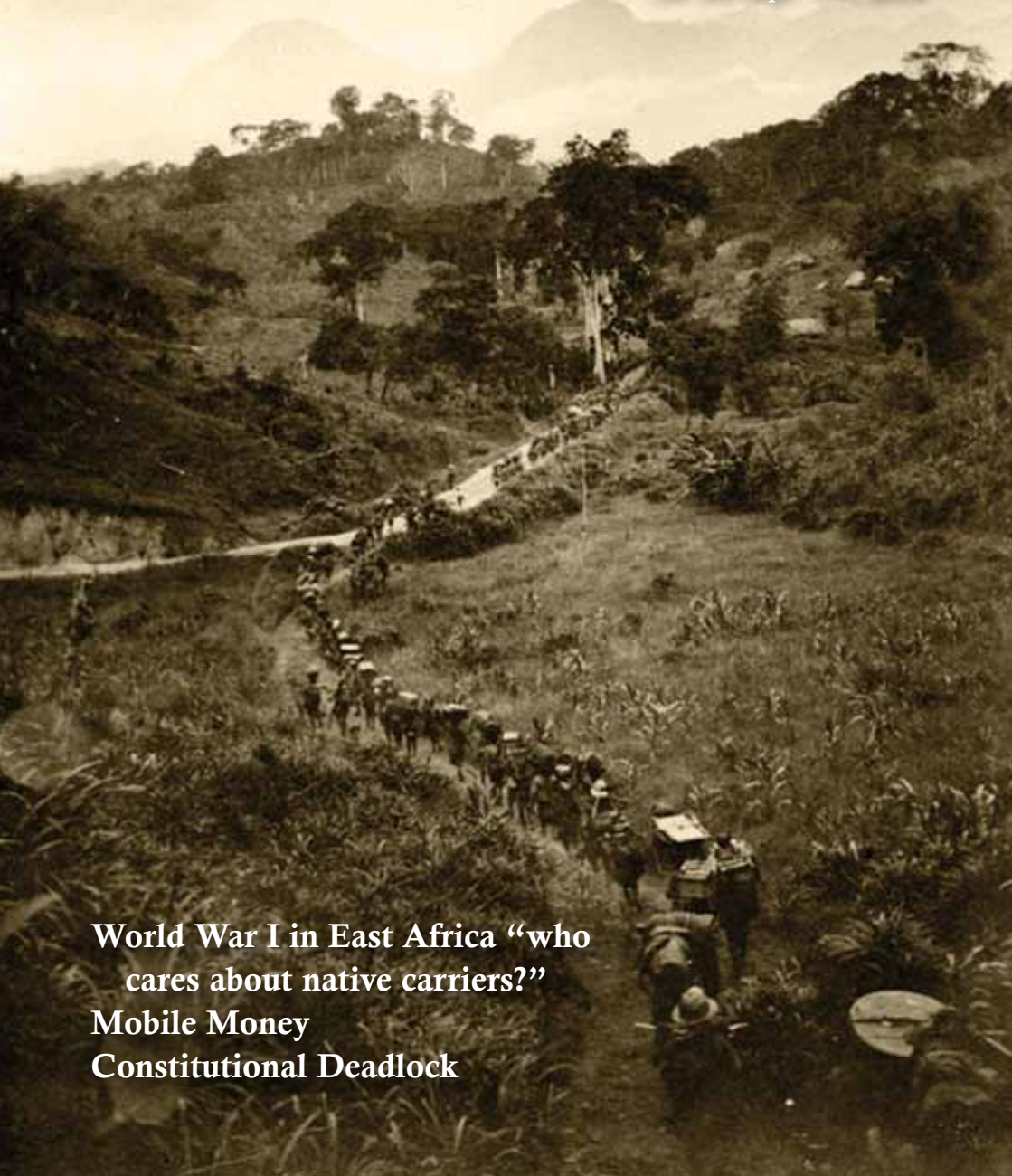


Tanzanian Affairs

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**World War I in East Africa “who
cares about native carriers?”**

Mobile Money

Constitutional Deadlock

Ben Taylor:

WORLD WAR I IN EAST AFRICA “WHO CARES ABOUT NATIVE CARRIERS?”



Schutztruppe in German East Africa - German Federal Archive Bild 134-C0265

On 8 August 1914, the Royal Navy bombarded the German wireless relay station in Dar es Salaam. War had broken out in Europe just days earlier, and already it had come to East Africa.

In the shadow of the horrors of western Europe, space in the popular memory for the East African theatre of the First World War is limited. Such room as there is tends to be dominated by *Boys' Own* tales of derring-do, successes against the odds and heroic failures.

The madcap British scheme to gain naval supremacy on Lake Tanganyika is Exhibit A. Two 40 foot motorboats, *HMS Mimi* and *HMS Toutou*, were shipped out to South Africa and transported 3,000 miles by land (including being dragged for 146 miles through the jungle of the Belgian Congo) to reach the lake. It should never have succeeded, and yet it did, capturing one German vessel and sinking another before forcing the Germans to scuttle their 220-foot flagship *Graf von Götzen* (now the *MV Liemba*).

cover photo: Water Camp on Mikesse (near Morogoro) - Ruwu (near Kahe) road, December 1916. Imperial War Museum photo Q15412

This inspired C.S. Forrester's novel, *The African Queen*, a film of the same name starring Humphrey Bogart and Katherine Hepburn, and, more recently, Giles Foden's book *Mimi and Toutou Go Forth*. Partly as a result, though the military significance of the Battle of Lake Tanganyika was negligible, the story became arguably the most well-known episode of the Great War in East Africa.

Or perhaps that accolade should go to the sinking of the German battle-cruiser *SMS Königsberg*. Just before outbreak of war, the ship had given the British navy the slip from Dar es Salaam harbour. She frustrated the British in the Indian Ocean for well over a year, sinking ships including *City of Winchester* and *HMS Pegasus*, before eventually being cornered and sunk in the Rufiji Delta.

The Germans began the war with a well-trained force of some 5,000 men under the leadership of Lieutenant Colonel Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck. They launched an early attack over the border into British East Africa (now Kenya) to disrupt the Mombasa-Nairobi railway, capturing an area around Taveta and Tsavo. This was the only British territory anywhere worldwide to be occupied during the entire First World War. During one skirmish, a German sniper is said to have hidden inside a hollow baobab tree; locals still claim the tree to be "the most shot at tree during World War I."

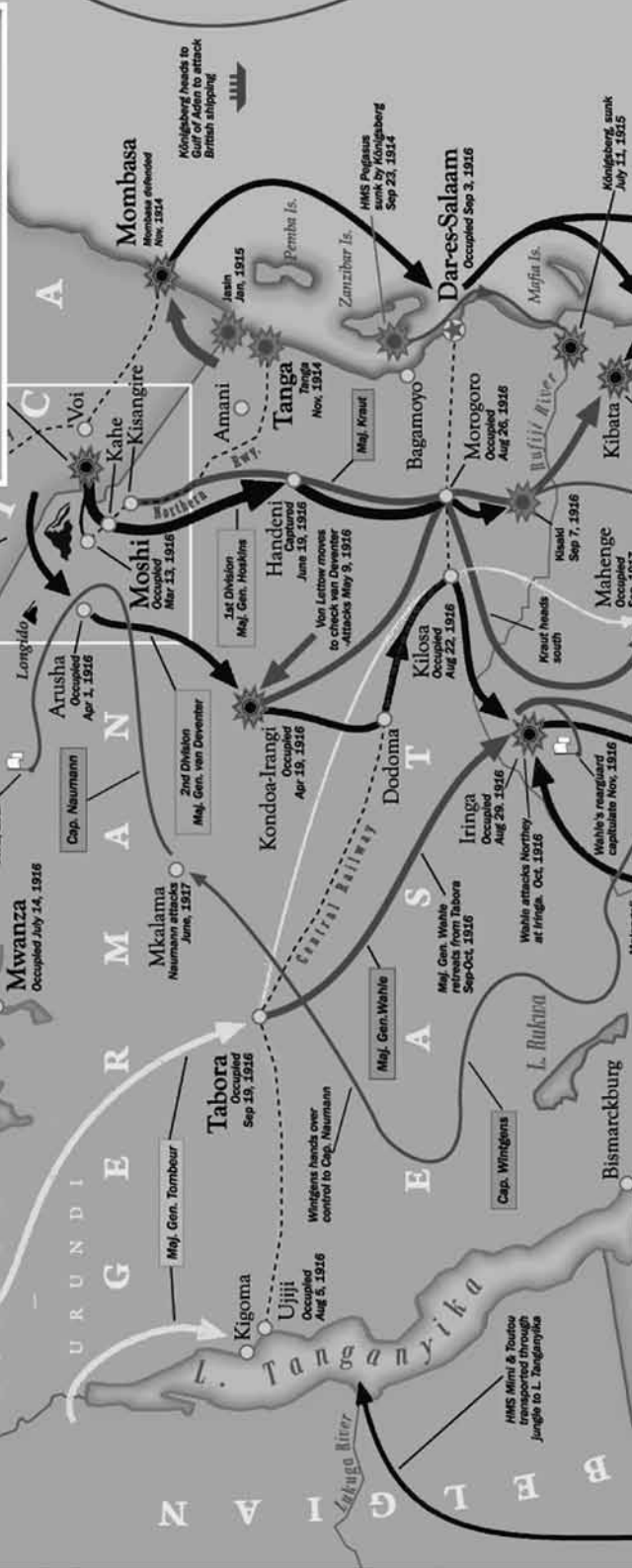
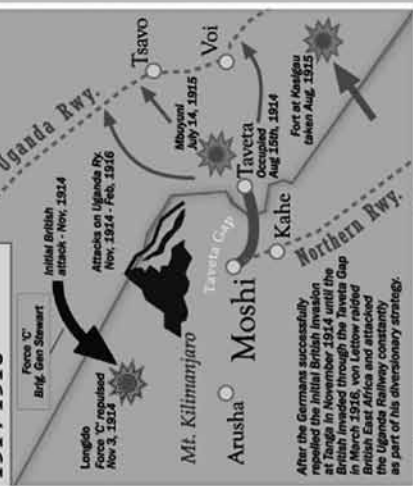
In November 1914, a British/ Indian Expeditionary Force launched a disastrous attack on the port of Tanga, the terminus of the strategically important Usambara railway to Moshi. There was an agreement that guaranteed the neutrality of Tanga, so the British gave the Germans 24-hours' notice that the agreement was cancelled. Lettow-Vorbeck thus had time to bring reinforcements down the line from Moshi. When allied troops were landed, they struggled against a swarm of bees. The Germans faced similar problems, but they prevailed in what inevitably became known as the "Battle of the Bees".

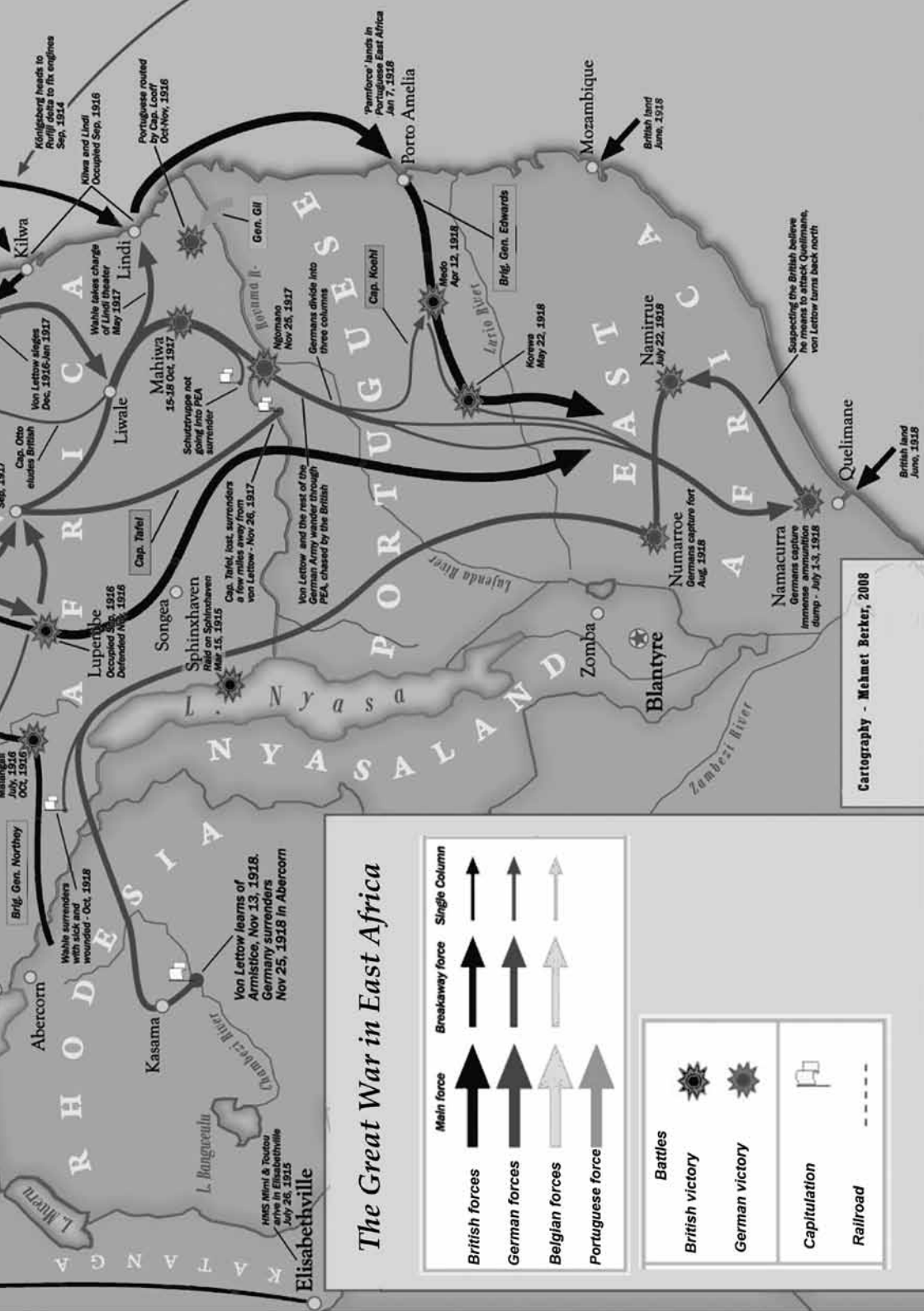
Guerrilla tactics and impossible logistics

These episodes have a place in the history of the Great War in East Africa. But they do not tell the full story – far from it – for this was a brutal war.

