent editions of TA, the Constitutional Review Commission (CRC), under its Chairman Judge Joseph Warioba, travelled all over the country to ask people what they wanted in the new constitution. Finally, on 3 June 2013, they surprised many by publishing a very detailed draft, called the “Mother Plan,” which would totally change many aspects of the existing constitution.

The most contentious issue was the future structure of government. The Commission rejected the present two-part government because of “the sensitivities and opposition from both sides of the Union.” It proposed instead a federal union with three governments – a Tanzanian government, a new government described as *Bara Tanzania* (Mainland Tanzania) and a Zanzibar government.

Some other surprises

The draft constitution provides other detailed proposals which have already stimulated debate, a debate which will continue until the final document is agreed. Examples:

- the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania, which was created in April 1964, would be substantially reduced in size with about 15 cabinet ministers and a parliament of about 75 members (20 from Zanzibar). There would be five members from the mainland appointed

by the President and allocated to the disabled; the provision of special seats for women would not be continued;

- the number of Union matters would be drastically reduced from the current 22 to seven: foreign affairs, immigration, citizenship, defence and security, the central bank, currency, registration of political parties and constitutional issues;
- there would be proportional representation with the details worked out later;
- cabinet ministers and the Speaker of the National Assembly would be selected from outside parliament;
- details of any gifts made to public officials would have to be submitted to the Chief Secretary for approval and public officials would be barred from holding more than one office in government;
- the rights of minority groups such as hunter gatherers (the Hadzabe and Akiye ethnic groups comprising less than 2,000 people) would be recognised and they would be given representation in governance structures where appropriate.

Omissions

Some concern has been expressed about the omission of many key matters from the draft document. These include land ownership, protection of property rights, health, education, exploitation of natural resources, dual citizenship, participation by people in the affairs of the state, freedom of the press, religious differences, and the right to information. It is understood however that provision might be made for some of these in the new Mainland and Zanzibar constitutions.

There is also the problem that, although Zanzibar has its own constitution which will merely require amendment, a new constitution will have to be drafted for Tanzania Bara, then debated, passed and inaugurated, which could be a lengthy process.

Needless to say, discussions are going on around the country and the draft might be substantially changed, but space constraints prevent TA from reporting on most of the comments made so far.

However, the magnitude of the task facing the government in finalising the constitution(s) is illustrated by two statements made at recent

public meetings. The former East African Community (EAC) Secretary General, Ambassador Juma Mwapachu, described the move to have an “autonomous Zanzibar” as a drawback to the East African regional integration process. He said that Vice President of Zanzibar Seif Sharriif Hamad’s statement to the effect that Zanzibaris should regain their citizenship and have full autonomy on international issues amounted to a breaking of the Union. “With such comments I wonder what East African people are going to think or say about the nature of the proposed East African citizenship,” he added.

Paul Gooday:

AGRICULTURE

New Agricultural Development Bank

The Tanzania Investment Bank (TIB) is restructuring, in a change that will see its agricultural lending function transferred to the newly formed Agricultural Development Bank, while its remaining operations will be run by two distinct subsidiaries.

The Finance Minister told Parliament in July that the setting up of TIB Corporate, one of the bank’s new subsidiaries, is in its final stages, and that the lending function of TIB would now be the responsibility of the Agricultural Development Bank. This restructuring has been going on since last November, and is aimed at making the government-owned facility more efficient.

The establishment of the new bank is intended to provide short, medium and long term credit to the agricultural sector, which includes lending facilities to fisheries and livestock projects. The corporate structures of the bank have been put in place and government has already disbursed Tsh90 billion (\$55.4 million) to enable the bank to start operating.

Development banks in the East African region, particularly government-owned ones, provide credit for specific functions or to under-served sectors as well as to consumers not served by mainstream lenders. (*The East African*)

Tanzania and Clinton Foundation sign agriculture pact

The government and the Bill Clinton Foundation have signed an agreement under which the organisation led by the former US president will support farmers and the agriculture sector in the country. The initiative

will improve access to better seeds and fertilizers by small-scale farmers.

The foundation intends to work closely with the Ministry of Agriculture, Food Security and Cooperatives to ensure that Tanzanian farmers are able to feed the nation and furthermore export their produce to the rest of the world. The memorandum of understanding was signed by representatives on behalf of government and the foundation with the event being witnessed by Mr Clinton and President Jakaya Kikwete.

Speaking after the ceremony, President Kikwete said the support was targeted appropriately as 75 to 85 percent of Tanzanians live in rural areas and depend on agriculture. Most of this is subsistence and still depends heavily on the use of the hand hoe. "The focus should now be on transforming our agriculture by reducing the use of the hand hoe and dropping dependence on God's rain," he said. "With this programme we shall increase the use of fertilizers and pesticides."

Mr Clinton revealed that he came from a farming background and said he will dedicate his remaining life to improving the lives of farmers in Tanzania and elsewhere in the world. "We will also establish big farms that can produce better seeds and increase yields," he said, adding "but we should do everything in our power to make sure that this programme is sustainable." Earlier in the day, Mr Clinton visited a village savings and loans assistance society at Vingunguti (Ilala District), which is also supported by his foundation. (*The Citizen*)

Approval for Tobacco Farming in Serengeti

Serengeti farmers have earned billions of Tsh after selling 2,520 tonnes of tobacco, making the villagers of Kebanchabancha and Nyamakendo the leading tobacco producer in Mara region. Production will increase significantly as hundreds of farmers in the region have started cultivating tobaccos.

The Ministry of Agriculture, Food Security and Cooperatives has allowed farmers in three districts to pursue large scale production of the crop. Tobacco farming has been carried out on a trial basis for about three years, and farmers have now been approved by the ministry.

While Tanzania acknowledges that tobacco is one of the most profitable crops, the country is also pursuing sustainable and responsible farming practices in the Serengeti District that consists of 70% game protected areas and the Serengeti National Park. (*Tanzania Invest*)

David Brewin: TANZANIA IN A TURBULENT WORLD

Malawi

“Anyone who tries to provoke our country will face consequences ... Our country is safe and the army is strong and ready to defend it,” President Kikwete said in a speech on 25 July to mark National Heroes’ Day. “We will not allow anyone to mess with our country, or try to take away our territory. We will deal with them just as we dealt with [former Ugandan ruler Idi] Amin”

These words were widely interpreted as referring to Malawi, thus raising the stakes in the escalating border dispute over the ownership of the northern half of Lake Nyasa/Malawi, Africa’s third-largest lake. Malawi claims the entire northern area of the lake while Tanzania says it owns the eastern half of the northern area. The southern part of the lake is shared between Malawi and Mozambique. Malawian President Joyce Banda has told mediators that her government would not accept any interim deal on the disputed boundary with Tanzania until the wrangle over sovereignty was settled. (*Voice of America*)

Sudan

Seven Tanzanian soldiers, acting as peacekeepers as part of the African Union-UN mission (UNAMID) in the Sudan, were killed in mid-July in the Darfur region. Unidentified gunmen attacked them while on patrol between the Khor Abeche and Manawashi regions. Seventeen military and police personnel were wounded in the attack.

During a briefing in New York, a spokesman for UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon said that “the peacekeepers were attacked when they were undertaking a routine confidence-building patrol. They were outnumbered four to one by their attackers who numbered between 100 and 150. They had trucks mounted with anti-aircraft guns. One truck was stolen during the attack and the mission later recovered three damaged vehicles.”

Various witnesses from South Darfur have reported to Radio Dabanga that two UN cars were later seen being driven by members of the government Central Police Reserve (nicknamed Abu Tira) and dressed in uniforms with distinctive ‘eagle insignia’ on their shoulders.

The government of Sudan blamed the rebel Sudan Liberation Army

- Minni Minawi (SLA-MM) for the attack. Other reports said that it was unlikely that Sudan would take any serious action and UN policy appeared to be against opposing the government. Tanzania said it wanted to discuss UN policy as regards peace-keeping operations.

DR Congo and Rwanda

According to the *East African*, angry words were exchanged after President Kikwete suggested in Addis Ababa in May that Rwanda and Uganda should initiate direct talks with the rebel groups which are at the heart of the trouble which has persisted in the east of the Democratic Republic of Congo. Rwanda called Kikwete's suggestion 'utter nonsense'. Tanzania chairs the Southern Africa Development Community's Peace and Security Council, but Dar's conflicting obligations to the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region and the East African Community leave it on a collision course with Uganda and Rwanda which are opposed to troop deployment under the UN.

Things later cooled down and an international agreement was signed by eleven interested countries. South Africa would be contributing troops to a greatly enlarged peacekeeping force, including Tanzanian soldiers, with increased powers.

More recently, a war of words has broken out between Tanzania and Rwanda, largely through nationalistic coverage in the respective countries' press. This focussed partly on President Kikwete's statements and partly on the expulsion of 7,000 "Rwandan" immigrants by Tanzania, many of whom had been settled in the north-west of Tanzania since independence. The Rwanda press called them "people of Rwandan ancestry" and the leading English-language paper turned to a personal attack on President Kikwete and his wife.

Egypt

As this edition of TA goes to press in late August, Egypt is in a state of turmoil. Tanzania's reaction was perhaps summed up in an editorial in the Tanzania *Guardian*:

"...Ironically, (while the world outside condemned the action by the army) the African Union has failed to speak aloud against what is happening in Egypt, perhaps for fear of biting the hands that feed it, or simply because of our neo-colonial syndrome.

“The truth is very clear: What took place in Egypt is a military coup and we as Africans do not have to be told by the Western countries what to say, at least not the United States.... If Africa cannot stop what is happening in Egypt, then it should strongly condemn as well as suspend that country from the African Union. But precious little has been taken by the African Union to address the worsening situation in Egypt. After five decades of this continent’s independence we still cannot speak aloud about our political and economic future. We wait for the so-called ‘masters’ to tell us what democracy is all about, what civilization means and above all, what a military coup means to our own development.... Today, the same people who supported the entire process from the beginning to the end now bless the barrel of the gun to be used against a democratically elected president. Still worse, the same masters now want us to believe that sometimes you can use a military coup to remove a democratically elected government, provided there are opposition members who have demonstrated for a week in protest against the regime.

“The best way to remove any government that doesn’t perform is through the ballot box. But it seems that there’s an old fashioned way we thought had been buried in Africa some years ago now taking place in Egypt - the military coup. What the Western countries do not want to admit is that democracy cannot be imported or exported. As Julius Nyerere once put it: ‘Democracy isn’t a bottle of Coca Cola that you can import’.”

David Brewin: **VIOLENT INCIDENTS**

Human Rights Violations

According to a report published in April by the Legal and Human Rights Centre (in collaboration with the Zanzibar Legal Services Centre), human rights violations increased in 2012. Incidents of mob justice among civilians escalated at an alarming rate, with a reported 1,234 people attacked, including persons suspected of theft and witchcraft. Nine law enforcers were also killed by mobs.

The survey showed that Mara Region was among the most violent areas with an average of 40 people being killed annually. More than 1,000 school girls were affected by Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) in the

region by the end of last year.

“They should be beaten”

Prime Minister Mizengo Pinda caused controversy in June when he remarked in parliament that troublemakers should be beaten, adding that “tumechoka – we are tired”. Human rights activists and opposition politicians feared that the Prime Minister was giving instructions to police and other security forces to get tough with protesters, despite existing concerns at heavy-handed police tactics that had already led to several deaths.

