

Tanzanian Affairs

Issued by the Britain-Tanzania Society

No 107 Jan - Apr 2014



British Aid - New Direction
Mandela and Tanzania
Chadema's Crisis
Transport in Dar es Salaam
Visiting Kilwa Kisiwani

AN APOLOGY-TO RICHARD BEATTY OBE

Publishing an obituary of someone who is very much alive is the kind of nightmare editors greatly fear. I have been editing Tanzanian Affairs for 28 years and this is the only time that this has happened.

When I realised what had happened I did what governments do when they are in trouble. We launched an investigation!

Firstly, I came to the conclusion that this document must have passed through my hands at some stage – at present we are juggling with about 80 different stories for our next issue – but my memory is not what it used to be and I can't remember. Another quite plausible possibility has been suggested. Someone might have sent us an article about your OBE award in the hope that we would publish it and the document might have got into the wrong file i.e. OBIT file instead of OBE file. But we still really don't know how it happened.

I hope you have already received short apologies from members of our editorial team. We have removed the obituary from our online edition.

I am feeling very guilty about the distress that this has caused and must add my apologies as humbly as I can.

Am relieved to hear from you that there has also been lots of mirth about it.

I have found your exhilarating twitter column (@afrenv – highly recommended reading) and realise how much the world would have been a poorer place if the worst had happened.

Sorry I missed you at the WTM in London and hope very much that you will make contact next time you are here. It would be great to hear more about your apparently rip-roaring life.

If you would like us to offer you a complimentary half-page advert in Tanzanian Affairs for your company please let us know.

Yours sincerely,

David Brewin,

Editor, Tanzanian Affairs

cover photo: British International Development Secretary, Justine Greening

Ben Taylor: **BRITISH AID – NEW DIRECTION**

The British International Development Secretary, Justine Greening, signalled a shift towards a more pro-business approach for British aid in Tanzania while visiting the country in November. She was accompanied by representatives of 18 British and international business and social enterprises, including Unilever, JCB (construction equipment), Mott MacDonald (engineering consultants), Diageo and SABMiller (brewers), and Swire Pacific Offshore (oil and gas services). It is the first time DfID has hosted such a delegation.

“The Chinese government has invested and it’s time the British government makes sure we’re helping British businesses have that advantage to invest in Africa too,” Ms Greening said.

Investments in agriculture

The Department for International Development (DfID) will invest £20m in four new partnerships with businesses and not-for-profit organisations working in Tanzania. DfID will collaborate with social enterprise and business with loans and equity, generating a return that can be reinvested. The largest partnership is with Unilever, the Wood Family Trust and the Gatsby Foundation.

DfID will invest £7.5m in “a major new tea plantation” in the southern highlands. A second investment in tea production will go to the Tanzania Tea Packers (TATEPA) Wakulima Tea Factory in Rungwe district. DfID will provide up to £2.5m to fund a hydro-power plant that will reduce energy costs and increase the factory’s productivity. Further investments are to Kilombero Plantations Ltd (£6.7m) to finance a rice husk gasification plant and £3.3m to Equity for Tanzania, to enable small agri-businesses and farmers to access finance for agricultural equipment.

These investments were announced by Ms Greening at the launch of a new High Level Prosperity Partnership (HLPP), which was attended by the Tanzanian Prime Minister, Mizengo Pinda. Tanzania is one of five countries to be part of the partnership, alongside Angola, Ghana, Ivory Coast and Mozambique.

DfID hope that the partnership will see the UK and Tanzania create even closer commercial links and will “double the number of UK companies doing business in Tanzania in the renewable energy and



Prime Minister Pinda with Justine Greening (extreme right), British High Commissioner Dianna Melrose and the head of DfID Marshall Elliott.

agriculture sectors by 2015.” The partnership will focus primarily on four sectors: oil and gas, renewable energy, agriculture and strengthening business environment. The London Stock Exchange Group will provide training to financial professionals, regulators and government officials in Tanzania. Prime Minister Pinda expressed his hope “that this Partnership will open a new window of opportunity to these important areas of cooperation”.

Transport and trade

Later in her visit, Ms Greening announced initiatives aimed at reducing transport costs within East Africa. Following a visit to the Dar es Salaam port, she launched a £10.5m fund to support a scheme run by TradeMark East Africa, called the Logistics Innovation For Trade (LIFT) fund. The LIFT fund will provide match grants to encourage private sector investment in freight and other logistics technologies and business processes in East Africa. The aim is to reduce transport time along the main transport corridors in East Africa, stimulate further research and create systems for tracking industry performance and efficiency.

East Africa currently has some of the highest freight and transport costs in the world.

A new direction

Justine Greening was keen to emphasise that this initiative represents a change of direction for DfID. “For too long the development world has

seen the skills and potential of the private sector as something separate to its own efforts,” she said. “I want to take a different approach. The only way for developing countries to end their dependency on aid is to create more jobs, growth and tax receipts. In the end, for individuals too, a job is the only sustainable route out of poverty. Business can bring much needed investment and innovation at a scale that can be transformational, providing prospects and economic opportunities for communities. It is sensible for us to work with business to make sure their plans help local communities. This is also firmly in our own interest, as we are helping to open up markets for British goods.”

The new approach has attracted criticism that it would benefit the wealthy more than the poor. Christine Haigh, from the World Development Movement said: “It’s clear that this initiative is very much about finding new markets for UK companies and very little about reducing poverty for the majority of Tanzanians”.

The move is the latest evolution of British aid policy in Tanzania since the Conservative-led coalition took office in 2010. There was a reduction in the aid provided as General Budget Support (from 66% in 2010/11 to less than 30% in 2013/14), but an overall increase in total aid linked to the promise to spend 0.7% of British GDP on aid. In 2010/11, DfID spent £150m in Tanzania and this will rise to £192m in 2014/15.

When Chinese President Xi Jinping visited Tanzania earlier in 2013, he signed a \$500m bilateral trade deal with Tanzania and agreed a \$10bn investment in a new port in Bagamoyo.

Ben Taylor: **MANDELA AND TANZANIA**

The death of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela has drawn tributes from the great and the good (and the not so great or good) around the world. Presidents Barack Obama and Jacob Zuma understandably drew the most attention.

Tanzania’s President Kikwete and Mama Maria Nyerere, the widow of Julius Nyerere, attended the funeral service in the village of Qunu. They were both very warmly received. President Kikwete paid tribute to Mandela, taking the opportunity to remind those in attendance, and the watching world, of Tanzania’s role in the anti-apartheid struggle and of the time Mandela spent in Tanzania. In the process, he brought

Thabo Mbeki, Mandela's successor as South African President, to tears. The following is an extract from President Kikwete's tribute:

"The people of Tanzania would like you to know that you are not alone. They are with you during this difficult period and mourning. They are saying your grief is our grief, your loss is our loss. Nelson Mandela was our leader, our hero, our icon and our father as much as he was yours. The people of Tanzania have lost a great friend and great comrade in arms.

"President Mandela had long standing association with Tanzania. It dates back to the times of the struggle for independence and liberation here in South Africa and in Tanzania. We supported each other at the time of need. It was no accident, therefore, that after the ANC decided to establish the armed wing, the *Umkotho we Sizwe*, after peaceful means seemed to be futile, Dar es Salaam was Madiba's first port of call in 1962. He left South Africa secretly and came to newly independent Tanganyika to seek support for the armed struggle and a place to train the MK combatants.

"Though at first President Nyerere had some reservations about when and how to initiate the armed struggle, he accepted Madibas' request and provided members of the MK both permission to live in Tanzania and places to train. I am sure to the ANC and MK veterans gathered here, names like Kongwa, Mgagao, Morogoro, Mazimbu and Dakawa sound familiar. They may even rekindle nostalgic memories of the life they lived in Tanzania.

"Besides that, Tanzania was generous enough to give cadres of the liberation movements travel documents – passports and all that is needed. Where necessary, they assumed Tanzanian names. When Madiba came to Tanzania he had no passport. He was given a Tanzanian travel document. It facilitated his movement. And I know a number of you used Tanzanian travel documents – I don't know if Thabo returned his?

"There is another interesting thing about Madibas' first visit to Tanzania in 1962 which I would like to mention. In order to keep the visit discreet, he did not stay in hotels; he stayed at the home of TANU's Treasurer who was then the Minister for Commerce and Industries Mr Nsilo Swai. On his departure to his onward trip to Accra, Lagos, Addis and Algiers, he left his boots at Mr Swai's home in the hope that on his way back he



Nelson Mandela with President Nyerere and Mama Maria Nyerere during his visit to Tanzania after his release in 1990 (source <http://ancarchives.org.za>)

would pick up the boots. Unfortunately, he did not pass through Dar es Salaam and shortly after arriving back in South Africa, Mandela was arrested and imprisoned and spent the 27 years in Robben Island.

“Fortunately, the Swai family kept the boots awaiting his return. In 1995 when Madiba was President of the new South Africa, the pair of brown boots was handed back to him by Mrs Vicky Nsilo Swai the widow of the late Nsilo Swai who died in 1994.

“I have narrated these stories and anecdotes to let people know how far back, the present excellent relations between our two friendly countries and both the ANC and *Chama cha Mapinduzi* have come from. It is not by accident that South Africa and Tanzania enjoy excellent bilateral relations. We are close friends and allies because our common history unites us.

“Comrades, it is none other than our founding father, first President Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, and the first President of the new South Africa, Nelson Mandela who are responsible for this. They built very strong foundations for our bilateral relations. Madiba is very much our leader, our hero, our icon and our father as he is to you. That is why your sadness, grief and sorrow are ours as well. That is why we also join you in celebrating the life of this great man.”

David Brewin: TANZANIA'S ISOLATION IN THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY

Once again Britain and Tanzania seem to be facing a similar dilemma – how do you join a multilateral organisation aiming to bring neighbouring countries together in the common interest without sacrificing important parts of your own sovereignty? In Europe, Britain was originally forced to delay its entry into the European Union because another member state, France, objected that the country was not ‘European enough’. Then Britain was allowed to enter and it subsequently signed several treaties which were clearly aimed at the ultimate creation of a European Federation. It was many years before Britons began to understand what was happening and how its sovereignty was being undermined. But at the same time, for many the EU offered attractive features in trade and free movement of people that Britain did want.

Over the years the Conservative party almost broke into two on the issue and the anti-EU UKIP party rapidly gained support. The British government has now decided to hold a referendum in 2017 (if it wins the election in 2015) on whether Britain should abandon its close ties with the other EU countries and go it alone.

The ‘Coalition of the Willing’

To the surprise of many, and quite suddenly, Tanzania finds itself facing the same kind of dilemma as Britain, and also a growing isolation. Kenya, Uganda and Rwanda have become known as the ‘Coalition of the Willing’, pushing ahead with political, economic and infrastructure projects, leaving Tanzania side-lined from important discussions. Tanzania was not invited to (or decided to stay away from) several recent EAC meetings. As this issue of TA went to press the ‘Coalition’ were discussing the draft of a federal constitution. Many Tanzanians believe (not without some justification) that Tanzania is not like the other EAC members, so during recent months the government has been trying to put a brake on the rush towards a political federation.

Reactions in Tanzania

At the end of October East African Cooperation Minister Samuel Sitta said that any decision concerning the EAC federation reached only by the ‘willing countries’ would not be recognised by Tanzania. On 7 November, as the crisis escalated, President Kikwete told parliament that Tanzania would never quit the East African Community, and called

on her neighbours to be more accommodating. "We have come too far... to give up now....Tanzania has done nothing wrong against any EAC member state.... some leaders are said to be accusing Tanzania of dragging its feet on the integration of the EAC.....we do not have problems fast-tracking the proposed Federation. But this must be done according to the 'Federation Protocol'.... nowhere is it said that we should skip any of the preparatory steps. But these friends of ours have decided to do so. We want to avoid what happened in 1977 [when the first EAC collapsed]." In an echo of the European Union controversy, he added: "We must bear in mind that economic gains are among the attractions for member states to remain members. If this is not done the political federation will be under threat".

