

Tanzanian Affairs

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**Zitto Kabwe reports to Parliament
on IPTL Energy Scandal
Tanzania & Extractives
Agricultural Marketing - Make or
Break ?**

Ben Taylor: ENERGY SCANDAL CLAIMS TWO SENIOR POLITICIANS



The CAG report dominated front pages on Nov 27th (millardayo.com)

For a week in November, the attention of Tanzania's political scene was diverted away from the constitution and the 2015 elections and onto yet another energy sector corruption scandal – the IPTL Escrow case. The long-awaited report of the Controller and Auditor General (CAG) into the case was presented to the Parliamentary Accounts Committee (PAC) which in turn reported the key findings back to parliament.

That the report was presented at all was a triumph for parliamentary procedure and for a few determined MPs, including the Speaker, Anna Makinda, who resisted reported attempts by the judiciary, the Prime Minister and others to block the debate.

The scandal saw more than £116m taken from an escrow account at the Bank of Tanzania and transferred to offshore accounts held by private businessmen and government officials, according to Zitto Kabwe, the firebrand opposition (Chadema) MP and PAC chair. Kabwe presented the report to parliament together with the PAC deputy chair, Deo Filikunjombe (CCM).

The escrow account was opened in 2006, following a disagreement over

cover photo: Zitto Kabwe addresses parliament (photo Deus Bonaventura <http://mhagalle.blogspot.com/>)

charges to be paid by Tanesco, the national energy utility, to IPTL for emergency power generation. Tanesco was to deposit money in the account until such a time as the disagreement over charges could be resolved.

The ownership of IPTL has since changed hands, and a Tanzania-born Kenyan businessman, Harbinder Singh Sethi, now claims to be the legitimate owner of the firm, and that the funds in the escrow account were rightly his.

The case hinges principally on two issues: who is the rightful owner of IPTL, and did any or all of the money in the escrow account belong to the government and/or Tanesco?

The Parliamentary Accounts Committee said that irregularities in the sale of IPTL to Sethi's company, Pan-African Power Solution (PAP) meant he was not the proper owner of the firm. Citing the support of the Controller and Auditor General, the Director General of the Prevention and Combatting of Corruption Bureau (PCCB) and the Commissioner of the Tanzania Revenue Authority (TRA), the committee argued that most of (or all) the funds in the escrow account were the rightful property of Tanesco.

Attorney General Frederick Werema, Minister of Energy and Minerals Professor Sospeter Muhongo, Prime Minister Mizengo Pinda and later President Kikwete all disagreed, arguing that Sethi was the owner of IPTL, and that the escrow account funds were his.

The case has already brought a heavy financial toll to Tanzania. In addition to the money allegedly stolen from the public purse, the UK and eleven other international donors have suspended \$490m in general budget support for the current financial year, citing the slow pace of investigations into the case. More recently, the Millennium Challenge Corporation, a US aid agency, indicated that they were monitoring developments closely and warned that their decision on a new funding agreement – potentially several hundred million dollars – would depend on the Tanzanian government acting swiftly and decisively to combat corruption.

In presenting his committee's report, Kabwe drew both shock and laughter as he explained that the Director General of PCCB had confirmed that people had collected funds in cash from the Mkombozi

4 *Energy Scandal*

and Stanbic bank branches in plastic carrier bags, cardboard boxes, and sisal gunny sacks. As much as Tshs 73.5bn (\$45m) was reportedly withdrawn on a single day in January 2014.

In his response to the parliamentary debate and resolutions, delayed by his health condition, President Kikwete spared the Minister of Energy and Minerals, Prof Muhongo, though parliament had called for his sacking. Instead, the President said that he has formed a team to investigate the Minister, and will make a decision once the team has reported back to him.

Prime Minister Pinda also survived when parliament revised the initial recommendation of the PAC that he should step aside.

In December the scandal claimed two senior scalps. Attorney General Werema, resigned on 17 December, though he denied any wrongdoing and said he was stepping down because his legal advice had been misunderstood. A few days later, President Kikwete sacked the Minister of Lands, Housing and Human Development Anna Tibaijuka for accepting a \$1m payment from a Tanzanian businessman James Rugemalira, linked to the case.

Rugemalira had sold his 30% stake in IPTL to Sethi for \$75m, and is alleged to have then transferred significant money into accounts held by a long list of public figures, including \$1m to Mrs Tibaijuka. She does not deny receiving this amount, but claims that she was merely channelling the money onwards to a school. Other reported beneficiaries of Rugemalira's generosity were senior political figures such as former Attorney General and veteran of the BAE-radar scandal, Andrew Chenge, two former Ministers of Energy and Minerals, William Ngeleja and Daniel Yona, and board members and employees of Tanesco, the Tanzania Revenue Authority, the Tanzania Investment Centre (TIC) and the Registration, Insolvency and Trusteeship Agency (RITA), as well as two judges and two bishops.

The political impact of the scandal, particularly in terms of the forthcoming elections may be significant. Pinda, a leading candidate for the CCM presidential nomination, has been weakened in the public eye. Anna Tibaijuka is no longer a viable candidate. The Speaker, Anna Makinda, an outside possibility for the nomination, surprised many with her strong handling of the affair – standing up to powerful

figures, protecting parliamentary independence, and chairing heated discussions with considerable dexterity.

Other leading potential CCM candidates for the presidency did their best to stay out of the fray. Edward Lowassa and Bernard Membe were notably quiet, in public at least, and January Makamba spoke only in general terms that corruption should not be tolerated.

Though Chadema (aside from their renegade member, Zitto Kabwe,) was late to exploit the case, the party is likely to pick up some votes from the affair, simply because it makes CCM look bad.

Beyond the presidential race, several MPs' reputations were enhanced. David Kafulila (NCCR-Mageuzi) earned plaudits for his long-standing campaign to bring this case to public attention. Zitto Kabwe's forensic skill and determined handling of the PAC has been noted, and there are signs of a possible thawing of his previously frosty relations with his Chadema party leaders. Deputy PAC chair Deo Filikunjombe (CCM), was visibly nervous in presenting the report, and spoke later of his discomfort in calling for the resignation of a Prime Minister who was seated just a few feet away. Though his public reputation has been enhanced, he has lost popularity with some senior party figures, and may therefore face a difficult re-selection process in his Ludewa constituency.

Anti-corruption investigators continue to look into the case, and promise prosecutions where appropriate. Despite the pressure being exerted by donors, this may or may not happen. Though two senior government figures have lost their jobs, the suspicion remains that many others – including senior figures within State House – have got off lightly.

In November the Executive Director of Tanzania Legal and Human Rights Centre Dr Hellen Kijo-Bisimba said President Kikwete failed to take a bold decision on the scandal and in turn acted "like an advocate of Pan African Power Solution." Even Zitto Kabwe showed little appetite to take the matter further. "As Parliament we passed the resolutions by consensus, patriotism and avoiding being unfair to anyone. Parliament did its workand I'm leaving this matter to *wananchi*, they will make their own judgment," he said.

The leader of opposition and chairperson of Chadema Mr Freeman Mbowe said by failing to sack the architects of the scandal the President

showed the country that he is part of the wider corruption problem. “Anna Tibaijuka was but a branch of the scandal, so she was used as a scapegoat, while [those who] orchestrated the whole thing are yet to be touched,” he said.

A political science professor from Ruaha University College, Gaudence Mpangala, said the President did not arrive at decisions that were awaited by many in the country. “By saying that the escrow monies belong to IPTL, the President blew the whole thing away and that is very wrong,” he said.

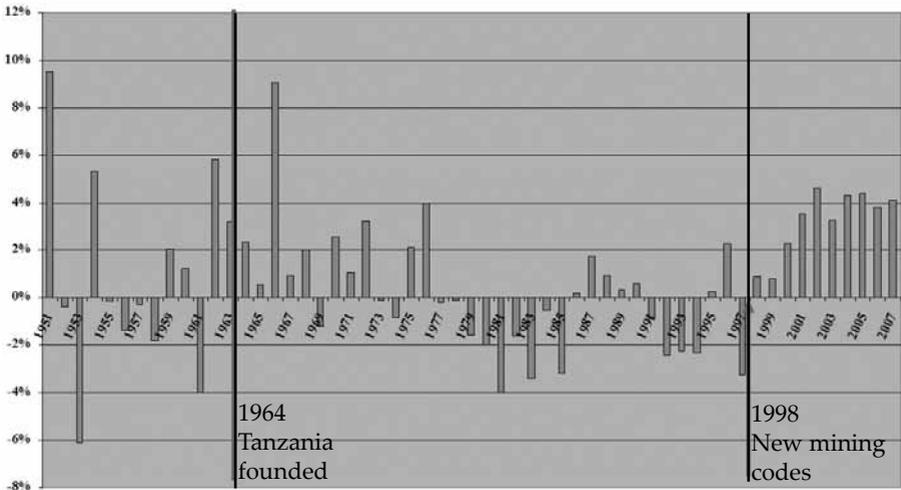
Alan R. Roe: TANZANIA & EXTRACTIVES – ANOTHER TWIST?

(This is a summary of a talk to the Britain-Tanzanian Society, November 2014)

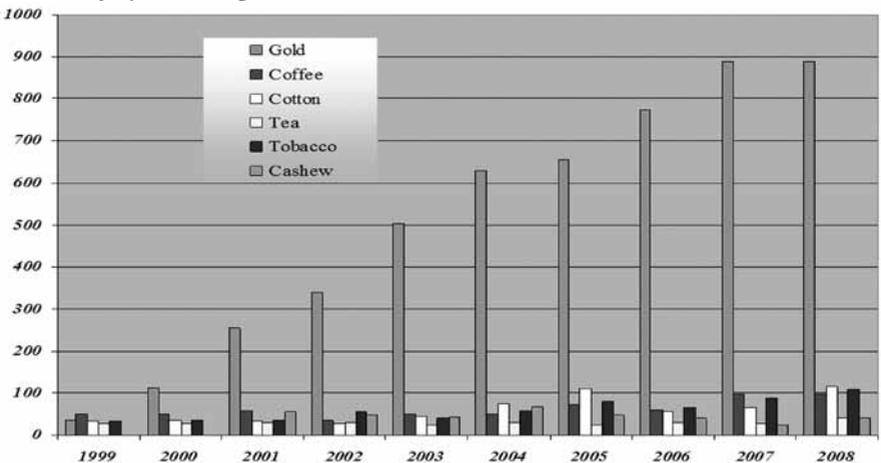
In common with Ghana, Kenya, Mozambique, Sierra Leone and Uganda, Tanzania will soon enter the ranks of oil and gas producing countries. Tanzania’s discoveries are mainly off-shore in the Indian Ocean and dominated by gas rather than oil. These discoveries are large, and have excited expectations of greatly improved economic growth and incomes and of a windfall for the Tanzanian budget. The government recognises the need to manage expectations about what all this may mean.

The resurgence of gold and diamond production after 1999 was associated with the first real signs of structural change in the economy since independence. Specifically, the turn of the millennium saw the longest sustained period of per capita income growth (1999-2014) since 1950 (fig.1), Tanzania as one of the top non-oil countries in Africa in terms of the volumes of foreign direct investment (FDI), the rapid rise of gold exports which quickly overtook traditional agriculture exports as a source of foreign exchange earnings (fig. 2), and a significant increase in government revenues from mining to \$385 million (7% of all tax revenues) by 2012.