The Tanganyika Law Society and the Legal and Human Rights Centre filed a petition at the High Court against the Prime Minister. They ask the court to order the Prime Minister to publicly denounce his statement on the grounds that it infringes human rights, the principle of the rule of law, and the constitution.

The petitioners expressed their concerns that the police would take this as a lawful order and implement it in the form of arbitrary and extrajudicial beating and torture of innocent citizens.

Roman Catholic Church in Arusha bombed

Three people were killed and 60 were wounded in a bomb attack on a Catholic Church in Arusha in April. The Vatican’s ambassador to Tanzania and the Archbishop of Arusha were in the church at the time. The ambassador escaped unhurt during the attack, which took place as he was presiding over the consecration of a new church in the city’s Olasiti area. Eye witnesses said the attack took place at around 10.40am as parish members and other Roman Catholic believers converged at the main door to witness the opening ceremony.

President Kikwete condemned it as a ‘terrorist attack.’ After cutting short his a three-day state visit to Kuwait, he visited the relatives of the three people killed in the blast and later visited the injured at Mount Meru and St Elizabeth hospitals in Arusha.

No group admitted to being responsible. A Muslim Sheikh said that a theory that the attacks were the result of religious tensions ‘was becoming less certain.’ Arusha Regional Commissioner Magesa Mulongo told President Kikwete that nine people, including three Tanzanians, had been arrested in connection with the attack.

Defence and National Service Minister Shamsi Vuai Nahodha said that Tanzania was experiencing the most trying times since independence due to persistent attacks on churches and clerics and threats to peace and security nationwide. To avert a total breakdown of peace, religious leaders and politicians must avoid making statements that might incite the people into violence, he said.

Prime Minister Pinda said "People will not stop being Christians simply because some thugs are killing clerics and vandalising churches, so what is the point?" When he visited the injured at Mount Meru hospital, he directed doctors to keep the shrapnel removed from the bodies of the victims and hand it to investigators. "We want to establish the kind of bomb which was used," he added. "We want to know if it was made locally."

Arusha bomb blast at political meeting

Two people died, and several were injured in Arusha on 15 June in a bomb blast at Kaloleni playground, the venue of a Chadema campaign meeting prior to council by-elections. The bomb was hurled on the spot where senior leaders were seated, including the Party's National Chairman Freeman Mbowe and Arusha MP Godbless Lema.

A few days later Arusha was in chaos as police and mobs fought running battles over the meeting that had been declared illegal. Business came to a standstill as riot police fired teargas at Chadema supporters determined to defy an order to leave the scene of the grenade attack. The confrontation between police and the protestors extended to the inner city, mainly targeting people in groups. Other law enforcers appeared to fire into the air to scare anyone trying to get close to Kaloleni. Traffic came to a standstill along the busy Moshi-Nairobi highway as police confronted youths who had barricaded the road with stones.

Tundu Lissu, the opposition chief whip and MP for Singida East, and three other Chadema MPs Mustapha Akunaay (Mbulu), Said Arfi (Mpanda Urban) and Joyce Mukya (Special seats) were arrested for addressing an illegal assembly.

Mtwara

This town has seen several riots since January following the government's announcement that newly discovered gas offshore would be



Prime Minister Mizengo Pinda visits the fire damaged courts in Mtwara following the rioting - photo State House

sent through a \$1.22 billion pipeline to Dar. At least three people died, CCM offices and houses were set on fire, and journalists were reportedly targeted in the most recent incident in May, shortly after Energy and Minerals Minister Sospeter Muhongo announced in parliament that the pipeline would be built as planned.

To help pacify the people, Prime Minister Mizengo Pinda later visited the town to lay the foundation stone for a large cement manufacturing plant providing 1,000 jobs and a production capacity of three million tonnes of cement annually. The PM urged Mtwara residents to be patient and support government plans which would improve the economy of Mtwara and the nation at large. He also revealed that so far there were over 50 firms interested in investing in Mtwara Region.

In parliament several MPs said that the Bomani Commission had recommended that revenues should be shared between the Central Government and the local communities affected, and that the latter should receive 40% of the earnings.

Riots over cashew nut payments in Lindi Region

About 20 houses have been burnt down in May by protesting cashew nut farmers, the local MP told the BBC. Faith Mitambo said two buildings at her home in Liwale town had been set alight and that other

houses targeted belonged to CCM members.

The trouble began after payouts to farmers for their crop were less than the price agreed last year. The protests, involving groups of young men, began in villages and reached Liwale town by the evening. A resident of Liwale told the BBC that there was a sense of fear in the town and police had fired tear gas in the market to stop crowds gathering.

Thousands of small-scale cashew nut farmers sell their crops to co-operative societies at an agreed price of TSh 1,200 per kg. Towards the end of last year, the farmers received the first instalment. But when representatives from the co-operative societies went to Liwale to pay out the second and final instalment, the terms had changed. The farmers were offered half or less of the outstanding money as the prices had fallen on world markets.

Acid attack on British women in Zanzibar

Two 18-year-old British girls on holiday in Zanzibar in early August were doused with acid (or other corrosive liquid) by two men on a motorcycle in what President Kikwete described as a “shameful act.” One was seriously burnt and the other had been immersed in the sea immediately after the attack which helped dilute the acid. Both were treated in hospital in Zanzibar before returning to UK.

The incident received much publicity in Britain and the Zanzibar authorities immediately offered a reward of £4,000 for information leading to the capture of the attackers. The young women had been working as volunteer teachers in Zanzibar.

There were all kinds of theories as to who might have been responsible according to the London Times. The police launched a massive man-hunt, arrested various people including some citizens of the Emirates and Saudi Arabia, but they were subsequently released.

Paul Gooday: BUSINESS & THE ECONOMY

Overall economic outlook

Tanzania continues to do well in maintaining overall macroeconomic stability. Along with institutional and policy reforms, this has been a fundamental factor behind the strong economic growth rates. The main drivers of growth have been agriculture, manufacturing, wholesale and

retail trade, transport and communication activities. Tanzania has also continued to record strong export growth and the country's medium-term growth prospects are around 7%, significantly boosted by natural gas discoveries. (*African Economic Outlook*)

Banking on trade with China

Tanzanians doing business with China can now pay for their supplies using the Chinese Yuan Renminbi (CNY), thanks to an initiative by the National Bank of Commerce (NBC). The bank's initiative enables Tanzanian traders and businesses to pay for goods and services supplied by Chinese firms directly by using the Yuan, thereby reducing the costs incurred through exchange rates from purchasing other currencies. A recent survey released by, HSBC (based in Hong Kong) has stated that by 2015, one-third of China's international business transactions will be made in Chinese Yuan. (*The Citizen*)

Bank of Tanzania (BoT) figures indicate that Tanzania's exports to China, the world's second largest economy, increased by nine times between 2005 (Tsh101 billion) and 2010 (Tsh908 billion). The total trade volume between the two countries reached USD 2.15 billion in 2011 and USD 2.5 billion in 2012. Analysts project that trade between China and Tanzania will continue to grow at more than 15 per cent annually. The BoT attributes the increase in trade volumes to receipts from travel and manufactured goods as well as traditional exports.

Chinese investment in Africa generally increased from USD900 million in 2000 to USD68 billion in 2010 aided by its 'China-Africa' policy – trading with Africa without any conditions.

Transport/Infrastructure

The African Development Bank (AfDB) has approved two loans totaling USD232.5 million for the 157.5-kilometre road project from Arusha to Taveta and Voi in Kenya, crossing the border at Holili (Tanzania). This aims to reduce the cost of transport and enhance access to agricultural inputs, larger markets and social services within the East Africa Community. Tanzania will be awarded USD120 million. The project, which is expected to be completed by December 2018, is also jointly financed by the Governments of Kenya and Tanzania. The Africa Trade Fund has extended a grant for a small component for trade facilitation at the Namanga border, bringing the total cost of the project to USD

262.2 million.

AfDB's Regional Director for the East Africa Resource Centre confirmed that the road had been identified in the East African Regional Integration Strategy Paper (RISP 2011-2015) and the East African Transport Strategy and Regional Road Sector Development Programme of November 2011 as a priority. The East African Community (EAC) seeks to improve regional transport infrastructure to encourage economic and social development in the region, promote tourism and foster regional integration, while reducing the cost of doing business by supporting cross-border and international trade.

The Arusha-Holili/Taveta-Voi Road is one of the transport corridors of the EAC region meant to increase competitiveness of the region on the global market and at the same time promote regional integration. The project road links the Northern Corridor to the Central Corridor across the common border of Tanzania and Kenya through Arusha, Minjingu (Lake Manyara) and Babati to Singida and Dodoma. The corridor at completion will link the port of Mombasa to northern and northwestern Tanzania and the landlocked countries of Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo. (*African Development Bank*)

Tanzania becomes Japanese investment hub

The Japanese Minister for Economy, Trade and industries, Toshimitsu Motegi, announced that Japan had nominated Tanzania to be a major economic hub for business and investment in the African continent. The business community in the country have welcomed this development as a real opportunity to transform Tanzania into an industrial economy.

Among the projects lined up for implementation include the replacement of the central line railway network with the international gauge, and expansion of the port at Dar es Salaam to increase efficiency in service delivery. With the implementation of the plan, Minister Motegi said the industrial sector contribution to GDP, now below 20%, would more than double.

The Confederation of Tanzania Industries (CTI) chairman, Felix Mosha, stated that the governments' efforts to improve the energy and infrastructure sectors were commendable but not enough. He reiterated that the budget increments in the energy and infrastructure sectors are welcome but remain small compared to the mounting demand for the

services to reduce the cost of doing business. The sudden increases in certain charges and duties by regulatory authorities could discourage some potential investors.

If Tanzania is to achieve the Development Vision 2025, there would have to be improvements in the rules and regulations. Vision 2025 is aimed at developing the nation from an LDC (Lesser Developed Country) to a Middle Income Country. The Vision matches well with the Japanese plan to make the country a major economic hub for business and investment throughout the continent. The CTI believes the Japanese plan will enhance the growth of local businesses and encourage economic development. (*Daily News*)

David Brewin:

POLITICS

Tendwa retires after 13 years

Former Registrar of Political Parties, John Tendwa (*pictured overleaf*), has retired and been replaced by Judge Francis Mutungi. News of the Registrar's retirement was received with glee by major opposition parties that roundly accused him of strangling democracy in the country.

Tendwa said that he left office satisfied with what he described in *The Citizen* as "the great achievements he attained for the country's multi-party democracy, criticism from opposition parties notwithstanding." He had built the registrar's office virtually from scratch, and facilitated the enactment of key laws that had enabled multiparty politics to flourish. "My critics often don't know how the registrar's office operates and aren't aware of the challenges ... it's never an easy thing to deal with politicians," he added.

Tendwa said that when he was appointed registrar, he was not even provided with terms of reference. Key statutes to guide the operations of the office and the conduct of political parties were either not yet enacted or inadequate. "When I was appointed, I just didn't know how I could fulfil my responsibilities. The office needed employees with qualifications in law, but there I was ... the only lawyer in the entire office! I thank God that I managed to build a credible institution."

During his tenure, he sent to Parliament several key Bills such as the Political Parties Act 2009 and the Political Parties Code of Conduct. He also facilitated the enactment of the Election Expenses Act 2010. He



pointed out that the Election Expenses Act was a challenging law not liked by politicians all over the world because it limited what they could spend during elections.