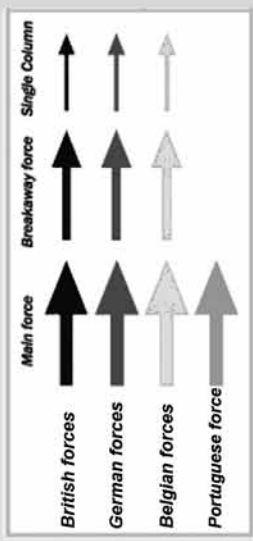
In contrast to the immobile trench warfare in western Europe, the war in East Africa was one of mobility and guerrilla tactics: brief battles and

**German Attacks in
British East Africa
1914-1916**





The Great War in East Africa



Battles				
	British victory	German victory	Capitulation	Railroad

Cartography - Mehmet Berker, 2008

long marches. The allied troops launched an offensive in early 1916, after which Lettow-Vorbeck conducted a guerrilla war for two and a half years around the south of German East Africa (Tanzania), the northern part of Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique) and finally in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia).

Lettow-Vorbeck by 1916 had around 20,000 troops – mostly Africans with German officers – while the allied combatants numbered around 150,000, under the command of South African General Jan Smuts. Smuts' troops were drawn from Britain, the British colonies in East, West and Central Africa, South Africa, India and the Belgian Congo. By the end of the war, the allied force was almost entirely African.

Troops and carriers would often walk twenty miles a day, every day for a month, exposed to tropical weather of intense heat and drenching rain. Two King's African Rifles battalions marched 1,600 miles in seven months, in the process fording 29 large rivers and fighting 32 engagements. Much of this was done with virtually no rations, subsisting on what could be found locally. Disease killed more British troops than combat. On returning from the field, soldiers were described as "resembling the victims of famine."

In the words of one South African quartermaster, the war "involved having to fight nature in a mood that very few have experienced and will scarcely believe." Another stated that "there is no form of warfare that requires so much inherent pluck in the individual as bush fighting." And an officer who had fought on the Western Front wrote: "what wouldn't one give for the food alone in France, for the clothing and equipment, and for the climate, wet or fine".

A Malawian veteran described the experience: "Think of lying on the ground where the hot sun is beating directly on your back; think of yourself buried in a hole with only your head and hands outside, holding a gun. Imagine yourself facing this situation for seven days, no food, no water, yet you don't feel hungry; only death smelling all over the place. Listen to the sound from exploding bombs and machine guns, smoke all over and the vegetation burnt and of course deforested. Look at your relatives getting killed, crying and finally dead. These things we did, experienced and saw." (*Page, cited by Samson*).

Supply chains for food, medicines and munitions were impossible to

maintain. Historian Edward Paice describes the logistical challenge: “As the availability of livestock for transport proved incapable by mid-1916 of matching the depredations of disease, the onus fell on the only alternative – human portage. The mathematics are sobering. ... 16,500 carriers were required to transport a single ton of supplies – enough to feed 1,000 askaris and their camp-followers for one day – for the simple reason that 14,000 of them were needed to carry food for the column while 2,500 carried the food for the troops. ... The troops required more than a million carriers to keep them in the field.”

The German troops largely abandoned efforts to maintain a supply chain, and instead appropriated crops and livestock without payment. They recruited some 300,000 carriers, again largely without payment.

The effect of all this on the civilian population was devastating. Agriculture became more and more difficult, leading, by 1917-18 to famine in much of East Africa.

And for what?

M’Inoti wa Tirikamu, a carrier from Meru, “wondered why white men hate each other so much. They looked so much like brothers. We asked ourselves: Do they fight for land, or for the power to rule, or is it because they are all white, or why?”

Odandayo Mukhenye Agweli, an askari of the King’s African Rifles had similar thoughts: “To this day, I still do not know why we fought the Germans and how the war began. Though we admired the European ways of fighting, we were still left wondering why so many people had to die. In our tribal wars, the number of the dead was never very big.”

There is no answer to these questions that can possibly justify the war. Lettow-Vorbeck saw the role of his army as a drain on allied resources – drawing men and weaponry away from more important battles in Europe. Though he evaded capture until the war had ended, at which point he surrendered in Northern Rhodesia, he never really drew significant manpower away from Europe. The allies fought the war mostly with African soldiers.

Historian Edward Paice sees the war in East Africa as “the final phase of the Scramble for Africa”, which “epitomised the vainglorious imperial ambitions which helped to trigger – and certainly prolonged – World War I”.

The British gained a League of Nations Mandate over Tanganyika and the Belgians gained one for Rwanda and Burundi. But the war laid bare the human vulnerability of the white man as never before, and sowed seeds of a demand for independence. The First Pan-African Congress was held in Paris in 1919, to coincide with the Versailles Peace Conference. It called for Africa to be granted home rule, and for Africans to take part in governing their countries as fast as their development permits.

The real cost

In contrast to the (relative) glamour of a small British navy expeditionary force on Lake Tanganyika, the real story of the war in East Africa is far more brutal. The vast majority of war deaths were among carrier units – an estimated 95,000 on the allied side, probably well over 50,000 among the German carriers. Around one in eight of the adult male population of British East Africa – today's Kenya – lost their lives either as askaris or carriers. And an estimated 300,000 civilians in German East Africa died as a direct result of the war and the 1917-18 famine. The official death toll among British combatant and support units was over 105,000 men. This equalled the number of American war deaths, and was almost double the numbers of Australian, Canadian or Indian troops who lost their lives during the war.

Disgracefully, however, the official death toll does not include carriers. According to Paice: "There were many British combatants in East Africa who paid tribute to the carriers on whom they were utterly dependent for survival ... But when the mortality rate became common knowledge in Whitehall it was deemed a "bloody tale" best ignored, or even suppressed, as Britain sought colonial prizes in Africa at the Paris Peace Conference. As one colonial official put it, in particularly arresting terms: the conduct of the campaign "only stopped short of a scandal because the people who suffered the most were the carriers – and after all, who cares about native carriers?""

And yet, somehow, the worst was still to come. In September 1918, as the war was coming to an end, Spanish Flu reached sub-Saharan Africa. In British East Africa, probably as many as 200,000 died, nearly 10% of the total population of the country. In German East Africa, the death toll from Spanish Flu may have been as high as 20% of the population. "There came a darkness" is a much-repeated phrase in oral histories of

the time. This was a war with an immense human cost: on the troops and on the carriers, and most of all, on the civilians.

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The Return of the Cohort

We're a very tiny army, as armies go to-day,
Just an army of the Tropics and beginning to decay.
We thought you had forgotten us-so long we've been away.

We've most of us had fever or a tropical inside,
And we've foot-slogged half a continent; we're not supposed to ride;
And lots of us have lost the trail and crossed the Great Divide.

Perhaps the blokes in Flanders our little bit will scorn,
'Cos we've never had an order that gas masks must be worn,
And have never heard a "nine point five" or a Hymn of Hate at morn.

But how'd you like to tramp it for a solid month on end,
And then go on another month till your knees begin to bend,
Or when you're out on picquet hear a lion answer "Friend"?

And what about a scrapping up a mountain three miles high,
A-swearing and a-panting till you thought your end was nigh,
And then to bump a Maxim gun that's dug in on the sky?

And would you like anopheles and jigger-fleas and snakes
To "chivvy" you from dusk till dawn, and fill you up with aches,
And then go on fatigue all day in a heat that fairly bakes?

There wasn't any Blighty, no, nor mails in twice a week:
We had no concerts 'hind the lines; we got too bored to speak,
And there was no change of rations; and our water bottles leak.

So don't despise our efforts, for we've done our level best,
For it wasn't beer and skittles, those two years without a rest,
And though the world forgot us we think we stood the test.

We're a cohort from the tropics, and we've come from far away,
Just an unremembered legion, fret with fever and decay.
And all of us are weary, and lots have lost the way.

We're a tiny little cohort, and we're glad to have a spell
From fever and from marching and a sun that burns like hell,
And now we're back amongst you, we'll very soon get well.

Just a tiny army, as armies go to-day,
Just a handful from the tropics, and beginning to decay,
Just a Legion of the Lost Ones-who have wandered far away.

Just a remnant who've been fighting for you and for your race;
Just a cohort from the northward, where we'd worse than Huns to face.

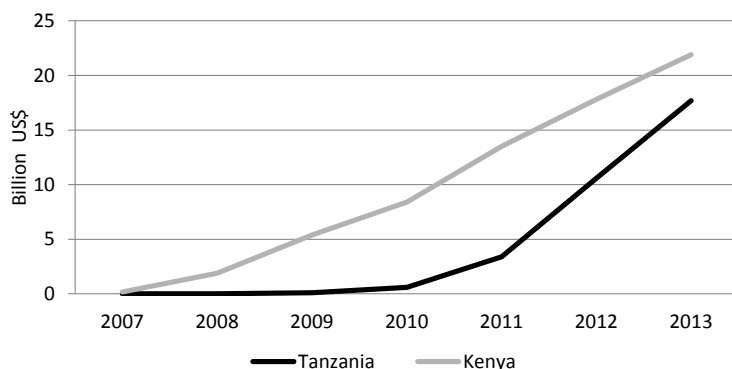
We thank you for your welcome, and we think you're very kind,
But we'd ask you to remember - all our mates we left behind!

Written by Owen Letcher in 1918 and first published in the Johannesburg "Star". Letcher fought with the King's African Rifles out of Nyasaland into German East Africa. He wrote an autobiographical novel about his experiences: "Cohort of the Tropics".

Ben Taylor: MOBILE MONEY

Mobile money has revolutionised financial services in East Africa, starting with M-Pesa in Kenya and spreading from there. All Tanzania's major mobile phone networks offer similar services, through which users can send money at very low cost to anyone in the country using a standard mobile phone.

The global association of mobile phone network operators, GSMA, has recently published a report on mobile money in Tanzania, with a chart showing the total value of mobile money transactions since 2007:



Graph showing yearly value of mobile money transactions. *Source: GSMA, data from Bank of Tanzania & Central Bank of Kenya*

Two points are worth highlighting here. First, though Kenya was undoubtedly the trendsetter, Tanzania is fast catching up, and looks set to overtake Kenya during 2014.

Second, take a look at the Y-axis label on the left. These figures are in **billion US\$**. In other words, the total value of mobile money transactions in Tanzania in 2013 was US\$17.7 billion. This is a huge amount – equivalent to over half (54%) of Tanzania's GDP*.

Which means in one sense Tanzania has already overtaken Kenya, where the value of mobile money transactions in 2013 was "only" 49% of GDP*:

This raises the question: is Tanzania the first country in the world where mobile money transactions are worth more than half the country's GDP? Quite possibly it is.

* GDP Estimates are from IMF (2013): Tanzania US\$32.5bn, Kenya US\$45bn

Yet another political party

As if Tanzania did not have enough political parties – there are twenty - there is now another one! This party, now going through the processes of official registration, bears the name; ‘The Alliance for Change and Transparency’ (ACT). It is believed that it has been set up by former members of the leading opposition party Chadema, which is the only party to have a chance of defeating the ruling CCM party in the 2015 elections. CCM has been in power for more than 50 years. ACT’s interim chairman said that the party would be guided by five principles – patriotism, equality, accountability, transparency and true democracy.

“Traitors” in Chadema

The main opposition party Chadema, which did well in the 2010 elections, is now being torn apart by internal dissension. According to *The Citizen*, a group of its members have written to the Registrar of Political Parties on alleged illegal amendments to the party’s constitution, and to the Controller and Auditor General requesting an audit of the party’s accounts. Others have apparently accused the party of removing illegally a section on term limits for presidential candidates in Chadema’s constitution which could have made the party’s two main leaders ineligible for leadership posts.

Some observers think that these events are simply ‘business as usual’ in Tanzanian politics ahead of elections. Many of these members have defected before – mainly from CCM to Chadema or other smaller parties.

Potentially more damaging is the revolt of perhaps Chadema’s most ambitious and charismatic former Deputy Secretary General, Zitto Kabwe, MP for Kigoma. Kabwe has been virtually expelled, together with other party members in the Kigoma and Tabora regions. He played an important role (*see TA 108*) in establishing the party’s growth, especially among the younger generation.

CCM in trouble too

In the case of CCM, too many people want to put themselves forward as candidates for the presidency. But the party has severely frowned on this premature campaigning and is threatening severe penalties for those engaged in it.