Contentious issues

The Ugandan newspaper *New Vision* in October listed other 'sticking points.' They included Tanzania's recent expulsion of refugees; its imposition of a 35% increase in work permit fees on residents of other EAC states; a \$200 fee on vehicles crossing into its territory; and its opposition to the use of national identity cards as travel documents within the EAC (because Tanzania had not completed issuing these documents to its own people).

The paper claimed that during the September 2013 terrorist attack on the Nairobi Westgate supermarket, the EAC HQ in Arusha was unable to mobilise and transfer blood to Nairobi because 'of the complexities of moving such a delicate matter as blood'; and President Kikwete was not present at a meeting in October when Uganda abolished work permit fees for Kenyans and Rwandans. (*Thank you Kenneth Mdoe for sending this – Editor*)

In early August – in the East African Legislative Assembly, which meets in rotation in member countries – some members had wanted to oust the Tanzanian Speaker who was alleged to favour meeting permanently in its Arusha HQ as a way to save money.

Some observers believe that there is a power struggle going on. Kenya's economy has always been stronger than the other EA countries, but things are now changing. Foreign investment in Kenya now lags well behind Tanzania and Uganda. Tanzania benefitted from its much longer trade relations with China, dating from when China constructed the

TAZARA Railway; and China has now agreed to finance a massive port at Bagamoyo with a capacity far greater than Mombasa and Dar es Salaam put together. Kenya needs a 'coalition of the willing' to hang on to the huge trade prospects in Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, the DRC and now South Sudan.

The land issue comes first

The first meeting of the Presidents of Kenya, Rwanda and Uganda, without Tanzania, was in Entebbe in June 2013; the second in September in Mombasa. It was revealed that, for Tanzania, land was the major issue. The country has just over half of the land mass of the EAC but less than half under agriculture. With a population explosion under way, Tanzania feared that, under a new Federation, there could be great pressure on it to open its gates to workers from neighbouring countries and its land to foreign buyers or leaseholders.

Dream dashed

Tanzanian columnist Jenerali Ulimwengu wrote in *The East African* newspaper that moving ahead on EAC integration without Tanzania would amount to trying to "stage Hamlet without the prince". He also said: "Some of us fear the dream of integration of our countries is in danger of being dashed once again....Our leaders need to stop singing themselves lullabies. If they cannot engage with their natural partners, they will not be able to engage with the artificial ones they have tried to cobble together," (referring to suggestions about Tanzania's approaches to the members of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) as an alternative to the EAC). Ugandan journalist Paul Busharizi wrote in *New Vision*: "Whatever the reasons at the top, the people of East Africa would hate to see the Community break up again". In *The East African*, Tanzanian columnist Elsie Eyakuze wrote that "It is hard to tell how we have fallen into this area of mild disgrace....we are steadily dropping off every popularity chart imaginable". Like the UK in Europe!

The original concept

The original East African Federation came into being in June 1967. It established joint ownership and operation of services managed by the East African Railways and Harbours; the East African Airways; the East African Posts and Telecommunications; the Inter-University Council for East Africa; and the East African Currency Board. There was

also a Court of Appeal for East Africa and an East African Legislative Assembly. It ended when Idi Amin seized power in Uganda and when Kenya became more capitalist and Tanzania more socialist.

Although the EAC is in stormy waters at present, it has some positive achievements to its credit. It has set up a Customs Union and a Common Market. In November it was due to complete a 'Single Customs Territory' and work is underway on a Monetary Union. This will be implemented over 10 years, with a single currency to be launched at the last stage, which will culminate in the integration of member states' financial markets.

New measures bring EAC countries closer

At an extraordinary summit meeting attended by all five EAC Heads of State in Kampala on November 30 some progress was made in bringing Tanzania back on board.

Tanzania argued that its slow decision making was dictated by the need to get input from its citizens. However, all five presidents signed a Monetary Union Protocol and agreed that all the partner states should conclude the ratification of this by July 2014. They also agreed that the East African passport be launched on November 2014. According to the Uganda *Sunday Monitor*, the Tanzanian President sat closest to his Burundian counterpart throughout the summit. All participants agreed that it would be necessary to sensitise East African citizens about the benefits of the Union. President Kenyatta said "Let us all put an end to unnecessary rumour mongering" and President Museveni was said to have lashed out at people who employed tribalism and religion to divide the population.

But, in spite of this, Tanzania has now announced officially that it is starting a new economic partnership with Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). The three countries met in Burundi and agreed to develop road, rail and water transportation infrastructure. Meanwhile Kenya with Uganda and Rwanda (now plus South Sudan) has launched a plan to develop a new 500-kilometre standard gauge railway line starting in Mombasa.

The *East African* is now writing about two competitive 'coalitions of the willing' as a possible blessing in disguise to trigger faster development in all seven countries.

Mark Gillies:

TOURISM & ENVIRONMENTAL CONSERVATION

In November the Bank of Tanzania released data for October 2012 to September 2013, which shows an increase in tourism earnings from US \$ 1.61 billion to US \$ 1.82 billion. Tourism is now the strongest performing economic sector in Tanzania, outstripping all other sectors including gold mining, which had claimed top spot a year ago at a time of record high gold prices.

Loliondo land issue

One piece of good news for the Maasai population of Loliondo, if not for the directors of the Ortelo Business Corporation (OCB), was reported by David Smith in the (UK) Guardian on 7 October, when civil society groups claimed that the Tanzanian government has dropped its plans to annex 1,500 sq km in the Loliondo Concession for a 'wildlife corridor'. Although it should be noticed that no statement has been made by the Tanzanian government on the issue, Samwel Nangiria, coordinator of the local Ngonett civil society group, described how Prime Minister Pinda spent two and half days in Loliondo in September with the Maasai, who reiterated that the land in question must not be annexed. The Maasai leaders are now in discussions with lands ministry to update the legal status of their land holdings.

If this report does turn out to be correct, the successful model of internet-based, international protest, combined with well-organised and politically engaged local opposition, may be followed by other groups threatened by large scale land appropriation.

Lake Natron

Another Tanzanian government large scale development plan received bad news in November when the National Development Corporation (NDC) published the results of the eight-month scientific study into the environmental impact of the construction of the Lake Natron soda ash extraction plant.

Their dramatic conclusion was that President Kikwete's directive to proceed with the construction of the plant would 'almost certainly wipe out East Africa's lesser flamingo population'. The study demonstrates how the mud flats of Lake Natron are the only place in East Africa

where the lesser flamingo can breed. The construction of the soda ash extraction plant would disrupt the movement and feeding patterns of the birds so severely that a secure future would not be possible.

By linking the project to the destruction of a species that has great significance for both Tanzania and Kenya, the NDC has placed a formidable obstacle in the path of the Tanzanian government, who have dismissed previous opposition as “the work of the *mzungu*”.

Poaching

The poaching of elephant and rhino for their tusks and horn continues to be a tragic issue across Africa. Tanzania is suffering its sad share of the losses, although the extent is uncertain. In November alone, two large seizures of ivory were made in Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar. The Dar seizure weighed over 1.9 tonnes and was estimated to comprise ivory from 200 elephant. Submerged in a strong smelling concoction designed to prevent detection, it was found in the residence compound of three Chinese living in Dar.

The recent wide-scale anti-poaching operation using Ministry of Natural Resources personnel, police and members of the TDF, code named ‘Tokomeza’ has been criticized as badly managed. Individuals were given the chance to settle personal scores and human rights abuses were committed. It was asked why so much activity occurred in northern Tanzania, in the vicinity of the Serengeti National Park, when the majority of the poaching occurs in the remote areas of the Selous Game Reserve. There are unverified reports that Tokomeza has been active in the Selous with a similar ruthless efficiency, but, as ever, stories from that area are difficult to corroborate.

Perhaps, in the not too distant future, human anti-poaching efforts will be assisted by drone technology. Following President Obama’s offer of assistance to the Tanzanian government during his recent visit to Tanzania, conservation groups in the US subsequently contacted the Tanzanian Embassy in Washington DC, which are apparently being considered. (*Daily News*)

Ben Taylor: **TRANSPORT**

Air travel

A direct flight linking Dar es Salaam with China has been promised by Hainan Airlines of China. This was announced by the company chairman, Chen Feng, during a visit to China by the Tanzanian Prime Minister, Mizengo Pinda. Dar es Salaam should aim to become a hub airport for passengers from across Africa travelling to China. (*Daily News*)

The recent emergence of FastJet as a low cost airline continues to shake up the domestic scene, offering one-way tickets from Dar to Arusha, Mwanza and Mbeya for as little as TSh 32,000. This price is comparable with bus fares, and brings the cost of flights within range for a much larger number of Tanzanians.

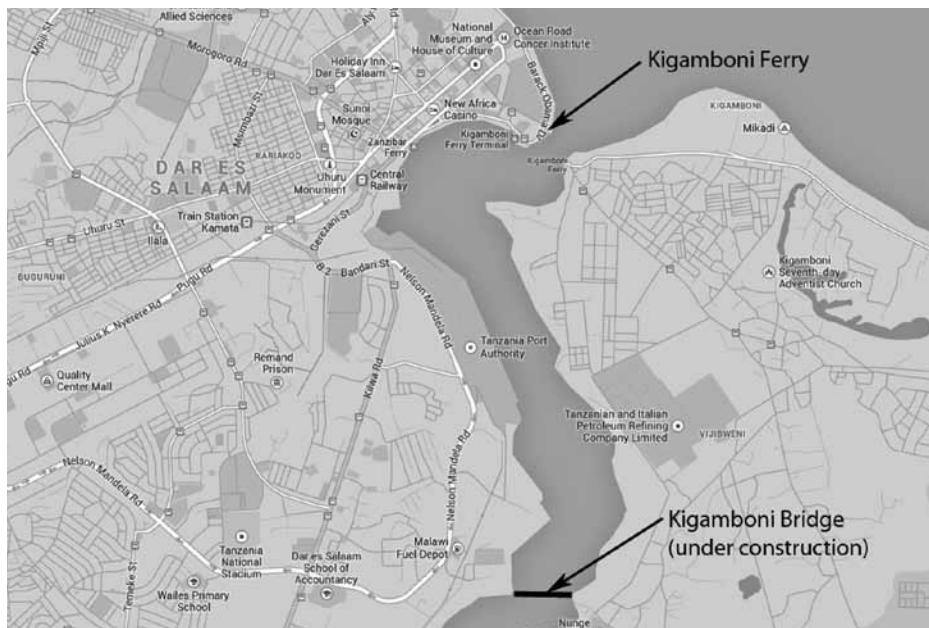
Perhaps as a result, Precision Air is struggling. A report by the airline's auditors, Ernst and Young, presented to their AGM in November, found the company's finances in bad shape. The company's liabilities exceeded its assets by \$53m, and it made a \$18.7m loss in its last financial year. Previously, the company requested a government bailout of \$32m, but this was rebuffed. (*East African*)

Innovations in Dar es Salaam

Construction of the 6-lane road bridge connecting Kigamboni with Dar es Salaam city centre is well under way. The first of two pylons needed for the 680m long cable-stayed bridge has been completed. It will connect Kurasini and Vijibweni, upstream of Dar es Salaam port, at a reported cost of Tsh 200bn. There are also plans for a new satellite city in Kigamboni [see "*Tanzania in the international media*" section]. (*Daily News*)

The sustainability of Dar es Salaam's experiment in commuter trains has come into question. It has been found that the 12km line between Ubungo and the city centre is running at a daily loss of Tsh 2m. The initiative [see TA 104] was the brainchild of Minister of Transport, Harrison Mwakyembe, and carries an estimated 5,000 passengers per day, each paying TSh 400 (£0.15). (*Citizen*)

Work continues on preparing Morogoro Road and connected major arteries for the Dar Rapid Transport scheme. Under this scheme, large commuter buses will replace daladalas, and will operate along dedicated lanes [see TA 98]. Phase 1 links Kimara, Ubungo and Morogoro with



Map of Dar-es-Salaam showing the Kigamboni bridge location

Kariakoo and Kivukoni – a total of 21km – and is scheduled to begin operating in July 2015. Phase 2 (Kilwa Road) and Phase 3 (Nyerere Road) will follow. (*Daily News, the Guardian*)

Rail expansion

In what could become the biggest overhaul and expansion of Tanzania's rail network for a generation, several schemes are in various stages of development. This has been prompted in part by China's re-emergence as a major player in Tanzania, and in part by political and economic competition within East Africa.