On allegations that he favoured the CCM, Tendwa said that at some point the ruling party was also charging that he was favouring the opposition. "To me, being accused from both sides means I was doing my job well," he said.

Kabwe writes to Cameron

Shadow Minister for Finance Zitto Kabwe (Chadema) has written to British Prime Minister David Cameron asking for a review of his country's laws and those of other rich nations which make it impossible for African countries to fully investigate people who have stashed huge amounts of money in offshore accounts. His letter followed Cameron's appointment of a committee to investigate this whole area of concern.

In his letter Kabwe wrote: "I call on you to demonstrate your leadership at the (G8) Summit, *[which was held in Northern Ireland in June]* by putting in place aggressive sanctions against British Overseas Territories and Crown Dependencies which continue to provide cover for the siphoning of billions of dollars of our tax revenue," Kabwe added that money held by individuals in foreign banks was sometimes siphoned off from development aid from the UK.

Kabwe was among the first legislators in Tanzania to alert the government that there were numerous Tanzanians who had stashed dubiously acquired billions in foreign banks.

Independent candidates may be allowed to stand

The serial litigant and leader of the Democratic Party (which has no MPs) the Rev Christopher Mtikila, has been partially successful in his campaign for independent, candidates to be allowed to stand as President or as MPs. Constitution Commission leader Judge Warioba said that the first draft of the new constitution included provision for the change. The Rev Mtikila, said that while the announcement was a major step forward, he wouldn't hold his breath.

Yet another Party

Another political party, the 'Alliance for Democratic Change' has been provisionally registered, making a total of 19 parties. At Independence in 1961, Tanganyika had four parties, the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), the United Tanganyika Party, the African National Congress, and the All Muslim National Union of Tanganyika. (*The Citizen*)

Six Chadema MPs suspended

In April House Speaker Anne Makinda suspended six Chadema MPs for five successive sessions on the grounds of "gross misconduct". Those suspended were Opposition Chief Whip Tundu Lissu (Singida East), Godbless Lema (Arusha Urban), Joseph Mbilinyi (Mbeya Urban), Rev Peter Msigwa (Iringa Urban), Ezekiel Wenje (Nyamagana) and Highness Kiwia (Ilemela).

Chadema National Chairman and Leader of the official Opposition in Parliament, Freeman Mbowe, accused Ms Makinda and her deputy, Job Ndugai, of "following directives to favour the ruling CCM and its government." Flanked by Chadema Secretary General, Dr Willibrod Slaa, Mbowe told party members that Chadema would campaign outside parliament against the move. "Speaker Makinda has lied to the entire world by endorsing the decision made by her deputy to suspend our MPs. We can't accept this and we will continue to fight for the interests of our nation and its people." According to the House rules, a five-day suspension can only be imposed after the issue has been referred to the Parliamentary Powers and Privileges Committee.

On the envisaged new Constitution, Mbowe stressed that the party would withdraw from the process if the government failed to table in Parliament amendments to the new Constitutional Review Act. "If they force us, we will go to the elections under the old Constitution and by God's wish we shall win," he said.

Foul Language

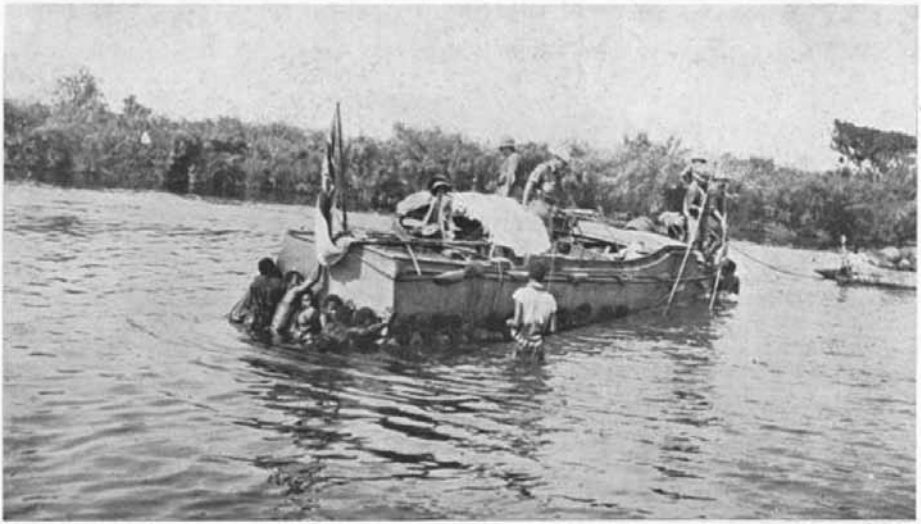
MPs who use foul language in Parliament risk expulsion from the debating chamber Speaker Makinda warned in April. She would now use her powers to discipline errant lawmakers. Standing Orders would be applied to the letter to restore discipline in the House. "I will make sure that abusive MPs are immediately kicked out of the House." She reminded MPs that being on different sides of the political fence was not a licence for them to hurl abuse. Ms Makinda's rebuke followed fierce verbal exchanges on the budgets of various ministries between MPs from CCM and CUF, on one side, and Chadema on the other. (*The Citizen*)

John Sankey: **THE GREAT WAR IN EAST AFRICA**

As the centenary of the 1914 -18 War is being commemorated, several items relating to the East African campaign have recently appeared at auctions.

The most interesting is the Distinguished Service Cross (DSC) and other medals awarded to Lieutenant Arthur Dudley RNVR, who commanded the gunboat *Toutou* during the famous Lake Tanganyika expedition. This led to the sinking of two German warships and was the inspiration for the film *African Queen*.

Dudley had qualified as a Second Mate in the Merchant Navy before enlisting in the Army and serving in the Boer War. He settled in Northern Rhodesia and in 1915 he was 'head-hunted' for the Lake Tanganyika expedition. Commissioned as a Lieutenant in the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve and ordered to report to Cape Town, he was given the task of organising the transportation of the gunboats HMS *Mimi* and HMS *Toutou* over several thousand miles to Lake Tanganyika. The train journey, to Elisabethville (Lubumbashi) in the Belgian Congo, was relatively easy; but the final 150 miles to the lake were on jungle



ONE OF THE NAVY'S WONDERFUL EXPLOITS—OVERLAND TO LAKE TANGANYIKA: NATIVES PUSHING "MIMI" OFF A SANDBANK.

[Continued] selected a route along which water could be found, and by which it might be possible to avoid muddy tracks, steep gradients, and deadly river-beds. The advance party consisted of local natives to cut a road through the bush, and make a fire way for the heavy machine-engines drawing the wagons with the water-beds. An escort of Belgian Congo native troops accompanied the expedition, which had to push on against time in order to escape the almost due rainy season. On some days the expedition reversed twelve miles, which was considered a good journey; on others, less than a mile a day was covered. Bush fires had to be kept at bay, while after the sun's heat in the day-time was often almost overpowering. Breakdowns of the machine-engines, caused by their getting bogged in soft places of mud.

HMS Mimi on Lake Tanganyika being pushed off a sand bank - *The Illustrated War News* 1916 from www.africanbyways.co.za

tracks, with the boats hauled by steam tractors, ox-trains or human labour. Dudley was mentioned in despatches as it was 'due to his exertions that the transport of the boats was successfully accomplished'.

Mimi and *Toutou* reached the lake in December 1915 and went into action immediately. The German vessel *Kingani* was captured and re-named HMS *Fifi*, and in February 1916 the British flotilla sank the *Hedwig von Wissman*. The captain of the German flagship Graf von Goetzen decided to scuttle his vessel at Kigoma to avoid possible capture.

The success of the Lake Tanganyika expedition made headlines in England and raised morale at a time when the War was going badly elsewhere. George V sent his personal congratulations, the commanding officer (Commander Spicer-Simson) was awarded the DSO and his two lieutenants (Dudley and Wainwright) were awarded the DSC. After the War, Dudley returned to Northern Rhodesia and died in Lusaka in 1942. His medals fetched £10,000.

The second group of medals includes the Distinguished Service Medal (DSM) awarded to Yeoman of Signals Daniel Greenshields, serving on HMS *Severn*. In July 1915 the *Severn* entered the Rufiji Delta and

engaged the *Konigsberg*, her gunfire being directed by a spotter aircraft – one of the first examples of ground/air cooperation in naval history. The German cruiser was set ablaze and put out of action.

The *Severn* then sailed to Tanga and sank the German blockade runner *Markgraf*. On returning to the Rufiji, the *Severn* was ordered to destroy a German observation post left behind by the *Konigsberg* at Simba Uranga. Greenshields was a member of the landing party and had a narrow escape when the German signaller fired at him at point-blank range – and missed. He was awarded the DSC in July 1916. His medals were sold for £5,200.

The third group of medals was awarded to Rear-Admiral Hector Boyes CMG. Boyes was in command of the gunboat HMS *Thistle* when Dar es Salaam was captured in 1916 and then took part in a combined operation at Lindi with HMS *Severn* to destroy a German strongpoint equipped with a 4.1" gun salvaged from the *Konigsberg*. A shell from this gun hit the *Thistle*, killing one sailor and setting fire to the magazine, fortunately extinguished by the bravery of the crew. Shortly afterwards the landing party occupied the German position and captured the gun. Boyes was awarded the CMG for this action.

In July 1918 the *Thistle* took part in a combined operation at Quelimane (Portuguese East Africa, now Mozambique) which forced von Lettow-Vorbeck back over the Ruvuma. For this Boyes was awarded the Portuguese Military Order of St Aviz. His fifteen medals were sold for £5,000.

Finally, an unusual hand-painted china plate was auctioned, depicting a Zeppelin airship flying over the Pyramids and inscribed 'Afrika Schiff L 59 1917'. This commemorates an ingenious plan by the Germans to beat the British blockade by sending supplies to von Lettow by air, a novel idea in 1917. The amount of cargo carried was relatively small, but the plan was to dismantle the airship on its arrival at Mahenge (south of Morogoro), so that the canvas, metal struts etc could be used by von Lettow's troops. The propaganda value would also be immense. In the event, the airship was over Sudan when it was ordered to return to Germany, as von Lettow had been forced to withdraw from Mahenge and the airship might be captured. The plate fetched £260.

John Sankey (with thanks to Dix Noonan Webb and Wallis & Wallis)

Ben Taylor:

HEALTH

HIV sector faces funding crisis

The Executive Chairperson of the Tanzania Commission for HIV/AIDS (TACAIDS), Dr Fatma Mrisho, warned that donor funding for the fight against HIV and AIDS was at risk. She said that the Canadian and Danish governments had informed her that from 2015, they would no longer provide financial support to the National Multi-Sectoral Strategic Framework. In addition, the US President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) is also reducing funding. "We, as a nation, need to get prompt replacement for the funding, failure of which all the achievements made in the fight against HIV and Aids for more than 20 years will experience a heavy blow," said Dr Mrisho. (*Daily News*)

Drop in new HIV infections among children

Tanzania recorded a decline in new HIV infections among children between 2009 and 2012, according to a new report by the UN on "The Global Plan towards elimination of new HIV infections among children". Nevertheless, the Global Plan indicated that since only 53% of eligible pregnant women and 26% of eligible children are currently receiving antiretroviral therapy, the country should continue to focus on providing treatment. (*East African*)

Dengue fever outbreak

The Minister for Health and Social Welfare, Hussein Mwinyi, announced that several deaths from dengue fever had been reported at Muhimbili National Hospital in Dar es Salaam. Preventive measures, including sensitising the public about the deadly disease, are being taken. (*East African*)

Bacteria to be deployed against mosquito larvae

A \$22 million biolarvicide plant is under construction in Kibaha, with the potential to provide a valuable new weapon in the battle against malaria, one of the country's biggest killers. The project, a joint venture between the Tanzanian government and a Cuban state-owned firm, will produce a more eco-friendly alternative to synthetic larvacides. The biolarvicides contain toxins that specifically target mosquito larvae. Tanzania is spending about \$240 million (a staggering 3.4 per cent of GDP) annually to treat malaria. This suggests that of the \$11.37 being spent per person per year on health, \$2.14 is spent on treating malaria and its complications. (*East African*)

Anne Samson: **EDUCATION**

[All extracts from The Citizen except where noted]

Fallout from Form IV examinations

The re-marking of the Form IV examinations, conducted in May, resulted in a small improvement in the pass rate. The proportion of candidates classified in Divisions 1-4 rose from 35% to 44% (from 126,847 students to 159,747). The enquiry organised by Prime Minister Pinda into the poor examination performance is still to report its findings publicly.