All this is disheartening for those wanting Tanzania to develop into a democracy on the British model where governments change from time to time to reflect the changing views of the electorate. But most Tanzanians regard security and peace as their highest priorities. People continue to vote for CCM in large numbers because, unlike the situation in all its neighbours, Tanzania and CCM have given the country peace and a relatively good state of law and order.

Calm before the storm

The present political scene, and especially the highly contentious debate on the constitution, could lead to stormy times in the next few months. With most politicians installed in Dodoma for the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly, the ruling party and the opposition parties have begun to worry seriously about the forthcoming 2015 elections. For the first time, three main opposition parties have come together in a 'Coalition of the Peoples Constitution' (UKAWA). Unless the CCM drops its determination to continue with two governments, Chadema has threatened to boycott further meetings of the Constituent Assembly (*see separate article*).

Chadema goes much further in threatening not to take part in the 2015 elections under the current constitution because they claim (perhaps with some justification) that the present law favours the CCM. Chadema is concerned to ensure that the nearly six million new young voters will be correctly registered before the 2015 elections. It fears that the country could go to the polls before a new and fairer constitution comes into effect. It wants to see the setting up of a new; independent (of government) Electoral Commission which will not receive orders from any government authority and will have only members not belonging to any political party. It also points out that, although over 20 million people registered to vote in the last election in 2010, only 8.6 million actually voted.

Municipal elections are due in October this year but the present National Electoral Commission says that it cannot afford to update the register twice between the two elections and is seeking funds to buy a biometric system with which to update the permanent voter register for both the constitutional referendum and the 2015 general election (but not for the local elections this year).

Salim retires from the ring

Respected Tanzanian 'elder statesman' Salim Ahmed Salim, who is highly qualified for the presidency and reached the last stage of the presidential primary contest in 2005, has indicated that he no longer plans to stand for the presidency in 2015. He is believed to have been disillusioned by 'political machinations' at that time. He said that a good track record in leadership had not been enough to guarantee him victory. He is now 72 and says that younger blood should get the chance.

What next for President Kikwete?

President Kikwete has received much praise following his recent recognition by the African Leadership Magazine as Africa's 'Most impactful Leader of the year 2013'. In a rare interview with the press, the President told *The East African* that when he returned to private life he would look after his cattle and expand his pineapple farm.

The costs of democracy

The Tanzanian government has released the amount of subsidy it paid, during a recent four-year period, to the political parties. The figures correspond to the strength of the party representation in the National Assembly and the Zanzibar House of Representatives.

The amounts received were as follows:

CCM - \$31.8 million	CHADEMA - \$5.75 million
Civic United Front - \$3.93 million	NCCR Mageuzi - \$423,125
Tanzania Labour Party - \$135,025	United Democratic Party - \$20,625
APT Maendeleo - \$ 6,875	Democratic Party - \$2,062

The quality of financial control exercised by the parties left much to be desired and the Parliamentary Public Accounts Committee revealed that none of the political parties had kept proper financial records. Some parties did not even have bank accounts! Presumably, in these cases, the money went in to private accounts. The then chairman of the committee, Zitto Kabwe, was quoted in the *East African* as saying that political financing was the largest single driver of large-scale corruption. "It has taken four years for this audit to be implemented but it has been done and we have shown that fighting corruption must start with political institutions. A foundation has been built for cleaner politics."

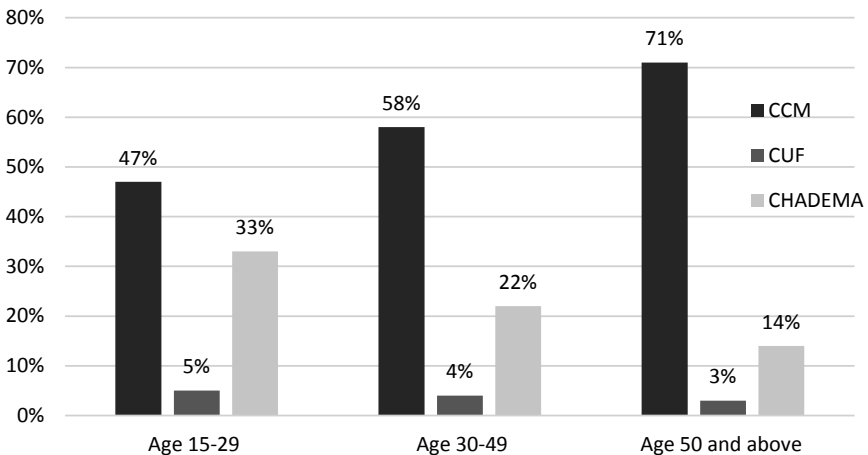
The immigration problem

As in Britain, immigration is becoming a major political issue in Tanzania. Legislation is being considered for possible action on foreign workers. President Kikwete has said that the number of foreign workers has reached an “alarmingly high figure” and that a bill will be introduced in Parliament in October to limit the number of work permits issued to foreigners, even if they come from other parts of East Africa. The other members of the East African Community seem likely to oppose this.

Ben Taylor: WHO SUPPORTS CCM/CHADEMA?

As the Tanzanian political scene gears up for the 2015 presidential and parliamentary elections, CCM remain in a strong position, despite a growing challenge from Chadema.

But who exactly supports Chadema, and who backs CCM? It has often been assumed that Chadema draws most of its support from a young, urban demographic, while CCM retains strong support in rural areas, though there has been little information available to back this up.

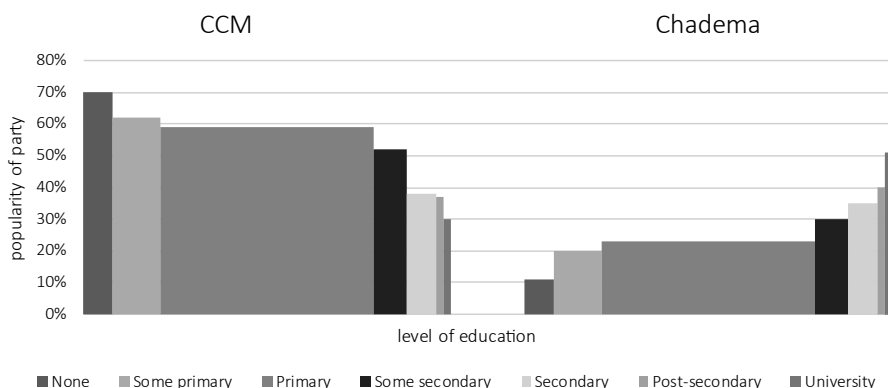


Source: Afrobarometer survey, 2012

Recently released data from the Afrobarometer initiative, a continent-wide public opinion survey, allows us to examine this question in more detail. The survey asked the standard opinion poll question: *If an election were held tomorrow, which party's candidate would you vote for?*

First, the survey found that support for Chadema was indeed substantially stronger among 15-29 year olds (at 33%) than the over 50s (14%). Conversely, support for CCM rises with age, from just under half the 15-29 year olds (47%), and nearly three in four of those over 50 (71%). Support for CUF and other parties was negligible.

(This survey was conducted in 2012, so those who were 15 at the time will be of voting age by the time of the 2015 election.)



There is also a strong link between a voter's level of education and their party affiliation. At each successive level of education, support for CCM dropped, and support for Chadema rose. Among those with post-secondary or university-level education, support for Chadema was higher than for CCM – 51% v 30% among university graduates. Support for CCM among less well-educated groups remains well ahead of Chadema. Among those with primary education, CCM has the support of a strong majority: 59% to Chadema's 23%.

Since those with primary education or below represent three quarters of all potential voters (8% have no formal education, 13% have some primary education and 58% have completed primary education), this suggests Chadema have a lot of work to do to bring less-well-educated voters to their side.

Opinion poll data – a staple of political journalism across much of the world – have only very occasionally been available in Tanzania. The fast turn-around times of UK-style polls is simply not possible in Tanzania,

where there is no easy way of quickly producing a random sample and few organisations have both the capacity and the credibility to carry out polls.

However, two separate initiatives have begun to fill this gap. Twaweza ['we can make it happen'] have set up a nationally representative survey panel, reachable by mobile phone, and are now conducting twice-monthly public opinion surveys. This initiative is known as *Sauti za Wananchi – Voices of the People*.

And the Afrobarometer initiative, a periodic Africa-wide survey of public opinion, has recently published data from its 2012 survey round, including Tanzania. This article draws exclusively on Afrobarometer data.

Mark Gillies: TOURISM & ENVIRONMENTAL CONSERVATION

Poaching

This dry season, tourist tales are of long day drives spent looking for elephant. Some find large groups clustered tightly; others are unlucky and return home without seeing one. It never used to be this way. Tanzania's poaching epidemic is now much more than statistics: it is arguably a national disaster.

At the end of April, Tanzania was named in the Born Free USA/C4ADS 'List of Shame' as one of the top countries in Africa with the worst poaching records and the least effective government action to control the worst threat to natural resources in living memory.

Perhaps partly in response the growing international criticism of perceived governmental inaction to combat international poaching syndicates, the Tanzanian government hosted a Summit Conference to Stop Wildlife Crime and Advance Wildlife Conservation in May and signed a joint initiative with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to establish a new body for wildlife conservation. On 10 May, *The Daily News* reported the creation of the Tanzania Wildlife Authority (TAWA), to increase the revenue derived from Tanzania's natural resource and to intensify conservation. Let us hope the two are not mutually exclusive.

The creation of TAWA was announced by the Minister for Natural Resources and Tourism, Lazaro Nyalandu, who assured delegates to the conference that there would be zero tolerance towards the corrupt and inefficient elements involved in the protection of the country's wildlife. In particular, 500 extra game rangers are to be hired and three helicopters await pilots currently training in South Africa.

Operation Tokomeza, the Tanzanian government's attempt to combat poaching (see an article in TA108), continues to create headlines. In May, President Kikwete established an investigation into the Operation. Retired Justice Hamisi Msumi will head efforts to address the complaints of all those negatively affected by the Operation whilst also investigating claims that the Operation was sabotaged. Meanwhile, *Tokomeza II* continues, but without the early successes, or alleged excesses, of the original Operation.

Putting to one side where the individual culpability lies for the dramatic loss of natural resources through poaching, *The Citizen* on 7 July draws on the international media to provide a clear explanation for the driving force behind the trade. It outlined how the price of African ivory in China has tripled over the past three years, so that the cost of ivory in China is now ten times the cost in Africa, a profit margin that is driving corruption, crime and conflict across Africa.

The poaching epidemic in Tanzania must be confronted and stopped for the sake of the species targeted. Once they are gone, they will be extremely difficult to reintroduce. The continued existence of elephant and rhino has an existential value, but it also has an immense economic value – a fact should also be remembered by the Tanzanian government when considering other areas of legislation that affects the tourism industry.

Tax and Tourism

In June, in the run up to the release of the national budgets in East Africa, intense lobbying was carried out by the Tanzanian tourism industry with government officials to prevent, or adjust the timeline for, the repeal of certain VAT exemptions covering tourism goods and services that would have resulted in an increase to the average Tanzanian holiday package of about 10%.

Whilst the impact of such a rise on the numbers of tourists visiting

Tanzania in the medium to long term is debatable, the issue was that the change was due to come into effect on 1 July 2014, days after the decision and at the start of the peak travel season. The potential increased costs would have to be passed on to clients, risking widespread cancellations and Tanzania's good reputation in the African tourism market.

The Tanzanian government of course has the right to determine its monetary policy as it wishes, but tourism operators were left pleading for some forewarning and an understanding of the realities of the ultra-competitive market that is African tourism.

In the event, the decision was delayed until October, leaving the operators waiting.

Serengeti Road

On 23 June eTN Global Travel Industry News reported that the East African Court of Justice had ruled against the Tanzanian government's plans to construct a bitumen road across the Serengeti National Park, declaring it to be 'unlawful'. Although celebrations broke out in court and across the internet, it should be noted that the ruling only specified a 'bitumen road', leaving open the prospect of a gravel road following the same route. So the battle goes on for the future of the Great Migration, the integrity of the Serengeti National Park and the reputation of Tanzania as a leader in the field of African conservation.

Enos Bukuku: CONSTITUTIONAL DEADLOCK

Throughout March and April the Constitutional Assembly (CA), the body tasked to come up with a final draft Constitution, was marred by divisions between two informal coalition groups within the Assembly.

"Tanzania Kwanza" is largely made up of CCM members; whilst "UKAWA" (Muungano wa Umoja wa kutetea Katiba ya Wananchi – Coalition of Defenders of the People's Constitution) is formed mainly from members of the opposition parties.

The arguing and political mud-slinging is focussed almost exclusively on one issue: the nature of the relationship between Zanzibar and mainland Tanzania – "the union question". Should Tanzania continue with a two-government system (i.e. Tanzania and Zanzibar), or adopt a three-government structure (Tanzania, Zanzibar, Tanganyika), also referred

to as a “federal” government?

As the Constitutional Assembly’s first session broke up in April – to allow MPs to return to parliament for the annual budget session – UKAWA’s frustrations with CCM intransigence on the union question led them to walk out on the Assembly. UKAWA is thought to have considerable support among the Tanzanian public.