A competitive tender has been launched for a railway line connecting Mtwara with the Chinese-owned Liganga-Mchuchuma mine complex in Ludewa district, Njombe region. It will pass through Songea, and will include a branch line to Mbinga and Mbamba Bay on Lake Nyasa. Newspaper reports of the expected cost range from \$1.5 billion to \$3.6 billion. (*Citizen, Daily News*)

Plans are also under discussion to upgrade and/or extend the country's three major existing lines, though they have been met with scepticism by observers. The Minister of Transport, Harrison Mwakyembe announced a plan to upgrade the Tanga-Arusha line and to extend it

as far as Musoma. Japanese support for the central line has been promised, with the eventual goal of upgrading the line to standard gauge; and there has even been talk of an extension from Isaka to the Rwanda capital, Kigali. A Chinese-supported upgrade of the TAZARA line is already in motion, with six new diesel engines delivered in November. (*Daily News, Guardian*)

David Brewin: **STRONG REACTIONS TO CURBS ON PRESS**

On 9 October the Government placed a 14-day ban on publication of the popular Swahili newspaper *Mwananchi* and a 90-day ban on *Mtanzania*. They were alleged to have published classified information and “seditious articles likely to provoke incitement and hostility with the intention of influencing the public to lose confidence in state organs and create disharmony”. The government referred specifically to two articles in *Mtanzania*, headlined ‘Presidency through Bloodshed’ and ‘Revolution is Inevitable’, and to the publication of a confidential document on government salary structures in *Mwananchi*.

As Tanzania is widely regarded as having a relatively free press compared with other countries in the region, there was immediately a huge outcry.

The executive secretary of the Media Council of Tanzania (MCT), Kajubi Mukajanga, said: “The steps taken by the government are very unfortunate and undemocratic and have taken the country decades back in its endeavour to build a democratic society which respects freedom of expression an assault on the press is an assault on democracy.” He advised the government to pursue other avenues to redress what it perceives as misrepresentation by the press including dialogue, feedback and the use of the mediation services of the MCT.

Among others expressing strong disapproval were the European Union, US Ambassador Leonhardt and a coalition of 50 human rights organisations. The *Uganda Monitor* said ‘governments should at all times show that they have nothing to hide’, while the Legal and Human Rights Centre and media stakeholders declared a media blackout on the Minister of Information and on the Director of Information Services.

In November, the government asked parliament to amend sixteen laws including one to increase the fine for publishing false statements from



Newspapers on sale in Dar-es-Salaam

TSh 150,000 to TSh 5 million. Parliament rejected this amendment, calling instead for a new bill to replace the 1976 Newspaper Act.

Meanwhile, in Britain, wrangling continues between the government and the media over proposed press controls. The media would prefer to control itself but the government is insisting on some element of control by the government to curb excesses by the more popular papers.

David Brewin:

CHADEMA'S CRISIS

The ruling CCM party has been remarkably successful for almost fifty years through tight discipline, dealing with dissident elements internally and behind closed doors. It has never been defeated in a general election.

Prospects for CCM to maintain this record in the next election, in 2015, look strong. The leading opposition party, Chadema, which had been growing in strength for several years, is now in crisis.

In dealing with its most dynamic, charismatic and ambitious young MP (for Kigoma North), Zitto Kabwe, the policy has been to give him more and more responsibility. He is (or was) deputy secretary general of the party and its deputy leader in parliament. He is also shadow minister of finance and chairman of parliament's finance committee (and other important committees).

It was a surprise therefore when, in November, he and two other senior party figures were stripped of all their positions except party member-

ship. They were accused of eleven offences and preparation of a secret 'conspiring manifesto.' They were given until mid-December to explain why the party should not expel them. There followed the resignations of Ally Chitanda, secretary in the office of the party's secretary general (who complained about religious segregation, tribalism and excessive payments to executives) and Said Arfi, national vice chairman of the party.

CCM had greatly feared the increasingly strong Chadema party, but its members and supporters are likely to have a more merry Christmas after these startling events.

Paul Gooday:

AGRICULTURE

National Irrigation Act 2013 to improve food security

Agriculture forms the bedrock of Tanzania's economy – it accounts for more than one quarter of GDP, provides 85% of exports, and employs about 80% of the workforce. Yet while the country currently has 29.4 million hectares of land that could be irrigated, only 589,245 hectares are actually being irrigated.

The National Irrigation Act 2013 is intended to give agriculture a new lease of life as global weather patterns change. In order to protect the farmers from extreme weather patterns and climate change, Tanzania's parliament has passed this law aimed at improving irrigation and thereby food security, and reducing poverty. The Minister for Agriculture, Food Security and Cooperatives stated that by 2015, at least 25% of food production should come from irrigated land.

The new law establishes the Irrigation Commission, a national body with the mandate to co-ordinate, promote and regulate irrigation activities across the country. There will also be an Irrigation Development Fund created to help irrigation schemes, many of which suffer from financial strain at present. This fund will be used to finance irrigation activities carried out by individual farmers and investors through loans or grants. The law will also establish a system enabling farmers' groups, individuals, associations and companies to own government-built irrigation infrastructure.

Amendments were made to the initial legislation following concerns raised that it might fuel land conflict. It was argued that this would

allow the state to acquire village land without due process. This threat of “land grabs” has been mitigated by ensuring that “communities are key stakeholders not mere spectators” said a legislator from the ruling CCM. (*The East African*)

DfID invests in tea plantation

One of the projects of DfID (UK Department for International Development)’s new phase of investment in Tanzania is a £7.5m project investing in tea farming in the southern highlands of Tanzania. DfID said the investment would boost the income of more than 3,600 tea farmers in 27 villages.

A further £6.7m will be invested in Kilombero Plantations, a public-private partnership focused on developing the region’s agricultural potential and fostering inclusive, commercially successful agribusinesses aimed at benefitting small-scale farmers. DfID will also sign a £2.5m agreement with Tanzania Electric Supply Company to build a hydropower plant that is expected to boost energy production at Tanzania Tea Packers.

The Secretary of State for International Development, Justine Greening, explained that these agreements are not about bringing back tied aid. “The onus will continue to be on British companies to show Tanzania, and other developing countries, why their offer is the best one – and I believe they are well placed to do this. The UK has been amongst the international leaders in corporate governance.” (*The Guardian – UK*)

Call for profitable livestock keeping

The Mara Regional Commissioner (RC), has encouraged herders to realise the benefit of dipping livestock as a means to help make the sector more profitable allowing them to transform their lives.

“I consider livestock keeping as one of the most important things,” he told herders at the rural village of Surubu in the Northern Tarime District recently. He visited the village cattle dip and pledged to support a group of herders taking care of the dip. “Cattle dipping will help prevent ticks from attacking cows, hence improve livestock products,” he explained. He also emphasised the importance of adapting livestock artificial insemination in the region. “Our aim is to invite investors on livestock products and we want the people to change from traditional livestock rearing to zero grazing,” he said.

The regional chief was on a three-day working tour of Tarime where he inspected various projects as well as inaugurating the newly formed Tarime Town Council. There was a call to continue the drive towards reducing cattle rustling. Tarime has of late emerged as one of the fast developing districts in Mara Region, thanks to government for establishing a special police zone which has greatly helped to make the place safe for people to participate in development issues. (*AllAfrica.com*)

Paul Gooday: **ECONOMICS**

Economic update

According to the International Monetary Fund, the Tanzanian economy grew at 6.9% in 2012, and is projected to achieve an over 7% growth rate in 2014.

The National Bureau of Statistics announced that in the second quarter of 2013, Tanzania's economy grew 6.7% (compared to 6.4% in the same period of 2012). The sectors that grew markedly included agriculture, electricity, construction, transport and communication.

Dr Honest Ngowi, business economics lecturer at Mzumbe University, commented that there were more indicators of growth than setbacks currently in Tanzania, that at 6.1% inflation was decreasing and that oil and gas licensing may stimulate further growth. (*Tanzania Invest*)

Tanzania and China promote partnership

On a recent visit to China, the Tanzanian Prime Minister signed five Memorandums of Understanding in Beijing with his Chinese equivalent. The agreements include partnerships in science and technology, tourism, textile manufacture, cotton production, and the construction of a new Chinese Embassy in Dar es Salaam.

The Prime Minister expressed his gratitude to the Chinese government for the 'soft' loans provided to Tanzania, explaining that in comparison to loans from other countries, the terms have been easier. Tanzania would begin to pay China back a US \$24.6 million loan that was used to renovate the Tanzania-China Friendship Mills.

Tanzania and China have also signed seven contracts, totalling US \$1.7 billion, for investments in electricity, construction, and research. These include a renewable energy research centre and construction of residential housing and business centres throughout Tanzania. (*Tanzania Invest*)

Bank of Tanzania treasury bond

The Bank of Tanzania has for the first time floated 15-year treasury bonds with a 13.5 % coupon aimed at further development of the country's financial markets. This will raise funds for long term development projects and also be a point of comparison with market instruments such as mortgage financing and corporate bonds. (*The Guardian / IPP*)

Protests against Electronic Fiscal Devices

The government continued to pursue its policy of insisting on the use of Electronic Fiscal Devices (EFDs) by traders although businesses had objected to the tax recording machines. Traders in Kariakoo and elsewhere closed their business for several days in protest. The Ministry of Finance and the Tanzania Revenue Authority (TRA) said they were looking into reducing the cost of the device, but reiterated that businesses could not avoid using the EFD system as it was the best way to get accurate tax calculations and keep records.

Traders are against the EFDs, explaining that the device is too costly at TSh 800,000 per piece. The TRA said the actual price ranges between TSh 600,000 and TSh 778,000, depending on the model and type. The Deputy Minister for Finance noted that these are cheaper in comparison to other countries and were made specifically for Tanzania.

The parliamentary economic and trade committee has proposed a joint committee with traders to address the problem. The House team asked that the taxman raise public awareness, and the option of paying for EFDs in instalments was also proposed. The committee requested the government to remove import duty on the devices so as to lower costs. (*Citizen*)

Rapid rise on Dar es Salaam Stock Exchange

Data from the Dar es Salaam Stock Exchange in late November shows that the value of all 12 local listed companies – as measured by the domestic market capitalization - more than doubled to TSh 5.96 trillion (US \$3.7 billion) at the close of trading from TSh 2.94 trillion (US \$1.87 billion) at the close of last year.