The Tanzanian NGO *Twaaweza* conducted a survey of 2,000 people after the Form IV results were released. The research revealed that 32% of respondents had not heard of the Form IV results, and that the absence of textbooks and teachers not attending classes was the cause of the poor results. Even if teachers did attend class, they handed out an assignment and left without teaching. It concluded that 'the government and teachers were to blame'.

The Legal and Human Rights Centre 2012 report found that the quality of education was deteriorating and that there was 'an acute shortage of teachers'.

The deputy minister for education has called for the re-introduction of corporal punishment. This has been criticised by Save the Children and the Commission for Human Rights and Good Governance.

There is concern that some of the four hundred Division IV students who have places in overseas colleges may not be going to *bona fide* universities. Those who failed the recent exams should have access to education to improve so as not to be caught out by institutions only interested if they can pay. Ten thousand Form V places have not been filled as a consequence of the poor results. Only students achieving Division I to III can progress, with those getting Division IV being allowed a resit, and some schools have reportedly had to close.

Form VI Results

On 3 June it was announced that of the 51,611 candidates who sat the examination, 87.85% passed. Of these, 35,743 achieved between Division I and III to qualify for university entrance. The success was attributed to the 'sheer determination, self-motivation and focus' of the students to overcome the inadequacies of the facilities available to them.

Higher Education

The Higher Education Student Loans Board (HESLB) has blacklisted more than 68,000 graduates for defaulting on their loan repayments and forwarded their names to the Credit Reference Bureau. (*24Tanzania.com*)

The Vice Chancellor of Teofilo Ksanji University, Mbeya, was locked in his office during July as students demanded the 'release of money meant for their practical training' which was due to start after the completion of their examinations. The delay in the release of funds was apparently due to the late payment of the fees by the Higher Education Students' Loan Board.

Education budget

The government announced in June that it had spent TSh76.4 billion on textbooks for primary and secondary schools as part of efforts to improve education. Capitation grants of more than TSh82 billion had also been disbursed, TSh60 billion for primary schools and TSh22 billion for secondary schools.

In December 2012 there were 171,986 primary and 51,469 secondary school teachers of whom 27,693 (13,633 primary and 14,060 secondary) teachers were newly employed. Teachers were being sent to "far-flung areas" through various initiatives, but a shortage of science teachers remains. TSh20 billion has been set aside for teachers' houses across 40 district councils.

Despite the issues surrounding education and expectations that there would be an increase in the education budget, a decrease of 4.8% was announced, with TSh690 billion being allocated compared to TSh724 billion last year.

Teacher education

To address the shortage of teachers, agreements will be entered into with other countries in the East African Community. Tanzania needs at least 26,000 science teachers but the universities only produce 2,200 teachers with degrees and diplomas each year.

The government will introduce training for head teachers and introduce a professional board for teachers.

A 3R (reading, writing and arithmetic) assessment will be introduced

in grade 2 and teacher training to ensure students master basic skills in early grades. This is part of the Big Results Now initiative. (*Daily News*)

The Public Service Recruitment Secretariat discovered, after receiving a tip-off, that almost 700 applicants for public service jobs had sent in forged certificates during 2012/13.

Curriculum

MP James Mbatia (NCCR-Mageuzi) accused the government of not having a national curriculum in place for primary education. This has led to a heated debate amongst interested parties. A small survey in Kigoma Region by The Citizen revealed “a number of setbacks to primary school education foundation in the country”. The consensus appears to be that education has been affected by politics with the result that educators are not consulted about changes. The quality of textbooks was identified as a further issue.

Education materials

The Education Materials Approval Committee (EMAC) was disbanded in early June because of corrupt practices. It will be replaced with “another strong organ”. All textbooks approved by EMAC will be reviewed “to ensure any mistakes were corrected”. Mbatia is calling for “those responsible for the mess” to be prosecuted.

School inspectorate

A parliamentary committee has suggested that government introduce an independent education inspection agency charged with ensuring quality education in both primary and secondary schools, as the Education Inspection Department had “failed to effectively perform its duties” due to the lack of adequate financial resources. The committee suggested that TSh10 billion be set aside for inspection purposes in the next financial year. In 2011/12, 3,061 out of 7,200 targeted primary school were inspected (42.5%) and 935 out of 2,100 secondary schools (43.3%). The failure of the inspectorate was part of the cause of the 70% failure rate in education over the last ten years.

The ministry of education has suggested that schools be ranked using the Leaving School Examination results from primary and secondary and that a school incentive schemes be introduced to improve education.

David Brewin: **TRANSPORT**

Dar-Chalinze expressway planned

Plans to upgrade the road between Dar es Salaam and Chalinze to a six-lane highway are well advanced, according to the Deputy Minister for Works Gerson Lwenge. The road will be operated as a toll-road. "The 110km Dar es Salaam - Chalinze road has been a headache to transporters and has been a cause of unnecessary delays and accidents. But with the implementation of the project, the cost of doing business will be cut down," he said.

According to Tanroads, the project is expected to take three years and entails construction of six lanes to expressway toll road standards with service roads on both sides and grade separated interchangeability. Access will be controlled and embankments will be high enough to accommodate frequent underpasses and interchanges while maintaining good vertical profile. (*Daily News*)

Tanzania set to become port hub for East Africa

Dar-es-Salaam port has been ranked the top port in East Africa by the the 2012 East African Logistics Performance Survey by the Shipper Council of East Africa (SCEA). This significant improvement in logistics performance is due to drastic changes implemented by the Tanzanian Port Authority in processing cargo in Dar-es-Salaam. However, shipping a container from East Africa can still cost more than double than if it were shipped from the Far East.

In addition, new ports are expected in Bagamoyo (which will have the capacity to handle 20 million containers per year, compared with Dar es Salaam's installed capacity of 500,000) and Tanga. Furthermore, extensive infrastructure improvements are planned at Mtwara, Tanga and Bagamoyo. (*tanzaniaInvest*)

Roger Nellist: **MINING & ENERGY**

Tanzania in the wider African context

Recent Tanzanian mining developments were included at the Africa Mining Summit convened by the Commonwealth Business Council in London on 25-26 June 2013, although the country was not represented at Ministerial level. Ministers from other leading African mining countries – notably Cameroon, Ghana, Kenya, Rwanda, South Sudan

and Zambia – shared their experiences and highlighted recent policy approaches to mineral development in their countries.

Recurring themes at the summit were (a) increased acceptance of greater transparency in mining sector operations, driven in part by the Extractives Industry Transparency Initiative (of which Tanzania is a member); and (b) the emergence across the continent of various forms of “resource nationalism” - of which the most common are the need to maximise national value-add from the minerals produced and also to ensure that local communities where the mining operations take place derive specific, identifiable benefits. These themes for mining also ring true for oil and gas operations (*see TA 105 on Tanzania’s offshore gas developments*).

In a presentation at the summit by IntierraRMG, Tanzania was benchmarked against other African mineral-producing countries, confirming that the country is a significant minerals player, especially in gold. In recent years Tanzania has ranked 3rd in the African annual gold production league, producing significantly less than South Africa and Ghana but a little more than Mali, Burkina Faso, Guinea, Zimbabwe and others. Tanzania also ranked 3rd in 2011 and 2012 in the number of new gold prospects drilled across the continent – which will help sustain the country’s gold production levels in future years. Tanzania’s Geita mine ranks 4th in the list of Africa’s top 10 gold mines.

Tanzania produces useful quantities of other minerals too; but in terms of the total value of all minerals produced, the country ranks only 11th out of the 28 African countries listed by IntierraRMG. South Africa dominates Africa’s minerals value list, with some US\$60 billion of annual mineral production revenue, which dwarfs Tanzania’s US\$2 billion, as well as Zambia’s US\$7 billion (in second place in the African league table). Mozambique lies in third place (with about US\$5.5 billion) and Ghana is fourth with US\$5 billion.

Gold (20%), coal (19%) and copper (9%) together accounted for almost half of total African mineral production revenue in 2012. Importantly, mineral prospecting and appraisal work last year enabled Tanzania to identify additional resources of each of these three key minerals, as well as other major metal and mineral resources, ensuring that the mineral sector has good potential to continue to contribute to the Tanzanian economy in the years ahead. (www.intierrarmg.com)

The Africa Mining Summit also demonstrated that the contribution of mining to economic and social development in Sub-Saharan Africa is under increased scrutiny and criticism. Minerals and petroleum are non-renewable resources, and unless the production gains are efficiently captured and invested by governments, the host countries could experience a net reduction in their national wealth.

Mineral taxation

In April 2013 the International Centre for Tax and Development (ICTD) published a paper entitled *Low Government Revenue from the Mining Sector in Zambia and Tanzania: Fiscal Design, Technical Capacity or Political Will?* Written by Olav Lundstøl, Gaël Raballand and Fuvya Nyirongo, it examines the impact of Tanzania's mineral taxation regime on government (GOT) revenues over the last decade. This suggests that the GOT could have earned substantially more had it levied on an internationally competitive set of fiscal terms.

The authors illustrate the big turn-around in Tanzanian mining over the last 15 years, citing export statistics for gold, the country's dominant mineral. The annual value of Tanzanian gold exports increased from just US\$ 22 million in 1998 to US\$ 2,200 million in 2011, reflecting a tenfold increase in the quantity produced and the large global price hike. However, government revenues from the mining sector have not risen correspondingly. The country's mining tax regime during this period was basically an outcome of efforts to make the sector more attractive in the late 1990s, following decades of public ownership and stagnating levels of investment. In an attempt to address the perceived revenue imbalance, mining terms were tightened in 2004 and again in 2010 - though efforts to enhance revenue flows from existing mining operations were reportedly frustrated by fiscal stabilisation terms previously agreed with the mining companies.

The ICTD paper compared mineral revenue-sharing between investing companies and host governments in seven major mining countries worldwide, including Tanzania and Zambia, and then estimated the amount of mining revenue forgone by the government during the period 1998 – 2011 due to 'ineffective mining revenue-sharing terms'. Noting that effective sharing of mineral benefits between companies and governments has been notoriously difficult to achieve, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa and certainly when compared with petroleum

operations, the authors found that if Tanzania had performed as well as the best mining countries in the comparative benchmarking sample, the government might have collected an extra US\$ 1 billion of tax revenue from large mining operations over the period 1998 – 2011. Total revenues might then have been US\$ 1,831 million instead of the US\$ 776 million it is understood the GOT earned. This would have been an increase of 136%, or very roughly US\$ 75 million extra per year. (Zambia performed much worse, with a discrepancy of almost 300%).