In 2010, as part of their election manifestos, both Chadema and the Civic United Front (CUF) pushed for a three-tier government, which had previously been proposed by various groups and commissions over the past 30 years or so. The Constitutional Review Committee (CRC) took the initiative and incorporated this into both the first and second drafts of the proposed constitution, which according to Joseph Warioba, Chairman of the CRC, “*was aimed at safeguarding the 1964 merger between Tanganyika and Zanzibar*”.

It has been argued by supporters of the three-government system that it streamlines the governmental structure and gives Zanzibar more autonomy, thus maintaining stability between mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar. Judge Warioba has gone on record several times to state that most Zanzibaris are in favour of the three-government idea, though this has been challenged by some Zanzibari politicians.

President Kikwete has been vocal in his objection to the proposal; in his opening speech to the Constitutional Assembly, he stated that a three-government system will not add value and will create problems. CCM, which had previously housed a wide range of opinions on the matter, fell quickly into line behind the president.

The delay in debating the draft constitution has had a knock on effect on new laws being drafted. Proposed energy legislation, for example, which could make Tanzania the first exporter of liquefied natural gas in East Africa, may now have to wait until next year.

Changes to the law to ensure better rights for women, children, the disabled, the press, and many other vulnerable groups are likely to be enshrined in the new constitution if it goes ahead. The issue of dual citizenship has received attention from a few high ranking politicians who suggest that its inclusion will be debated in the Constitutional Assembly. However, it is believed that dual nationality is more likely to be incorporated within a separate Act of Parliament rather than within

any new constitution. Bernard Membe, the Foreign Minister, told the National Assembly in May: *"We believe that the time is ripe for our country to have an Act that allows dual citizenship, in the interest of our nation's development"*.

All these issues hang in the balance until the Assembly deadlock is broken.

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has also been closely monitoring the situation. In May UNDP Administrator Helen Clark criticised UKAWA for its walk out earlier in the year and urged that they voice their concerns and discontent through the forum of the Assembly, rather than refusing to participate. This has been echoed by Judge Warioba, warning that failure to reach an agreement may plunge the country into a political crisis.

Kenyan politician and legal scholar Patrick Loch Otiendo Lumumba has been asked to mediate in the CA and ease the tensions between UKAWA and Tanzania Kwanza.

The CA Chairman, Samuel Sitta, also sought to broker peace between the rival groups with a reconciliation meeting scheduled for 24 July. The UKAWA members did not show up, arguing that it was pointless as CCM continue to hold a firm line on the union question. Deus Kibamba, chairman of the influential civil society group, Tanzania Constitution Forum (TCF), has called for the debate over the new constitution to be delayed until after next year's elections. There are many who believe that Tanzania will not get a new constitution because both groups will never reach a consensus.

The debate on the Constitution is due to resume in August. The president has authorised a further extension of the time, allowing 60 days from 5 August for the CA to finalise the draft constitution before it can be presented to the public for a vote. At the time of writing, UKAWA continues to boycott the Assembly, though Sitta insists it will carry on regardless.

This raises two questions: Will the CA have sufficient members present to vote on the articles of the new constitution – will it be quorate? Without UKAWA members, it looks to be very close. And if votes are possible, will a new constitution written by a CCM-dominated Assembly have sufficient popular legitimacy and support to pass a

national referendum, and stand the test of time?

It would be a bitter shame if it all collapses at this stage, wasting billions of shillings, years of preparation and most importantly, a golden opportunity to address many of the fundamental problems that the country faces. An independent observer may be forgiven for reaching the conclusion that Tanzanian politicians excel at forming coalition groups, but underperform in implementing objectives. The next few months will show whether such an observation is unfair.

David Brewin: **FOREIGN RELATIONS**

Tanzania and the EAC

Three East African Community (EAC) member countries (Kenya, Rwanda and Uganda) continue to forge ahead in signing agreements and strengthening their relations, while Tanzania and Burundi, the other members, remain either absent from discussions or self-excluded because so many of the new development programmes do not directly concern their countries for geographical reasons.

Examples include the dramatic fall in the clearance time for goods going from Mombasa to Kampala – down to 4 days compared with 12 days previously, and from 21 days to 6 for goods going from Mombasa to Kigali (Rwanda). There has been a substantial lowering of costs. This is the result of the East African Single Customs Territory (EASCT), which ministers from the three countries have recently signed.

Under a new special visa deal, foreign residents can get a single six-month multiple entry visa for US \$100 valid in all three countries (i.e. not including Tanzania). This compares with the earlier cost of \$150. The three countries are also participating together in various international tourist fairs.

From August 2014 the tax on mobile phone calls between the three countries is being reduced by 20%. Plans were being prepared for Tanzania to join in this.

Rwanda

After the rough period in relations between Tanzania and Rwanda last year, relations seem to be slowly getting better again. Rwandan President Paul Kagame said he would readily honour an official invitation to visit Tanzania if he received one because Tanzania meant a lot

to him, as did the survival of Rwanda and the stability of the region. Tanzania's State House responded by saying that the idea was not only welcome but was also a critical step in normalising relations between the two countries.

North Korean arms

A recent UN report has claimed that that 18 military technicians from North Korea had been involved in the refurbishment and repair of Tanzanian F-7 fighter jets and other military aircraft at the its Air Force base in Mwanza. The journal *Africa Confidential* has reported that although N. Korea has no diplomatic representation in Tanzania, two senior officers had been seconded to the Tanzanian Peoples Defence Forces. The report said that Uganda, Ethiopia and Eritrea were also engaged in providing military assistance.

Tanzania has strongly denied the allegations. "Tanzania has no trade relations with N Korea. UN sanctions are specific. They are about trade and we don't have any trade deals with North Korea," said a Foreign Affairs spokesman. He added however that maybe the TPDF may know more.

North Korea is believed to have developed sophisticated ways to circumvent UN sanctions, including the suspected use of its embassies to facilitate an illegal trade in weapons, and making use of complicated financial techniques "pioneered by drug-trafficking organizations" , so that tracking the isolated state's purchase of prohibited goods is more difficult.

The 127 page report was compiled by a panel of eight UN experts and is part of an annual audit of North Korea's compliance with UN sanctions imposed in response to Pyongyang's banned nuclear weapons and missile programs. The panel reports to the UN Security Council.

"From the incidents analyzed in the period under review, the panel has found that (North Korea) makes increasing use of multiple and tiered circumvention techniques," a summary of the report said.

Chinese ambassador speaks frankly

In a wide ranging interview given by Chinese Ambassador Lu Youqing to the Hong Kong newspaper *South China Post* (quoted by *the Citizen*) he touched on some delicate parts of Chinese relations with Tanzania and Tanzanians.

On corruption he said that in 2011 his country had made amendments to its criminal law so that it was now a criminal offence for Chinese nationals to bribe nationals in foreign countries.

The Ambassador voiced his concern about “shoddy” work being carried out by some Chinese contractors in neighbouring countries and said that some infrastructure projects had been undertaken by Chinese companies at unrealistic prices. They had been building roads for between \$300,000 and \$400,000 per km but the real cost was much higher and he wondered what would happen to these roads in five years’ time.

The Ambassador expressed his disappointment over “bad habits” that tarnished China’s image in Tanzania. For example he mentioned corruption and illegal ivory trading. “Our people just cannot shake off their bad habits. When they come to Africa, they are not united and engage in infighting as usual” he said. He referred to competition among Chinese companies over contracts and bribes offered to Tanzanian officials to lobby on their behalf.

On violent crime targeting Chinese nationals in Tanzania he said: “Tanzania has ambassadors from about seventy countries but none of them needs to constantly worry like us about consular protection issues, police harassment and robberies targeting Chinese citizens.”

Paul Gooday: **ECONOMICS & BUSINESS**

Municipalities in Dar and Tanga to raise capital through DSE

Dar es Salaam Stock Exchange (DSE) Chief Executive Moremi Marwa has said that the time has come for the municipalities intending to implement various economic projects to raise capital through the stock market. The Capital Markets and Securities Authority (CMSA) initiated and supported the move and according to the Chief Executive officer of CMSA, Nasama Massinda, municipal bonds are soon to be a reality in three councils.

The government through the assistance of the World Bank sponsored a two-phase municipal bonds study. The study brought to light the fact that the prevailing government policy would not support efficient issuing of bonds by Local Government Authorities (LGAs) for public subscription.

The first phase of the project strived to establish the feasibility and required policy changes for a thriving municipal bonds market in Tanzania. The second phase was to develop the legal and operational framework for the municipal bond markets in the country.

The former Dar es Salaam City Council director, Bakari Kingobi, was quoted as saying that the municipalities should now qualify to issue loans. "Although we have not received the official go ahead from the Bank of Tanzania (BoT), the signs are promising," he said, adding that according to experts, it will help raise resources for development of schools, airports, hospitals and other facilities. Presently, all local authorities depend largely on subventions from the central government and taxation to raise revenue for their expenditures. (*The Guardian*)

Tanzania urges Chinese to build factories

The Minister for Industry and Trade, Dr Abdallah Kigoda, called on the Chinese business community to build manufacturing industries in the country to mutually benefit both nations. The call was made at the launch of Brands of China African Showcase 2014. The event brought over 100 Chinese companies showcasing products. Products displayed range from machinery, vehicles, home appliances, electronics and solar energy products, consumer goods, building materials, chemical, medical and comprehensive products.

Dr Kigoda said it is time for the Chinese nation to invest in the manufacturing sector which would add value to the country's profile by reducing the exporting of raw materials which adversely affects the economy. "A great part of our exports are raw materials which after being processed outside, are then sold back to us. We are acting as a global supermarket for goods made from materials produced in our country," said Dr Kigoda.

He said this has to change because it has adverse impacts on employment and the economy. He suggests that one way of addressing the challenge is through promoting value addition in the country. Dr Kigoda acknowledged the Chinese interest in doing business and investing in the country in different area such as a TSh16 trillion (\$10 billion) investment in Bagamoyo Export Processing Zone. He also said the current efforts of laying down infrastructure in Kigoma Region will be an area that Chinese communities can invest in. (*The Citizen*)

Statoil's new discovery boosts Tanzania's gas reserves

On 19 June Statoil announced its sixth gas discovery offshore Tanzania in Block 2, which it operates with ExxonMobil on behalf of the Tanzania Petroleum Development Corporation (TPDC). Lying under 2,360 metres of water, this new gas find (named Piri-1) adds 2-3 trillion cubic feet (tcf) of gas to the known volumes in-place in Block 2, which now total 20 tcf. In July, reporting second quarter corporate results, Statoil's Norwegian HQ said that Piri-1 is the world's largest gas discovery during 2014 to date. Statoil-ExxonMobil will be drilling several additional wells in their Block this year and next.

During the Second Tanzania Oil and Gas Suppliers Conference in June, TPDC confirmed that the country's natural gas deposits are now estimated at 50 tcf. A total of 17 companies are operating 25 licences on behalf of TPDC under Production Sharing Agreements (PSAs).

Gas pipeline nearing completion

In July, marking the 50th anniversary of the establishment of China-Tanzania diplomatic relations, TPDC announced that construction of the 542 kilometre onshore and offshore gas pipeline from Mtwara via Songo Songo to Kinyerezi (Dar), as well as the associated facilities (two gas processing plants, 16 safety stations, staff housing, flood control, water wells), is more than 90% complete. The 36-inch diameter pipeline comprises 47,000 welded pipe sections.

The construction work is being undertaken by three Chinese companies and is financed by a US\$ 1.25 billion loan to Tanzania from China's EXIM Bank (carrying 33 year maturity and 2% interest rate). It is the EXIM Bank's largest single contract in Africa. TPDC owns the pipeline, which should be completed by December; live testing is scheduled for January 2015 and commercial commissioning for June 2015.

This huge investment is expected to be "transformational" for Tanzania – delivering a more reliable electricity supply, relieving current power shortages and saving about US\$ 800 million annually on oil imports. It will also lay a solid foundation for Tanzania's energy sector restructuring and industrialisation, boosting GOT tax revenue and promoting wider social development. During the construction phase about 2,000 local jobs have been created. Once the gas reaches Dar, it is anticipated that in addition to large-scale power generation more than 30,000

houses, hotels, factories and other businesses in the city will be connected and supplied directly with gas, as well as 8,000 cars converted to run on CNG (compressed natural gas) under a project costing US\$ 76 million over three years. In a pilot phase, 70 houses and 53 cars are already being supplied in the Mikocheni area.

Big challenges for LNG exports

In March British companies Ophir and British Gas (BG), along with the other gas discoverers Statoil and ExxonMobil, signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the Tanzanian government to construct an LNG plant in southern Tanzania. The plant will be fed by gas from the companies' discoveries in Blocks 1, 2, 3, and 4 and is estimated to cost between US\$ 30 and 40 billion.

Out of a possible 30 sites identified for the onshore LNG plant, the companies have opted for Likongo–Mchinga in Lindi. However, this location is likely to upset Mtwara region, where the long gas pipeline to Dar originates and where the government had promised earlier that the plant would be built to enhance the region's development. Also, the plant and an associated industrial park requires a large area of land (a 6,800-acre site is suggested) over which there may be title disputes. Although the companies could still use Mtwara as the supply base, it is feared that these two problems could delay the project significantly. The MOU gives the government responsibility for securing the land and clarifies on compensation to affected local communities.

Independently, in an interview to Reuters in June, Royal Dutch Shell's Director of Projects and Technology, Matthias Bichsel, cautioned that only a fraction of the world's anticipated natural gas export projects will materialise – because of high and rising development costs, low profit margins and new producers flooding world markets with gas. Against this background some analysts believe that the Tanzanian and Mozambique LNG projects will struggle to find the necessary financing and that costly production delays are likely. Bichsel described the Tanzanian and Mozambique LNG development schedules as “somewhat ambitious since all infrastructure there has to be built from scratch”.