The Dar es Salaam bourse said market activity was skewed towards foreign investors, with local investors making a minimal contribution focused on the National Microfinance Bank (NMB) and the CRDB Bank (formerly the Cooperative Rural Development Bank).

National Natural Gas Policy

Against the background of huge natural gas discoveries since 2010, the Minister of Energy and Minerals, Prof. Muhongo, announced in October 2013 a National Natural Gas Policy. This has been formulated over the last two years through what the Minister described as “a thoroughly consultative process which we did transparently and involved road shows across 12 regions of the country”. The international oil and gas industry, development partners and other stakeholders were also engaged in the process.

The policy provides guidance to ensure that the benefits to Tanzania from the development of natural gas are maximized and contribute to the accelerated growth and socio-economic transformation of the country, including an improved quality of life for Tanzanians. It lays out a comprehensive framework to guide the development of the gas industry in the country, in the expectation that gas will contribute significantly to the goal of Tanzania becoming a middle-income country by 2025.

The policy document runs to 34 pages and has also been published in Kiswahili. It covers the legal, fiscal and institutional frameworks for development of the gas sector and addresses major issues such as: the provision and security of gas infrastructure; domestic gas utilisation, gas exports and gas pricing; management of the gas revenues; meeting the needs of local communities; capacity building and investor responsibilities; environment and safety; links with other strategic sectors; transparency; and regional and international co-operation. The concluding chapter highlights the roles of the many stakeholders in the Tanzanian gas industry.

Petroleum Licensing

Also in October, President Kikwete launched the much-delayed Fourth Petroleum Licensing Round - inviting the oil and gas industry to apply for seven offshore deep-water blocks and for Lake Tanganyika North (which is onshore). Investors must bid by May 2014.

It is understood that two further license blocks have been reserved for the government, and the Tanzania Petroleum Development Corporation (TPDC) is seeking partners in a separate process. Successful bidders will

negotiate Production Sharing Agreements (PSAs) with government and the TPDC. Negotiations proceed on the basis of the Petroleum Law and the Model PSA (recently revamped to provide for tougher terms for investors). The Ministry of Energy and Minerals expects the PSAs to be concluded by September 2014 - which some commentators think is too optimistic.

Lack of Tanzanian commercial involvement in the petroleum sector

Commercial involvement of Tanzanians in the natural resource sector remains a highly sensitive issue. President Kikwete stressed that the new Gas Policy (see above) will ensure that the future of the lucrative but capital-intensive industry will be in the hands of locals. He stated that under the Fourth Licensing Round Tanzania's national interest is "more than safeguarded with TPDC as our representative", adding that the PSAs with foreign oil and gas companies will not repeat the mistakes made in some mining sector agreements.

However, whilst acknowledging that the PSAs are good, the chairman of the Chief Executive Officers Round Table, Ali Mufuruki, called for the Tanzanian private sector to be more involved commercially in the potentially lucrative gas subsector - and that TPDC alone should not be left to represent Tanzania in such a big business. He criticised Muhungu's Ministry for undermining the local private sector - and pointed to the need to learn lessons from successful petroleum economies like Norway and Malaysia.

There had been calls from the Tanzania Private Sector Foundation, NGOs and the opposition party Chadema for the current licensing round to be postponed and for exploration blocks to be reserved for Tanzanians.

David Brewin: FOREIGN RELATIONS

Tanzania and Sri Lanka

The Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) was held in Sri Lanka from 12 to 17 November. British Prime Minister David Cameron seemed primarily interested in criticising the Sri Lankan government for serious breaches of human rights in the final days of a vicious 26-year-long civil war that caused thousands of deaths,

extreme violence, arbitrary arrests and enforced disappearances. The Prime Ministers of Canada and India boycotted the meeting for the same reason.

However, Tanzania and many other participants praised the Sri Lankan government for its remarkable post-civil war transformation since 2009. President Kikwete took a powerful delegation to Colombo, including several cabinet ministers and vowed to strengthen bilateral cooperation. Sri Lankan President Rajapaksa had paid a state visit to Tanzania in June 2013.

Tanzania, the DRC and Rwanda

The disorderly state of eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) has defied all efforts by a large UN peace-keeping force to re-establish control by its elected central government in the distant capital Kinshasa. The UN troops seemed to be in a quagmire and unable to solve the problem. The rebel force had had considerable success and a year earlier had captured the major eastern city of Goma.

The long controversy also badly damaged relations between Tanzania and Rwanda; Tanzania accused Rwanda of supporting the rebel army, an allegation consistently denied by the Rwandan government.

In recent months, however, things have changed. Tanzanian President Kikwete took over the principal role in the UN intervention, sending 1,200 troops to make up to 3,000 the 'Force Intervention Brigade', which includes contingents from South Africa and Malawi. Under a new UN policy, these troops were given extra powers, allowing them to undertake offensive operations with the Congolese army against the 'M23' rebels and other dissidents in order to finally restore peace. The new force has long range artillery (its Tanzanian commander is an artillery expert) and it also has South African snipers.

In a remarkably short space of time the new Tanzanian-led Force was successful. It is believed that Rwanda withdrew any support it had been giving the "M23" rebels, who admitted that they had been defeated and dispersed. A Tanzanian officer and two soldiers were killed in the fighting.

The three month tiff between President Kikwete and Rwandan President Kagame [*TA No 106*] seems to be over following a cordial meeting in Kampala in September.

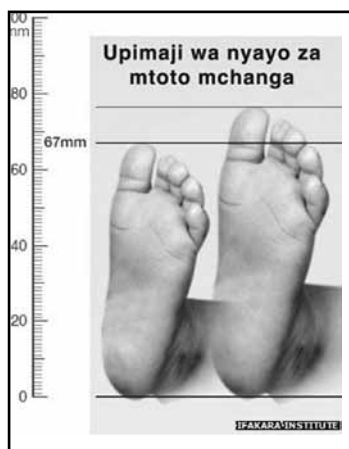
Ben Taylor:

HEALTH

Tanzania meets child mortality target

A recent report from the United Nations estimates that the under-five mortality rate has dropped by two-thirds between 1990 and 2012 – from 166 to 54 deaths per 1000 live births. This puts Tanzania among a select few countries in sub-Saharan Africa to have met the Millennium Development Goal no. 4, along with Ethiopia, Malawi and Liberia.

Progress on related measures has also been good. On Infant mortality (deaths at under 12 months), the number of deaths per 100 live births has dropped from 101 in 1990 to 38 in 2012, and the neo-natal mortality rate (deaths in the first 28 days of life) has halved from 43 to 21 per 1000 live births in the same period.



An initiative reported by the BBC aims to help identify premature babies, since in rural Tanzania about one in every 30 premature babies will not survive beyond four weeks. “There’s this grey area when the baby is between around 2.4kg (5lbs 5oz) and 2.1kg (4lbs 10oz) when the baby is more vulnerable to infection and other issues,” says Dr Joanna Schellenberg of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, “But when a baby is born at home, there is no way of weighing them”.

To help solve this problem, Schellenberg and her colleagues at the Ifakara Health Institute have implemented a strategy called *Mtunze Mtoto Mchanga* (“protect the newborn baby”). Based on research into baby foot lengths carried out in Lindi and Mtwara, the newborn baby’s foot is compared against a laminated card. If the foot is smaller than the small foot (67mm), the mother is advised to take the baby to hospital immediately. Babies with foot size in the medium range are advised to take extra precautions such as carrying the baby “skin-to-skin” so that the mother’s warmth is shared by the baby. The project relies on volunteers to measure the babies and help educate mothers, and WHO estimate that 75% of deaths in preterm infants can be prevented in this way - without the cost and emotional upset of intensive care.

Heart treatment centre

A new ultra-modern Cardiac Treatment and Training Centre has been opened at Muhimbili National Hospital in Dar es Salaam. The facility cost \$20m to build, shared between the Tanzanian and Chinese governments.

The government has paid for 326 people to go for heart surgery abroad, at a minimum cost of \$10,000 for each case. The new centre should be able to deal with the majority of such cases locally at much lower cost.

Improved malaria testing

The Ministry of Health and Social Welfare will make malaria Rapid Diagnostic Test (mRDT) equipment available in both government and private health facilities. The Minister said that the equipment gives faster and more reliable results than microscopic tests.

The scheme, which has been introduced by the Clinton Health Access Initiative and the National Malaria Control Programme, reduces the cost of the equipment from TSh 9,000 to TSh 1,100. (*Citizen*)

Enos Bukuku & David Brewin: THE CONSTITUTION

We welcome in this issue a new contributor to Tanzanian Affairs. He has succeeded Frederick Longino who has other pressing demands on his time at present. We are very grateful to Frederick for steering us skilfully through all the complexities of the early stages of the revision of the constitution.

The new contributor is Mr Enos Bukuku who will be covering the remaining work which still has to be done before a new constitution can be finalised.

Constitution Review - update

Since the last issue of TA, Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs Mathius Chikawe has been in London and addressed a three hour meeting on the Constitution at the High Commission. Having been deeply involved with the Constitutional Reform Commission (CRC) during all its deliberations, he was able to deal effectively with numerous questions from the audience.

In view of conflicting statements by leaders in Zanzibar, the Minister was asked what would happen if Zanzibar failed to accept the main principles of the draft constitution, specifically the degree of autonomy

for Zanzibar. The Minister's reply was clear. It would mean the end of the Union, he said.

On 16 November the Britain Tanzania Society devoted a major part of its AGM to the constitution. The speakers were TA Editor David Brewin and Frederick Longino.

On December 2 the Chadema Party stated that it would oppose the proposed Referendum Bill in Parliament. It listed issues on which change was required including the Zanzibar Permanent Residents Register and the decision to put the power to supervise opinion polls under the Electoral Commission.

Deadline postponed

In the meantime the National Assembly made a bold and unexpected move by making an amendment ensuring that the CRC would not participate in the debate on the draft constitution next year. The CRC was supposed to be disbanded at the end of October 2013 after submitting its final report and preparing the second draft, which would then be delivered to the President. He in turn would present it to the Constituent Assembly which would take over the constitution drafting process. The original deadline, which had already had a previous extension, was then further extended by the President to 30 December 2013, at the request of the CRC.

The Constituent Assembly

The National Assembly has also passed the Constitutional Review (Amendment Number 2) Bill in response to criticism, chiefly from Chadema, in relation to the Constituent Assembly. The amendment will increase the number of non-Parliamentary/House of Representative members from 166 to 201. The 201 members will be drawn from fully registered political parties (42, NGOs (20), Faith Based Organisations (20), higher learning institutions (20), people with special needs (20), trade unions (19), associations of livestock keepers (10), fisheries associations (10), agricultural associations (20) and 20 from other groups.

37 Civil Society organisations complained that the Constituent Assembly was not representative enough of those stakeholders outside mainstream politics. Although there are over 100 people from interest groups, they amount to less than a third of the total Constituent Assembly. It remains to be seen whether there will be further changes to redress this.

The Cessna landed on Kilwa's grass airstrip, where two men were sitting in the deep shade of a big tree. There was no one else around. I stopped to talk to them. I knew I could walk to Kilwa Ruins Lodge, where I was going to stay for four nights; but - as they said - it would be hot work pulling a trolley case along a sandy road. One of the men had a car in the shade of another tree, and he took me on the short, bumpy ride to the Lodge.

Kilwa Kisiwani is an island just off the coast from the fishing village of Kilwa Masoko. Historically it was the southern point for sailing vessels going down the East African coast using the monsoon winds. They came to trade – most importantly gold and ivory from inland Africa. From the 11th to the 15th century Kilwa was a city-state with fine mosques and grand palaces. In their time, the Great Mosque was the largest mosque in Africa and Husuni Kubwa, the Great Palace, was the largest stone structure in sub-Saharan Africa. Kilwa had its ups and downs until the 19th century, when the slave trade ceased and it became a backwater. This once prosperous city-state fell into ruins.