The ICTD paper also examined the composition of the GOT's mining revenues. Company data from the most recent Tanzanian Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (TEITI) reports for 2008/9 and 2009/10 showed that six mines dominated the large-scale mining sector, all predominantly in gold. These accounted for 85-90% of the audited export of gold from Tanzania as well as the majority of the direct investment, procurement and employment in the large-scale mining sector. However, ICTD's analysis of these TEITI reports found that profit-based corporate tax made a very modest contribution to mining revenue, despite 5-10 years of operations under the current mine owners and a global mineral super cycle since 2005/6. Gross value-based corporate taxes, together with employee-based taxes, dominate the tax revenue collected from the mining sector. As is common in other mineral producing countries, certain fiscal exemptions are part of the mining regime, though the government is now trying to minimise their use. (*For full text, see <http://www.ictd.ac/sites/default/files/ICTD%20WP9.pdf>*)

Electricity: The US “Power Africa” Initiative

On 2 July 2013, in the presence of President Kikwete, President Obama delivered a speech at the Ubungu Symbion Power Plant in Dar es Salaam. Drawing attention to the fact that nearly 70% of Africans lack access to electricity, a major obstacle to economic and social development, Obama profiled a major new initiative – “Power Africa” – that he had announced in Cape Town a few days earlier. Power Africa promises to double access to electricity in Africa, as a first step bringing electricity to 20 million homes and businesses. It will do this by matching public and private resources with projects led by six African countries that are committed to energy reforms, including Tanzania. The US is committing \$7 billion in support of this new initiative and private sector companies have already committed more than \$9 billion.

Obama cited the Ubungu plant as a model for replication across the continent: "This facility was idle. But the Tanzanian government, under President Kikwete's leadership, committed to making reforms in the energy sector. With support from the Millennium Challenge grant, General Electric, and Symbion, they got it up and running again. More Tanzanians got electricity".

Obama appealed for a sense of urgency in African energy reform effort. One of the things he had learned from the business roundtable during his visit was that "if we are going to electrify Africa, we've got to do it with more speed.... It's hard to attract private-sector business if they feel as if their money is going to be tied up forever in uncertainty. So we want to focus on speed, but we also want to do it right. And the United States intends to be a strong partner in this process".

Donovan McGrath: TANZANIA IN THE INTERNATIONAL MEDIA

To our readers: 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.

I eat halal meat, and I just know these recent religious tensions aren't kosher. *Elsie Eyakuze shares her thoughts on recent religious tension in Tanzania.*

Extract: "Let's admit: We're not coping well with our diversity anymore. There are some who will say that we never have been the haven of peace and tolerance that we purport to be, that we are rather fragile. There might be some truth to that. It is unlikely that Tanzania in its 50-odd years of Independence has managed to magically resolve one of the most intractable social divides... Since we no longer have the unifying elements of a socialist regime marching us through poverty to rely on anymore, it looks like we're starting to take care of some of the business we never got around to in the tender period of our early nationhood.

Now identities are cropping up, and they're always so obvious aren't they? If not tribe, then religion. I respect the benefits that a strong identity, a set of beliefs can confer on people. Just not at the cost of the collective good. That is what is frightening about the recent accumulation of stories about religious strife – it is not in keeping with our reverence

for the quiet life. The secular life. The separation of church and state, and all that entails.

...We have stepped all over Zanzibar's frail sovereignty to avoid even the hint of encroaching theocracy... I don't know many Tanzanians who can look at their clans and not stumble across at least two major religions, an aunt who is a charismatic pastor, a couple of closet atheists and a handful of mixed marriages.... Which makes me wonder who is looking to benefit from the destabilisation that religious strife offers? ... I can't bring myself to imagine that we would be so stupid as to fall into the trap of religious strife ... People of true and deep faith tend to be rather difficult to annoy to the point of violence. Which makes religious conflict one of the biggest contradictions I have ever encountered..." *(East African 6-12 April)*

Radical preacher wanted over Zanzibar acid attack shot in police raid

"A radical Muslim preacher wanted for questioning over the acid attack on two British tourists in Zanzibar was shot ... as he fled police trying to arrest him [in Morogoro]. Extract continues: 'Sheikh Issa Ponda is understood to have survived the raid and was on the run but injured police sources told The Daily Telegraph. He had visited Zanzibar in the weeks running up to the attack on Katie Gee and Kirstie Trup ... Ponda earlier this month met with the imprisoned leaders of a Muslim separatist group, Uamsho, who police believe may have inspired the attack on the two women. *(Telegraph online 10 August). (Editor's note: there has been considerable concern in Tanzania regarding the portrayal of this acid attack in the UK press, including this article from the Telegraph. In particular, several British papers insinuated, as this article did, that the arrest of Sheikh Ponda was connected to the acid attack. The Tanzanian police have strenuously denied this connection.)*

Why Dar is hot, and the rest of us are not

According to the *East African*, as far as African diplomacy goes Tanzania right now is that girl on the dance floor that every boy wants to dance with. If it is a Chinese leader coming to Africa, he must stop in Dar es Salaam. If it is a Western leader visiting, tea with the President at State House on Ocean Road will inevitably be on the cards. And now in the first week of July not only has US President Barack Obama decided to cherry pick only Tanzania to visit in the region, but former American

president George Bush and his wife Laura will also be in town for a First Ladies conference.

An earlier article entitled 'Why Obama chose Tanzania for his Africa tour' explored three possible reasons why Dar is hot. First, it has vast oil, gas and mineral reserves that have been discovered in recent years, so the Americans don't want the Chinese to feast on the goodies alone. They want a piece of the action. Second, its leaders are not involved in any major domestic or international controversy... Third, it is the most stable country in the region ... the only country in the region whose political reserves have not yet been tapped out. Rwanda has to keep 24 hours DRC watch as well as peacekeeping in Darfur and the two Sudans' border; Uganda, Burundi, and Kenya are still wading through Somalia's murky political waters. And Tanzania has the largest unspent store of energies that can be unleashed through political reforms." (*East African* 8-14 June).

Violent Episodes Grow in Tanzania, an African Haven

"As one of the leaders of an acrimonious doctors' strike in Tanzania, Dr. Stephen Ulimboka was not entirely surprised when a group of armed men appeared, unannounced, at a meeting and arrested him. But when he saw that the car they were forcing him into had no license plates, fear truly hit him. ... Tanzania has a reputation abroad as an island of stability in the often-chaotic region of East Africa. ... President Obama arrives here on Monday to a country where human rights groups and the largest opposition party say episodes of intimidation and suppression of political opponents are growing.

"The international community believes there is peace in Tanzania," said Willibrod Slaa, the secretary general of the opposition party Chadema. "There is fear, not peace."... Journalists have been attacked and in at least one instance killed while working. Last July, the government banned an independent weekly newspaper, *Mwanahalisi*, which had been reporting aggressively on Dr. Ulimboka's kidnapping, linking the crime to the government. President Jakaya Kikwete denied any connection. ... Analysts say the very real prospect that voters will choose another party in the next election, in 2015, has rattled some members of the government, particularly those who are afraid that a new party in power could mean aggressive investigations and prosecutions." (*New York Times* 30 June)

Tanzania settles human trafficking case of former diplomat

President Obama can go to Africa next week with a clean conscience. The government of Tanzania, which had been in a years-long dispute with the State Department over a human trafficking judgment against one of its diplomats, has settled the case on the eve of the presidential trip. Diplomat Alan Mzengi in 2008 was ordered by a U.S. court to pay a \$1 million judgment to a domestic servant he and his wife held against her will at their Bethesda home for four years while he was posted in Washington. The woman was maltreated and eventually escaped, but Mzengi didn't pay the default judgment and instead returned to Tanzania, where he was reportedly working as an advisor to the president.

The victim was willing to accept only the \$170,000 in back wages she was owed, but, despite years of efforts by the State Department, no serious offer emerged. Finally, Tanzania this week paid the \$170,000; according to people familiar with the agreement, Mzengi himself paid a small amount of the total and his government provided the rest. The victim's pro bono lawyer, Martina Vandenberg, said it was the first such payment for a case of diplomatic human trafficking in the United States." (*Washington Post* 21 June)

Obama hopes to tap into Tanzania's boom

"Discovery of large energy deposits and secession fears in East African country form backdrop for US president's visit. ... Obama is visiting Tanzania months after China's new president, Xi Jinping, had finished a tour of the resource-rich country. As China continues to expand its footprint on the African continent, the United States is moving to strengthen ties with countries it has had good relations with over the years. ... The US government understands that there are political schisms and corruption in Tanzania, but the country's stability is important for US business interests and foreign policy, given the risk of terrorism on the coast of East Africa and the ongoing efforts to find peace in the Great Lakes region, as Tanzania shares borders with eight other countries.

... Despite the corruption and likely instability in the future, President Obama's decision to visit Tanzania will be viewed by many as good judgment. The fact that Tanzania has held five successive democratic elections in a region plagued by political instability and tribal disputes

does not only make it a good investment destination, but also gives it legitimacy and moral authority to broker peace in Somalia, where the United States is battling groups affiliated with al-Qaeda." (*Al Jazeera* 30 June)

An Electric Moment for Tanzania Lingers

"The curving stretch of road along the Indian Ocean behind the State House was once simply called Ocean Road. Now, a black-and-white-striped post holds a sign bearing its new name: Barack Obama Drive. ... After Mr. Obama headed back to the United States on Tuesday - ending a trip to sub-Saharan Africa that also took him to Senegal and South Africa - the American flag still waved alongside the green, yellow, black and blue of the Tanzanian flag, under the ubiquitous signs with Mr. Obama's face and the Swahili word for welcome, "karibu." ... Mr. Obama retains the kind of celebrity status here in East Africa that he once enjoyed in Europe and other parts of the world, making his visit a public event as much as an act of diplomacy. The cheering throngs welcoming him to Tanzania were much larger and louder than those he saw on the first two stops of his trip." (*New York Times* 2 July)

Funded at last! Zanzibar Cathedral

Extract: "In 2007 CED [Christian Engineers in Development] was asked to look at whether we could assist in efforts to conserve and repair Zanzibar Cathedral. The costs are considerable and CED had been supporting the Cathedral and *Friends of Zanzibar Cathedral* to find funding with the expectation that the EU would make a call for heritage projects and fund a large portion of the work. The Cathedral organised a sponsored climb of Mount Kilimanjaro which raised around \$20,000 ... the World Monument Fund (WMF) ... has taken a broader interest in the project and its significance on the World stage...