Two ongoing controversies

Petroleum and mining operations are often controversial, and those in Tanzania are no exception. Whilst the Statoil-ExxonMobil offshore drill-

ing has been highly successful (with a 100% drilling success rate), there has been recent criticism by parliamentarians and commentators about some of the terms in the gas PSA that these companies concluded with the government and TPDC in February 2012. In June a copy of their signed contract was leaked and circulated in social media. The criticism – first aired in Parliament by Opposition MP Zitto Kabwe – focuses on the companies' obligation to supply gas to the domestic market as well as on the (perceived low) share of the profit gas that will accrue to TPDC and government. It is suggested that if gas production becomes as large as some sources indicate, government revenues will be hundreds of millions of dollars lower annually than what might have been expected. In a press release TPDC denied these claims.

These concerns are bolstering calls for a much larger local Tanzanian engagement and content in the country's incipient gas industry, as well as greater transparency in the extractive sectors – particularly for the government to make public the PSAs it signs with each foreign oil and mining company. Whilst many governments – like Tanzania – do not publish their extractives contracts, the Swala PSA terms were made public as part of its recent share offering (see below). Addressing these concerns, in April, the Ministry of Energy and Minerals published a Draft Local Content Policy document, for public consultation.

Other petroleum sector news

Tanzania's 4th Deep Offshore Licensing Round closed in May. Bids were received from the China National Offshore Oil Corporation; Russian Gazprom; two UAE companies (including one for Lake Tanganyika North); and Statoil & ExxonMobil. The bids are being evaluated and successful bidders will be invited to negotiate with the government and TPDC on the basis of Tanzania's 2013 Model PSA, which contains stronger terms including higher royalty rates, and signature and production bonuses. The British High Commissioner to Tanzania, Dianna Melrose, cautioned that this tougher PSA may make Tanzania uncompetitive in the oil and gas exploration business and scare away potential investors.

In June Australian explorer Swala Energy Ltd launched its first shares offer to Tanzanians, selling 9.6 million Ordinary Shares in its Tanzanian subsidiary in order to fund further exploration work in its Pangani and Kilosa-Kilombero license area and to enhance Tanzanians' participation

in the growing petroleum business. Priced at Tsh 500 each, and expecting to raise Tsh 4.8 billion, this was the first such offering in the oil and gas business in East Africa.

Troubles at African Barrick Gold

Meanwhile, serious allegations continue to be made against African Barrick Gold (ABG) for its alleged use of excessive force in handling the large numbers of local village intruders who enter its North Mara gold mine (Tanzania's largest), reportedly to steal gold-bearing rocks and other property. Tanzanian police and security staff contracted by ABG are accused of shooting dead 16 trespassers and injuring another 11 over the last six years. ABG is the British subsidiary of Canadian Barrick Gold, the world's largest gold company, and is now facing a case in the UK High Court brought by 10 villagers. ABG vigorously refutes these claims. In July, after calls for the British government to intervene, three UK All-Party Parliamentary Groups (on Human Rights, Extractives and Tanzania) held a joint meeting to debate the issues. A number of responses were suggested, and the APPGs plan to hold a separate meeting with ABG.

Gold continues to be a major export. In the year ending March 2014 total gold exports from all Tanzanian mines amounted to US\$1,750 million, constituting 37% of the value of the country's total exports.

David Brewin: AGRICULTURE

Land Tenure Support Programme

A new land tenure support programme is being helped financially by Britain's DFID, Sweden's SIDA and Denmark's DANIDA. The project will help Tanzanian farmers to have better access to agricultural knowledge, technologies, marketing systems and infrastructure. It will also aim to make Tanzania's agricultural economy become more productive and profitable.

Tanzania's current land policy supports the recognition of existing land rights and security of tenure for all and this project is designed to establish a more effective economic and transparent system of land tenure. Under existing legislation, one of the key mechanisms for determining tenure is the division of lands into three categories: village land which is held by the villages and represents approximately 70% of the land mass; reserved land (28%); and, the remainder which is administered by the

Minister for Lands.

The project aims to build a basis for resolving the issues that limit the contribution that the land sector can make to achieve the country's broader development goals. The project will enhance the benefits from large-scale land deals and improve dispute settlement procedures. There will be two pilot districts.

Sugar surplus

At the beginning of this year a new financial problem hit Tanzania's sugar industry. Large quantities of cheap and illegal sugar imports began to flood the country. The quantity was estimated to be some 100,000 tonnes and the local market was destabilised. By March, Tanzanian sugar producing factories were holding 68,000 tonnes of sugar that they could not sell. In April, Tanzania's Revenue Authority seized 15 tonnes of contraband sugar from Brazil which had been imported through Bagamoyo.

The situation is complex as the Tanzanian Sugar Board has been quoted in the East African as stating that Tanzania now consumes 590,000 tonnes annually although the country's four local plants are capable of supplying only 290,000 tonnes. The gap is filled by cheap imports but these appear to have been arriving in excessive quantities recently. President Kikwete has spoken of Tanzania's plans to build 12 new sugar factories by 2030.

Ben Taylor:

EDUCATION

Form 6 exam results surprise

Form 6 (A-level) exam results for 2014 were released in July, showing record high pass rates. The pass rate for all candidates was 96%, up from 87% in 2013. Those who achieved the best passes – Division 1 – numbered 3,773, up ten-fold from 325 the previous year. 27% of candidates achieved Division 2 passes, up from 12%.

Representatives of the Tanzania Teachers Union (TTU) greeted the results with some scepticism. Ezekiah Oluoch, TTU Deputy Secretary General, called for the results to be investigated, arguing that the input was very different from the output. 'I'm finding it very difficult to believe the results, majority of schools have no science laboratories,

plus we are currently experiencing a shortage of over 5,000 science teachers for Form Five and Six level. We need to inquire a number of things, like the kind of standardisation used this year and the nature of the questions asked. Also was the marking system and grading “mas-saged”.’

The much-improved results are possibly linked to the introduction of a new grading system. The scores required for Grades A, B, etc. have been lowered. But students now need a better combination of grades in individual subjects in order to achieve Division 1, etc.

Previously, a score of 81% or higher on a particular exam was required to achieve Grade A in that subject, now a score of 75% is sufficient. In past years, a score of between 60% and 80% achieved a Grade B, while now a score between 50% and 75% achieves that grade. For an overall Division 1 pass, 9 points (Grade A=1, B=2, C=3, etc.) from three subjects used to be required.. This has now been reduced to a maximum of 7 points for Division 1. (*The Citizen*)

Low employability of university graduates

A survey of employers across East Africa has found widespread dissatisfaction at the employability of university graduates. The study, by the Inter-University Council for East Africa (IUCEA), polled employers in five countries.

In Tanzania, the study found that 61% of graduates lacked basic job market skills, compared to 63% in Uganda, 55% in Burundi, 52% in Rwanda and 51% in Kenya.

The report claims that the quality of university education has fallen as student numbers have risen, blaming the lack of adequate teaching staff. (*The East African*)

Ben Taylor:

TRANSPORT

TAZARA trundles on

The troubled Tanzania-Zambia Railway (TAZARA) continues to struggle and the governments of Tanzania and Zambia have agreed to inject USD \$80m into the jointly-owned network to improve operations. Tanzania’s Transport minister, Harrison Mwakyembe, said: “We are delighted and greatly encouraged by the unprecedented commitment

and support shown by our Zambian partners towards TAZARA. In line with the commitment shown by Zambia, I take this opportunity to reiterate our commitment as Tanzania and affirm that we are willing and ready to find resources in order to ensure that TAZARA's operations are boosted to a level where we shall all be comfortable."

In a related move, it was announced that henceforth, Tanzania would oversee the operations of the railway within Tanzania, and Zambia would do likewise within Zambia, rather than jointly as at present. This announcement was met with disappointment by the Chinese ambassador to Tanzania, Lu Youqing, who said TAZARA was not only a symbol of friendship between his country and Tanzania and Zambia, but also an important economic infrastructure that should not be allowed to disintegrate. China was ready to provide financial and technical support, but on condition that the two countries come up with a comprehensive rehabilitation and management proposal that would see the railway effectively run jointly by Tanzania and Zambia, and not separately. (*Daily News, The Citizen, The Guardian*)

World Bank finance for road and rail improvements

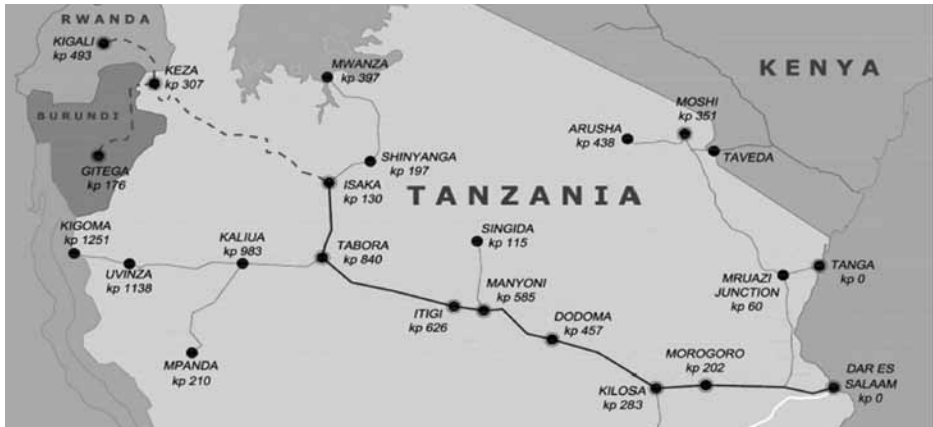
The World Bank has committed a USD \$300m loan to support road and rail improvements in Central Tanzania. "We are excited to support the government's efforts to rebuild its rail and intermodal transport system. The project will also indirectly help to boost agricultural trade, job creation and overall livelihoods for the country and neighbouring countries' poorest people," said Mr Philippe Dongier, the World Bank's Country Director for Tanzania.

The work is focussed on the Dar es Salaam - Isaka line, and according to the managing director of Reli Assets Holding, Benhadard Tito, the money will be used for repairing and upgrading the track from Dar es Salaam to Munisagara (near Kilosa) and a short section from Igalula to Tabora, and to rehabilitate bridges and elevate axle load to 25 tons/axle. (*The Citizen*)

Dar-Chalinze Road Improvements

The government is encouraging investment proposals for a 100km six-lane highway connecting Dar es Salaam with Chalinze.

Prime Minister Mizengo Pinda said to overcome bottlenecks for traffic entering and leaving the city, the government is working on various



Map showing the Dar-Isaka line, with possible future links to Rwanda and Burundi.

intervention measures including construction of the Kigamboni Bridge, Ubungu and Tazara flyovers and on some sections of trunk roads which connect the city to the regions. He noted that congestion in Dar es Salaam is fuelled by rapid population growth and the increased number of motor vehicles. While Dar had only 70,000 inhabitants in 1967, the population had grown to 843,000 by 1978 and to 1,360,850 by 1988. Now the city has nearly 4.4 million people, and is expected to reach 10m by 2050.

Expansion of Dar es Salaam airport

Construction of Terminal III at Julius Nyerere International Airport in Dar es Salaam began in January 2014. The new terminal is designed for the anticipated growth of international air traffic, leaving Terminal II, which currently caters for international passengers, as a domestic flights terminal. The cost is estimated at Tsh518 billion (\$322.4 million).

Tanzania Aviation Authority legal officer Ramadhani Maleta, said that the construction of the current building would be completed in 2017. Phase I is being funded by the Dutch Government, and a partner is currently being sought for Phase II. Completion of the new terminal will enable the airport to handle six million passengers annually. The airport, whose current capacity is 1.2 million passengers, now handles two million.

In 2012 Tanzania received one million visitors, earning the economy Tsh11.1 trillion (\$7 billion), up from 867,000 visitors in 2011. (*The East African*)

Ben Taylor:

HEALTH

2012 census shows improvements in public health

The number of years the average Tanzanian can expect to live has risen to 61 years, up from 50 years in 1988 and 51 years in 2002, according to the latest release of data from the 2012 Census. The report also showed that similarly strong progress has been made in maternal and infant mortality rates. The maternal mortality rate has dropped from 578 per 100,000 live births in 2004/5 to 432 per 100,000 in 2012, and the infant mortality rate has declined from 115 per 1,000 live births in 1988 to 45 per 1,000 in 2012.

The fertility level declined from 6.5 in 1988 to 6.3 in 2002 and 5.2 in 2012. 'It's a positive trend accelerated by higher use of modern contraceptives and female education while the age at first marriage has been rising,' commented Ms Albina Chuwa, director general of the National Bureau of Statistics.

The mean age for female first marriage rose from 21 in 2002 to 22 in 2012 while that of males remained steady at 26, according to the report. (*The Citizen*)

Dengue Fever Outbreak

There was widespread concern, particularly in Dar es Salaam, after an outbreak of Dengue Fever in May. Within a couple of weeks, the Ministry of Health announced that 400 cases had been reported, of which three patients had died.

There was a fear that popular awareness of malarial prevention and treatment could work against dengue control. Dengue is spread by a different species of mosquito, popular practice of self-diagnosis and treatment could create problems.