There is considerable controversy in Tanzania over many aspects of mining, as the windfall associated with gold and diamonds has not been managed in a way that might have yielded optimum benefits both to the nation and to the affected communities around Mwanza and Shinyanga. But the mining boom has certainly given the authorities significant experience of the issues associated with managing natural resources wealth.



fig(1) Per Capita Income Growth: 1950 to 2007 (Angus Maddison and the University of Groningen)



fig(2) The Growth of Exports: 1999 to 2008 (Bank of Tanzania)

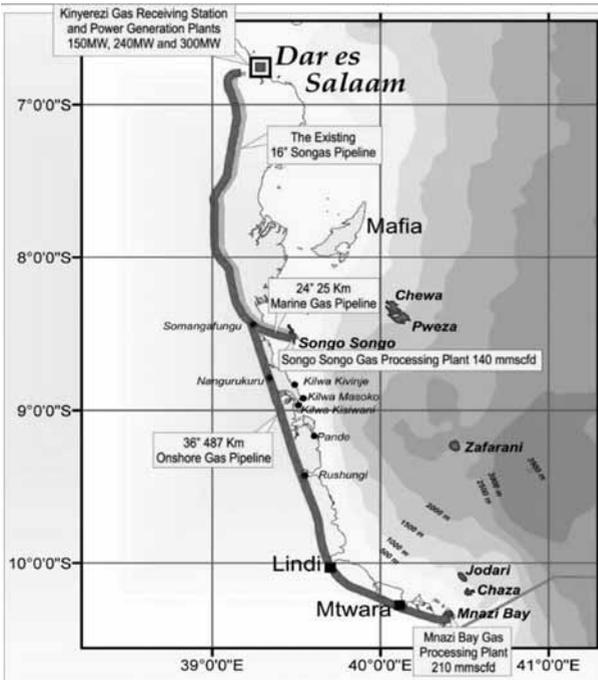
How will the new gas finds change the situation?

The gas discoveries so far are on a scale far larger than anything ever seen in gold and diamond mining. Early estimates from just one of the 20 or more major companies currently licensed to explore for oil and gas, suggests that FDI from their project alone could top \$5 billion in the peak year of construction some 5-6 years from now. This is some five times larger than the *maximum* annual FDI seen in the years of the gold resurgence.

In the short term (to end-2016) there seems certain to be some significant gains in Tanzania’s capability for electric power generation fuelled by the early stage on-shore gas at Mnazi Bay for which much of the commercial contracting has already been finalised.

In the longer term (after 2021) there are expectations of large gas exports in the form of liquefied natural gas (LNG), with a variety of domestic uses in addition to electric power generation.

Short-term prospects



In the past three months Wentworth Resources of Canada, working with Maurel and Prom (a large French company - the operator) and the state-owned Tanzania Petroleum Development Corporation (TPDC), have signed a gas sales agreement (GSA) with the government. This provides for the delivery of up to 80 million cubic feet per day (mmscf/d) to the new Chinese-built Mnazi Bay pipeline to Dar beginning in 2015. This pipeline is much longer than the existing pipe-

fig(3) Map of new 36" diameter pipeline (Wentworth)

line from Songa Songa which currently delivers the bulk of Tanzania’s existing gas production (fig 3). By 2016 the Wentworth GSA provides for the delivery of up to 130mmscf/d to the new pipeline.

This development is highly significant. First, it will help to justify and partially cover the \$1.2 billion costs of the new pipeline, which will have a large capacity (around 750mmscf/d).

Second, the GSA involves a gas selling price at Mtwara of \$3 per mil-

lion cubic feet (mcf), allowing TPDC to sell that gas to Tanesco in Dar at around \$5. This should allow Tanesco to generate power at nearer 12 cents/kilowatt hour rather than current cost of around 35 cents using diesel, jet fuel etc. With Tanesco currently selling power at around 16 cents/kwh, the huge government subsidy to Tanesco (estimated at TSh 353 billion in 2013/14) should be significantly reduced.

The new gas will also more than double the volumes of gas currently available for power generation which could contribute significantly to attaining the Tanzanian “Big Results” target of 5 million more people with access to electricity.

Longer-term prospects

The new gas situation will also create new jobs and higher income for some local populations, new investment opportunities such as the integrated cement plant in Mtwara (to supply gas companies), and a welcome albeit small boost to government revenues. In the longer term the scale of the known and likely discoveries will be focused much more on the export of gas – processed into LNG.

The Production Sharing Agreements (PSAs) already signed with government anticipate that at least 5% of total production will be provided to the domestic market, which means up to 95% will be exported. Even a 5% share of a huge volume of gas will provide many opportunities to expand domestic power generation and open up petro-chemical industries such as fertiliser production.

Based on data from three of the concession blocks in the Indian Ocean (Blocks 1, 3 and 4, operated by the UK BG Group in partnership with Ophir Energy and the TPDC), the broad orders of magnitude of the likely impacts in Tanzania from around 2021 onwards are likely to include:

- Between \$3 and \$5 billion of new export earnings from sales of LNG to China and other East Asian countries by about the fourth year of production (circa 2025 depending on when final decisions are taken). Tanzania’s total exports in 2012/13 were \$5.5 billion.
- An early addition to revenues (taxes, royalties plus production share) equivalent to just under 3% of GDP – moving towards \$2 billion per annum. This compares with Tanzania’s present total grant receipts from aid donors of around 3.3% of GDP and a budget deficit of 5%. It is

several times more than the revenues currently received from gold and diamond mining.

- The creation of several thousand new jobs in the 4-5 years of project construction, falling to several hundred new jobs in the years of regular production.

These potentially transformational orders of magnitudes are based on the likely outputs from only three concession blocks. At least another eight concession blocks in the Indian Ocean have exploration underway - Statoil of Norway, Ophir, Shell and Petrobras of Brazil (*see TA 102 for a map of the concessions, and article below by Roger Nellist for information on latest discoveries*).

Challenges and dangers

Exploitation of Tanzania's natural gas presents a wide range of possible threats as well as substantial new opportunities. Several areas of policy need to be very well-managed over the next few years if the Tanzanian people are to obtain a real benefit. The government is well aware of the main issues and its Natural Gas Policy presented in 2013 contains ideas on most of these.

There are still numerous difficult technical problems to solve in extracting gas from the Indian Ocean under 1,400 metres of water and a further 2,000 metres of variable sea bed strata. There is no guarantee that the concessionaires will be able to solve these problems at an acceptable cost.

There is still a question mark over whether the companies will be able to justify the huge upstream and mid-stream investments that are required given the (changing) expectations of the global market e.g. the recent large falls in oil prices. One concessionaire alone is anticipating a full investment cost of well over \$20 billion.

Can the government and TPDC finance the large infrastructure and investments needed to ensure the delivery and effective usage of the available gas? Who will coordinate the efforts of the different governmental players and prospective investors?

Will the global demand and supply situation remain favourable to exploiting the Tanzanian resources over the very long period (circa 30 years of more) anticipated by the off-shore projects?

A communications strategy is needed immediately to manage expectations in government, in the affected local communities and in the country more generally. The 2013 Gas Policy refers directly to this matter, but the government is handicapped by the fog of ignorance (and rumours) about the true magnitudes and timing of benefits.

Public sector capacity

Much will need to be done to develop skills in both the private and public sectors. Although few direct jobs will be created there are large opportunities for indirect job creation through linkages to the rest of the economy. The problem is that most of the jobs become in the construction phase. To be filled by Tanzanian workers, a large skills training programme needs to start very early – as indeed it has but on a relatively small scale.

Tanzania now has some effective and well qualified civil servants and specialists. But the depth of the skill base is often thin, for example in the areas of contract negotiation, regulation of the sector, contract management, and management of the fiscal regime.

Attention needs to be given to the strengthening of a National Oil and Gas Company (NOC) based on the present TPDC – building its financing, its specific roles, its capacities. The division of roles between government and the NOC has been a source of much difficulty in other countries.

The government needs to exercise caution on the macroeconomic fundamentals to avoid exchange rate appreciation and damage to traditional export activities – the Dutch Disease problem.

Should Tanzania establish a Sovereign Wealth Fund? What stabilization arrangements, if any, should be set up to guard against the future volatility of oil and gas prices and to ensure that other sectors are not left behind?

The emphasis must lie in building human capacity in all sectors with transferable skills from oil and gas. Tanzania is fortunate to discover gas now. They can learn lessons from other countries on the importance of transparency and good governance. Above all, how to protect this unique opportunity from political opportunism and mismanagement, especially with an election in 2015.

KIKWETE TREATED FOR PROSTATE CANCER

On 8 November, Tanzanian President Kikwete underwent a successful operation to remove a cancerous prostate. The operation was conducted at the Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore, USA. The President remained in the US for three weeks for recuperation before returning to Tanzania.

President Kikwete thanked all Tanzanians for praying for him and commended the media for conveying the right message away from distortion. "In September, last year, I went for a medical check-up and doctors diagnosed me with prostate cancer. They told me that since it was still at a manageable level, an operation could remove it completely and stop it from spreading to other parts of the body. Before going for the operation, I wanted to 'put the house in order'", he added, explaining that he had been waiting for the Constituent Assembly to complete preparation of the proposed new Constitution.

"Although I looked normal and continued with my duties, the illness remained a source of 'inward misery.' It took eight months to inform my wife but she is great and encouraged me to undergo treatment. I am glad am cancer free. Doctors said that after such an operation a patient could survive for 30 years depending on one's age," he said. President Kikwete explained that since the 1990s when he served as the minister for energy and minerals, he cultivated the culture of undergoing regular medical check-up. He appealed to '*wananchi*' to emulate that way of life.

Andrew Coulson: AGRICULTURAL MARKETING – MAKE OR BREAK?

There are two iron laws of agriculture:

1.If there is no market for a crop, don't grow more than you can store and eat.

The second makes the same point from a national perspective:

2.If you are trying to promote expansion of an agricultural product, then you will fail if the marketing arrangements do not work.

Farms – large or small – are businesses. Farmers make choices, about what crops to plant, how much of each, when to plant them, where, when to weed and how often, whether to use inputs such as fertilizers and insecticides, and so on.

Small farmers need money – for school uniforms and school fees, agricultural tools, food items that they cannot produce themselves, medical costs, clothes and shoes, cooking utensils – and if at all possible, cement and wood for houses, bicycles, mobile phones, lamps, bus fares, and all that we can imagine that makes a better life. They are therefore integrated into national, and indeed international, economies. It is misleading to call them peasants, or to imply that they can be entirely self-sufficient. They cannot exist if they are paid very little, paid late, or not paid at all.

Large farms are also businesses, and face many of the same risks as small farmers: failures of the rains, attacks by insects, birds or animals, plant diseases, and unexpectedly low prices.

Until the 1970s many farmers were organised in cooperatives, which purchased their crops and took responsibility for repaying credit. Much of what was produced was sold by marketing boards. But by the time of liberalisation in the 1990s most of these arrangements had broken down and agricultural marketing was left almost entirely to the private sector. The result has been a series of disasters so bad that farmers only continue growing crops when they have no other plausible alternative.

For **cotton**, businessmen purchased ginneries and employed buyers to purchase the crop from the farmers. Farmers had a choice of where to sell. If one buyer rejected their cotton because of poor quality they could sell to another. If they took credit from one buyer, they could sell their cotton to another and avoid paying back the credit. Buyers travelled over large areas to buy cotton – and one consequence was that the varieties which had been specially bred for the North and the South of the cotton area got mixed up. The position now is that many farmers are adulterating their cotton with sand, water, or even hygroscopic chemicals – and Tanzanian cotton sells at a discount on world markets when once it sold at a premium. To get back to a position where quality could be achieved, the government promoted “contract farming”, where farmers contract with a single buyer who also supplies credit for inputs; in the central cotton areas this was opposed and ultimately sabotaged by small ginners who did not have access to the capital to provide credit to farmers.