The works principally involve the tying of the barrel vault arch roof of the Cathedral, which is formed of approx 600mm thick coral and lime concrete, with high tensile steel bars (to be imported). Plan one is to provide steel thrust palates at either end of the tie rods, but if the wall construction proves to be very poor, then plan two may have to swing into operation - the casting of large reinforced concrete beams to spread the load. We hope and pray the project does not necessitate this!" (*CED Newsletter No 97, May 2013*)

The Bully of Zanzibar

"House crows compete for resources with other birds, prey on their eggs and chicks, and regularly raid poultry." Extract continues: "When David Livingstone arrived on the island of Zanzibar in 1866, he was so appalled at the filth and the stench that he called it "Stinkibar" ... In an attempt to clean up the island, the colonial governor of the time [who had seen crows eating rubbish in India] .. introduced the Indian house crow [in 1891] to clean up the filth, little knowing the havoc it would wreak in Zanzibar and beyond... "By 1917, the house crows were officially declared a pest in Zanzibar ..." [and] has been called the world's most destructive crow. This aggressive monster is unafraid of humans ... They are known to gouge out the eyes of infant cows, sheep and goats ... it is difficult to bait the house crow because it can recognise human faces... Thriving on human waste ... [t]he only thing known to repulse house crows is the avicide Starlicide, manufactured in America to get rid of the European starling... It worked well until the infamous 9/11 terror attacks, when the poison was banned for export by Americans for fear it could be used for other purposes... Kenyan authorities have taken no initiative to fight the menace. But [Tanzania] is killing one million birds a month..." (*East African* 20-26 April)

Not all Tanzanians have the 'r' problem - Ebby Exaud shares his experience with Swahili during a stay in Kenya.

Extract: "I went to Kenya to study for a bachelor's degree six years ago, and, at first, I was surprised at the way everyone changed their intonation on learning that I was Tanzanian. "*Naomba nikusarimie.*" "*Umerara poa ndugu yangu?*" "*Naomba nikuombe uniretee kazi yangu.*" (May I greet you? Did you sleep well, my brother? Can I please ask you to bring back my work?) I don't know who told these people that all Tanzanians speak like that. And I am not referring to the courtesy in speech but replacing "I" with "r." It took me a long time to explain to them that not all Tanzanians have the "r" problem. It mostly comes from Sukuma who do. But it never stopped. The good thing with being a Tanzanian in Kenya is that you are considered the Kiswahili guru. I was always happy to teach my Kenyan friends proper grammar. I could not get over how they always said "*mandizi*" as the plural for "*ndizi*." In Kiswahili *mufti*, the plural for *ndizi* is *ndizi*.

I had three roommates at the university, all Kikuyu... They said if I

wanted to have a comfortable stay at the university, and in Kenya, I had to learn the language... My Kikuyu lessons didn't last too long ... just two days... I asked them to teach me how to say "Good night" in Kikuyu. Happily, they told me it was "*Koma ngui ino.*" So I sent Wahura [a Kikuyu girl] a "good night" text message in Kikuyu and she did not reply that night. In the morning, I learnt what I thought was a good night message actually meant, "Sleep, you dog"! She had a good laugh when she realised I had not meant to insult her. But it marked the end of my Kikuyu lessons. To this day, I do not know how to say "good night" in Kikuyu." (*East African* 25-31 May).

Tanzanian artist draws out the life in women

Extract: "...In Tanzania, the Tingatinga style of art, named after its founder, Edward Said Tingatinga, was developed in the second half of the 20th century. And now, there is a new generation of artists who have created their own style. Among them is Beata Munita, a self-trained painter who has been working on canvas since 2009. Munita has a unique style in her use of colours, brush stroke, and mosaic backgrounds. The artist says she paints the stories of African women and their role in society. The purpose of her work is to express all aspects of women as mothers, workers, home makers and wives... Munita showcased her art at the Alliance Francaise in Dar es Salaam. It was her first exhibition *The 360 Degrees Woman.*" (*East African* 29 March)

Young African Millionaires to watch in 2013

This online edition of Forbes featured 'a handful of young African entrepreneurs who've legitimately built multi-million dollar companies while in their 20s and 30s. Tanzanian Mohammed Dewji is among them.

Extract: "Dewji, 38, a Tanzanian businessman and politician, is the CEO and leading shareholder of Mohammed Enterprise Limited (METL), one of the largest industrial conglomerates in East Africa. His father, Gulam Dewji, founded the conglomerate decades ago as a trading company but "Mo" as he is popularly called, now calls the shots... METL, which records an annual turnover of close to \$2 billion, owns 21st Century Textiles, one of the largest textile mills in sub-Saharan Africa by volume... The group employs over 24,000 full-time employees... Mo Dewji [is also] a Member of Parliament for Tanzania's Singida Urban constituency..." (*Forbes magazine* - online 15 July)

The Mtwara boom

Thousands of tonnes of drill pipes are neatly stacked in a yard at Mtwara port in southern Tanzania, waiting to be loaded onto vessels supplying gas rigs 100km (60 miles) offshore. Their drill bits, guided with centimetre-level accuracy, will bite into the seabed 2km underwater and then penetrate the reservoirs of gas that locals hope will fuel a long-awaited leap forward. When the British colonial authorities opened the deepwater port at Mtwara in 1954, partly to replace a naval port at Simonstown in South Africa, it was billed as a turning-point for East African trade. But the port decayed and Mtwara and its cashew-growing hinterland were neglected by Tanzania's rulers after the country became independent, initially as Tanganyika, in 1961.

Work on a road linking Mtwara to Dar es Salaam, the commercial capital, began half a century ago and is still unfinished. Most tellingly, Tanzania's education system has failed to equip the local Makonde people with skills. But the scale of the coming gas bonanza bears no comparison with anything in the past. Tanzania's gasfields abut even richer ones in the waters of neighbouring Mozambique. Britain's BG and Norway's Statoil have won licences to exploit the bulk of the gas found so far. Tanzania's government wants the companies to put some of the gas to use in Tanzania and to invest in local infrastructure. Exporting the rest will mean constructing a liquefied-natural-gas plant that will be the biggest project in Tanzanian history.

The government has also signed up a Nigerian company (Dangote) to build a cement factory near Mtwara. A new railway will have to be laid to carry material from the port to the factory. Within a few years coal, ores, timber and food should be shipped out of Mtwara in greater quantities than before." (*The Economist* 20 April) - Thank you John Walton, Simon Hardwick and David Leishman for this item – Editor

Africans moved aside for land

This issue looks at the forced movement of people from their land. In Ethiopia cattle-herders are being resettled into "main villages" to free up vast tracts of land to foreign corporations, while in Tanzania Masai herders are being evicted to allow a big-game hunting firm exclusive access to Masai village land (TA 95,96 and 105)

"Masai herders may be victims of deal with Dubai hunting firm". Extract continues: "Tanzania plans a new "wildlife corridor" on 600 square miles of Masai village land in the Loliondo Region ... will evict 30,000 Masai - and allow exclusive access to the Ortello Business Corporation (OBC), a big-game hunting firm owned by the royal family of Dubai, United Arab Emirates.

Tanzania's tourism minister, Khamis Kagasheki ... announced the creation and sale of the wildlife corridor as a kind of *fait accompli*.... Tanzanian officials claim the Masai are squatters on government land and that their cattle overgraze and threaten the health and migration of herds of wildebeest. Many biologists argue that the Masai, who do not hunt, pose little threat to the ecology and lived alongside wildlife, including the wildebeest, for centuries. Nomadic cattle rearing is a highly productive use of arid lands, well adapted to the inconsistent local weather patterns, they argue.

'The way the Masai manage the range actually encourages wildlife,' says University of Washington expert Benjamin Gardner. In recent years, the government of Tanzania has earned far more cash from tourism than from cattle, and the Masai argue that officials are taking their land under the rubric of environmentalism to line their pockets. The OBC has operated in Liliondo since 1992 and pays so well that Tanzanian President Jakaya Kikwete sent in national police during a 2009 drought to keep cattle and locals away from water resources near the hunting camp.

... The government might rethink its decision after an online petition received two million signatures and as Masai threatened to leave the ruling party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi ... Tanzania's mission in the United Nations issued a statement upholding Minister Kagasheki's decision that evicting the Masai was an ecological necessity... Ced Hesse, principal researcher on dry lands and pastures for the Britain-based International Institute for Environment and Development, says Tanzania's position is 'not founded in any scientific evidence'." (*The Christian Science Monitor Weekly* 10 June) - Thank you R J Searle for this item – Editor

The Karagosis are back

Up to the 1960s in Zanzibar, the Karagosi [Puppets: from Turkish *Karagöz*] show was the main Eid attraction, both for kids and grown-ups at Mnazi Mmoja grounds, followed by a ride on the wooden merry-go-round and a picnic on the grass with family and friends. Extract continues: 'The Karagosi show is a revival of the old customs. The performance combines live actors and puppets on stage together in a funny, enchanting performance. The organizers are Creative Solutions and dramatist Issak Esmail Issak collaborating in their second summer production, "*Ruya na Rabia*". The action takes place in the 30s and 40s in Makunduchi village on southern Unguja. The play is based on one of several published short stories by Issak Esmail Issak. The language is Swahili.

Ruya and Rabia are twins. One of them influences the other in habit and action so strongly that no one is able to tell them apart. Soon Rabia is lost at sea during Mwaka Koga (finalizing the year after Ramadhan and Eid). Ruya grieves and becomes ill. When she recovers she discovers she has inherited Rabia's magic, whereby she is able to make those near her imitate all her actions... Ruya and Rabia is a comedy for young and old, played by trained young Zanzibari actors, exquisite puppets created by Aida Ayers at Creative Solutions and with original freshly composed music. The show was performed at Creative Solutions Centre at Mangapwani". (*Habari* 2/2013)

Philip Richards: **SPORT**

Football

Despite high hopes reported in TA 105, and valiant efforts recognized across the spectrum of Tanzanian society and media, Taifa Stars have sadly failed to qualify for next year's FIFA World Cup in Brazil. A 2-1 defeat away to Morocco at the beginning of June always made the game a week later against Ivory Coast (top of the FIFA rankings in Africa) a difficult mountain to climb.

Kim Poulsen's team bowed out of their campaign with a 4-2 defeat in front of a home crowd in Dar, leaving the remaining away game in September against Gambia merely a matter of maintaining pride. Disappointingly, Tanzania have also failed to qualify for the 2014

African Nations Championship, after a 4-1 aggregate defeat against Uganda. As a result of this and the World Cup exit, the national side have dropped 7 places to 128 in the FIFA rankings. (*Daily News*)

Athletics

Tanzania sent two athletes to the 2013 World Athletics Championships in Moscow in August. The country's hopes lay with Faustine Mussa and Mohamed Msenduki, who both competed in the men's marathon. Alas neither Mussa nor Msenduki were able to bring home a medal, finishing 34th and 39th respectively.

On the domestic front, exciting news that a 2500 seat indoor stadium in Dar is expected to be ready for use by November this year. The Filbert Bayi Indoor Stadium, named after the legendary Tanzanian middle distance runner, will cater for various sports including the construction of an athletics track.

On a less positive note, it has been reported that the national athletics body (Athletics Tanzania) may struggle to run the national championships in Morogoro due to lack of funds. (*The Citizen*)

Swimming

Three swimmers represented Tanzania at the FINA World Swimming Championships in Barcelona but did not advance beyond the heat stages.

Cycling

While Chris Froome's victory in this year's *Tour de France* captured the public imagination in the UK (and to a lesser extent, Kenya, where Froome was borne and began his cycling career), much work is being done to rebuild the reputation and organisation of cycling as a sport in Tanzania.

An example of this is an identification camp recently held in Babati District, Manyara Region. Attended by prominent overseas cyclists, the camp produced four local cyclists who went on to represent Tanzania in the 900km *Tour Cycliste du Congo*. Maybe we will see a Tanzanian at the start line in Yorkshire next year for the Grand Depart of the 2014 *Tour de France* ! (*The Citizen*)

Ben Taylor:

OBITUARIES

BI KIDUDE was Zanzibar's leading cultural ambassador, the most celebrated singer of the taarab style. Born Fatuma binti Baraka around 1910, she was universally (and affectionately) known by her adopted name, Bi Kidude, or "little thing". From the 1920s she was singing for a living, following the example of her idol, Siti binti Saad, whose style Bi Kidude had picked up as a young girl. Her uncle played in Saad's band, so she hung around with the musicians, pretending to sleep while she took it all in. She continued to sing throughout her life. In 1994, seven decades after she began performing, she recorded her first solo album, Zanzibar; in 2005 she was awarded the Womex (World Music Expo) Lifetime Achievement Award.