The only guy around at the Lodge had no knowledge that I was coming, but cheerfully gave me a key to a thatched wooden hut. I was asked what I wanted for lunch. I thought it best to ask what they had. The reply, after some thought, and with some hesitation, was – fish. So I said fish would be very nice.

The next day I ambled around the town in search of the Antiquities Department to get the required permit to visit Kilwa Kisiwani, called 'the ruins' locally. Kilwa Masoko is a small place and I had expected to find the Antiquities Department by ambling. But I didn't.

After lunch and an hour in the shade with a book, I guessed that I might find someone to talk to about getting to the ruins at the harbour, from where the dhows cross to Kilwa Kisiwani. There was not much there, other than an empty jetty and a few men under the shade of trees. One of them called over a young guy who had a dhow and could take me the next day. But today we would need to get the permit. We found the Antiquities Department in a compound behind a gate with a sign saying "Revenue Department". After 10 or 15 minutes my name was entered in a ledger (including my passport number, but as I did not have my passport with me or any idea what the number was, I made it up). I paid



The Great Mosque, Kilwa Kisiwani

a fee and that was that – a good day's work.

As no one was around at the Lodge early next morning, I breakfasted on a honey crunch bar left over from the flight from London and walked to the harbour. There was a port fee, requiring another entry in a ledger, with another invented passport number. No boatman from the day before, so the man who had been helpful shouted to three people on a dhow, who agreed to take us. We waded out, climbed aboard and a patched triangular sail was hoisted. A gentle half hour later we got close enough to the island to jump over the side and slosh our way ashore.

A half an hour walk along the edge of a mangrove swamp brought us to the Husuni Kubwa perched on a low cliff by the sea. All very grand in its time, but now just enough left to see that it had indeed been a great palace. We weaved our way along sandy paths through lush tropical vegetation back to the main site, passing neat and tidy mud huts with people quietly drawing water from an ancient well.

The Great Mosque – 11th century in origin, and enlarged in the 14th century with money from the gold trade – is still impressive. Other smaller mosques are scattered around, as well as later buildings, including the fort built by the Portuguese during their short stay at the beginning of the 16th century. After they left the fort was enlarged, falling into disuse in the late 19th century.

Returning to the mainland we had to tack against a strong wind. The

sail filled, the boat keeled over and waves flooded into the boat. One of the boatmen calmly bailed.

Over the next two days I explored Kilwa Masoko and adapted to the heat, humidity and the slow pace of life. I swam when the sun was low and less fierce, read in the shade, and enjoyed walking around the town and the market. And then it was time for a last stroll by the sea and a return to the airstrip. As we waited for the plane I watched the little ants crawl over my suitcase.

Two international aid workers arrived in a smart 4-wheel drive vehicle bearing the logo of a water project and talked on their mobile phones. Accompanying them were two Tanzanians. She was well-groomed in a tailored African print dress with puff sleeves. He wore a smart dark blue safari suit. They talked with confidence.

Then the plane arrived and I was off, back to Dar and on to London.

Thank you Jennifer Glentworth for putting us in touch with Peter – Editor

Anne Samson: EDUCATION

Primary school exam results

On 4 November, the National Examinations Council (NECTA) announced the Standard VII results. These showed that half of the pupils who sat this year's primary school examinations had passed; this was an increase of 20% compared to last year. The pass marks for the core subjects were low: Mathematics 27%, English 33% and Sciences 46%. 427,606 out of 844,938 candidates scored above 100 out of 250. 13 pupils had their results nullified due to cheating, compared to 293 last year.

This was the second year of electronic marking. NECTA had sample papers to check for accuracy, which showed that the computer marking was more accurate than manual marking. Other benefits included 16 days of marking compared to 30 days and 300 staff were used in comparison to 4,000 in previous years. (*Citizen*)

O-level results

The 2012 Form IV exam results remain in the news as the report of the

Prime Minister's special commission is not yet in the public domain. The *Citizen* reported on 22 October that outdated questions, poor marking, inadequate time, lack of testing skills among those tasked to set exam questions and the removal of national Form Two exams in 2009 were among the key factors that caused the massive failure during the 2012 Form Four national exams. The next day MPs were calling for the release of the report, which had been handed to Prime Minister Pinda in June. Professor Sifuni Mchoma, who led the enquiry and has since been appointed Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education, stated that the challenges facing education are due to "poor performance by workers at the Ministry of Education teachers' problems and school curriculums". (*Daily News, Citizen*)

In November, the Government announced that a new system of grading would be introduced for secondary school students. The final exam will count for 60% of the final result with 40% determined from continuous assessment or coursework. The changes were implemented with immediate effect on the day Form IV students started their exams. 15 marks out of the total 40 will be earned from the National Form Two Examinations and 10 marks in Form Three, with two terms each generating five marks. During the Form Four mock examinations, students can earn up to 10 marks, with the other five marks from the project, thus completing the 40 marks for course work." (*Citizen*)

"Big Results Now"

The World Bank has promised to support the Tanzanian government in improving the quality of primary and secondary education through its "Big Results Now" initiative. The US \$100 million "Programme for Results" will start in 2014 and run through to 2018. The funding will be used for training teachers, ranking schools according to performance and providing incentives to schools. (*Daily News*)

Other News

An initiative to improve education, sponsored by Samsung as part of its "Tanzania beyond Tomorrow" programme, will support children between the ages of 3 and 9 in learning Kiswahili. It is called *Tichaa* and engages children to learn the words of common objects.

In September, it was estimated that 10,000 teachers faced deportation from Tanzania as they were working illegally. (*Citizen*)

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.*

The poisoned chalice of Tanzania's land deals

For more than ten years, Tanzania has encouraged foreign investment in land deals with its vision of modernisation and revival of the agricultural sector. 4.5 million hectares is being sought by foreign investors for biofuel or food production, encouraged by the 2009 Kilimo Kwanza (Agriculture First) initiative. However, inadequate land-management legislation has seen few success stories in the selling of land.

Extract: '... supposed beneficiaries, such as smallholder Ahmed Kipanga, a 37-year-old father of five from the coastal Kisarawe District, feel short-changed.

"I used to till my land and grow enough food to feed my family," he told IRIN [UN news agency] in Mbeya, 600km south of a home he no longer has access to, adding that he was also able to earn around US\$250 selling his surplus crop for each of the year's two seasons. I just gave my land because we were convinced by a politician that it would make us rich. I knew I would get money for the land, and also get a well-paying job when the [investment] company began operations, they didn't do anything and they sold our land to another company we didn't even know," he added. Kipanga now has no farm to grow food on and struggles to make ends meet by crushing rocks manually. A 7-tonne truckload brings in around \$90, a sum he splits with two friends...

Some 27 agricultural investment deals have been signed since 2008, covering 274,228 hectare, according to data compiled by the Land Matrix. Of these, 11 projects have either been abandoned (including a 34,000 hectare *Jatropha* plantation in Kilwa District), or have yet to start production more than a year after contracts were signed. Just eight are operational.' (*IRIN UN Humanitarian News Network* – 7 November)

Tanzania: the ideal destination for drug gangs

'Tanzanian authorities battle to curb rise in drug smuggling into and out of the country'

Extract: 'In his speech on the World Day against Drugs on 26 June, Tanzania's prime minister Mizengo Pinda lamented that drugs are a national tragedy. According to Pinda, more than 10,799 Tanzanians have been charged with drug-dealing in the past five years. And the minister for foreign affairs and international co-operation, Bernard Membe, conceded last year that Tanzania is one of five countries in the Southern African Development Community implicated in illicit drug trafficking...

Last year more than 103 Tanzanians were arrested for cocaine smuggling in Brazil, and 200 in Hong Kong. A recent report of the Tanzania Drug Control Commission indicates that Tanzania has more than 4,684 registered addicts. The main market for drugs is Kinondoni in Dar es Salaam .

The 2013 report of the United Nations Office for Drugs and Crime (UNODC) indicates that East Africa is a major target for traffickers wishing to enter African markets because of its unprotected coastline, major seaports and airports and porous land borders, which provide multiple entry and exit points. Also attractive to the drug syndicates are inadequate customs controls and cross-border co-operation, as well as weak criminal justice systems... Most ship-borne narcotics are thought to pass through Zanzibar ... where they are offloaded and then moved to the mainland in small consignments in boats.' (*Mail Guardian, South Africa* – 30 August).

Tanzanian "Beach Boys" in Cape Town

The photojournal describes encounters with a group of up to 100 Tanzanian youths, mainly stowaways, who live rough "under Nelson Mandela Boulevard at the foot of Cape Town, where the high rise buildings end and the docklands begin ... [One Tanzanian] ...had entered [the UK] through the Port of Hull in 2003 concealed in a Maltese bulk carrier called *Global Victory*, which he had boarded in the Port of Richard's Bay on South Africa's north coast. In his first months in the UK he had lived in Sheffield with a benevolent Cameroonian before bussing to Birmingham, where the Jamaican gangsters around Handsworth had permitted him to hustle small amounts of marijuana. [The mother of his daughter], a second generation Jamaican immigrant, had tried to save him from the streets by convincing her own mother to take him in, but with no other way of making money [he] continued to hustle by

day and was eventually done for dealing [and] put on a flight to Dar es Salaam." (<http://africasacountry.com> Sept 2013)

Tanzanian 'mules' ply Jo'burg streets

'Tanzania is a transit point for drugs and South Africa is a prominent destination.' Extract continues: 'As a Tanzanian, you can't help but notice the amount of Kiswahili that is spoken in the Jo'burg inner city... Some work as hairdressers or street vendors; others have joined the city's criminal underworld. A large number are jobless, addicted to drugs and desperate to go home ... In July this year, two Tanzanian citizens, Agnes Masogange and Melissa Edward, were arrested at OR Tambo International airport with six bags of tik worth more than TSh7 billion (R42.6-million). According to the South African Revenue Service, this was the largest seizure ever at a South African border... Some Tanzanian mules swallow plastic sachets of drugs and retrieve them later. This can have tragic consequences. Last year, two Tanzanians, Hassan Wanyama and Ali Mpili, died ... after the cocaine sachets they had ingested leaked... As a result, all Tanzanians are now coming under suspicion. "At the border, they call us by the name 'drugs' and we are searched attentively and differently from others," a Tanzanian woman said...' (*Mail Guardian, South Africa* – 30 August)

During August, September and October 2013, The East African newspaper included a series of articles on music, dance, theatre, poetry and fashion. The following articles have been selected for your interest.

A taste of live music in Dar

Caroline Uliwa shares her experience of live music in a city restaurant. Extract: 'It is the must-attend event for lovers of live performance in Dar es Salaam. Held every last Friday of the month at Trinité Restaurant in Oyster Bay, "The Beat" brings together Tanzanian artists performing bongo flava, reggae as well as blends of Afro fusion. The gig, hosted by Caravan Records and director Epsen Olsen aka Mzungu Kichaa [Crazy White Man], was started as a platform for Tanzanian musicians to develop their craft. Anyone who has come into contact with Mzungu Kichaa will tell you that though he's Danish, he could just as well be born and bred Tanzanian. With his fluency in Kiswahili and command of Maa, he is very much a local musician. The night I attended, Twetulobo Band, consisting of five musicians playing Afro fusion and "Kuchehe" traditional music from the Coast, was the first act... Malfred



Chaba Thomas, Mzungu Kichaa and Jcb Makalla performing at the Trinita club in Dar es Salaam in April. Photo KaLuLeTe

picked up from where Twetulobo left off and played songs from his debut album *Hisia Zangu* (My Feelings) ... Then Mzungu Kichaa took the stage ... [and] performed songs from his previous album [and his latest album] *Hustle* ...' (*East African* 3-9 August)

In memory of Shaaban Robert

Extract: 'Tanzanian writer Shaaban Robert, even in death, has been a role model to many Kiswahili writers and scholars in East Africa. Fifty years after his death, his works continue to influence the Kiswahili language and its writers. To keep his literary star shining, Kiswahili scholars and writers from East Africa and beyond ... gathered in the Tanzanian town of Bukoba to celebrate his contribution to Kiswahili literature. Hundreds of visitors from Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda and Ghana attended the conference dubbed Shaaban Robert Week at St Francis Hall.