The position with **coffee** is much the same. A sharp decline in quality, a failure to manage credit, and low prices.

Cashew nut farmers produced a bumper crop in 2011/12. The local processing factories were swamped. The buyers had insufficient money to buy it all in the short window when Tanzanian cashew nuts can be sold to India, before the Indian crop is harvested. So they paid for the cashew nuts with IOUs. Many of those farmers are still waiting to be paid.

Rice production has been one of the success stories. But just when farmers were doing well, the Bank of Tanzania approved imports of cheap rice which depressed the prices, and many farmers who have taken credit to buy fertilizers or sprays could not pay back their loans.

Maize is another success story, with record harvests in the Southern Highlands, Songea and Sumbawanga. According to the Citizen on 1 December, the surplus is more than 2 million tonnes, although the National Food Reserve Agency will only purchase 200,000 tonnes. There are good harvests in Malawi, Zambia and parts of Congo, so no easy export markets. Many farmers may not get paid. Some will try and store their maize, but without modern stores much of it will succumb to post-harvest insects, especially the large grain borer or *Skanya bora*, unofficially named after the lorries which transported food aid in the early 1980s.

One of the main planks of “Big Results Now”, the most recent government planning strategy, is the “Warehouse Receipt Schemes” where a farmer takes the crop to a store and, provided the crop is of good quality, he or she can be paid in cash or in credit. If the latter, and crop prices rise later in the season, what they have sold will be given the higher value – and payment to the farmers may be made either in cash or in the form of seeds or fertilizers for next years’ crops. This is fine in principle, not so easy in practice, where corruption can creep in. The system fails altogether if the warehouses are full or the manager does not have sufficient cash.

There are also problems with the marketing of **sugar**, where unexpected and perhaps corrupt imports have discouraged new local projects to increase production.

Tanzania should be celebrating its small farmers (who have shown that they can produce surpluses of cashew nuts, maize and rice), not making them angry by not buying what they have produced.

Crop marketing is a specialist skill. It is much more than an admin-

istrative task. One consequence of liberalisation has been the loss of the expertise and contacts learnt in the days of the marketing boards. Since most crops are sold without the crops themselves being visible, it requires good contacts and above all trust, which can only be built up between individuals, and over time. Moreover, to achieve good quality, the marketing must be regulated: buyers who accept low quality must be driven out of the market, along with buyers who buy from farmers who have contracted to sell to someone else. The banks must know the reliable buyers, and lend them sufficient money to purchase the crops. Farmers unable to sell their crops on time and for fair prices cannot be blamed if they choose not to grow those crops in the future.

TERROR FOR PEOPLE WITH ALBINISM

During eleven days in August 2014, 3 brutal attacks, and 2 attempted attacks, were directed against persons with albinism, also known as “albinos.” The attacks result from societal stigma and the belief that the body parts of persons with albinism can bring good fortune when used by witch doctors to create good luck potions. This rampage of brutality has left the country’s population of people with albinism in a state of immobilizing fear. Since 2006 there have been at least 151 murders and attacks on persons with albinism in Tanzania. It is believed that most attacks go unreported.

On 5 August a 15 year old girl was brutally attacked at her home in Tabora Region as she ate dinner with her family. The assailants hacked off her right arm just below the elbow. The men disappeared into the darkness with her arm. The girl lost a lot of blood and was semi-conscious when brought to hospital. Police have arrested three men in connection with the attack, including a neighbour who is a known witchdoctor. Eye witnesses who have spoken to police have since received death threats. “I am asking the police to move me to a safer place and protect me because bad men might come back to kill me” the girl said later. According to advocacy group *Under the Same Sun* (UTSS), a witch doctor had received an order from a wealthy client indicating a price of \$600 USD.

On the same day as this attack, the girl’s uncle, who also has albinism, narrowly escaped an attempt on his life as he walked to his father’s vil-

lage. He was chased by two men holding machetes. He said he heard the men shouting, "Let's cut him! Let's cut him now!" When interviewed, he indicated that they were the same gang that had attacked his niece. He ran as fast as he could and fortunately escaped.

A week later, on 14 August, a young man with albinism was found dead in Kinyerezi on the outskirts of Dar es Salaam. His mutilated body had been dumped in a swamp. Sections of skin on his upper torso had been removed. The skin of persons with albinism is in high demand for witchcraft rituals.

On 16 August a 35 year old mother of seven children was brutally attacked at her home in the Igunga District in Tabora Region. Two attackers cut off her left arm before fleeing. Her husband was beaten to death while defending his wife and two of their children sustained injuries. One suspect has been arrested.

Peter Ash, the founder and CEO of UTSS, and himself a person with albinism commented, "my brothers and sisters with albinism in Tanzania are facing an unprecedented crisis. They have no place that is safe. Law enforcement and the judiciary have been impotent in addressing this human rights crisis. Only 5% of the 151 cases of murder and attacks have reached prosecution in the Tanzanian courts to date."

Enos Bukuku: **CONSTITUTION**

Opposition challenge to proposed new constitution

The Constitutional Assembly (CA) was disbanded in October 2014 after delivering the final draft of the proposed Constitution to the President, who has invited the public to endorse the document in a referendum to be held in April 2015.

Despite the heated disputes which have taken place among the political factions within the CA, the government announced that the required two-thirds majority for approval of the draft by the CA had been met. However, many members of the opposition have disputed this. A CA member from Zanzibar, Haji Ambar Khamis, claimed that even though his name was listed as approving the draft, he had not done so, and he reportedly collapsed whilst explaining himself. Four opposition parties (Chama Cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA), the Civic United Front, the National League for Democracy and the National Convention

for Construction and Reform) have decided to join forces against the government and mount a joint challenge to the draft constitution on the grounds that the government failed to follow the legal procedures during the vote in parliament.

There is still some debate as to whether the new constitution can be considered a success even if it survives this possible legal challenge and is adopted after the referendum.

Those in one camp will say that this draft improves upon the current constitution by addressing the needs of all Tanzanians by including the nation's children, women, the disabled and other minority groups. Changes to the constitution have been warmly welcomed by Tanzania's Gender Coalition Group who have stated that approximately 90% of their proposals for reform to women's rights have been adopted by the CA. One of the proposals which has received praise is for women to have equal land ownership rights which "gives every woman the right to obtain, own, use, develop and manage land under the same rules which are applicable to men"; the ability to confer citizenship to their children; better employment rights; and more advantageous representation in parliament.

The draft also seeks to redress the issue of exploitation of children by clarifying the definition of child as being a person under 18 years of age, which is relevant in combating child marriages. It also guarantees a right to primary education to every Tanzanian child. Minority ethnic groups, such as the Hadzabe and Akiye, are given further protection by the draft.

However, the proposed constitution has removed notable sections from the previous draft, including new checks and balances on presidential power, and has watered down sections proposed by Warioba's Constitutional Review Commission (CRC). In particular, the proposal to establish a three-government structure – Zanzibar, Mainland, Union – is replaced with a two government structure that closely resembles the current system.

Whilst there was an attempt to include a provision for dual nationality in the final draft, unfortunately for many of the Tanzanian diaspora overseas, this was eventually omitted. Instead, by way of a compromise, a "special status" will be given to former Tanzanian citizens.

Those of the “this-new-constitution-won’t-change-a-thing” camp argue that the whole lengthy process has been a monumental waste of time, money and ultimately, dominated by the government. CCM has been accused of bullying and “hi-jacking” the process.

The drafting of a new constitution was supposed to be a civilised exercise in cross-party consultation, and all parties were supposed to set aside their differences for the greater good and for the benefit of generations of Tanzanians to come. This ideal was once again challenged on 2 November 2014, when a youth group of CCM supporters disrupted a meeting convened by the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation to hear the Constitutional Review Commission (CRC) members, and in particular CRC chairman, retired Judge Warioba. An eagerly anticipated speech by a well-respected politician, quickly turned into an ugly scene more suited to a Hollywood action film. It was reported that “fists and chairs were flung into the air, camera equipment destroyed and journalists beaten up”.

It now remains for the public to voice its opinion as to whether the Constitution should be adopted. For the new constitution to pass, majorities are needed in both parts of the union. CCM should have no trouble winning a majority on the mainland, but whether they can deliver the same on Zanzibar is more questionable.

David Brewin: **POLITICS**

Elections approaching

It is now only about four months to the parliamentary elections in Britain which are going to be hotly contested. It is about ten months before the presidential and parliamentary elections in Tanzania which will also be hotly contested. And, surprisingly, in neither country are political experts sure what the results will be. All this contributes to a growing political fever, even though political parties in both countries have increasing difficulty in persuading people to vote.

The ruling Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) party

The largest and longest serving party in Tanzania, the CCM, with its great strength, particularly in rural areas, is still fairly confident about remaining in power for another five years. Its popularity rests on its

stability and its preservation of peace and order unlike most neighbouring countries.

However, the unsatisfactory finalisation of the Constitution-making process (*as explained by Enos Bukuku*), the apparent government decision to ignore strong feelings in Zanzibar and say no to a third government, plus the increasing political tensions in parliament over demands for more transparency in the awarding of mining contracts (*see Roger Nellist below*) and the rising discontent about corruption (*see Ben Taylor's article on the ITPL scandal*) must be causes of concern to many voters.

The opposition

The second largest party, CHADEMA, had great hopes of increasing its position substantially in the elections, but the attempts to expel their leading radical MP and anti-corruption campaigner, Zitto Kabwe, could have damaged its chances. CHADEMA's leadership wants to get rid of Kabwe because of his reluctance to accept the party's policies but Kabwe retains the powerful position of Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee of the National Assembly and thus remains of great interest to the media. He also attracts the support of many among the younger generation of potential voters.

Opinion poll

An opinion poll by Twaweza in November showed no clear front runner. Former CCM Prime Minister Edward Lowassa had the support of just one in eight voters, 13%; current CCM Prime Minister Mizengo Pinda, who announced his decision to stand in a BBC interview in London, had 12%; with 11% favouring the leading opposition candidate, Wilbroad Slaa from CHADEMA – a candidate for the presidency in 2010.

But party loyalties remain strong. According to the poll, the ruling CCM party is supported by 47% of voters. Amongst the growing numbers of young voters under 35 years old, 44% claim CCM affiliation with 34% supporting CHADEMA.

There are plenty of other CCM aspirants for the presidency, all except one of whom will be eliminated at CCM selection conferences early in 2015. They include Foreign Affairs minister Bernard Membe (with 5% support), East African Cooperation minister Samuel Sitta (4%) and Works minister John Maghafuli (3%) plus Defence minister Shamsi Nahodha.



Mwananchi coverage of the opinion poll results (<http://millardayo.com>)

A rising star and one of the latest additions to the list of CCM presidential hopefuls is January Makamba, the Deputy Minister of Communications, Science and Technology and a CCM MP in Lushoto District. A close aide to President Kikwete for five years, at 40 years old he is much younger than most of the other aspirants.