She is revered by Tanzanian Bongo Flava hip-hop artists, alongside many of whom she performed or recorded in her final years. But Bi Kidude was not just about the music. She was a rebellious figure, challenging Islamic traditions: refusing to accept the role that was expected of her as a woman, performing together with men without wearing a veil as well as drinking and smoking heavily. "I don't think that Bi Kidude would have called herself a feminist," wrote Elsie Eyakuze, "but she did the cause untold amounts of good. This slightly sodden, plenty frisky little old lady of Taarab ... was good magic. She was a carrier of joyfulness and eccentricity. Stories abound about her exploits, the risks she took, her cheerful embrace of an unconventional lifestyle." She died on 17 April 2013.

ALLY SYKES and his brother Abdulwahid were key figures with Julius Nyerere in the nascent Tanganyikan independence movement in the 1950s. When the Tanzanian African National Union (Tanu) was formed in 1954, Ally Sykes paid for the first 1,000 membership cards to be printed. Tanu card no. 1 went to Nyerere, while no. 2 went to Ally Sykes. Earlier, he had joined the King's African Rifles aged 15, serving in Burma during World War 2. On his return to East Africa he headed for Nairobi, where he worked as a musician and as a highly successful sales promoter, marketing a wide range of products from music to Coca Cola to real estate. In 1958 Peter Colmore, a British impresario and entrepreneur based in Kenya, appointed him to be his agent in Tanganyika. Ally later operated on his own, while also taking a post in the colonial civil service. Before independence, his political activi-

ties made him unpopular with the authorities. After independence, his wealth created a problem; the 1967 Arusha declaration made it impossible for him to maintain his business interests and he lost a great deal of property under the 1971 Acquisition of Buildings Act. He died in Nairobi on 19 May, aged 86. President Kikwete, and former presidents Mwinyi and Mkapa, attended his funeral in Dar es Salaam.

JOHN BAPTIST DA SILVA was an artist and historian of Zanzibari culture. He moved to Zanzibar as a young boy, from Portuguese Goa, where he was born in 1937. His father was dressmaker to the Sultan of Zanzibar. His paintings, drawings and photographs of the unique architecture of Stone Town helped raise awareness of the plight of the buildings, many of which were deteriorating rapidly, and were influential in the UN decision to make Stone Town a World Heritage Site in 2000. He died on 20 March, aged 76.

Sir NICHOLAS MONCK, a notable contributor to Tanzanian development in the era of Julius Nyerere died in August 2013, aged 78. As a senior economist for Derek Bryceson, the Agriculture Minister, from 1966-69 Nick helped construct a much more effective agricultural policy. Also a sportsman, he played for a local Dar football team and sailed the coast. Back in the UK he had a distinguished civil service career. He became private secretary to Denis Healey as Chancellor of the Exchequer, then 2nd Permanent Secretary of the Treasury and finally Permanent Secretary of the Department of Employment. The Times (3 Sept) declared that he “was an unconventional civil servant.... one of the most civilised and approachable”. A man of strong egalitarian views, Nick had great sparkle and charm, and a wide circle of friends, who will miss him greatly (*by Alastair Balls*).

BARBARA ROLLINSON, former assistant secretary, Government of Nigeria, who came to Tanzania with her husband John and taught English at the DA Girls’ School and Geography at the HH Aga Khan Boys’ Secondary School, Dar es Salaam, from 1963 to 1966. She died peacefully on 15 May.

RICHARD BEATTY, OBE was the Director of African Environments tour company since 1998 and British Honorary Consul in Arusha since 1995. He was awarded the OBE in the 2013 New Year Honours, for services to British interests in Tanzania. He is survived by his wife, Janice, and three daughters.

John Cooper-Poole:

REVIEWS

SERENGETI STORY: LIFE AND SCIENCE IN THE WORLD'S GREATEST WILDLIFE REGION. Anthony R.E. Sinclair. Oxford University Press, 270 pp. ISBN 978-0-19-964552-7. £18.99/\$34.99

Most people interested in African savannah ecosystems, and the Serengeti in particular, will be familiar with the scientific work of Anthony (Tony) Sinclair. As the author of hundreds of influential research papers and seven major scientific books, his life-long research has left a permanent imprint on the discipline of ecosystem ecology, and possibly more importantly, on the face of the planet. In *Serengeti Story*, Tony Sinclair traces the history of this 30,000 km² World Heritage Site from his arrival in 1965 to the present, laced with personal experiences of great joy and disaster, scientific perspectives on the past health of the ecosystem, and the challenges faced by this vast expanse of wildlife-friendly terrain under constant threat from resource exploitation, agricultural conversion, herders and poachers.

Sinclair provides an accessible, fascinating and illustrated history of the people and animal populations of this region. Few of the processes controlling its biodiversity and ecological systems were understood until the second half of the 20th century, and much of this understanding is due to Sinclair, his students and his collaborators. Included are chapters on the early wildlife ecologists - the likes of George Schaller of the Wildlife Conservation Society, who first described the social lives of lions; and Han Kruuk who did the first study of wild hyenas. He includes a number of portraits of his successful research students (now collaborators) and his record of supporting Tanzanian researchers is admirable.

He recounts the various disasters, shortages and blocks to East African field research that were regularly encountered due to political upheavals such as those in Uganda, border closures in the East African Community, banditry and routine breakdowns of aircraft and cars. Some of these stories are very funny, others are tragic, but all are told with Sinclair's honest and elegant prose. And each human story is matched with information about the bird and mammal species of the Serengeti, uniquely known to Sinclair.

Serengeti's story does not yet have a happy ending. While dedicated ecologists such as Sinclair have made a life's work out of unravelling the complex dynamics and interactions sustaining this vital ecosystem, what they all have shown is how vulnerable it is to human activities. Predator die-offs due to distemper

from local dogs, retaliatory hunting and poisoning, threats from ivory and meat poaching, fires and the increasing frequency of droughts, and most recently the proposal for a highway to enable mining and settlements that will cut the renowned wildebeest migration in half.

In June 2013, the funding for this road was approved by the Tanzanian Parliament and thus it will probably go ahead. It appears that no part of the globe is immune from the interests of development, even World Heritage Sites like Serengeti that provide considerable revenues through their intact ecosystem functioning. The voice of campaigners, scientists, local conservationists and the long-term studies of Sinclair and colleagues may ultimately be for naught.

P.C. Lee

TRANSLATING GROWTH INTO POVERTY REDUCTION BEYOND THE NUMBERS Edited by Flora Kessy, Oswald Mashindano, Andrew Shepherd and Lucy Scott 2013. Mkuki na Nyota: Dar es Salaam. 226 pages. ISBN 978-9987-08-226-1. Available from African Books Collective Ltd., P.O. Box 721, Oxford OX1 9EN (paperback).

A book with four respected academic editors and thirteen contributors devoted to poverty reduction in a third world country is bound to appeal to a wide readership. The work of the Chronic Poverty Research Centre might not at first appear of interest to the casual reader, but the many interviews of the rural poor are fascinating to anyone who has experienced travel in the non-urban parts of Tanzania. This well referenced book can be recommended as a valuable source of information about Tanzania, where economic growth has averaged seven per cent between 2000 and 2008 but poverty has stubbornly failed to make any such dramatic improvement. This is at a time of stable government and exploitation of many forms of natural resources.

Small farms (*shambas*) often do not thrive and secondary education is one of the best ways for children to escape rural poverty; but it often only leads, at best, to employment in the service industry in towns. However, those employed in urban areas, such as security guards, will remit money to support families in rural communities.

Chapter 4 on the Rise of Womens' Responsibility also gives hope as it is suggested that a quarter of households are woman-led. Yet divorce and (male) alcoholism are cited as causes of women falling into poverty. Inheritance laws (including customary law) do not always favour the retention of viable *shambas* and polygamy is another problem. Education at primary level is available for

all, but the route for women to escape poverty is not easy. A recent research paper, *Boys v Girls Maths performance in Africa*, analysed secondary school results and found that Tanzania has the worst record of the 19 countries monitored for girls doing worse than boys at government examinations.

Increasing cross border trade is suggested as one possible means by which agricultural products could be more profitable. However, the friendship bridge Mtambashwala, between Mtwara region and Mozambique, opened in the last year, has not brought immediate benefits. Farming remains the largest work sector and the sale of plant products averaged 26 per cent of GDP. The livestock industry, unlike that of neighbouring Zambia, has never developed a significant export trade and will not do so until road and rail links are more reliable.

Dick Lane

ASPECTS OF COLONIAL TANZANIA HISTORY. Lawrence E. Y. Mbogoni and Mkuki na Nyota, Dar es Salaam. 2013. Pp. 211. US\$24.95, paper (ISBN 9789987083008). Available from African Books Collective.

The Tanzania-born and America-based historian Lawrence Mbogoni has produced a delightful and eclectic collection of essays on colonial life in Tanzania. His starting point is the central distinction between coloniser and colonised, and how this conceit plays out in diverse forums, from the airy realms of ‘civilisation’ discourse to grubby conflicts over land and money. Divided into four sections – ‘Economy and Politics in Tanganyika’; ‘Film Production and Radio Broadcasting’; ‘Affairs of the Heart in Colonial Zanzibar’; and ‘Slavery and Politics in Colonial Zanzibar’ – this collection is not framed around current academic debates on the meanings of colonialism, but rather offers a study of institutions and emotions.

Loneliness, avarice, fear, depravity, and jealousy animate the actions of eccentric European adventurers who come to colonial Tanganyika to strike it rich in diverse locales such as the Lupa goldfields or the game-hunting savannahs. Mbogoni has a particularly sharp eye for European debauchery, be it in the spreading of venereal diseases through interracial liaisons, or in the excessive drinking that leads to territory-wide alcohol restrictions. As a result, each of the book’s eleven chapters rarely fails to entertain.

The first section’s overriding topic is the hypocritical unaccountability of colonial legal structures, which the author shows can take many forms. In the experience of the colourful poacher-turned-gamekeeper George Gilman Rushby, conservation laws and institutions pliantly bend to meet European con-

venience. In the case of Chief Makongoro of Ikizu, the institution of indirect rule allows an ambitious chief to build up enormous wealth and patronage, until administrators decide that patronage is in fact corruption, deposing Makongoro and sending him off to an exile which he does not long survive.

Mbogoni also explores a famous 1955 murder case of the Arusha-based settler Harold Stuchbery at the hands of a local Maasai man. The subsequent criminal trial ended in acquittal, but for the Maasai the real legal process is offering 'blood money' to compensate Stuchbery's survivors, in which the animating principle is not guilt or innocence but balance.

Throughout the book, the main sources are classically colonial—and British colonial at that, as German-era materials are not consulted. European memoirs loom large, as do the reports and legislation of the British colonial government. The bibliography is a bit sparse but the footnoting is generous, revealing the paradoxical nature of the book's sources—mostly drawn from 'metropolitan' archives and libraries, with almost none having a physical home in Tanzania.