Worries rose briefly to panic, when a high profile doctor at Temeke Regional Hospital, Gilbert Buberwa, died. This prompted President Kikwete to take action, directing the Health and Finance Ministries to do whatever was necessary to bring the outbreak under control, and urging the public to take precautions.

By July, the rate of infections had dropped to such an extent that the National Institute for Medical Research could not find a single Dengue Fever patient in Dar hospitals.

Donovan McGrath:

TANZANIA IN THE INTERNATIONAL MEDIA

Microwave link with Zanzibar upgraded

'Tanzania has upgraded the microwave link connecting Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar, a move expected to double the capacity of voice and improve data quality... The \$1.6m project, agreed in 2012 between Japan and Tanzania, is in line with the government's Vision 2025 to enhance use of communication as a tool for sustainable development.'

Mafikizolo live in Dar

'In East Africa, among songs that have made Mafikizolo, the Afro-pop duo from South Africa, a household name, are *Ndihamba Nawe* and *Emlanjeni*. ... In Dar es Salaam, *Khona* [from the duo's latest album, *Reunited*] continues to top music charts. Not surprisingly, Mafikizolo's recent concert at Mlimani City Hall was jam-packed... Unfortunately, the sound system was poor. The bass notes were so loud that the guy on trumpet didn't get to perform... But judging from the reception Mafikizolo got, it seems the crowd chose to ignore the poor sound quality...' (*East African* 19-25 April)

Horror behind the smiles of Maasai girls

'Almost all Maasai girls face the threat of female genital mutilation ... Charity workers are trying to stamp out the procedure among the Maasai in Tanzania ... They want to change the mistaken belief that it only happens to Muslim girls ... 70% of Maasai girls are cut, having their clitoris and other external genitalia removed with a razor blade, compared with 18% in Tanzania as a whole – despite it being illegal in the country since 2007. The story of Ngaiseri Muteko shows change is happening. The elderly Maasai woman can't remember when she began cutting girls... Until earlier this year, neighbours would bring their daughters and pay her 10,000 Tanzanian shillings (£3.50) for each child she cut... With someone helping to force the girls on to the ground, she would use a small razor blade then pour milk on the wound, followed by ash from the fire in her hut, which she said has healing properties. Girls spend three months in the hut recovering. But in February Ngaiseri threw away her razor blade and declared she would never use it again. The change came just nine months after meeting Elizabeth Lesitey, a 29-year-old worker for the charity World Vision. Elizabeth, herself a Maasai and a mother of three, has targeted 62 cutters and so far man-



FGM campaigner Elizabeth Lesitey - photo from the Standard

aged to persuade 33 to give up... Ngaiseri earned a good living from the practice, so Elizabeth gave her three goats and eight chickens, funded by World Vision, to provide an income. Many of the girls Ngaiseri cut were suffering from what the Maasai call “lawalawa”, a urinary tract infection caused by unhygienic conditions. For years Ngaiseri and others believed that the only cure for little girls was to cut off their external genitalia. But Elizabeth busted this myth by taking a girl suffering from “lawalawa” to hospital, where she was cured by doctors using medication. This sent shockwaves through the community. On International Women’s Day in February, alongside 29 other cutters, Ngaiseri made a declaration in front of her community that she would never cut another girl...’ (*London Evening Standard* 18 July)

WHO: Aids now the number one killer of adolescents in Africa

‘According to the World Health Organisation report *Health for the World’s Adolescents*, East Africa is one of the regions where the disease kills more youths than road accidents, the number one global killer of 10-19 year-olds. On the global level, HIV is the second most common cause of death among adolescents. Other leading causes of death are suicide, lower respiratory infections and interpersonal violence. According to the UN Programme on HIV/Aids (UNAids), in 2012, Tanzania had 230,000 children under 14 living with HIV, Uganda had

190,000, Kenya 200,000, Rwanda 27,000 and Burundi 17,000.' (*East African* 31 May - 6 June)

Tanzanian artist's journey through life

'Robino Ntila has been painting since 1975. Born in 1954, he first went to Dar es Salaam in 1968. Ntila is a veteran of *Nyumba ya Sanaa*, an artist's association founded in Tanzania by Sister Jean Pruitt from the USA. "Before I joined *Nyumba ya Sanaa* I was enthusiastic about art... In 1971, I used paints for the first time. I had just completed secondary school. I spend time with artists. There was a Congolese artist who was the first to commercially paint the savannah landscape with Mt Kilimanjaro in the background. I was also introduced to some batik techniques called 'moderne'"... Ntila uses subtle techniques for his work, which range from realist to abstract, mixing cubism with aspects of African silhouettes... He worked at *Nyumba ya Sanaa* for 30 years.' (*East African* 7-13 June)

New taxman appointed

'Rished Bade has been appointed the new Commissioner General at the Tanzania Revenue Authority (TRA), replacing Harry Kitilya, who retired last December. Prior to his new appointment, Bade was deputy commissioner general. Top priority for the new taxman will be to cut down on revenue leakages and widen the tax net to support the government's growing spending needs.' (*Citizen and others*)

Witch doctors arrested over albino killing

'Albinos in Tanzania have become targets for body-snatchers seeking to sell them to witch doctors. Two witch doctors have been arrested after a woman with albinism was hacked to death, police say. Albinos have suffered widespread persecution in Tanzania, where witch doctors say magic potions made with albino body parts can bring good luck. Such killings have declined in recent years, but this latest attack has prompted a human rights group to call for all witch doctors to be banned. ...the group, *Under the Same Sun* said the current regulation of witch doctors was clearly not working. The attack occurred in a village in Simiyu region (formerly part of Shinyanga) - a remote rural area where there have been killings of albinos before ... According to *Under the Same Sun*, the last killing of an albino in Tanzania was in February 2013. The government has been trying to address the problem, and an albino MP was appointed several years ago.' (*BBC News Africa* 14 May)

Mo-Cola: Tanzania's new soft drinks war targets poor consumers

'Cash-conscious consumers in Tanzania will soon have a new product to spend their hard-earned money on: Mo Cola. The fizzy drink is the latest home-grown offering to go into battle with established market leader Coca-Cola, which has been bottling its secret recipe in Tanzania for more than 60 years. That the market for such cut-price drinks is growing in Tanzania is an illustration of the financial realities faced by the country's consumer class. Despite impressive 7% a year GDP growth, the number of poor people in Tanzania has not fallen in the past 15 years.

'Mo Cola is named after Mohammed Dewji, chief executive of MeTL [see TA 108], a family conglomerate he says turned over \$1bn last year, serving the needs of Tanzania's largely poor population with everything from sugar and spaghetti to fuel and pens. Although Dewji is keeping the launch price of Mo Cola under wraps, it is likely to undercut Coca-Cola... It follows another local family corporation, Bakhresa Group, which brought out the Azam Cola in 2011 following a \$30m investment. Bakhresa estimates it has 15% of Tanzania's soft drinks market... Entrepreneurs have long understood that, however little a family has, food and clothes will always be a priority. Developing new drinks ranges is part of an effort to capture a little bit more from the country's poorer consumers. "There is money to spend even though people have limited value in their pocket," said Dewji, who has put \$48m into developing his drinks line – enough for 36m crates a year...' (*Financial Times online 18 April*)

Zanzibar bombing leaves one dead

'One person was killed and several others were wounded in a bomb attack near a mosque on Tanzania's Ocean Island of Zanzibar ... Police said the bomb went off in the commercial district of Stone Town ... The attack coincided with the opening of the Zanzibar International Film Festival, which draws international visitors ... There was no immediate claim for responsibility. Zanzibar has been the scene of sectarian and political tensions in recent years, although the island has been generally quiet for several months... There have also been wider tensions surrounding this year's 50th anniversary of Zanzibar's union with mainland Tanzania, with some opposition parties wanting to break ties and return to independence. The unrest had sparked fears of a tourist exodus...' (*Telegraph online 14 June*)

Philip Richards:

SPORT

Glasgow Commonwealth Games

Team Tanzania sent 36 athletes to the 2014 Commonwealth Games in Glasgow, in the fields of athletics, table tennis, boxing, judo, cycling and swimming. Disappointingly, the team came home with no medals. With expectations of success set high prior to the Games and after failure at the 2012 Olympics, how will decision makers now respond in developing the natural talent that clearly exists in the country?

Football

Martin Ignatius, popularly known as Mart Nooij, has been appointed as the new head coach of Tanzania's national team, *Taifa Stars*. The Dutchman takes over on a 2 year contract from sacked Danish coach Kim Poulsen. It is the second national team job for 59 year old Nooij, who spent four years as coach of Mozambique until 2011, helping them qualify for the 2010 Africa Cup of Nations.

Unfortunately, the team has crashed out of the 2015 Africa Cup of Nations, failing to advance to the qualifying stage proper, after ironically losing to Nooij's previous charge Mozambique. (*BBC Sport website*)

Hopes for a new sport

Tanzania will host the Rollball African tournament at the National Stadium in Dar es Salaam in August. Rollball? If you didn't know, the relatively new sport, in which Tanzania participated in the inaugural world cup in 2011, is played between two teams of 12 players on skates in a court of a similar size and shape to a basketball court. Tanzania Rollball Association President Noel Kibunsi described the sport as a combination of roller-skating, basketball, handball and athletics. (*In2EastAfrica.net*)

Anyone for chess?

To something more familiar, at the time of writing Tanzania's national team was leaving for the International Chess Olympiads in Norway, which will be attended by over 200 countries. The National Sports Council is supporting the development and awareness of the game, which appears only to have been recently revived on a more formal basis, in that it can improve thinking especially on a strategic level. This follows a visit by the legendary player Gary Kasparov to Tanzania last January to promote the game as part of his Kasparov Chess Foundation initiative. (*In2EastAfrica.net*)

Ben Taylor:

OBITUARIES

Professor Nathan Shamuyarira, Zimbabwean academic and politician, died on June 4th, 2014, aged 85. From 1968 Prof. Shamuyarira taught at the University of Dar es Salaam, where he was instrumental in developing and teaching a course on “Imperialism and Liberation in Southern Africa”. At the same time, he was an influential player in the struggle for Zimbabwean independence and democracy. This later took him away from Tanzanian academia; in 1980 he became Zimbabwean Information Minister and then Foreign Minister between 1987 and 1995.

Shamuyarira was at times a controversial figure. In June 2006 he accused the International Crisis Group think tank of calling for a coup against President Robert Mugabe. Shamuyarira said the ICG had “sponsored violence” by the Movement for Democratic Change. Later that same year, he sparked outrage when he praised the Gukurahundi, a series of state-sponsored massacres in the 1980s. At his funeral, President Robert Mugabe said that Shamuyarira “died a poor man and this was Nathan, but rich of course in his views.” He was writing a biography of Mugabe at the time of his death.

Nkwabi Ng’wanakilala, media practitioner and scholar, has died in Mwanza, aged 69. Ng’wanakilala spent several years at the University of Manchester, UK, graduating first with an Advanced Diploma and then a Masters in Mass Communication, sandwiching time teaching at the University of Dar es Salaam. During his career in media practice, he served as Director of Information at the government Information Services Agency (MAELEZO), Director of Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam (RTD), and Director the Tanzanian news agency, SHIHATA. Later, he moved back into academia as Senior Lecturer at Saint Augustine’s University of Tanzania.

He authored several books on politics and the media, including “A Summary of Liberation Struggles in Southern Africa”, “Mass Communication and the Development of Socialism in Tanzania”, “Morons, Thugs and Journalism in Africa”, “The Dark Side of Power and Freedom Beyond Independence”, and “The Footsteps of Julius Nyerere”. President Kikwete sent a condolence message to the funeral: “This death has taken from our nation a very vibrant and courageous public servant. The media industry has lost a strong leader.”

Fides Chale, leading gender activist and founding chair of the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP), has died aged 64 in Dar es Salaam. In a statement, TGNP described Dada Fides as “a teacher and leader who touched the lives of many people in Tanzania, a strong advocate and defender of the rights of women, girls and others on the fringes of society. She was a people person who enjoyed a joke, who lived her life with love, humanity, empathy and a smile on her face.”

William Gibbons or “Bill Gibbons” (89) and father of David Gibbons a BTS and TDT committee member, passed on peacefully in his sleep in County Cork, Ireland.

Bill’s association with Tanzania began when from Ireland, he answered the advert for Agricultural Field Officers in 1952. He found himself travelling out to Tanganyika on the MV Dunnottar Castle to help in the aftermath of the Groundnut scheme. On arriving in Tanga he was diverted to go to Lushoto to work on the Usambara Development Scheme, and so began a long association with Tanzania and her people. He married June in Lushoto in 1953.

At independence in 1961, President Nyerere requested that Bill be kept on to help the country develop and by 1964 he was a Senior Agricultural Officer responsible for all agricultural matters in Mwanza, Musoma and Shinyanga regions, and for cotton in the 7 regions of Western Tanzania. He was proud of his achievements in helping build up the cotton industry to be one of the major export crops at this time. In 1968 Bill was made Assistant Director of Agriculture, and continued in this role until 1975, when he joined Louis Berger International as advisor and manager on the Water Master Plans in the Tri region around Lake Victoria and Tabora region up to 1981.