He says that it is difficult to see how those who have been in politics for 40 years, ‘who are steeped in the ways of a (former) one-party state, a rigidly planned economy and controls on freedom’, can contend with the

unique challenges of a rapidly changing country. Asked by the media what precisely he wanted to change, he said “Many things, but the first will be our mindset. It is important that Tanzanians believe that it is within their ability to achieve great things both individually and as a country..... We want to establish very high standards for public servants. There will be zero tolerance of corruption and bad government.”

If the CCM candidate selection process results in a stalemate, a possible compromise might be Chief Justice Augustine Ramadhani, from Zanzibar who is a practising Anglican Christian and might attract a following in both Zanzibar and the mainland of Tanzania.

“I don’t know”

The sagacious political commentator Elsie Eyakuze pointed out in *The Citizen* that in her view “by far the most interesting finding in the poll was that a full third of the respondents, when asked whom they would vote for, replied that they didn’t know”. She went on to say that “a significant portion of voters is willing to step away from Tanzania’s ‘strong-man formula of politics’ and consider alternatives such as better government!” She went on: “A grimmer interpretation could be that we have got ‘indecision paralysis’ because the options all look a bit unwelcome”. Eyakuze said that she hopes that the numbers of uncommitted voters will grow and grow. Unable to conceal her feminist views, she also pointed out that the most popular contenders in the elections “will all be men of a certain age. No one with a uterus or direct personal experience of the Twitterverse is going to get within sniffing distance of the office of President”.

Memorandum of Understanding

In a sensible move which will help the two smaller opposition parties to survive, a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) has been signed between the two big opposition parties – CHADEMA on the mainland and CUF in Zanzibar and two small parties, NCCR-Mageuzi and the NLD, all of which have MPs in the National Assembly. Under the MOU the parties will field and support only one candidate (at all levels including the presidency) in the elections. This move should help in the survival of the two small parties and might even attract a few CCM candidates who are disappointed not to have been selected in the party’s candidate selection process.

The effect of the referendum

The referendum on the new constitution, according to present plans, will take place on 30 April 2015, six months before the presidential and parliamentary elections. It is difficult to forecast how this will affect the outcome of these elections. The Presidential Communication Directorate proposes to spend a large sum of money on the campaign for a “Yes” vote in the referendum and there will be a media blitz to persuade people to vote ‘Yes’. If they vote ‘No’ Tanzania could be in a constitutional crisis.

Zanzibar

Zanzibaris (one million people compared with some forty million on the mainland) tend to take elections very seriously and are likely to vote in large numbers in the constitutional referendum as well as in the elections which will follow. But there have been rumblings of discontent about the way in which the constitution favoured by the CCM seems likely to be pushed through. Many Zanzibaris hoped that, if the alternative three-party government had been accepted, Zanzibar would have a much greater influence in the future government of Tanzania.

There is also the future of the Government of National Unity between Zanzibar's two main parties CCM and CUF to be decided. The coalition government, installed in 2010 following years of political violence, has succeeded in maintaining political peace in the Isles for five years. This could prove to be popular with many voters especially in view of the political turmoil which many of Tanzania's neighbours have suffered since independence.

Biometric voting registration

Tanzania intends to prepare the way for the use of new electronic voter registration technology, using Biometric voters' kits. The Treasury has made funds available for pilot schemes in Kawe, Katavi and Kilombero constituencies but there has been some delay because the relevant people have not yet been trained. The National Election Commission intends to train personnel from 169 districts in readiness for the nationwide registration exercise.

Valerie Leach: **ECONOMICS & BUSINESS**

Poverty Reduction

Much of the news about the economy and business suggests fast-moving new developments. Some of them, notably prospects for gas, are reported elsewhere in this journal. Nonetheless, the Tanzanian economy is still characterised as a basic agricultural one, where rural households continue to live in poverty.

In a recent survey of opinions about the challenges they face, Tanzanians said that poverty, health and education remain the biggest challenges, with 63% reporting poverty to be the biggest challenge (up from 49% in 2012). (*Twaweza: "Tanzania towards 2015: Citizen Preferences," Nov 2014*).

The recently released report of the 2011/12 Household Budget Survey by the National Bureau of Statistics shows that one third of the rural population live below the poverty line. (*NBS, Household Budget Survey, Main Report, October 2014*)

Region	Food		Basic Needs	
	2007	2011/12	2007	2011/12
Rural	13.7	11.3	39.4	33.3
Dar es Salaam	3.2	1.0	14.1	4.1
Other Urban	8.9	8.7	22.7	21.7
Tanzania Mainland	11.8	9.7	34.4	28.2

Percentage of Population Living in Poverty, Tanzania Mainland, 2007 and 2011/12

Income poverty has been reduced in all parts of the country, but particularly in Dar, and the difference in poverty rates between Dar compared with elsewhere is more dramatic than ever. While the reduction in rural income poverty is modest, living conditions and access to communication improved from 2007 to 2011/12. The percentage of households living in homes with a modern roof has risen from 55% to 68% and those with modern walls from 35% to 46%.

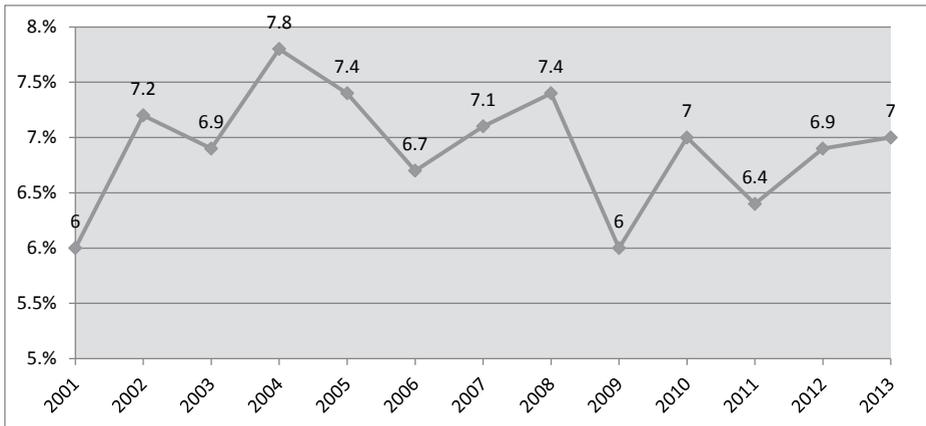
Mobile phones

57% of all households now report having a phone, almost all of them a mobile phone. In rural areas, ownership of a mobile phone increased from 14% in 2007 to 45% 2011/12. Mobile phone ownership reached 88% in Dar and 77% in other urban areas in 2011/12. (*NBS, Household Budget Survey, Main Report, October 2014*)

Macroeconomic developments

GDP growth rates continue to be strong – 7% in 2013 and estimated by the IMF to be at this same rate in 2014. In October 2014 the annual inflation rate was 5.9%, a fall from 6.6% in September 2014. The NBS has revised the estimates of GDP, increasing the overall estimate of GDP in the base year of 2007 by 28%; and of agriculture GDP by 26%. The revisions result in estimated per capita GDP for 2007 at TSh 699,127 compared with the old estimate of TSh 547,081.

Government revenue and expenditure for fiscal 2013/14 was below tar-



Annual growth rates of GDP at constant 2001 market prices

get and development expenditure will continue to be adversely affected by the withholding by aid donors of general budget support. Recurrent expenditure amounted to TSh 10,085.1 billion, or 91% of target, while development expenditure was 70% of estimate. The shortfall in development expenditure in 2013/14 was on account of lower disbursement of project funds and shortfall in external non-concessional borrowing. (*Bank of Tanzania, Monthly Review, October 2014, www.bot-tz.org*)

An IMF mission to Tanzania in October 2014 concluded that, “Macroeconomic performance has been broadly in line with the program, although new challenges have emerged during the last three months. Economic growth was strong during the first half of 2014 and is expected to remain close to 7% this year... Despite significant revenue shortfalls in the 2013/14 fiscal year compared to the original budget assumption, the fiscal deficit was contained to 4.4% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP)... However, reflecting continued weaknesses in the ability to control expenditure commitments, this performance coincided with further accumulation of expenditure arrears... Combined with delays in the disbursement of budget financing from development partners, related to the Independent Power Tanzania Limited (IPTL) case, this has been a challenging backdrop for program implementation. .. The expected implementation of VAT reforms in early 2015 should help bolster the revenue base. The mission welcomes the government’s intention to address comprehensively arrears to suppliers and pension funds. (*IMF Press Release No. 14/490, October 29, 2014*)

Investment and Business

Within the East African Community, Tanzania recorded the highest Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) in 2013, according to the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) World Investment Report 2014. Tanzania's inflows stood at \$1.872 billion followed by Uganda at \$1.146 billion. Direct investment from UK was the largest share, at 23% of the total. Recently discovered gas reserves in Tanzania are propelling investor interest. The report also noted that underdeveloped infrastructure has made the country a high-cost location for doing business. (*The East African, 27 September 2014*)

Tanzania is determined to float a planned \$700 million bond in the international market. The government is hoping to capitalise on the investor appetite and stable markets that saw Kenya raise \$2 billion in June at fairly affordable terms. Tanzania intends to fund the \$1.23 billion Mtwara gas-pipeline project, a \$10 billion port at Bagamoyo, new roads, railways and power plants. (*The East African, 20 September 2014*)

In August, the government announced that a project to construct a major centre to serve as a common entry point for imports from China will start before the end of this year. The centre will be run under a Public Private Partnership (PPP) arrangement with China represented by Yiwu Pan-Africa International Investment Corporation and Tanzania represented by EPZA. (*The Citizen, 21 August 2014*)

Trade Agreements

In September 2014, Tanzania joined Kenya, Uganda and Rwanda in rolling out the clearance of goods under the East Africa Community Single Customs Territory (SCT). The system seeks to eliminate dumping of goods in countries of transit, thus protecting industries and jobs. (*The East African, 13 September 2014*)

East Africa and the European Union (EU) have agreed on an Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA). As well as dropping customs duties, the agreement covers free movement of goods and cooperation on customs and taxation. More than half of the imports the EAC has agreed to liberalise are currently duty-free under the EAC Customs Union. Those subject to duty will be liberalised over a period of 25 years, with most of the cuts within 15 years. (*The Citizen, 18 October 2014*)

Free Trade Area

In December, the heads of state from 26 Eastern and Southern African countries are due to sign an agreement for a free trade area (FTA). Encompassing member states of the East African Community (EAC), Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and Southern African Development Community (SADC), the FTA will create a market of over 800 million people. The EAC, which is already a common market, has four member states in COMESA and one member – Tanzania – is in SADC. Ten countries in the region are already members of customs unions. (*The Citizen*, 19 November 2014)

Rural Communications and Access to Finance

An investment by a Vietnamese firm, Viettel, estimated to be of TSh 1.7trn will connect at least 4,000 villages, about 40% of the country's total number, to a 3G communication network by 2017. The launch of the project in Coast Regions came after President Kikwete visited the company in Vietnam. The firm has been contracted to connect all district hospitals, police stations, post offices and District Commissioners' offices, plus three government schools in every district. (*The Guardian*, 14 November 2014)

Improved telecommunications are expected to help farmers' access to finance. At a conference in Arusha in November, Vice President Mohamed Gharib Bilal said that poverty cannot be seriously addressed without removing constraints on productivity, including financing of smallholder agriculture and agribusiness. Governor of the Bank of Tanzania Benno Ndulu, said over two-thirds of the working population derived its livelihood from agriculture. Limited access to finance was an impediment to farmers in adopting better technologies. Developments in communication technology are improving the situation; 57% of adults currently have access to formal financial services compared to barely 15% in 2009.