Prominent Tanzanian scholars Prof Mugyabuso Mulokozi, Dr S. Sewangi, Dr Y. Rubanza, Dr Aldin Mutembei and Felix Sossoo, from the University of Dar es Salaam, attended the meeting and spoke fondly of Shaaban Robert... Mr Sossoo, a Ghanaian who is a master's student at the University of Dar es Salaam, mesmerised the conference with his presentation on *Kufikirika* and *Kusadikika*, two novels by Robert that have been used as setbooks in schools and colleges all over East Africa. Mr Sossoo, who speaks Kiswahili fluently, studied the language

at the University of Ghana for his bachelor's degree. He now teaches at the University of Dar es Salaam... Robert's son Iqbal Shaaban, who is a businessman, also attended the conference, in which scholars called for the award of a posthumous honorary doctorate to the writer.' (*East African* 21-27 September)

Modern dance keeping teens off Dar streets

Contemporary dancer Isaac Abeneko has found a positive way of engaging the youth in Tanzania ...' Extract continues: '... Abeneko noticed the soaring numbers [of street children] and went out on a quest to understand why such children stayed away from the classroom... Abeneko came up with a simple solution – art! Local schools did not integrate art into the curriculum through which such children could express themselves, thereby making the learning experience more interesting... The dancer had just arrived from Senegal, where he had been attending a dance workshop with sponsorship from the Vipaji Foundation, a Tanzanian-based organisation that brings artists together to share their skills... Upon his return, he was expected to share his knowledge with local dancers. That was how Abeneko began teaching dance at Dogodogo Centre, an NGO that empowers street children... At a concert ... at the Russian Cultural Centre in Dar es Salaam, the teens from Dogodogo Centre were the main act with their Elimu ni dance, choreographed by Abeneko. ... the show stopper of the night was the group of six boys ... their Elimu ni dance, whose setting was a classroom, had a clear message about the importance of education...' (*East African* 12-18 October)

Dance, the modern way

'Caroline Uliwa was elated to see contemporary dance group Haba na Haba perform in Dar es Salaam ...' Extract continues: '... Every year, Haba na Haba holds workshops at which it invites dancers across the country to join renowned choreographers and dancers in learning contemporary dance. It was initiated by Isaac Peter, who later recruited Shaaban Mugado and Malim Masafa to help manage it... Among the pieces that stood out was Maendeleo [Progress], choreographed by Emilie Asla from Norway... The Nyuki [Bees] and Wanawake [Women] sets, with their traditional African dance elements, were equally fascinating... This year, Haba na Haba was sponsored by the Russian Culture Centre, the Vipaji Foundation, Asedeva and the Lumumba Theatre...' (*East African* 24-30 August)



Flaviana Matata wearing an outfit by Tracy Reese at the DC Show

Tanzanian model rocks top US fashion show

'At the recent Washington DC Fashion Week, in a sea of long hair, black clothes and huge floppy black leather bags, Tanzanian-born model Flaviana [Matata, a 2007 Miss Universe finalist] stood out with a nearly bald head and fitted sleeveless dress' Extract continues: 'Michelle Obama did not attend the African-American designer's Cuban-themed Fashion Week extravaganza. But as [designer Tracy Reese's] most important fan, the US First Lady's spirit was evident... at the Studio at Lincoln Centre in Washington DC.' (*East African* 14-20 September)

A stain on China's ties with Africa

Christopher Lee calls on Hong Kong to do more to curb the bloody trade in ivory that is decimating Africa's elephants – first by not buying it, then by doing more to stop the city becoming a node for traffickers. Extract continues: '...'

The visage of Africa is changing too, as more than a million Chinese guest workers now work and live there... Casting a

dark cloud over the relationship is the illegal ivory trade, however, I say "trade", but it's not a trade. Really, it is theft; theft and exploitation of Africa's natural resources.

More than 35,000 African elephants are now poached for their tusks every year. This type of killing cannot be sustained... This is the disheartening side of the China-Africa relationship..... authorities [in Hong Kong] seized on of the biggest hauls of smuggled ivory ever. This means Hong Kong is playing a key role as a transit and consumption hub for illegal ivory...' (*Sunday Morning Post* 10 November)

– Thanks to Ronald Blanche for this and the next item – Editor

Chinese in court over ivory haul

Extract: 'Three Chinese nationals have been charged for possessing 706 tusks from poached elephants. Police and wildlife officers have cracked down on suspected poachers amid a surge of killings of elephant and rhino ... The three accused – Huang Gin, Xu Fujie and Chen Jinzhan – were arrested ... in ... Dar es Salaam. They had hidden the tusks, weighing 1.8 tonnes and worth an estimated US\$3.1 million in containers... the trio were posing as garlic importers and marine product exporters...' (*South China Morning Post* 11 November)

US embassy bombing suspect charged in New York

Extract: 'The al-Qaeda terrorist suspect charged with orchestrating the bombings of two American embassies in East Africa in 1998 was led in handcuffs into a courtroom in New York ... Twelve Americans were among the 224 victims of the twin bombings of the embassies in Kenya and Tanzania...' (*Times* 16 October)

Rats sniff out TB

Extract: '... in 2000, APOPO [a Belgian NGO researching ways to detect anti-personnel landmines using rats] established a laboratory at Sokoine University of Agriculture in Morogoro, Tanzania that then developed an extensive training ground and test minefield... Since 2008, around 80 Gambian giant pouched rats have [also] been trained to sniff out the killer disease TB. This disease kills almost 1.5m people each year ... [WHO] says a single technician, with a microscope, can do 25 samples a day. A rat can sniff out 10 samples in a minute! ... rats are so accurate that they can often identify positive samples that have been overlooked by a clinic... The rats have so far diagnosed more than 3,500 cases missed by local clinics... They cost nearly \$8,000 to train, but live up to eight years and are cheap to keep...' (*New African*)

Dar plan for satellite city

Extract: '... In 2008, the government announced its intention to take over 6,400 hectares of land – [later] increased to 50,943 hectares – for construction of a new city, in an effort to decongest Dar es Salaam. But there was uncertainty over compensation of the 750,000 residents ... Those affected by the project will be paid Tsh141 million (\$89,000) per acre as compensation ... government has been breaking the law, given the secrecy surrounding its implementation. Citing the Urban Planning Act, [Kigamboni member of parliament Dr Faustine Ndugulile] said

the law requires government to convene a meeting with residents of the area ... But the MP says the government made the announcement through newspaper adverts in October 2008 without convening any meetings with the people to be affected...' (*East African* 12-18 October)

Reactions after Zanzibar acid attack

Extract: '... Like the rest of the dozen or so tour guides ... in historic Stone Town, [taxi driver and tour guide] Mr Ola refused to believe that a local resident could have been behind the acid attack ... on two 18-year-old British women... "We're not that stupid," Mr Ola said, referring to the islanders' dependence on tourist revenues. Without the sightseers and beachgoers who swarm the island, he said, "at the end of the day we're going to eat grass." ... "If we knew who it was," said another, "we would be the first to punish them."' (*Herald Tribune* 4 September) – Thanks to Elsbeth Court for this item

Tanzania Ranks High in Governance Survey

'The Mo Ibrahim Index of African Governance has ranked Tanzania number 17 out of Africa's 52 nations in its 2013 survey.' Extract continues: 'The indicators include Safety and Rule of Law, Participation and Human Rights, Sustainable Economic Opportunity, and Human Development. Tanzania received 5 percentage points higher than the African average of 51.6%, and ranked third in East Africa (after Seychelles and Rwanda). Tanzania's biggest improvements have been in Human Development (welfare, education, and health); and it ranked 12th in the continent for Participation and Human Rights...' (*Tanzania Invest* 10 October)

100 most influential Africans

Extract: '... How do we determine these people's influence? One yardstick we used was to emphasise that influence is not about popularity ... impact on public, social and political discourse, however, is what largely helps us to determine their influence ...' The only Tanzanian in the top 100 is Patrick Ngowi. Extract continues: '... [Mr Ngowi is the] 28-year-old CEO of Helvetic Solar Contractors – a Tanzanian company that supplies, installs and maintains solar panel systems throughout the northern circuit of Tanzania... Combining the abundant natural energy that the African sky provides and the high demand for power, this young man has positioned his business to ensure that demand and supply will have a continuous flow. The interesting story is that Ngowi started his business at the age of 15!' (*New African* December)

Philip Richards:

SPORT

Football

The national team “Taifa Stars” ended their World Cup 2014 qualifying campaign with a disappointing 0-2 defeat away in The Gambia, although they had already failed to qualify for the Brazil finals.

At the time of going to press, the “Kilimanjaro Stars” and the “Zanzibar Heroes” are competing in the Council for East and Central Africa Football Association (CECAFA) regional tournament in Nairobi. Interestingly, this is one event where two separate teams can represent the United Republic; normally it is one, because Zanzibar is not a member of FIFA.

With a nod to longer term aspirations, a three-way partnership between the Ministry of Information, Youth, Culture and Sports, the English Premier League side Sunderland FC and the local electricity generator Symbion Power, will see a state of the art football academy set up in Dar es Salaam for elite youngsters. Stewart Hall, who has been coaching top flight local clubs such as Azam FC, has been appointed manager of the complex. The project has the backing of President Kikwete.

The President also welcomed the authentic FIFA World Cup trophy to Tanzania as part of its nine month tour of 88 countries. Speaking at the CCM Kirumba Stadium in Mwanza, where the trophy was on public view, he said that “we owe the world...a big debt....which we and the coming generation should pay at least once in a lifetime, by playing in the World Cup finals and winning the trophy.” (*Daily News*)

Hockey

The Tanzanian women’s hockey team made their inaugural appearance in the Africa Hockey Cup of Nations held in Nairobi in November. It was fortuitous that they were there at all, given that they replaced the men’s squad who pulled out due to financial constraints. Although they were soundly beaten by South Africa, who went on to win the competition, the Tanzanian coaching staff were happy with the experience gained during the tournament. (*Daily News*)

Volleyball

In a similar vein, the Tanzanian women’s volleyball team took part in their first World Cup qualifying tournament in Uganda in October.

Despite losing their three games, there were positive benefits from their participation and development plans are in place to improve skills and awareness of the sport.

Ben Taylor:

OBITUARIES

Respected lawyer, human rights activist and politician, **Dr Sengondo Mvungi** died in Milipark Hospital, Johannesburg, on November 12th. He had been attacked in his home by bandits nine days earlier, in an apparent robbery. Though he was rushed first to Muhimbili National Hospital, and later to South Africa, Dr Mvungi never recovered from the attack. He died from his injuries a few days later.

Having begun his career as a journalist on the ruling party's newspaper, Uhuru, Dr Mvungi later switched to the law. After studies in Dar es Salaam and abroad, he taught in the Law Faculty at the University of Dar es Salaam for over two decades. He had recently been appointed Deputy Vice Chancellor of the newly established University of Bagamoyo.