Bill enjoyed receiving his copy of Tanzania Affairs, devouring it from cover to cover, with many added comments and advice on different matters chipped in as he read it. He was known to be a hard worker, who had high standards. He served the country of Tanzania well over many years and spanned both pre- and post-independence years. Over so many years he built up a rich store of stories of his times in Tanzania, which he enjoyed sharing with his children in later life. (*Thanks to David Gibbons for this - Editor*)

John Crawford “Chon” Cairns passed away in May 2014, aged 93 and surrounded by family, poetry, and song. John was born in Galt, Ontario, to a family of Scottish immigrants and worked briefly as a bank teller before joining the Royal Canadian Air Force in September of 1941. He served until 1945 in India and Burma, following which he attended the University of Western Ontario where he fell in love with the artistically talented Beverley Woolmer. They were married on October 25, 1951, sailing immediately to Tanganyika, East Africa, where John worked for six years as a District Officer and Commissioner, one of the few Canadians in the British Administrative Service, while Beverley organized the export of local carvings. Those days in East Africa were among the happiest in John and Beverley’s life, and saw the birth of daughters Sandra and Lisa, postings in Kilwa, Mikindani, Morogoro and Dar Es Salaam, and long safari journeys to remote tribal villages. John’s experiences in East Africa were distilled in his book *Bush and Boma: The Life of a District Officer*, illustrated by Beverley and published in 1958.

Following his time in Tanzania, John had a long and distinguished career working in the education sector, including on Canadian aid programmes in Nigeria and Cameroon, and notably as Director of UNESCO’s Experimental World Literacy program. In 1972 he was appointed Secretary General for the Third International Conference on Adult Education in Tokyo, Japan. (*Thanks to Beverly Cairns for this - Editor*)

John Cooper-Poole: **REVIEWS**

RACE, NATION AND CITIZENSHIP IN POST-COLONIAL AFRICA: THE CASE OF TANZANIA. Ronald Aminzade, Cambridge University Press, 2013. £65.00

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF TANZANIA: DECLINE AND RECOVERY. Michael Lofchie, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014. £39.00

TOXIC AID: ECONOMIC COLLAPSE AND RECOVERY IN TANZANIA. Sebastian Edwards, Oxford University Press, 2014. £35.00

These books report in contrasting ways on Tanzania’s experiences since Independence in 1961. Aminzade’s book is as a study of race and nation-building, starting with the tensions between those who wanted immediate Africanisation before and after Independence and the ambiguous positions

taken by Nyerere and other leaders towards Asians and expatriates, and ending with the grand corruption of the last 15 years or so, in which Africans worked closely with Asian businessmen. Lofchie describes his book as a political economy, in which he interprets much of what happened in the 1980s and later from the financial interests of the “political-economic oligarchy” who could gain from maintaining an overvalued exchange rate in the 1980s (and therefore were not committed to devaluation) but by the late 1990s discovered that they could gain even more from unrestricted trade and an open economy – they were making the transition to becoming a business class.

Edwards uses a study of the relationships between Tanzania and its aid donors to capture what was happening at the centres of economic power. It turns out that the “toxic aid” of his title refers to the period from the Arusha Declaration of 1967 up till the early 1980s when foreign aid, particularly from the Nordic countries and the World Bank, kept the country afloat. He castigates them for uncritically maintaining Nyerere’s brand of socialism, and uses words such as ‘irresponsible,’ ‘arrogant,’ ‘misguided,’ ‘gullible,’ ‘ineffective,’ and other equally tough terms to describe their behaviour. In contrast, he grades Tanzania’s current donors as B+, for having spoken out against corruption, and worked to increase transparency and democracy.

All three authors are academics in American universities, but from different backgrounds. Aminzade is a sociologist and historian who studied the emergence of nationalism in France for 20 years and first came to Tanzania in 1995. Lofchie, from the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), is best known for his authoritative tract on the revolution in Zanzibar which led to the union with the mainland, published as long ago as 1965. He has written widely on development, especially in Africa. Edwards is a Chilean economist, trained at the University of Chicago, also at UCLA where he is professor of International Business Economics. He first went to Tanzania in 1991, when the country was at one of its lowest ebbs, employed by the World Bank and given a desk in the Bank of Tanzania, returning in 2009 and subsequently. His perspective is that of a Latin American specialist who has turned his hand to an African country.

Anyone writing about Tanzania has to take a view of Nyerere. Aminzade is the least clear-cut. He portrays Nyerere as an honest and intelligent leader constantly fending off demands for rapid Africanisation, but often only with compromises. Lofchie provides the most sympathetic interpretation of what Nyerere was trying to achieve in the 1960s. He sees him as a thoughtful, well

intentioned, humanist, Fabian in terms of his uses of state power, but suggests that he got carried away after the banks and major industries were nationalised in 1967, and did not realise the dire consequences of the industrialisation strategies of the Second Five Year Plan and the attempts of the state to take over trade and the purchasing of maize and other food crops from farmers. Edwards, in contrast, sees Nyerere as a misguided but plausible ideologue, unwilling to listen when told there was no alternative to devaluation in the 1980s.

The core of both Edwards' and Lofchie's accounts is the structural adjustment that took place between 1979 and 1996, and the economic policies which have led to rapid growth since. Edwards interviewed many of those closest to Tanzanian economic policy-making: Cleopa Msuya, Gerry Helleiner, Sam Wangwe, Ibrahim Lipumba and Benno Ndulu. He draws on his experiences in the Bank of Tanzania and especially his friendship with Edwin Mtei, Governor of the Bank of Tanzania from its foundation in 1966 to 1974, Minister of Finance from 1977 till Nyerere sacked him in 1979, and chairman of the political party CHADEMA from its foundation in 1992 until 1998.

Both Edwards and Lofchie situate what happened in Tanzania in terms of developments in economic theory, drawing on the seminal work of Robert Bates, also from Los Angeles, who explored various ways in which surpluses may be drawn from agriculture and invested in industry. Both are particularly critical of so-called "development economists", even though they were the mainstream at the time, advised governments all over the world, with many of them awarded Nobel Prizes for economics. They were part of the movement inspired by Keynes which maintained growth and stability in Europe and America for at least 20 years after the Second World War; it was not unreasonable for them to conclude that industrialisation was an essential part of development, given that all countries which up to that time had achieved rapid growth, starting with the industrial revolution in Britain, but including the USA, Germany and Japan, and in a very different way the Soviet Union, had done so on the basis of industrialisation. Edwards briefly mentions the influence of the "dependency theorists" such as Samir Amin and Andre Gunder Frank; but not the ideas which derived from socialist economists such as Maurice Dobb, who criticised import substitution because they recognised that it would lead to continued dependence on inputs of semi-manufactured goods. The "basic industries strategy" of Tanzania's Third Five Year Plan was an attempt to create the integrated economies achieved by the pioneers from the USSR or Japan – though the attempts at implementation bore little relation to the theory.

All three books include blow by blow accounts of the attempts to mediate

between the IMF, who were insistent that devaluation was necessary from 1979 onwards, and Nyerere, who was determined to resist it. Nyerere was supported by Kighoma Malima, who moved from Minister of Finance to Minister of Planning and back to Finance. He was one of the first Tanzanian economists to get a PhD (from Princeton), but he was not alone. Papers opposing devaluation were written by Ajit Singh, from Cambridge England and Reg Green, by then at the University of Sussex. Devaluation was widely discussed in the Economics Department of the University of Dar es Salaam; the argument was that if the Bank of Tanzania controlled all allocations of foreign exchange, the Ministry of Agriculture set the prices paid to farmers for their crops, and the Price Commission set the prices for manufactured goods, it was not necessary to devalue since the government could set prices to give whatever economic signals it wanted. However, while that might be correct for an exchange rate slightly out of line with black markets, if you can get 4 or 5 times as many shillings for a dollar unofficially as legally, any such system is bound to break down. The reality was devastating: a parallel economy, often illegal or semi-legal, was quickly created; corruption broke out almost everywhere; and more and more of Tanzania's trade was not shown in the official accounts.

Edwards describes the Tanzania he found when arrived in 1991: "There was almost no public transportation—people of every social condition walked for miles to get to work and back home—every road was an infinite collection of potholes, school children had no textbooks, blackouts were recurrent, there were (almost) no spare parts for machines or vehicles, and shops were almost empty. It seemed to me that the only cars that circulated belonged either to expatriate aid officials—most of them drove very large, shiny, four-wheel drives—to well-placed civil servants, or to high officials of the ruling party. In spite of the fact that there were basically no cars, there were parking meters in a number of downtown streets. Some were bent, most were rusting, and not one was operating. When I asked about them I was told that they were part of a donor's project to deal with urban gridlock. I argued that there were no cars or buses and, thus, no traffic, let alone bottlenecks. The Treasury official that was with me smiled and said that the aid agency in question had concluded that, when it came to traffic jams, it was important to be proactive, to take pre-emptive measures."

In this situation, as Lofchie shows, almost all Tanzanians on government salaries were forced either to seek bribes or to engage in "parallel activities" (i.e. some other way of making money) to survive. He points out that an over-valued exchange rate is very attractive for anyone who can get hold of

foreign exchange, who can import goods, sell them at the unofficial rate, and then convert the resulting shillings to dollars at the official rate, and repeat the process. He suggests that this was exactly what large numbers of Tanzanians in senior positions did, and that it explains why the Bank of Tanzania ran short of foreign currency. However, little detail on this is provided; it is not clear if almost the whole ruling elite was complicit in this, whereas it might just have been a few big fish doing it on a grand scale, or even (in line with some of Aminzade's descriptions) a few Asian businessmen.

It could not continue, and massive devaluations occurred from 1986 on, after Nyerere stood down as President. Import restrictions were removed. The currency found its own level. Exports rose, especially of gold but also of some manufactured items. Tourism flourished. And from about 2000 Tanzania had one of the fastest reported growth rates in the world. Lofchie's political economy suggests that at some "tipping point" the interests of the elite changed from supplementing their incomes from corruption to earning profits from economic activity; the elite which at first opposed the reforms, then accepted them.

That is, if we can believe the figures. But Edwards in particular doubts the veracity of Tanzania's economic statistics, especially for the subsistence and informal sectors. For example, in 2006, following a year of drought, for which declines in production were reported for many crops, agriculture as a whole was reported as growing at 4%. It is however, a little odd that he places this section of his book immediately after he has reported in depth using the official statistics – thereby joining other good company who have criticised Tanzania's statistics while continuing to base their conclusions on them. But even official figures suggest that poverty remains a major issue, especially in the countryside, and that the benefits of rapid growth are flowing to the towns and cities, and to an elite within them.

All three writers discuss the promises of successive Presidents to resolve the issue of corruption, and the failures of any of them to have much impact. Aminzade provides the most detail about individuals and the involvement of Asians who were MPs or close to the administration (pp.337-349). Lofchie quotes the economist Jagdish Bhagwati who has argued that corruption can be beneficial if it undermines the siphoning off of resources through protection and an over-valued exchange rate. None of these writers quotes the broader discussions of Mushtaq Khan who points out that corruption can sometimes allow a single producer to get established in a market and become globally competitive, which may not happen if markets are completely open – pointing

out that most of the Asian tigers, not least China, have well-documented high levels of corruption.

Looking, finally, at the contributions made by these three books, Aminzade has read widely and his bibliography will make his book of great value for many years to come, though it is regrettable that the index does not include references to much of the material in his footnotes. He reports the views of journalists and MPs who had racist stereotypes of both Asians and expatriates, and campaigned for a very rapid Africanisation. But Lofchie provides more detail as to why this did not happen. With hindsight this was surely for the better, because a country that gains independence with around 100 graduates cannot run hospitals, schools, railways, factories and the rest of public administration without outside help – and if it had tried would almost certainly have become a failed state.

Lofchie's early chapters, in which he sets out his theory of an over-valued exchange rate and how this can enable a well off elite to improve their position, invite further research. Edwards has the greatest insider detail; but his dichotomy between aid before 1980 as toxic, and aid in more recent years as relatively benign, lacks detail. He criticises the Nordic countries, especially the Swedes, for supporting Tanzania in the Nyerere years; but aid for small industries such as a paper mill, forestry, rural water supplies and grain silos did not provide explicit support for villagisation or the use of force. The World Bank's programmes to support the main agricultural crops, through subsidised inputs such as fertilizers, can be criticised on technical grounds but they were not tied to villagisation. Edwards' claim (p.88) that the number of people living in villages was 9 million by 1975 and 13 million (nearly the whole population) by 1977 is sloppy; people living in the coffee producing areas did not move, nor in the cities. Lofchie's figure of 1.6 million by the end of 1974 is nearer the mark.

Edwards gets carried away by the slogan of his title. The aid itself was not toxic: his real complaint (and fair comment) is that in the late 1970s the donors did not use their aid to put more pressure on the Tanzanians to review their policies of villagisation and excessive nationalisation. In the more recent period, as he points out, the donors have been vehement in their criticisms of corruption; but that has not led to much action by the Tanzanian government, or a withdrawal of the aid.

All three books lack a sufficiently robust theoretical underpinning. Thus Aminzade's "contentious politics" is not sufficient to give direction and

meaning to the mass of information he presents. "Toxic aid" without detailed studies of what that aid involved leaves the author open to wild swings in which aid was toxic in a period in which he compares Tanzania to countries in Latin America which also attempted socialist paths, but rather beneficial in a period when he finds the politics more congenial (even though the country is in real danger of being overcome by endemic corruption). Lofchie is right to attempt to use the tools of political economy, but lacks the detailed information to be sure that what he asserts as facts are not in reality well-informed surmises.