A new study by the Economist Intelligence Unit confirms that Tanzania has the most conducive conditions in sub-Saharan Africa for expanding access to financial services for under-served populations. The use of mobile technology facilitates payment services, including those who have been under-served or unbanked, with the adoption of comprehensive and conducive regulation of e-money and mobile payments. (*The Citizen*, 20 and 24 November 2014)

Becoming more friendly

There are signs that Tanzania is changing its rather distant relationship with other members of the East African Union. During recent months it has allowed its citizens to move money across its borders. However, on environmental and natural resources management, Tanzania is holding back. It appears to have been doing its 'homework' more thoroughly than the other partner states. Before the signing of binding agreements on the use of Lake Victorian waters and other scarce water and pasture resources, Tanzania argued that a protocol on such issues, already ratified by Kenya and Uganda, contradicted the provisions on trading in minerals. Tanzania stressed that access to and the use of land and premises should be governed by national policies and laws and that the protocol included provisions on marketing and trading in minerals which should have been restricted to protection of the environment.

Tanzania also noted that tourism should be removed from the protocols as it would be better covered under another accord now being negotiated. The EAC Secretariat was instructed to study the issues raised by Tanzania.

Burundi-Tanzania border

The border between Tanzania and Burundi was originally demarcated in 1924 during the colonial period. But, over the years, some natural border references such as rivers have changed their courses or dried out. Sometimes officials have demarcated part of the border by just marking trees. Although the African Union has declared that states wanting to make changes should do so by 2017, the presidents of the two countries are reported to have met to reaffirm the border between their countries.

Pressure on human rights in Tanzania

The European Union has begun to step up its pressure on Tanzania to change its laws on human rights. The Head of the EU Delegation, Ambassador Filibert Sebregondi, has advised the Tanzanian government to increase the minimum age of marriage for girls from 15 to 18 years, eliminate polygamy and abolish the death penalty and corporal punishment in schools.

David Brewin:

AGRICULTURE

Politics and outdated livestock keeping

In a recent article by a (Tanzania) *Guardian* editor, views were expressed on the age-old clashes which occur between farmers and livestock keepers in Tanzania. This followed incidents in Kiteto district in October when four people were said to have been killed after a pastoralist was grazing his cattle on a neighbouring cassava farm.

Home Affairs Minister Mathias Chikawe said it was high time the political class met and agreed amicably on a solution. The editor went on: "The sense of law among livestock keepers is basically religious. The clan head, who conducts sacrifices or orders others to do so, would be the person to issue orders; not someone else. If one of them is arrested they can storm the remand prison or give bribes. They have more money than the peasant farmers... The situation was easier when Tanzania's population was much lower and there was plenty of land for livestock keepers....with most land now under one or other form of use and grasslands much fewer, owing to deforestation and poor rains, to expect that habits built up over millennia can be ended by discussion is a forlorn hope. The government has to think up ways to end the present mode of livestock keeping and not rely on the stakeholders to solve the problem themselves."

GM Crop controversy continues

The controversy about the use of genetically modified crops continues all over Africa. Only in South Africa, Burkina Faso and the Sudan can they be cultivated legally. Yet in 28 countries around the world and on 11% of the arable land, the growing of such crops has become the norm. About 90% of the maize, cotton and soya beans grown in the USA are now genetically modified. From the 1960s to the 1990s, yields of rice and wheat in many parts of the world have doubled; the average consumer began to take in a third more calories; and the poverty rate was cut in half. When Norman Borlaug, the famous plant breeder, won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1970 the citation read 'More than any other person of this age he helped provide bread for a hungry world'.

Tanzania however still stands back, claiming that there are safety and environmental effects. Advocates of this view, quoted in the October issue of the *National Geographic Magazine*, say that expensive GM seeds represent a 'costly input to a broken system'. Heavy-input agri-

culture has no future: 'We need something different. There are other ways to deter pests and increase yields that are more suitable'.

Horticultural exports booming

Horticultural exports from Tanzania, mainly of cut flowers, rose by 86% between January and June 2014 compared with the same time in 2013. Horticulture now claims to be the third source of foreign exchange after tourism and mining. The boom has been greatly assisted by Kenya's action in lifting its ban on flowers and the levy on vegetable exports from Tanzania through Nairobi airport.

Illegal forest products

According to a study published by the Tanzania Natural Resources Forum (TNRF) and the East African Wildlife Society (EAWLS) the Kenya-Tanzania border is one of the most active transit routes for both legal and illegal movement of forest products. The Horohoro-Lunga border is said to be the main entry point for timber, charcoal and wood for carvings and some transporters are said to be falsifying documents, undervaluing their products or using unofficial routes to evade inspection and taxation both in Kenya and Tanzania.

More fertilisers

By the end of 2015 a Norwegian firm Yara International (formerly Norsk Hydro) hopes to open a new \$20 million 45,000 tonne fertiliser terminal as part of Tanzania's Kilimo Kwanza project. This should help Tanzanian farmers to protect themselves from expensive imports. The project targets 350,000 hectares of land to be put under commercial production.

Blast fishing 'getting out of control'

Blast fishing is illegal in Tanzania but still prevalent. Fishermen use locally obtainable fertiliser mixtures and small fuses to make explosives, which are then dropped overboard. The underwater shock waves stun the fish, rupturing their swim bladders so that they float to the surface and can then be easily swept in nets. There are fears that, unless this practice can be stopped, the artisanal fishing industry could collapse, more fishermen might be injured by the explosives and those fishermen caught by the police will continue to have to pay bribes to avoid going to prison. It is estimated by 'Smart Fish', a fisheries programme funded by the EU, that the profit made on each blast can be as high as \$1,800.

Statoil's seventh Tanzanian gas discovery

Statoil and its co-venturer Exxon Mobil have continued their extraordinary drilling success by making another – their seventh – natural gas discovery offshore Tanzania. In October, Statoil's Senior Vice President for Western Hemisphere Exploration, Nick Maden, announced the discovery of an additional 1.2 trillion cubic feet (tcf) of natural gas in-place, through the drilling of their 'Giligiliani-1' well, and said that this discovery opens up additional prospects for the partners' on-going multi-well drilling programme. The Giligiliani-1 discovery is located on the western side of Licence Block 2, which Statoil operates on behalf of Exxon Mobil and the Tanzania Petroleum Development Corporation (TPDC), and brings the total of gas volumes in-place to 21tcf in that Block. (For comparison: 1tcf = 180 million barrels of oil equivalent). Like the earlier wells, Giligiliani-1 lies in very deep water (in depths of about 2,500 metres), which will make the eventual commercialisation of these gas discoveries technically complex and hugely expensive. The consortium's drilling rig "*Discoverer Americas*" has now moved to the central part of Block 2 to drill an eighth well on what is termed the 'Kungamanga' prospect.

Mnazi Bay gas sales agreement

In September the Tanzanian government signed an agreement with the licensees of the Mnazi Bay and Msimbati gas fields in southern Tanzania for the supply of gas through the long Chinese-built pipeline to Dar (*see Tanzania & Extractives article earlier in this issue*).

Petroleum contracts: TPDC officials arrested and released

The ongoing controversy over the undisclosed terms in 26 petroleum Production Sharing Agreements (PSAs) negotiated between the government, TPDC and foreign oil companies came to a dramatic head on 3 November when the chairman of the parliamentary Public Accounts Committee (PAC), Zitto Kabwe MP, had TPDC's Board Chairman Michael Mwanda and its acting Director James Andilile arrested for failure to deliver to the PAC copies of the PSAs and certain other documents. The two men were apparently arrested in a committee room in the Parliament building in Dar but, after questioning, were later released without charge. The police said legal clarification was needed from the Attorney General before any prosecution of the TPDC officials

could proceed.

The PAC believes that the PSAs should be scrutinised by Parliament in the interests of transparency and to ensure that the national interest is protected. Tensions arose earlier this year when the Gas Addendum to Statoil's PSA was leaked publicly and the terms were then criticised (by Kabwe, among others) as being insufficiently favourable to Tanzania. However, like many other countries, the practice in Tanzania is not to disclose negotiated petroleum and mining agreements, which the parties agree to keep confidential for business reasons. It is understood that in Tanzania the terms of such agreements are usually negotiated by an inter-Ministerial GOT team and then approved by the Cabinet before signature. TPDC said it was bound by confidentiality provisions and could not hand over copies of the PSAs unless it got permission to do so from the oil companies concerned, and that it was awaiting guidance from the Attorney General and the Ministry of Energy and Minerals. Minister Sospeter Muhongo then confirmed that his Ministry would not submit the PSAs to the PAC, citing 'technical reasons'. It is understood that the PAC then warned that it still intended to pursue the matter.

Tanzania to become a major rare-earths producer

Australian-listed Peak Resources Ltd is fast tracking the development of its 100%-owned 'Ngualla' rare earth metals (REMs) project in Chunya District, 150 kilometres from Mbeya. REMs are high-value raw materials used in the electronics industries and in other hi-tech applications. Discovered in 2010, 'Ngualla' is one of the largest and highest grade REMs deposits in the world. The company's 2014 Prefeasibility Study indicates a maiden ore reserve in excess of 20 million tonnes, containing almost 1 million tonnes of rare earth oxides. The large, high grade and low radioactivity nature of the deposit, that can be mined through open pit operations and processed on site over a period of more than 50 years, should result in a low cost, low risk and highly profitable project. The company expects first production in 2017. (See www.peakresources.co.au for further details).

Tougher mining taxation terms agreed

It was reported in October that AngloGold Ashanti and Geita Gold Mine were the first companies to sign a new, tougher tax deal for mining companies – which for several years have been thought to be enjoying too generous a fiscal treatment. In 2008 President Kikwete

ordered a review of mining company taxation and appointed a presidential committee to advise the government on necessary changes. The new deal reflects the committee's recommendations and replaces the earlier Mining Development Agreement (MDA). The new terms are tougher for the companies in four respects. First, royalty will now be levied at the rate of 4% of the gross value of mineral production (instead of 3% of net profit), though the rate will be increased to 5% for gemstones. Second, the 15% VAT waiver has been scrapped. Third, the fee that mining companies pay for services they receive in the mining areas – the Service Levy – has been increased, from the previous flat rate of \$200,000 to 0.3% of mine turnover. Fourth, the additional capital allowance of 15% that mining companies could claim in their tax computations under pre-2001 MDAs has also been abolished. When signing these new deals, Minister Muhongo said that Tanzanians were right to complain that the country was not profiting as much as it should from mining and that the situation had now changed. He estimated that Geita district in Mwanza region, for example, would now receive \$1.8 million annually in Service Levy to fund development needs, up from \$200,000 currently. It is understood that company executives expressed themselves “comfortable” with the changes.

Stamico to take over four mines

The Tanzanian government has decided to take over four mining operations which larger mining companies consider to be unprofitable. The mines will be run by the State Mining Company (Stamico) - a state-owned enterprise established in 1972 - through a newly established subsidiary. In an exclusive interview to *The Citizen* on 1 September, the Deputy Minister for Energy and Minerals, Stephen Masele, named the mines as: Biharamulo Gold mine (formerly owned by African Barrick Gold); Buckreef Gold Mine in Geita Region; Tanzanite One; and Kiwira coal. Masele said that these mines would be beneficial to Stamico and make significant contributions to state coffers. He cited the Biharamulo Gold Mine (formerly known as Tulawaka) – which has about 100,000 ounces of gold left to mine, on which Stamico can make a profit of TSh 7 billion during the next three years but for which a mining giant like ABG finds the operating costs unduly high. Buckreef is now processing an Environmental Impact Assessment and mining license, whilst Tanzanite One and Kiwira coal are both still operational (the latter with expansion plans).