Narrative regularly trumps academic-style structuring in each chapter, with introductions and conclusions employed primarily to set up stories rather than elaborate analyses. Yet Mbogoni does bring in relevant secondary literature on Tanzanian and African history to illustrate wider contexts. The defining role of colonial racism and the (failed) attempts to impose cultural hegemony are phrased briefly, flatly, and without any jargon-strewn prose.

In the second section, Mbogoni offers an overview of Tanganyika's colonial cinema and reveals the logistical nightmares that Hollywood productions navigated in late colonial East Africa. The most original chapter in historiographical terms concerns radio, with a much-needed survey of colonial-era broadcasting. Colonial radio was dominated by the government's Public Relations Department and one key manager seconded from the BBC, Tom Chalmers, yet Mbogoni does not offer much interpretively about the legacy of Radio Dar es Salaam and the Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation for Tanzania.

The most surprising chapter concerns the illicit relationship between a British colonial doctor, Henry Watkins-Pitchford, and a young teenage Parsi girl in Zanzibar, a tale preserved in voyeuristic detail in the U.K. National Archives. More familiar is the case of the Zanzibari 'Princess' Seyyida Salme and Heinrich Ruede—a story which Mbogoni ably synthesizes, while adding his own somewhat wooden speculations on the lasting religious impact of Islamic education on the exiled Zanzibari widow.

The concluding chapters on the legacy of slavery in Zanzibari politics covers well-trodden ground, and unfortunately takes at face value the islands' racial categories and the orientalist fantasies of European travel writers. The book's general lack of source criticism and specific historiographical intervention is most sorely felt in this final section, which will satisfy few readers interested in Zanzibari history. Yet this does not detract from the larger portrait, painted in a novel combination of brushstrokes that highlight the relationship between the institutions and psychologies of colonial-era life.

James R. Brennan

WORLD WAR I IN AFRICA: THE FORGOTTEN CONFLICT AMONG THE EUROPEAN POWERS; Anne Samson, : I. B. Tauris, London 2013 306 pages, ISBN 978 1 78076 119 0. £59.50.

Anne Samson's *World War I in Africa: The Forgotten Conflict among the European Powers* is a welcome addition to the literature on the 1914-18 War. Each decade tends to bring at least one new title on the conflict, and following the earlier works of Byron Farwell and Melvin Page, and the memorable 1978 special issue of the *Journal of African History*, we have recently had books by Ross Anderson, Giles Foden, Edward Paice and, Huw Strachan and John Morrow with his *The Great War: An Imperial History*.

Despite these important works, the European aspect of the conflict is so programmed in to the Western DNA that non-European theatres need all the publicity they can get. What is pleasing about this addition is that it looks up and down the scale, from high politics and strategy to operations on the ground, rather than a particular region (East Africa being the usual candidate) or episode (such as the dispatch of gunboats to the inland lakes). Though heavily focused on eastern and southern Africa, it provides a continent-wide narrative of the campaigns, linking their conduct to local and imperial level politics and examining the interrelatedness of policy and strategy with what was happening on the ground.

The book also offers a blended perspective that brings the Belgians and the Portuguese alongside the British and the Germans. Whilst not a military history, the volume covers the war on land, sea and in the air, with a whole chapter devoted to the war in the air, at sea and on the inland lakes, where gunboats fought and across which troops were ferried.

The book reflects Dr Samson's expertise as a South African historian; the war in West Africa is entirely subsidiary here, as is the war north of the Sahara.

The author's review of the situation on the eve of the war does not do a great deal for the book's war focus, the outbreak of war not occurring until page sixty-eight. There are useful tables of key events and personalities, as well as seventeen rather dreary black and white photos. There is an attempt throughout to examine the impact of key personalities, such as Jan Smuts and Paul Von Lettow-Vorbeck, adding a rather traditional 'great man' sheen to the account.

The view from Whitehall is fully explored, as is the question of what the European belligerents with African holdings actually sought to achieve. All told, this is an original and important contribution to the literature on the war in Africa. But it is not definitive; it touches lightly on issues that warrant significant further research, such as logistics, and it is avowedly not an African history of the war, but of the conflict Europe brought to Africa.

Ashley Jackson

THE WICKED WALK. By W.E. Mkufya. Mkuti na Nyota Publishers, Tanzania. 2012. ISBN 9789987082032. p/b 118 pages. £15.95. Available from African Books Collective.

Maria detests her life as a prostitute but sees no other way of earning the money she needs to support herself and her daughter Nancy, a form 4 secondary school student. She desperately desires a better life for her daughter, but feels powerless in seeing Nancy swept along in an 'evil' current and pursued by the unsavoury Magege, manager at the local rubber factory. Magege is unscrupulous, corrupt and greedy with a taste for young school girls, Nancy included. Nancy very soon realises her power as a woman who can make "easy" money from selling sex and decides to quit school where she has a promising academic future ahead of her.

Deo is dating Nancy and is told by a colleague at the factory that she is "seeing" Magege behind his back, but he doesn't want to believe it. Eventually he is forced to face the truth and breaks off his engagement to her. Much of the narrative focuses on the state of society – inequality, injustice and especially how "sugar daddies" like Magege seem to get away with their immoral behaviour. Hence the title, drawn from the Book of Psalms: 'the wicked walk on every side when the vilest men are exalted'.

The book is well worth a read. In particular, for anyone who knows Dar es Salaam this novel will instantly transport you back there.

Helen Carey

Hugh Wenban-Smith: **DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH**

This compilation of articles on Tanzania, culled from journals in the LSE library, covers January to June 2013. The abstracts are based on those published by the author(s).

“How does additional education affect willingness to work in rural remote areas in a low income context? An application to health workers in Tanzania” Kolstad, JR – *Journal of Development Studies* Vol 49(2).

A data set capturing stated preferences among freshly educated Tanzanian health workers with basic and more advanced education is applied to investigate how additional education affects willingness to work in rural areas. It turns out that those health workers with advanced education would have been more likely to prefer a job in a remote rural area had they not received this education. The finding is significant and substantial with several different specifications and robust with regard to omitted variables.

“Common counsel, common policy: Healthcare, missions and the rise of the ‘voluntary sector’ in colonial Tanzania” Jennings, M – *Development and Change* Vol 44(4).

Analysis of the voluntary sector in sub-Saharan Africa has tended to focus on the role of the NGO, and the types of relationships this institution establishes and maintains with donors, national governments and the communities with which they work. The voluntary sector in Africa is therefore usually defined through, and often treated as, synonymous with, the institution of the NGO. This article suggests that this view is too narrow in its gaze. The voluntary sector was not a creation of a post-colonial (and especially post-1970s) development crisis. It emerged from an evolving relationship between colonial era non-state (voluntary) actors and governments determined to demonstrate that they were meeting their commitments to the welfare of the Africans under their charge.

“Delivery care in Tanzania: A comparative analysis of use and preferences” van Rijsbergen, B & d’Exelle, B – *World Development* Vol 43.

Maternal mortality remains high because of low use of skilled delivery care. While governments try to lower access barriers, little is known about women’s preferences. This study combines data from a survey and a choice experiment in Tanzania to compare women’s preferences with real choices of delivery care. We find that less empowered women and women who delivered their latest pregnancy outside a health facility find the technical quality of care less

important, which indicates that their lower use of delivery care is partly induced by these preferences.

“Prostitution or Partnership? Wifetypes in Tanzanian artisanal gold-mining settlements” Bryceson, D F, Jonsson, J B & Verbrugge, H – *Journal of Modern African Studies* Vol 51(1).

Tanzania, along with several African countries, is experiencing a national mining boom, which has prompted hundreds of thousands of men and women to migrate to mineral-rich locations. At these sites, relationships between the sexes defy the sexual norms of the surrounding countryside to embrace new relational amalgams of polygamy, monogamy and promiscuity. This article challenges the assumption that female prostitution is widespread and using interview data with women migrants delineate six ‘wifetypes, sexual-cum-conjugal relationships between men and women that vary in the degree of sexual and material commitment. In contrast to bridewealth payments, which involved elders formalizing marriages through negotiations over reproductive access to women, sexual negotiations and relations in mining settlements involve men and women making liaisons and co-habitation arrangements directly between each other without third party intervention. Economic interdependence may evolve thereafter with the possibility of women, as well as men, offering material support to their sex partners.

“Remembering Nyerere: Political rhetoric and dissent in contemporary Tanzania” Becker, F – *African Affairs* Vol 112 (447).

This article examines the changing uses of political rhetoric around the burial of Julius Nyerere in 1999. It argues that the ruling party uses rhetoric as a means of ‘soft power’ but also documents how this rhetoric, though geared towards legitimizing Nyerere’s successors, employed tropes that were rejected by some people and were used by others to critique leaders who were perceived to lack the selfless integrity attributed to Nyerere. The article compares funeral songs by a government-sponsored band, popular at the time of Nyerere’s death, with memories of Nyerere in rural areas in the early-to-mid-2000s. While the image of Nyerere in the funeral songs as a benign family patriarch writ large still persists, it co-exists with strongly divergent constructions of Nyerere as an authoritarian ruler or a self-seeking profiteer. Moreover, the ‘official’ benign Nyerere has been employed not only by government and party faithful, but also by striking workers, opposition politicians and critical newspapers as a measure of the shortcomings of his successors. The invocation of Nyerere as a paradigm of an endangered ideal of virtue in public office indicates widespread anxieties

towards a state that often disappoints but occasionally delivers, in unpredictable turns, and the limits of the government's ability to shut down dissent.

“Non-state actors and universal services in Tanzania and Lesotho: State building by alliance” D’Arcy, M – *Journal of Modern African Studies* Vol 51(2).

In recent years over half of all African states have re-introduced some form of universal basic service provision, though many more have done so in education when compared with health. This paper argues that while democratization has been important in generating pressure for reform, alliances with actors outside the state, such as donors and non-state service providers, have been the critical enabling factor allowing weak states to overcome their capacity constraints and respond. An inter-sector comparison of health and education policy in Tanzania shows how a difference in donor policy preferences between sectors – donors having converged behind the principle of universal primary education but not universal healthcare – has led to variation in alliance opportunities and hence policy outcomes.

“‘Let us swim in the pool of love’: Love letters and discourses of community composition in twentieth century Tanzania” Prichard, A C – *Journal of African History* Vol 54(1).

A series of love-letters exchanged between an African Anglican priest and a teacher in training before their marriage is used to investigate the relationship between the fashioning of the individual self, marriage and community at the dawn of Tanganyika's independence. When seen through marriage's historical position as an institution central to community composition, these letters illustrate how the family – and the intimate process of building families – could become an alternate site of national imagination. These two young lovers understood their marriage as an explicitly political act of community composition, and cast themselves as characters in the drama of national imagination. In negotiating their 20th century marriage, Rose and Gideon became political innovators, selecting, producing and testing the content and boundaries of the nation.

“Industrial policy and the political settlement in Tanzania: Aspects of continuity and change since independence” Gray, H – *Review of African Political Economy* Vol 40(136).

Tanzania's experience of industrial policy since independence is explored through the concept of the political settlement. Higher growth in manufactur-

ing since 1996 has been seen as a vindication of neoliberal policies of market liberalization. Yet, the neoliberal approach fails to take account of the important legacy of state-led industrialization under socialism and aspects of the political economy of the state in Tanzania that explain some of the longer-term constraints on industrialization. Critical aspects of Tanzania's political settlement relate to state capital relations and the distribution of power between contending factions of intermediate classes within the state.

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

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