None of them discusses what could be the most contentious issue of all. If Tanzania wanted industries, it did not have to invite multinational companies to establish them. There was another option. Industrialisation had accelerated in the years before and after Independence. Much of it is still visible in the Chang'ombe area of Dar es Salaam, where many Asian-owned businesses either processed locally produced raw materials or supplied consumer items. If the Tanzanian leadership had worked closely with this group, as it did with a few individuals, such as Andy Chande, it would not have had to find the capital or supply the protection demanded by multinational companies. Aminzade would no doubt argue that this would have been politically unthinkable. Lofchie might also argue, from his knowledge of race relations, that this would be a difficult policy to sell to the Tanzanian people. But joint work with this group could have led rapidly to the creation of a Tanzanian business class. Even now businesses such as these are contributing substantially to Tanzania's rising exports of manufactured goods to neighbouring African countries. They should not be almost entirely written out of the story.

Andrew Coulson

THE NATURE OF CHRISTIANITY IN NORTHERN TANZANIA: ENVIRONMENTAL AND SOCIAL CHANGE 1890-1916. Robert B. Munson. Lexington Books ISBN 978 0 7391 7780 8 h/b pp378. £70.00.

This book is an exploration of the introduction of new plant species by missionaries in German East Africa, and the effect this had on the spread of Christianity among people of Chagga, Meru and Arusha ethnicities around Mt Kilimanjaro and Mt Meru. This is an area that attracted Protestant missionaries, such as the Leipzig Mission, as well as Catholics known as the Spiritans. The timeframe of the book is that of German colonialism, and the work makes extensive use of German archival sources. Indeed, one of the greatest values of a work such as this is making these sources available to an English-speaking audience.

The title is unfortunate and does not reflect the content, as it is not clear that it is a pun: “the nature of Christianity” refers to the nature (i.e. plants) introduced by Christian missions.

The new plants brought to the landscape, Munson argues, went hand-in-hand with Christianity. He calls this botanical proselytization, a term that “emphasizes the mutual dependence of the landscape, botanical and Christian changes”. His argument is based on a view of African religion that is all-inclusive, with no division between the sacred and secular; thus, the “landscape changes reinforced the Christian worldview and vice versa, strengthening and deepening each in turn.”

The origins of the work as a PhD thesis are clear, yet the writing style is engaging. Unfortunately, the dozen photographs are badly reproduced. The book places the evolution of the missions in the context of German imperial attitudes towards its colony, arguing that the Maji Maji rebellion in the south made the Germans more aware of the impact that their policies were having. The next chapters focus on three central themes - Places, Plants and People. In exploring place, the author examines the spatial transformation of landscape through surveying, producing maps and establishing forest reserves to divide “people” from “nature”. In one of the most interesting sections he also explores the establishment and development of Moshi and Arusha.

Turning to plants, the book examines the botanical introductions made by the missionaries, and how they were integrated into African society. He goes beyond the usual discussion of coffee to explore various species of tree and the potato. The chapter entitled “People: Christianity and Botanical Proselytization” explores how the introduction of Christianity led to social change.

A short final chapter briefly outlines the changes since the British took control of the region in 1916, but in effect this raises more questions than it answers. An inherent problem with the book is the abrupt end of German rule; the consequences and impact of the subsequent botanical and social changes fall outside of the timeframe of the work. The tight focus enables greater historical depth, but more direct engagement with a broader theoretical literature would have been welcome. A more detailed exploration of theories of appropriation, for example, would have given the work relevance beyond the region it covers. As it stands, the work is a valuable contribution to the history of northern Tanzania.

Tom Fisher

A FIELD GUIDE TO THE LARGER MAMMALS OF TANZANIA (PRINCETON FIELD GUIDE 2014). Charles and Lara Foley; Princeton University Press 2014 320pp £19.95 (pb).

After spending a good few years working in the field of African conservation and tourism, it is normally difficult to get excited about the release of a new field guide; after all, how different can it be? But not this time, as the new Field guide to the larger mammals of Tanzania is an excellent addition to the literature and is a ‘must buy’ for both seasoned safari-goer and first-timer.

The authors behind this edition are all practising ecologists with a great many years of experience working in the national parks and protected areas of Tanzania. What is evident is that they know what previous field guides were missing. This book has been structured in a way that makes it easy to use, both when grabbed quickly in the back of a Land rover or when consulted at leisure in the cool of your tent. Most importantly, the ongoing challenges and threats to the long-term conservation of the species included remain clear throughout.

The bulk of the book is made up of ‘Species Accounts’, each of which lists the common, scientific and Swahili names; a species description; notes on similar species: ecology and social behaviour; distribution in Tanzania ; population size and conservation status assessment; a distribution map and colour images. The images are particularly useful as they are a mixture of professional photographs and images produced by camera-traps, which display the animals as the safari-goer may have seen them.

The guide concludes with quick-reference species images complete with essential diagnostic data and an introduction to the major national parks and protected areas of Tanzania (complete with species list).

So whether you are into the big cats, primates or whales, this guide is for you. Finally, all author royalties received from the sale of this book will be donated to the Wildlife Conservation Society and used to support the Tanzania Carnivore Project or other wildlife conservation projects in Tanzania.

Mark Gillies

MANAGING TAX REGIMES IN TANZANIA: EXPERIENCES, CHALLENGES AND LESSONS. Edited by Harry Kitillya, Tema Publishers, P O Box 63115, Dar es Salaam, 2014.

TANZANIA GOVERNANCE REVIEW 2012: TRANSPARENCY WITH IMPUNITY? Policy Forum, P O Box 38486, Dar es Salaam, 2013.

STATISTICS IN THE MEDIA: LEARNING FROM PRACTICE.

Karim Hirji. Media Council of Tanzania, 2012.

These three publications from Dar-es-Salaam will be of interest to researchers. In the first, Harry Kitillya (Commissioner General of the Tanzania Revenue Authority from 2003 to 2013) has commissioned a set of articles to provide a bible of information about all aspects of tax collection in Tanzania. Overall the authors are well informed and optimistic – though no doubt more could be said about tax avoidance and especially about corruption in the tax gathering regime.

Transparency with Impunity surveys the state of governance and corruption in Tanzania. Almost all aspects of government activity are covered. The tables, charts – and the cartoons – draw on an exceptionally wide range of official and NGO publications. This report should be a major source for researching the Tanzanian economy.

Statistics in the Media is a study of the misuse of statistics written as teaching material for journalists and to provide them with an introductory text in basic statistics. Much of it is constructed around topical case studies of exam results, alternative medicine, deaths from malaria etc. The author suggests that the resulting bias is not random, but reflect or reinforce the interests of those who own the media.

Hugh Wenban-Smith: **DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH**

This compilation of articles on development research in Tanzania, culled from journals in the LSE library, covers the period January to June 2014. The abstract is based on that published by the author(s).

Julius Nyerere, Ujamaa and political morality in contemporary Tanzania:

Fouere M-A, *African Studies Review* Vol 57(1).

Since the 2000s, Tanzania has witnessed the return in the public sphere of a reconfigured version of *ujamaa* as a set of moral principles embodied in the figure of the first President of Tanzania, Julius Kambarage Nyerere. The persisting traces of Nyerere and *ujamaa* are not so evident in actual political practices or economic policies, but rather in collective debates about politics and morality – in short in the contemporary imaginaries of the nation. Contributing to a long-standing discussion of the moral stature of Tanzania's 'Father of the Nation', the article explores how and why a shared historical memory of Nyerere is

being built or contested to define, mediate and construct Tanzanian conceptions of morality, belonging and citizenship in the polis today.

For richer, for poorer: Marriage and casualized sex in East African artisanal mining settlements: Bryceson DF, Jonsson JB & Verbrugge H, *Development and Change Vol 45(1)*.

Migrants to Tanzania's artisanal gold mining sites seek mineral wealth, which is accompanied by high risks of occupational hazards, economic failure, AIDS and social censure from their home communities. Male miners in these settlements compete to attract newly arrived young women, who are perceived to be diverting male material support from older women and children's economic survival. This article explores the dynamics of monogamy, polygamy and promiscuity in the context of rapid occupational change. It shows how a wide spectrum of productive and welfare outcomes is generated through sexual experimentation, which calls into question conventional concepts of prostitution, marriage and gender power relations.

Financial crimes and the law: A critical analysis of the embezzlement of public funds in Tanzania: Kibamba K, *Journal of African and International Law Vol 6(1)*.

The embezzlement of public funds and fraud in Tanzania are still large problems and there is a lot that needs to be done to deter such practices. Certain laws have been put in place to try and counter these financial crimes, but have not been effective enough due to the magnitude of the problems. Tanzania has two legislations which regulate collection and use of public funds: the Public Finances Act and the Local Government Finances Act. The main perpetrators are public officials and the penal code imposes a penalty of seven to fourteen years of imprisonment to public officers who are found guilty. The Public Finances Act empowers the Minister of Finance to impose a surcharge as a penalty for contravention of any provision of this Act, specifically where a public officer has caused loss or deficiency of public money entrusted. This further empowers the Minister to order the conversion of such a loss or deficit to a debt ... The discrepancy between the penalties imposed by the penal code and penalties imposed by the Minister of Finance ... is the major problem which contributes to the embezzlement of funds; this is because the penalty imposed on public officials who cause loss or deficiency is not enough to stir remorse among the perpetrators.

From millet to tomatoes: incremental intensification with high value crops in contemporary Meru: Hillbom E, *Journal of Eastern African Studies V 8(3)*.

In Meru, Tanzania, changing land/labour ratios have, for over a century, been the main driving force in a farm intensification process. The construction and expansion of irrigation systems, increased use of farm inputs and transfer from low to high value agricultural crops have enabled smallholders to improve their land productivity. Technological change has been accompanied by institutional change, primarily in the form of changes to property right regimes and expanding markets. In the past few decades, increasing urban and rural demand has further enhanced smallholders' production strategies. By applying induced innovation theory, this article captures and analyses the long-term incremental processes of change whereby endogenous technological and institutional innovations have led to farm intensification in the contemporary local system of agricultural smallholder production. Further it shows how this process has been reinforced by improved access to market opportunities.

Choices and changes of recruitment methods in a Tanzanian city:

Fischer G, Egbert H & Bredl S *Journal of Eastern African Studies* Vol 8(3).

Labour market processes in Tanzania constitute an important but under-researched topic. This study investigates the recruitment methods of private companies in Mwanza, Tanzania's second largest city. It asks whether employers make use of informal methods more often than formal methods, whether the skills required for a job relate to the choice of methods and whether the vacancy period of a position is linked to a specific approach. A survey consisting of 81 face-to-face interviews with hiring authorities shows that employers prefer informal to formal schemes but tend to rely on formal ones for filling high ranking positions ... Additional insights are provided by 10 semi-structured follow-up interviews with respondents from the same group. They suggest an increase in solicited and unsolicited applications that might have caused some hiring authorities to avoid formal methods or modify informal methods. Moreover, it emerges that recruitment choices may be influenced by powerful actors outside or within companies.

Middle class construction: Domestic architecture, aesthetics and anxieties in Tanzania: Mercer C *Journal of Modern African Studies* Vol 52(2).

The paper examines the new styles of houses under construction in contemporary Tanzania and suggests that they can be understood as the material manifestation of middle class growth. Through an examination of the architecture, interior décor and compound space in a sample of these new houses in urban Dar es Salaam and rural Kilimanjaro, the paper identifies four domestic aesthetics: The respectable house, the locally aspirant house, the globally aspirant

house and the minimalist house, each of which map onto ideas about ujamaa, liberalization and the consumption of global consumer goods in distinct ways. The paper argues that these different domestic aesthetics demonstrate intra-class differences, and in particular the emergence of a new middle class.

Gender perspectives on decentralization and services users' participation in rural Tanzania: Masanyiwa ZS, Niehof A & Termeer CJAM *Journal of Modern African Studies* Vol 52 (1).

This paper examines the impact of decentralization reforms on service users' participation for delivery of health and water services in rural Tanzania, using a gender perspective and principal-agent theory. The paper investigates how decentralization has fostered spaces for participation and how men and women use these spaces, and identifies factors that constrain or encourage women's participation. It shows that decentralization has created spaces for service users' participation at local level. Participation in these spaces however differs between men and women, and is influenced by socio-cultural norms within the household and community. Men have gained more leverage than women to exercise their agency as principals. Women's participation is contributing to addressing practical gender needs but strategic gender needs have been largely untouched by the reforms.

Do micro-enterprises benefit from the 'doing business' reforms? The case of street-vending in Tanzania: Lyons M, Brown A & Msoka C *Urban Studies* Vol 51(8).

The World Bank's 'Doing Business' reforms were originally expected to help the growth and formalisation of SMEs and micro-enterprises. The expectations that the reforms would support the growth and development of SMEs were challenged by scholars, but the reforms impact on the micro-enterprises of the poor has received little scholarly attention. Drawing on a desk study and on field studies of street-vendors carried out in Tanzania in 2007 and 2011, this paper argues that the growth and formalization of micro-businesses are badly served by the 'Doing Business' reforms.

Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation (REDD) and empowered deliberative democracy: Learning from Tanzania: Mustalahti I & Rakotonarivo OS *World Development* Vol 59.

This study was guided by the Empowered Deliberative Democracy (EDD) discourse. We analysed how the Tanzanian Community Carbon Enterprise (CCE) model could reinforce the representation of disadvantaged groups in Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD). The

findings from Tanzania suggest unmet conditions with disadvantaged groups' representation in local decision-making and project implementation. We argue that mechanisms to support horizontal accountability could include audits and monitoring carried out by disadvantaged groups.

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