Mark Gillies:

TOURISM & ENVIRONMENTAL CONSERVATION

China and Tanzania's Elephants

“The current situation for Tanzania’s elephant population is dire in the extreme. The country has lost half of its elephants in the past five years and two-thirds since 2006. Available evidence indicates it has since lost more elephants to poaching than any other country in Africa and is the biggest source of illegal ivory seized around the world. Its once mighty herds are being devastated by remorseless criminal organisations.”

So begins the chapter on Tanzania in the recently published report, ‘Vanishing Point’ by the Environmental Investigation Agency (EIA) in which the country is described as the source for the vast majority of the illegal ivory currently being traded between Africa and Asia. The EIA is an independent campaigning organisation whose carefully researched report (*available to download in full at <http://eia-international.org/wp-content/uploads/EIA-Vanishing-Point-lo-res1.pdf>*) has laid bare the extent of the threat to the natural resources of Tanzania.

The publication of the report created headlines, many of which focused on the link with China and the peak in the price of ivory in Mwenge Market, Dar es Salaam, when ships from the Chinese Navy were docked in harbour and when official delegations flew in.

‘Vanishing Point’ makes for sad, but impressive reading. As a report, it clearly documents, in great detail, the ‘epidemiology’ of the current poaching epidemic going back to its resurgence in the early years of the last decade following a period of recovering from the slaughter of the 1980’s. This in itself is a positive thing because, as any doctor will tell you, understanding a disease is the first step to curing the patient and, let there be no mistake, Tanzania is sick.

The current poaching crisis is linked to pervasive corruption through all levels of society, starting with the park ranger who divulges the details of a patrol for a few dollars, right up to the powerful individuals with connections to the highest levels of government who benefit the most from the trade in illegal ivory. Archaic and ineffective executive structures in the Ministry for Natural Resources & Tourism and other government bodies contribute to making law enforcement very difficult to achieve.

While this report deserved the extensive coverage it received, many of the articles it prompted did not clearly describe the context in which the report should be read. Much of what 'Vanishing Point' describes happened over the past 5 to 7 years. The authors make the point that since the end of 2013 (and the waves caused by *Operation Tokomeza*), life is not as easy for the poachers in Tanzania as it once was. President Kikwete and his government have stopped lobbying CITES to down-list the elephants of Tanzania and so legalise the trade in their ivory; the current Minister for Natural Resources & Tourism, Lazaro Nyalandu, has successfully secured \$50 million worth of international anti-poaching assistance; and the revenue protection scheme has been re-instated for the Selous Game Reserve, a first step in providing adequate funding for sustained and effective anti-poaching operations.

As reported previously, 2013 was the first year in which more contraband ivory was seized inside Tanzania, rather than outside of the country. On 2 November, the Tanzania Daily News reported how Tanzania had been congratulated for the fact that 4 months had passed in the Selous without an elephant being poached. Local sources are not keen to endorse this fact, but all agree that the numbers being lost have slowed.

On 24 October, the Daily News also reported the creation of a Rapid Response Team to combat poaching in the area of Ruaha National Park under the SPANEST Programme, Strengthening the Protected Areas Network in Southern Tanzania, a UNDP-funded project being operated by TANAPA, the Tanzania National Parks Authority.

With committed and concentrated action, and assistance from the international community, it should be within the capability of the Tanzanian Government to combat the disease of wildlife poaching once again, but they have to want to. Even if the land mass to protect is vast; ports and roads are few; the masterminds are even fewer in number. And it should be remembered, that if they fail, it is all Tanzanians that will suffer, not just the elephants. But the fight is a tough one that sadly has human casualties, such as those who lost their lives when a recently donated anti-poaching helicopter crashed in Dar es Salaam, as documented by Wolfgang T Home.

Those who deserve the blame in this sad story are not the Chinese masses who buy the ivory, hopefully they can be educated; nor the

poor people at the bottom of the production pyramid, who risk all for a handful of dollars. Those who deserve blame – and punishment – are the few individuals who have used power and influence to pervert the course of justice, to gain (further) immense wealth, to destroy a shared birth right and to undermine the name of a nation.

Those who must be remembered and supported are the brave men and women who will not be corrupted and who risk their lives to protect the natural resources of Tanzania.

Tanzanian Government spokesman Assah Mwambene termed the EIA report ‘questionable’. The government accused the West of trying to spoil the good relationship between Tanzania and China and said that EIA had no proof.

Ben Taylor:

TRANSPORT

Tanzania receives financing to expand port

Tanzania signed a \$565 million deal in September with the World Bank and other development partners to expand the port of Dar es Salaam. This is part of plans to boost the country’s role as a regional trade hub.

Tanzania wants to lift capacity to 28 million tonnes a year by 2020 from the 14.6 million tonnes it handled in the financial year 2013/14. The World Bank said in May that inefficiencies at the port cost Tanzania and neighbours up to \$2.6 billion a year.

“The Dar es Salaam port handles about 90% of Tanzania’s trade, but port delays have been worsened by limitations in operational efficiency. We believe that this programme will turn around the port,” said Minister of Transport Harrison Mwakyembe.

Expanding air travel connections

Three airlines based in the Middle East, Emirates, flydubai and Etihad, have all, in quick succession, expanded their range of flights to Dar es Salaam. From 1 January 2015, Emirates will increase their weekly service from 12 flights to 14. Budget airline flydubai has introduced flights to Dar es Salaam, Kilimanjaro and Zanzibar, and Etihad, based in Abu Dhabi, announced they would begin operating a daily flight to Dar es Salaam from December 2015. They have operated a cargo service to Dar es Salaam since June 2014.

Ambitious transport plans in Dar es Salaam

A series of rail and road transport plans have recently been announced in and around Dar es Salaam. In October the Minister of Transport Harrison Mwakymbe announced that his ministry had signed a Memorandum of Understanding with a US-based investor, Robert Shumake, to set up a state-of-the-art railway service between the airport and the city centre. This announcement was met with much scepticism on social media, with many commentators noting Shumake's chequered history as a businessman and lack of experience in the rail transport sector. In parliament, the opposition also accused the Ministry of bypassing procurement regulations in setting up the deal.

In November Minister of Works John Magufuli announced a TSh 110 billion project to construct a new bridge between Coco Beach on the Msasani peninsular and the Aga Khan hospital on Barack Obama Drive (formerly Ocean Road). The kilometre-long bridge will be 80% financed by the government of South Korea and construction will take two years starting in early 2015. The bridge will ease pressure on Selander Bridge, a current major bottleneck, and enable quicker travel between Oyster Bay and the city centre.

Also in November the Minister of State Stephen Wasira announced in parliament that 12 firms had submitted bids for construction of a new six-lane highway between Dar and Chalinze. The 100km road will be a toll-road, with the old road remaining available to those unwilling to pay. Previously Wasira announced plans to ease traffic congestion in Dar. "We are building four flyovers at Tazara, Ubungu, Gerezani and DIT junctions, and I promise the residents of Dar es Salaam that within three years, jams will become history."

Road safety

Minister of Transport Harrison Mwakymbe announced the formation of a 12-person special committee to develop strategies to curb road traffic accidents in the country. This followed the news that in just three months – June, July and August 2014 – 3,370 road accidents in Tanzania claimed over 1,000 lives. "This is a very serious situation, we cannot just sit down and watch innocent Tanzanians dying unjustifiably," said Mwakymbe. Speaking at the same meeting Inspector General of Police Ernest Mangu attributed 90% of accidents to human error – speeding, drunk driving, tired drivers and lack of professionalism on the road.

Ben Taylor:

EDUCATION

Secondary School fees to be scrapped

President Kikwete announced in August that his government plans to waive school fees for public Ordinary Level secondary education. This will mean Tanzanians receive free education both in primary and secondary school, save for the last two years of Advanced secondary education. The president made the announcement at a meeting with students and staff of Mzumbe University in Morogoro Region. "At the moment we are working on scrapping school fees in all public secondary schools as a way of ensuring that every child who joins standard one reaches form four."

Government changes policy on school books publishing

The government has resumed producing and publishing school text books after claims that private firms have failed to produce quality materials. The duties will now be handled by the government itself through the Tanzania Institute of Education (TIE) from September 2014.

Announcing the Minister of Education's decision, Commissioner for Education Eustella Bhalalusesa said "Following the policy changes, the Tanzania Institute of Education (TIE) will produce and publish textbooks (one book for every class and every lesson) for Early Education level, Primary, Secondary and Teachers' Training".

Primary School exam results

The National Examination Council of Tanzania (NECTA) on Wednesday announced improved performance by 6.3 % for Primary School Leaving Examinations (PSLE) held in September.

NECTA Executive Secretary Charles Msonde said that of the 792,122 pupils who sat for the examination, 451,392 passed. The pass rate in 2013 was 50%, which rose to 57% this year.

Drop in Form Four entry

The number of students sitting the National Form Four Examinations has dramatically reduced from 427,679 last year to 297,488 this year as a result of many students having repeated in Form Two. Deputy Minister for Education Jenista Muhagama said that the decline was a result of restoring the Form Two National Examinations which at one point had been cancelled. It is expected that more candidates will sit for the 2015 exams to fill this year's gap.

Ben Taylor:

HEALTH

Drug shortage

A serious shortage of drugs in public health facilities in November led to calls by some MPs for the parliamentary session to be cut short and for the money saved to be used to alleviate the problem. The crisis developed after Medical Stores Department (MSD) stopped supplying public hospitals with drugs and other consumables, due to non-payment by the government. Sikika, a lobby group that advocates quality health services for Tanzanians, said that the government owes MSD TSh90 billion, while CUF chairman Ibrahim Lipumba said that the actual amount was TSh120 billion. The crisis came in the wake of the suspension by the donor community of general budget support (*see Energy Scandal Story*).

Hospital ship for Lake Victoria



Jubilee Hope leaving the Clyde (Vine Trust)

In October Princess Anne launched the medical ship *Jubilee Hope* on Lake Victoria. The 150-ton former Royal Navy tender has been converted to serve as a floating hospital. It arrived at Lake Victoria after six months at sea and 850km over land from Mombasa. The ship was fitted out on the Clyde by BAE Systems and has an operating theatre, two consulting areas, an eye surgery a full dental surgery and a laboratory.

The project, which commemorates the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Elizabeth II, will offer medical care to a population of 400,000 in isolated communities on islands and around the shores of Lake Victoria. Geita Gold Mine, a subsidiary of Anglo Gold Ashanti Ltd, will refuel the ship until 2019 at a cost of \$500,000 (TSh 825 million). "GGM is proud

to participate in this noble initiative,” said managing director of GGM Michael Van Anen, “This is in keeping with our core value of leaving our host communities with sustainable futures.”

Willie McPherson, CEO of the charity Vine Trust which organised the project, said: “I’m delighted with the optimism and goodwill greeting the *Jubilee Hope* in Tanzania and the wide support amongst those concerned with primary health care in the island communities.”

Donovan McGrath: TANZANIA IN THE INTERNATIONAL MEDIA

Why Silence is golden for LGBT people in Zanzibar

by columnist Bryan Weiner.