A staunch defender of media freedoms and human rights, his legal expertise and media background made him an obvious appointment to the founding board of the Media Council of Tanzania, where he was very active. He was among the founders of the Legal and Human Rights Centre, and practiced as an advocate of the High Court.

With the advent of multi-party politics, Dr Mvungi joined the opposition, running as the NCCR-Mageuzi Presidential Candidate in 1995. He knew he could never win, but saw value in making a contribution to the slow task of building a new political reality in Tanzania. It was a cause he continued to struggle for throughout his life.

Most recently, Dr Mvungi had been a prominent member of the Constitution Review Commission, bringing his sharp legal mind and unstinting defence of human rights once more to the service of his country.

"His untimely departure leaves us with a serious gap in a situation where we already had too many gaps," wrote Jenerali Ulimwengu. "Our cumulative and collective actions have created around us an intellectual wasteland in which rather than blooms of flowering thought,

angry shrubs produce only prickly and poisonous thorns, testimony to our degeneracy.”

“It may not explain the whole episode but Mvungi was killed by representatives of these shrubs, who may not even fully comprehend the enormity of their actions in terms of the loss inflicted on the nation. How could they ever understand, when all they were looking for was a little cash and some trinkets they could sell to get money to drink and to buy chicken and chips. The cheapness of life implied in their actions speaks to the cheapness of life generally, engendered by a nonchalant system that has manufactured disposable people who dispose of other people.”

Seasoned Tanzanian politician and diplomat, **Ambassador Isaac Sepetu**, died on October 27th, aged 70. Ambassador Sepetu’s career encompassed a spell as Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs during the presidency of Julius Nyerere, Minister of Information in the Zanzibar Revolutionary Government in the 1970s and Minister of Economy and Planning in Zanzibar in the 1990s. He also served as Tanzanian Ambassador to the former USSR and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

To many younger Tanzanians, however, Ambassador Sepetu is perhaps best known as the father of Wema Sepetu, actress, model and former Miss Tanzania. Wema has become a staple of the celebrity-obsessed tabloid media, not least for her relationship with bongo flava star Diamond Platinumz.

Lionel Cliffe: An Africanist scholar and global citizen

By establishing the Department of Development Studies in 1969, the University of Dar es Salaam was stepping into an uncharted territory. The main task of the new unit was to teach an interdisciplinary course on socio-economic development to all entering students. The course would challenge the conservative spirit of the traditional social science disciplines and reflect the goal of building socialism in Tanzania. The first head of this bold academic venture was Lionel Cliffe, a British scholar who had come to Tanzania in 1961.

After teaching at Kivukoni College and a spell in the civil service, Lionel had joined the Department of Political Science of UDSM in 1964. Lionel was a socialist, sympathetic to Mwalimu Nyerere’s policies, and a firm

supporter of the liberation of Africa from external domination. Right from the start, he undertook pioneering socio-political research and became involved in the effort to make the university curricula more relevant to national needs. The book *One Party Democracy: A Study of the 1965 Tanzania General Elections* (East Africa Publishing House, Nairobi, 1967) that he edited and co-authored and which contains several detailed investigations and political analyses is regarded as a pioneering work in the field that also provides a bright insight into the political dynamics of Tanzania of that time.

Lionel was not just an armchair academic. As a leftist student activist at the UDSM at that time, I vividly recall him providing much needed support to progressive student groups in ways more than one. Our student magazine, *Cheche*, had no external funder and was perpetually short of resources needed for bringing an issue into print. Though we did the printing ourselves, paper was expensive. Lionel helped out by selling printing paper from the departmental stock to us at the wholesale price.

By the time Lionel left the university in 1972, Development Studies had become an integral part of the local academic scene, and universities the world over began to imitate the department. Lionel edited (with John Saul) *Socialism in Tanzania: A Interdisciplinary Reader*, which remains a standard reference work for anyone interested in the post-Independence history of Tanzania and a relevant text for present day students of development studies, economics, education and political science that focus on Africa.

I pen these words with a heavy heart because Lionel Cliffe passed away after a brief illness on October 23, 2013. Until his death, he was engaged in African issues. Among his many achievements, he was a founder editor of the *Review of African Political Economy* and the first Director of the Centre for Development Studies at the University of Leeds. Over the years, he had established a distinguished academic reputation, and published on a range of issues spanning from land tenure and reform to political affairs and external barriers to development. He remained a champion of social and economic self-determination for the people of Africa and took a sharply critical stand on the Western strategies that promoted continued domination over the continent.

I last met this fine, ever smiling, soft-speaking human being in April this

year. He was in Dar es Salaam to attend the annual Mwalimu Nyerere Intellectual Festival at the UDSM. He had regularly visited many countries in Africa over the years, maintaining strong links with progressive African scholars striving for social and economic justice.

Lionel engaged with us on an equal footing; at times we critiqued him, and at times, he critiqued us; but in the spirit of comrades undertaking a joint long term journey. He had the outlook of and functioned like a global citizen. At his passing, Africa has lost a good comrade; an upright champion our people's rights. Let us pay homage to this stellar specimen of humanity by drawing sound lessons from the work of activists scholars like him and begin to recreate an African academia that will challenge the neo-liberal establishment and truly champion the rights and needs of the people of Africa.

One thing I am certain of: Wherever in the heavens he has landed, Professor Lionel Cliffe is already busy establishing an inter-galactic Institute of Development Studies, and boldly challenging the status quo. Most likely, he has us within his sights too. Let us then once more elicit his usual broad grin by retaking similar steps on this planet.

Karim F. Hirji

(Abridged, with permission, from a longer obituary in Pambazuka News)

John Cooper-Poole:

REVIEWS

THE THREAT OF LIBERATION: IMPERIALISM AND REVOLUTION IN ZANZIBAR. Amrit Wilson: Pluto Press: London, 2013. ISBN 13 978 0745334073. £18.99

Zanzibar is a small-scale society, with a population, even today, of less than a million people, dispersed between three islands, Unguja, Pemba and Mafia. For hundreds of years its strategic significance rather than its intrinsic value has driven its history. Occupied by a succession of overlords, from Portugal and Oman to Britain, it has been the hub of trade routes for slaves and ivory from Africa's hinterland, a centre from which to exert political power over semi-autonomous city states along the East African coast, and later a plantation economy focussed on cloves. Each set of rulers has left its divisive mark in a complex, racialised social order and shifting class formations.

Making sense of the political trajectory of Zanzibar has exercised many intellectuals as well as politicians and diplomats. Amrit Wilson draws on her own first-hand knowledge, interviews with participants and existing literature (especially Lofchie, Chase, Babu and her own publications), bringing the story up to date, the Wikileaks revelations. Her interpretation of events and their significance is based on one of the key actors in this political maelstrom, Abdulrahman Mohamed Babu, a lifelong Communist and revolutionary.

In December 1963 Zanzibar gained independence from Britain as a constitutional monarchy under a Sultan. Liberation from colonial rule promised progressive social transformation, but Zanzibar tore itself apart and remained the subject of imperialist concern. Within a few months, a series of political battles had put 'liberation' in question. In January 1964 a bloody revolution overthrew the Sultan; Wilson does not estimate the numbers killed, but they were primarily of Zanzibar's 'ruling class' - Omani Arabs and Asians - who had prospered from the plantations or from trade, and their political allies. She claims that the uprising was fomented by disaffected youth and 'lumpen' elements, people who saw no change in their abject circumstances by virtue of 'liberation'.

Although the revolution was not initiated by Babu, he had formed a Marxist left wing party (called *Umma* or 'Community') just before independence. This drew on the support of union workers in the docks and in transport, as well as intellectuals. *Umma* played a strategic role in the revolution and became part of the Revolutionary Council, with Abeid Karume of the Afro-Shirazi Party as President. Zanzibar's numerous political parties cannot be neatly subsumed into class or racial conflict. Most represent opportunistic alliances of different class groupings. So-called 'right-wing parties' have left wing factions and the language of race/ethnicity permeates all political discussion. Wilson's account does not make this much clearer – and maybe the chaotic reality is not susceptible to easy analysis.

The question now raised is a challenging one. As a Communist and leader of a party dedicated to achieving socialism, what scope did Babu have, as Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade in a 'Revolutionary' government dominated by increasingly reactionary elements? Wilson makes a brave case for Babu's initiation of policies to restructure the economy with an integral link between agriculture and industry, and to learn from China. But she describes it as a 'Zanzibar that might have been'. In April 1964 (only four months after the revolution) whilst Babu was absent on a mission to link Indonesia and East Germany into his plans, a merger between Tanganyika and Zanzibar was

engineered by Karume and Nyerere without any vote in the Revolutionary Council. Thereafter, Zanzibar descended into despotism with political scores being brutally settled and many activists murdered. Babu was removed to Dar es Salaam and sidelined as a minister of state without any real power, his only achievement (at Nyerere's behest) the Chinese involvement in building the Tazara railway.

Nearly a decade of violence and arbitrary rule in Zanzibar led to the assassination of Karume in April 1972 by two ex-*Umma* members. They were killed in the ensuing melee but mass arrests led to a lengthy Treason Trial. *Umma* activists in Zanzibar, together with Zanzibari politicians on the mainland (including Babu), were accused on flimsy grounds of being involved in the killing of Karume and the trial was marked throughout by anti-Communist rhetoric. Torture was used to extort confessions, and most of the accused were sentenced to death or life imprisonment. Babu received a death sentence after a trial *in absentia*. He was detained on the mainland when Nyerere refused to extradite him to Zanzibar and he was eventually released in 1978.

Wilson's book will be notable to some for its critique of Nyerere. Basically he is presented as a stooge of the West, particularly in respect of Zanzibar, with both Britain and the US bringing pressure to bear to neutralise what they saw as a potential 'African Cuba, from which sedition would spread to the continent' (quoting Frank Carlucci, Reagan's Defense Secretary 1987-9). The revolution and the Revolutionary Council were seen as evidence of a Communist takeover. Wilson notes that some have seen the merger between Tanganyika and Zanzibar as evidence of Nyerere's 'pan-Africanism', but she rejects this. Nyerere was beholden to the British for rescuing him after the army mutiny in Dar es Salaam and the Zanzibar revolution was shortened by the appearance of a US destroyer.

Wilson compares Nyerere's claim to 'African socialism' with Babu's more Marxist-oriented projections for development. She derides the *Ujamaa* policy as failing to confront colonial economic structures and being more marked by 'austerity and control' than 'self-reliance'. Self-sufficiency in food production led to food shortages and growing imports, and there was no serious policy of industrial development. Babu's recipe was to develop agriculture, not for export but for people's basic needs, and to establish industries based of modernising agriculture and exploiting Tanzania's reserves of coal and iron.

In the last section of the book, Wilson traces Zanzibar's history to the present, with emphasis on the implications of the merger. A shift to neo-liberal policies and the rise of tourism and other services superseded the clove industry

as the major determinant of Zanzibar's economy, though still on a foundation of subsistence and export agriculture. A major shakeup of the kaleidoscope of political parties reflected the fading political autonomy of Zanzibar. All this against the backdrop of western imperialist intervention – now directed at the growing politico-economic might of China and the representation of Zanzibar as a source not of communism, but of Islamo-terrorism.

Whilst these final chapters lose their keen focus on Zanzibar, the bigger picture is that the merger with Tanzania is still a contested political issue, about to be voted on in a national referendum. Wilson has usefully reminded us of the promise of liberation for Zanzibar, as well as its betrayal.