On the north side of Stone Town the big all-night disco at Bwawani Hotel is getting started with their Tuesday gay night. On the other side of town, local women gather at a small barber shop to get their hair and henna done by the gay stylists. According to some accounts, same-sex relationships in this predominantly Muslim society are actually quite common, particularly as the male/female relations are so tightly controlled by culture and religion. I have been a gay *mzungu* (white person) living in Zanzibar for six months and have attempted to find the sort of gay community that exists here. It has been difficult. The gay community is hidden and secretive, but it is thriving in its own manner.

Tanzania is, of course, one of the 76 countries that penalize homosexuality. The penal code gives a minimum 30 years and a maximum life in prison for homosexuality, one of the harshest in the world. But no one has been convicted for homosexuality and the press only gives offhand mention to the topic. Silence on the issue isn’t a coincidence, but has been very strategically planned. Both the anti-gay voices and the LGBT voices are being silenced as Tanzania simply doesn’t want to address the issue, it is tied to many other issues at play in society. Historically, colonialists and missionaries brought the strict anti-homosexuality laws that are currently in place in many African countries, criminalizing many authentic indigenous homosexual practices. Now in 2014, these laws are brought up as indigenous and homosexuality is decried as a practice from the West. (*RGOD2 online 29 August 2014*)

21m children in rubella vaccination campaign

The symptoms of rubella can seem almost benign: mild, flu-like discomfort and a rash. But it can cause children to be born deaf and blind if their mothers catch the disease during pregnancy. And if the Ebola outbreak has taught the world anything it is perhaps that ignoring basic healthcare ... can have devastating consequences. That is why a campaign to vaccinate 21 million children against measles and rubella in Tanzania is so important. (*The Guardian* - online 27 October 2014)

Campaigning for a child marriage-free Tanzania

A drive to end child marriage is underway in Tanzania. At the age of 16, Mahija Mwita was forced into marriage to a man 12 years older than her, so that her parents could get a bride price to help them solve the family's problems. Mwita's story mirrors the plight of hundreds of girls who are forced into early adulthood. The "Child Marriage-Free Zone" campaign was initiated by the Ministry of Community Development. Speaking in Dar at the launch of the campaign the international children's rights advocate Graca Machel said that Tanzania's ongoing constitutional review was an opportunity to change laws that facilitate gender-based violence. Wiltrudius Lwabutaza, a human rights lawyer, said the Law of Marriage Act of 1971, which sets the minimum age of marriage at 15 for girls, contradicts the Sexual Offences Act of 1998 which defines rape as non-consensual sex with a girl who is under 18 years. (*DW* - online 1 September 2014)



Police officers fired for a kiss

When is it OK to kiss a colleague? Two Tanzanian police officers, whose kiss was widely shared on social media, have both have lost their jobs. The image was uploaded to the internet by a third officer, and drawn to the attention of the Kagera police authorities. News of the punishment has surprised many on social media.

Masoud George, a lawyer at the Tanzania Legal and Human Rights Centre, says that severe as the punishment seems, the decision is unlikely to be illegal. (*BBC News Trending* – online 14 October 2014)

Google gives a glimpse of Jane Goodall's chimpanzees

Chimpanzees and their remote forest home in Tanzania have joined camels in the Abu Dhabi desert on the list of things you can see on Google Streetview. A camera team spent nine days mapping Gombe national park, where Jane Goodall made her ground-breaking discovery over 50 years ago of chimps not just using but making tools. The Google images show chimps riding on their mother's back and the spectacular view from 'the peak' – reportedly Goodall's favourite spot in the park, which sits next to Lake Tanganyika. (*Guardian online 23 October*)

Old postcards tell history of East Africa



One of the fascinating postcards (*Joel Bertrand oldeastafricapostcards.com*)

A website set up by Joel Bertrand entitled *oldeastafricapostcards.com*, uses postcards from a century ago to reveal the history of the region's places and people. The visual record shows the fast changing face of East Africa, but one place that seems to have registered little change is Zanzibar. Many of the Zanzibar postcards could as well have been taken from today's scenes. When Bertrand set out to collect the postcards several years ago, he searched all over the world. He got all of them from Europe, and did not find a single one in Africa. However, this is not surprising since they were created and sent "home" by Europeans. (*East African 20-26 September*)

Putin's African hunter

Giles Whittell tells the story of Sergey Yastrzhembsky. Like many senior Russian personnel, Sergey wanted to give up his work with President Putin and escape from Russia - which can be difficult and even dangerous. He tried several times to get Putin's permission to leave and eventually the President agreed. He had prepared himself and learnt to become an African hunter; his first hunt was in Tanzania's Selous Game Reserve in 1997. He is also a top photographer, making films about Africa's endangered tribes including the Maasai. He now stays strictly out of politics. (*The Times* 30 October)

Raid at Majira newsroom

Reporters of Majira newspapers are scared of doing investigative stories after unknown people invaded its newsroom and made away with computers and documents with crucial and sensitive editorial information. Sources within the newspaper connect the incident to its publication of an investigation into drug peddling and the captivity of Tanzanian youths in private homes in Pakistan. (*Media Watch* July-August)

Happy anniversary to The Citizen

Editor Joachim Buwembo recalls with pride the launching of *The Citizen* newspaper in Tanzania exactly 10 years ago. President Mkapa wrote a welcome message that was published on page one of the maiden issue. The following year, Mkapa handed over to President Kikwete. And next year, President Kikwete will hand over to his successor. So in just 11 years of operation, *The Citizen* will have covered three sitting presidents. (*East African* 6-12 September)

Chinese Company to Build New Satellite City

China Railway /Jianchang Engineering Company Ltd. will construct a \$1 billion satellite city and a \$500 million financial district in Tanzania. Under the accord signed with Tanzania's National Housing Corporation, Salama Creek Satellite City will be built in Uvumba, a district on the outskirts of Dar. The new financial services district will be in the suburb of Upanga. (*Bloomberg Businessweek* online 24 October)

A Fish in the Sand

The film *Samaki Mchangani* [A Fish in the Sand] is scheduled to be screened at Mlimani City. *Samaki Mchangani* is the second short film by Kijiweni Productions, a Tanzanian-owned film company run by director and young filmmaker Amil Shivji, a Tanzanian of Indian ancestry and son of Issa Shivji, a constitutional law lecturer at the University of Dar es Salaam. (*East African* 13-19 September)

The Scottish Referendum and Tanzania by Columnist Elsie Eyakuze

The referendum on Scottish independence has had a ripple effect, raising the question of self-determination in other societies around the world that yearn for self-determination. Here in East Africa, there is something rather comfortingly familiar about the Scottish independence quest. In fact, just raising the topic naturally leads to a discussion about the beautiful islands of Zanzibar that may or may not be voluntary parts of the Union of Tanzania.

Tanzania came very close to managing the process of making a new constitution. Early on, it was bogged down by fundamental concerns about how many governments Tanzania should have if it was going to continue being a Union. Over the many decades of our coming together, rather than maturing into a complacent satisfaction with each other the Mainland and Zanzibar have developed a chronic condition of perpetual debate about what is fair or not in our agreement. It is taboo to even talk about the Zanzibari independence movement if you happen to be a Mainlander.

Tanzania has always prided itself - and with good reason - for flying the flag of the pan-African dream. The interesting contradiction is that we are also reluctant to join politically with any of our neighbours. One of the most compelling factors of the Independence movement in the sixties was its ability to rally disparate peoples under the banner of freedom. And isn't it interesting that this very same notion of freedom can be used to tear apart existing territories to give rise to new ones based on identities that more often than not pre-date our countries? Generation Independence may have rewritten our histories to suit its nation-building agenda, but somehow tribalism refuses to die. Maybe that is because our tribes are who we really are. The Scots seem to be suggesting so... (*East African* 20-26 September)

Ben Taylor:

OBITUARIES

Former High Court Judge and first chairman of the National Electoral Commission, **Judge Lewis Makame**, died in Dar es Salaam on 18 August 2014. Born in Muheza District, Tanga, Judge Makame was a key figure among the country's small group of intellectuals at independence. He had a BA from the University of London, and was a Barrister in the UK. In Tanzania, he served as a High Court Judge and a Justice of Appeals, before taking up the high profile post of chairman of the National Electoral Commission in 1993, just as Tanzania made the shift to multi-party democracy.

In this role, Judge Makame had a no-nonsense approach to issues that earned the wrath of a section of the opposition, some of whom accused him of being part of a "grand plot" to enable CCM to retain its grip on power. Nevertheless, he remained a widely respected figure, known for his composed, calm manner, commitment to duty, and fierce intellect. He stepped down as NEC chairman in 2011. President Kikwete said that Justice Makame's leadership had contributed tremendously to strengthen peace, harmony, unity and solidarity in the country.

Major General Herman Lupogo died on 18 October 2014, aged 76, at Lugalo Military Hospital, Dar es Salaam, where he was receiving medical treatment.

He served in Tanzania People's Defence Force for 28 years, from 1965 until he retired in 1992. Following his retirement from the army, he became a highly respected administrator, serving as Regional Commissioner for Iringa, Director General of Arusha International Conference Centre, Chairman of the Tanzania Commission for HIV/AIDS (TACAIDS) and Board Chairman of the Benjamin Mkapa Foundation.

Major General Lupogo will be remembered warmly by all who knew him. With a sharp wit, ability to recall decades-old anecdotes in rich detail, and love of English literature and Scottish single malt whisky, he was a truly memorable character.

Epidemiologist, researcher and expert in HIV and genitourinary medicine, **Dr Gilly Arthur**, has died aged 47 of a brain tumour. Gilly was born and brought up in Derbyshire as the youngest of six children. Her research on HIV in Zimbabwe, while studying medicine at Nottingham University, inspired a lifelong commitment to working in Africa. After

spells in Nairobi and at the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine, she moved with her husband Stevan and their two children to Tanzania in 2007, to take up the post of science chief for the Centres for Disease Control and Prevention.

A hugely respected doctor and researcher, Gilly provided emergency medical assistance after the US Embassy bombings in 1998 and when the MV Spice Islander sank off the Zanzibar coast in 2011. She is survived by her husband, Stevan, their children Stan and Joni, her mother and siblings.

The untimely death of model, shoe designer and leading light of Tanzanian social media, **Betty Ndejemi**, is a thoroughly modern tragedy. Aged just 24 at the time of her death in August 2014, Betty had made a name for herself online, primarily on Twitter, using social media to market her shoes.

But the source of her fame and her livelihood was turned against her when she became a victim of cyber-bullying, with an anonymous crowd attacking her on twitter, threatening her and accusing her of all manner of sins. In her final days, her online posting became increasingly frantic, desperate and despairing. Her unconscious body was discovered in a ditch, with reports that she had been sexually assaulted.

John Cooper-Poole: **REVIEWS**

John Cooper-Poole, who has run the TA reviews section since 2002, covering 38 issues, has decided it is time to hand over the role to someone new. The TA editorial team wishes to express its gratitude to John, who - as we're sure you will agree - has done a wonderful job.

This means we are now in need of a volunteer to take on the role of reviews editor. Please contact David Brewin (davidbrewin@btinternet.com) or Ben Taylor (ben.d.taylor@gmail.com) if you are interested.

UJAMAA – The hidden story of Tanzania's economic development from the grassroots Ralph Ibbott, Crossroads Books £15.99

In the 1960s the Ruvuma Development Association (RDA) was formed by new villages that were being run as genuine cooperatives. The villagers grew their crops by collective work and the villages were run democratically through open meetings and elected officials who had no payment.

Development in the RDA villages was slow but real, with improvements in

food supply, health and education and most significantly in the confidence of the villagers as they learned to manage their affairs. The villages exemplified the policies that Julius Nyerere was expounding in his *'Socialism and Rural Development'* and he gave the RDA his personal support.

RDA villages were probably the most successful of the various forms of collective farming being attempted across the country and the RDA attracted support from international aid agencies.

Although collective villages and cooperative farming were party and government policies, in 1969 the TANU National Executive decreed that RDA be dissolved. Why? Andrew Coulson gives an explanation in his *'Tanzania, A Political Economy'*: TANU regional and national politicians became fearful that their position and power would be undermined if independent, politicised villages became the norm. Ibbott provides detailed experience to support this conclusion. In addition he has evidence that at least one minister and member of TANU National Executive was not just opposed to the RDA but also to Ujamaa, which was supposedly party and government policy.

Ibbott was an advisor to RDA and lived in Litowa, the first RDA village. He was closely involved with the work and life of the villages until the dissolution of RDA and on his return to Britain was invited by the Commonwealth Secretariat to write a report of his experience with RDA which they intended to publish. However, his report was never published, perhaps because the Commonwealth Secretariat did not want to offend the government of a member state or possibly it was the victim of a change in personnel. The report has been available to academic researchers, and now becomes accessible to a wider readership.

Ujamaa is Ibbott's record of events, reports by visitors to RDA villages, sections on specific topics and Ibbott's letter to Nyerere after the dissolution decision (to which there was no reply). He has added a recently written Epilogue which brings together later research on the subsequent history of the ex-RDA villages.

The original report *"The Origin, Growth & Disbanding of the RDA"* has severe criticism of successive Ruvuma Regional Commissioners. They did not understand the philosophy on which the villages were based and became opposed to something that they could not control.

The last of the sections on specific themes is a profound critique of Nyerere's failure to turn his political ideas into practical policies. He passed implementation over to party and government officials who had no understanding or experience of promoting voluntary small-scale collective villages. They wanted quick results from large state-organised schemes and were all too ready to fall back

on compulsion. Nyerere must have known this.

This is a report prepared to inform and guide those involved with rural development and is probably a unique source for researchers and historians. The general reader who is not familiar with the background might struggle with, for example, the references to Peramiho, the Catholic mission complex near Songea.

Ujamaa makes uncomfortable reading for those of us who uncritically and enthusiastically championed Tanzania through the 70s and 80s. It also has a harsh message for those who are “not interested in politics, I just want to help” – effective development is always political.

John Arnold

NYERERE – The Early Years, Thomas Molony, James Currey 2014. ISBN 9781847010902 £25.00

This book from the pen of the Lecturer in African Studies at the University of Edinburgh aims to present “the first truly rounded portrait of Nyerere’s early life”. There has been little opportunity to learn accurately about the development of Mwalimu’s early thinking and this is a valiant effort to fill the gap. Even here descriptions of the background to his early upbringing rely on much anecdotal evidence. The need to include even the smallest detail, in an effort to lend more substance to the narration, can give the early pages the air of a doctoral thesis.

This improves in value as the narrative progresses, so that the inferences which are dependent on other studies of the social mores are increasingly replaced by facts more relevant to Nyerere’s particular circumstances. Nevertheless there are many statements asserting that much more evidence about incidents cited must exist somewhere.

The key question that is always asked about great men from humble and at first sight unpromising origins is “Who first realised that this exceedingly bright, above-average young person was not after all destined to blush unseen?” With hindsight we might say that Nyerere would probably have fought his way out anyway, but this book reveals how he caught the eyes of the White Fathers, with their paramount influence and encouragement, and followed this when in relatively privileged positions in Kampala and in London.

The final chapter of this book, titled “Legacy and Reappraisal” is lucid and authoritative. After several pages which may appear “sparsely informed and predominantly uncritical”, the author can rightly claim that this is a valuable

piece of research which clearly amplifies the little that was previously published about Nyerere's early progress. Ending as Nyerere moved away from teaching to active politics, it lays the basis of our understanding of what he came to regard as significant for his country: education, agriculture - and independence.

Geoffrey Stokell

HADZABE: By the Light of a Million Fires, Daudi Peterson, with Richard Baalow and Jon Cox. Mkuki na Nyota, Dar es Salaam, 2013. ISBN 978-9987-08-212-4, 230 pp paperback (with music CD). Tsh50,000

It is difficult not to be fascinated by the Hadza, speakers of a unique click language and one of the last remaining groups of hunter-gatherers in Tanzania. It is easy to sympathise with their struggle to retain control over their customary lands in the Lake Eyasi basin, near Ngorongoro. By the same token, it is not hard to like this handsome volume, which is much more than a coffee table book with excellent photos; it strives to give the Hadza a voice and support their right to choose their own future. The window it opens onto the world of the Hadza is enough to make you envy the ethno-tourists and researchers who visit Hadzaland, if not the hapless folk who have to entertain them.

Hadzabe: By the Light of a Million Fires was compiled by Daudi Peterson with the help of a number of Hadza and Hadzaphiles, including the venerable anthropologist James Woodburn. A limited hardback edition has been sold to raise money for the Dorobo Fund and Ujamaa Community Resource Trust, established by the Peterson family's eco-tourist enterprise. The paperback and accompanying CD of Hadza music that have now gone on sale are very good value. They are not without their flaws: a tendency to romanticise the Hadza and to demonise their neighbours and an uneven mixture of topics and styles, including a Swahili paean to Nyerere and villagisation on the CD. But I would much rather possess this engaging book and its vibrant music than not.

Martin Walsh

VIOLENT INTERMEDIARIES – African Soldiers Conquest and Everyday Colonialism in German East Africa, by Michelle R Moyd, Ohio University Press, 2014; ISBN 978 08214 2089 8, 328 pp, softback.

The author of this exhaustive and authoritative account of the German colonial years in East Africa was indeed an acknowledged expert on the period even before this book was published. Now the reader has the full story of those years from 1891 to 1918, with the emphasis on the locally-recruited askari, who fought for the Germans almost as if they were of them.

The askari take centre stage throughout the book, indeed from the cover onwards, with an askari, rifle on shoulder, about to take his leave from his family to return to the Schutztruppe, the German colonial army. Chapters show how and where the askari were recruited; the military training and “socialization”; the wars fought by the askari (such as the Maji Maji conflicts of 1905-7); life on the stations within the country; and the inadvertent role of the askari in German colonialism. We learn, among myriads of facts, how many Sudanese initially became askari but how eventually all tribes became merged within the askari hierarchy; how the “legal” wives of askari detained for transgressions were given an allowance for their “household stability”; and how the scorched-earth policy adopted by the Schutztruppe during Maji Maji rebellion disrupted crop cycles and led to labour movement away from the Southern Highlands.

The author takes us through the 1914/18 War from the first campaign to the final 1,200 askari who surrendered to the British in November 1918, effectively closing a definitive chapter in the history of German East Africa and signaling the end of the Schutztruppe.

Although the book is, relatively speaking, hot on the heels of Anderson (2004), Paice (2007) and Samson (2013), it provides not only a great read but a quite different slant on the history of the period. The three maps – produced by Brian E Balsley, an American cartographer – are very illustrative and useful. An extremely full bibliography is of considerable fascination in itself. The index runs to a mere six pages, this being more an observation than a criticism. This work is a marvelous example of how long-term research can come to fruition in a superlative way.

David Kelly

TRANSITIONS OF A LIFE, printed and published for private circulation by J K Chande KBE

I first met Sir Andy Chande in the late 1980s, since when, though we now meet less frequently than before, he has become a close personal friend. *Transitions* is his own collection of speeches on an immense range of topics, all reflecting the dedication he continues to bring, even in retirement, to the management, in its widest sense, of enterprises and organisations with which he has been connected.

The volume is self-published, and to that extent it could probably be classified as a vanity publication; but it deserves none of the sneers which that title often evokes. It naturally lacks the fascination and raciness of his autobiography *A Knight in Africa*, but it underlines the way the author has been able during

his lifetime, modestly but effectively, to participate in and influence some significant social decision-making.

Sir Andy has been appointed to at least 100 public positions; his support for the Britain-Tanzania Society has been exemplary; and it comes as no surprise that the most significant chapters reflect his summons to all to dedicate themselves to community service. This is a celebratory volume exemplifying the practical application of two battle-cries of great public principle: Rotary's "Service above Self" and Freemasonry's "Love, Charity and Truth".

TANZANIA; Strength in Unity, Strength in Diversity, published to mark the 50th Anniversary of the United Republic of Tanzania by FIRST Magazine 2014. www.firstmagazine.com, 56 pages.

This is a glossy publication which the publisher tells me "was promoted by the Tanzanian Government and High Commission in London but financed by FIRST via advertising sponsorship. It is being distributed by the High Commission/Foreign Ministry and agencies such as the Tanzania Tourist Board. It is intended for presentation to VIP guests, distribution at investment fora/conferences etc. It will also be printed in FIRST magazine which is made available, on a complimentary basis, to first class passengers on British Airways and other airlines". I quote this at length to explain why, unless you fall into one of these rarefied categories, you are unlikely to see a copy. Which is a pity.

There are articles by many different people, ranging from President Kikwete to the manager of the Kilimanjaro Hotel in Dar es Salaam – who incidentally is still an expatriate 40 odd years after the hotel was built. (Not the same person!). Some contributors rely heavily on unexplained TLA's*. None the less, a proud story can be extracted, which is perhaps best summed up by John Malecela when he says "During the 50 years of existence, Tanzania has been a centre for peace and liberation in Africa. All in all, the role played by Tanzania in international and African affairs has been commendable beyond imagination". Malecela's piece is perhaps the best of the lot, as one might expect from someone who was at or near the centre of affairs for most of the relevant period.

Professor Mwesiga Baregu writes a thought-provoking piece about the challenges to be faced in working out a new constitution. Another is the last in the booklet, by Walter Bgoya and appropriately titled "The Last Word". He warns of the dangers currently facing publishing in Tanzania, particularly of school text books; he fears a possible return to the state monopoly arrangements of the 1960s to 1980s, when in rural areas there could be one text book for every 15-20 pupils, and even in urban areas there might be one book for three pupils.

Our own David Brewin has a useful feature about the army mutiny and the Zanzibar revolution of 1964, the “two shocking events which triggered unity”. Incidentally it is a pity that throughout the publication the Britain-Tanzania Society does not get a mention.

*three lettered acronyms, in case you wondered. J.C-P

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John Arnold, was Regional Secretary, Ruvuma Region, 1963-4.

Martin Walsh is Oxfam GB's Global Research Adviser. His seminar presentation to the Britain-Tanzania Society on 'Tanzania's (agro)pastoral headache' is available online at http://www.btsociety.org/app/images/events2013/agropastoralist_headache.pdf

David Kelly has been involved with East Africa since he wrote the first history of cricket in the region in the 1960s. He is now a book dealer, with Africa a speciality subject; still researches cricket; and is a director of a Dar-based company in the beverage sector.

Geoffrey Stokell first went out to the Gold Coast (now Ghana) in 1953, serving there for thirteen years as an "old-style" merchant trader. After qualifying as an accountant and building an internationally-successful career, in 1983 he went to Tanzania as a missionary with the Moravian Church and was later head of finance for the Tanganyika Christian Refugee Service. He became Treasurer of the Tanzania B-T S Chapter and on his return to the UK in 1996 and was TDT Treasurer.

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