Janet Bujra

TANZANIA: A POLITICAL ECONOMY (2nd EDITION) Andrew Coulson: Oxford University Press. 2013. ISBN 10 0199679967. p/b 432pp.

The appearance of a new edition of Andrew Coulson's classic study will be welcomed by admirers of the first edition, which came out more than 30 years ago. Apart from corrections and minor revisions to the main text, there is a new *Preface* in which the reader is reminded how well-qualified Coulson was to write the original book – being acquainted with many of the players and having a ringside seat at the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) when he was not himself right in the fray. And there is a substantial new *Introduction* in which the author reflects on what he said previously in the light of subsequent developments.

The scope of the book is wide, aiming to cover the whole history of Tanzania from earliest times up to c.1980. Thus, after a couple of short introductory chapters, we have three chapters on the period up to 1900, covering particularly Zanzibar, the slave trade and the early German period. Six more chapters cover the colonial period, starting with German colonisation (and the resistance to it), the disruption caused by the First World War, the award of Tanganyika to Britain under a League of Nations mandate and the virtual freezing of development during the 1930s depression, followed by further disruption during the Second World War.

More than a third of the book is taken up before we reach the post-War period, the nationalist take-over and developments post-Independence. It is clear that Coulson wants to rub in Tanzania's difficult inheritance, particularly during the 19th and early 20th century. Inter alia, this serves as a corrective to the

rosier picture, post-WWII, of a peaceful but backward country taking slow but positive steps towards a brighter future under the guidance of a well-meaning but cash-strapped administration – as attested in the memoirs of some of those involved. It also underlines that this is as much a political history as an economic one.

Inevitably, these early sections of the book are highly condensed, but Coulson provides good summaries of the main episodes, together with judicious observations on their consequences – for example, balancing accounts of the brutality of the German conquest with their more positive contributions, so that “the economic structure laid down by 1914 was in all but detail that handed over in 1961”.

Having set the scene in this way – and those unsure of Tanzania’s early history, and looking for a short pithy introduction, could do far worse than take Coulson as their guide – the real meat of the book is contained in two hefty sections covering ‘*The Early Years*’ (1961-67) and ‘*Harsh Realities*’ (1968-80). In retrospect, the Early Years appear rather benign, the economy making reasonable progress of a conventional kind, propelled by post-independence enthusiasm and by the remarkable growth of export crops produced by progressive smallholder farmers. ‘Kulaks’ Coulson dubs them, imparting a whiff of the radical thinking prevalent at UDSM at the time – a colourful but somewhat chilling term when one recalls the treatment meted out to this class of producers elsewhere by the likes of Stalin and Mao. But tensions were building up, notably frustration at the slow progress of Africanisation, reflected in clashes with the unions.

The turning point was of course the Arusha Declaration in 1967. Coulson documents well the set of radical transformations towards a socialist future set in motion by this and the related policy statements. It was certainly widely welcomed, acting as a lightning rod for the frustrations of ordinary Tanzanians and checking the more materialistic ambitions of some of Nyerere’s colleagues. However, execution of the new policies quickly exposed a disconnect between aspiration and outcome – the ‘*Harsh Realities*’ that make up the final section of the book. The disastrous effect on agricultural production of villagisation, the inefficiency of the parastatals set up to replace the cooperatives and to take over nationalised enterprises, and the over-expansion of budgets relative to resources (as relations with external donors soured) are all discussed.

Coulson tries hard to be even-handed, drawing attention also to the parallel extension of education and (to a lesser extent) health services to rural areas.

Even so, the kindest verdict might be “Good intentions, bad effects”. The sad truth is that in Tanzania, as in pretty much every other country in the world, whether developed or developing, capitalist or socialist, human nature is much the same: put someone in a position where opportunities can be exploited to feather one’s own nest and most will probably do just that. The task of policy then should be to provide an institutional framework which minimises such opportunities. This means competition rather than monopoly, active democracy and good laws applied impartially. Not easy, particularly with limited manpower and other resources; but, after 1967, under the influence of Nyerere’s somewhat puritanical anxiety about inequality and his distaste for capitalism, Tanzania headed in more or less the opposite direction – and has paid a high price.

Against this background, it is not surprising that Coulson ended his first edition on a pessimistic note:

“Talk of ‘Tanzanian socialism’ ... does not provide a clear economic strategy ... The result was a failure ruthlessly to pursue any single class interest (apart from the bureaucracy’s interest in expanding the functions of the state). The worst results were in rural policy, a series of despairing dashes for freedom, with what seemed like short cuts actually leading further and further into the mud.” “Can the future offer something better?” Coulson asks, sadly concluding: “On the basis of the performance of the 1970s, the answer is no.”

But that was 1980. Since then, there has been the long confrontation with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, the structural adjustment programmes and the new problems and opportunities arising post-2000. We turn to the new *Introduction* to learn how Coulson sees things now.

Retrenchment in the early 1980s set back progress in education and health, but also reined in government and parastatal excesses. When growth resumed, Coulson notes that it was accompanied by more corruption, with the benefits “mostly going to the salaried elite – with little impact on poverty in most parts of the country”. At the same time, opportunities for political competition were opened up, civil society activity grew stronger, particularly NGOs. Tanzania became more attractive to foreign investment, and more urbanised. In the light of these developments, Coulson appears less confident that dependency theory and Shivji’s concept of a ‘bureaucratic bourgeoisie’ provide a sufficient framework for understanding the political economy of post-colonial countries such as Tanzania, indicating room for fresh thinking here. Insights from the new economic geography school and Collier’s *The Bottom Billion* might help.

Looking to the future, Coulson notes that the 1999 Development Vision and the 2012 Five Year Plan point to a more capitalist development path, as does the ambition to become a middle income country by 2025. While new opportunities have indeed been opened up by the remarkable growth of the mining sector, and the prospect of major oil and gas development, the challenges, as Coulson notes, remain formidable. These include: getting mineral taxation right; how to foster manufacturing with only a small domestic market; the enormous backlog in urban infrastructure investment (electricity, water supply and sewerage); and improving transport (notably ports and railways). As if that were not enough, he adds “Agriculture is even more challenging”, with long-standing questions – large scale vs small scale, transformation vs improvement – still unresolved. He concludes with an appeal to the Tanzanian elite to show the leadership and vision needed.

One measure of Coulson’s achievement is that no comparable work has appeared since 1980. There have been books and articles on particular aspects of Tanzania’s development and bits of the story could be pieced together from these (many appear in the expanded bibliography), and from reports by the Tanzania Government and agencies such as the World Bank, but no-one has attempted a comprehensive overview of Tanzania’s post-Independence economic development to bring the story up to date.

In case someone is contemplating taking on this daunting task, it may be worth drawing attention to some aspects which appear (to this reviewer at least) not to have been given their due weight, either in Coulson’s book or elsewhere. First, there is the regional dimension. There are enormous differences in climate, topography, natural resources and ways of life between the different parts of Tanzania: attention to these differences and their effects would make for a more rounded account. Secondly, population growth at around 3% p.a. right up to the present time has made the development challenge immensely more difficult but receives very little attention in the literature. Only about a third of the increase in the rural population has been absorbed into towns, so that the pressure of population on land and other resources in the rural areas has approximately trebled, compounding the problems attributable to poor policies.

Thirdly, the urban development that has occurred has been rather unproductive, raising questions both about the quality of local administration and about strategies for non-agricultural employment. Finally, on a more positive note, an up-to-date economic history of Tanzania will be able to document the unexpected surge in mineral exploitation, starting with artisanal mining

of gemstones in the 1980s, moving to larger scale mining in the 1990s, and (prospectively) oil and gas production in the near future. Hopefully, our future historian will record that these new opportunities have been put to good use, resulting in a better future for all Tanzanians.

Hugh Wenban-Smith

TANZANIAN AFFAIRS (ISSN 0952-2948)

EDITOR and *POLITICS, CONSTITUTION, CRIME, FOREIGN AFFAIRS*:

David Brewin, 14B Westbourne Grove Terrace, London W2 5SD. Tel: 020 7727 1755. E-mail: davidbrewin@btinternet.com

EDITORIAL ASSISTANT, CONTRIBUTOR COORDINATION, *TRANSPORT, MISCELLANEOUS*:

Ben Taylor. E-mail: ben.d.taylor@gmail.com.

CO-EDITOR - ELECTRONIC PUBLISHING:

Jacob Knight, Gaborone, Botswana. E-mail: jacob@kwangu.com

CO-EDITOR and *TZ IN THE INTERNATIONAL MEDIA*:

Donovan McGrath, Tel: 020 8960 6668. E-mail: mzee.mzima@talktalk.net

BUSINESS & THE ECONOMY, AGRICULTURE: **Paul Gooday**, 14B Westbourne Grove Terrace, London W2 5SD. Tel: 078 4918 726. E-mail: p.s.gooday@gmail.com

EDUCATION: **Anne Samson**, E-mail: thesamsonsed@gmail.com

TOURISM & ENVIRONMENTAL CONSERVATION: **Mark Gillies**, Tel: 0121 382 9000. Email: mark.gillies@audleytravel.com

ENERGY & MINERALS: **Roger Nellist**. Tel: 020 8566 1629 Mob: 07985 394349 E-mail: rogermnellist@hotmail.com

SPORT: **Philip Richards** E-mail: philip.r.richards@uk.pwc.com

DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH: **Hugh Wenban-Smith**, E-mail: wenban@globalnet.co.uk

BOOK REVIEWS EDITOR: **John Cooper-Poole**, 7 Stonewalls, Rossett, Wrexham LL12 OLG. Tel: 01244 571557. E-mail: b.poole57@btinternet.com

EDITOR - PROOFREADING: **John Sankey**, E-mail: sankey@waitrose.com

DISTRIBUTION MANAGER: **Jill Bowden**, 17 The Green, London N14 7EH. Tel: 020 8886 8141. E-mail: jillbowde@btinternet.com

BRITAIN-TANZANIA SOCIETY

Readers wishing to join the Britain-Tanzania Society should contact a membership secretary:

In the UK - **Ann Brumfit**, 24 Oakfield Drive, Reigate, Surrey RH2 9NR.

Tel: 01737 210532. E-mail: annbrumfit@yahoo.co.uk

www.btsociety.org

www.tzaffairs.org

CONTRIBUTORS

We welcome to our editorial team a new volunteer: **Enos Bukuku**. Enos is a solicitor at Levenes in London specialising in personal injury, clinical negligence and general civil litigation. Born in Mwadui (Shinyanga), he moved to the UK with his family at an early age. He regularly returns to his hometown Mbeya and is involved in an NGO which seeks to empower women and children in Southern Tanzania. As part of a team giving legal assistance and advice to the Afro-Caribbean community, he spends time reaching out to the community and attending events to raise awareness of legal rights. He takes over from Frederick Longino and will handle the new constitution for TA

Peter Elborn spent four months in Dar es Salaam in 1991 and visited frequently from 2000 to 2004 when he was the British Council Regional Director East and Central Africa, based in Nairobi. However, it was only after retirement that he was able to get to Kilwa.

Dr Janet Bujra is an Honorary Reader and Senior Research Associate in Peace Studies at the University of Bradford. She is the author of books and articles on gender, domestic service and HIV/Aids in Tanzania.

Dr Hugh Wenban-Smith was born in Chunya and went to Mbeya School. His career was as a government economist – mainly in Britain but with periods in Zambia and India. He is now an independent researcher, with particular interest in infrastructure, urbanisation and transport.

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

SUBSCRIPTIONS

Three issues per annum:

UK: £11.00, Elsewhere: £14.00 or US\$27.00 or Euros €28.00.

Back Numbers: £2.50 each, Special Edition No 100: £4.00 plus £1.50 p&p (in UK)