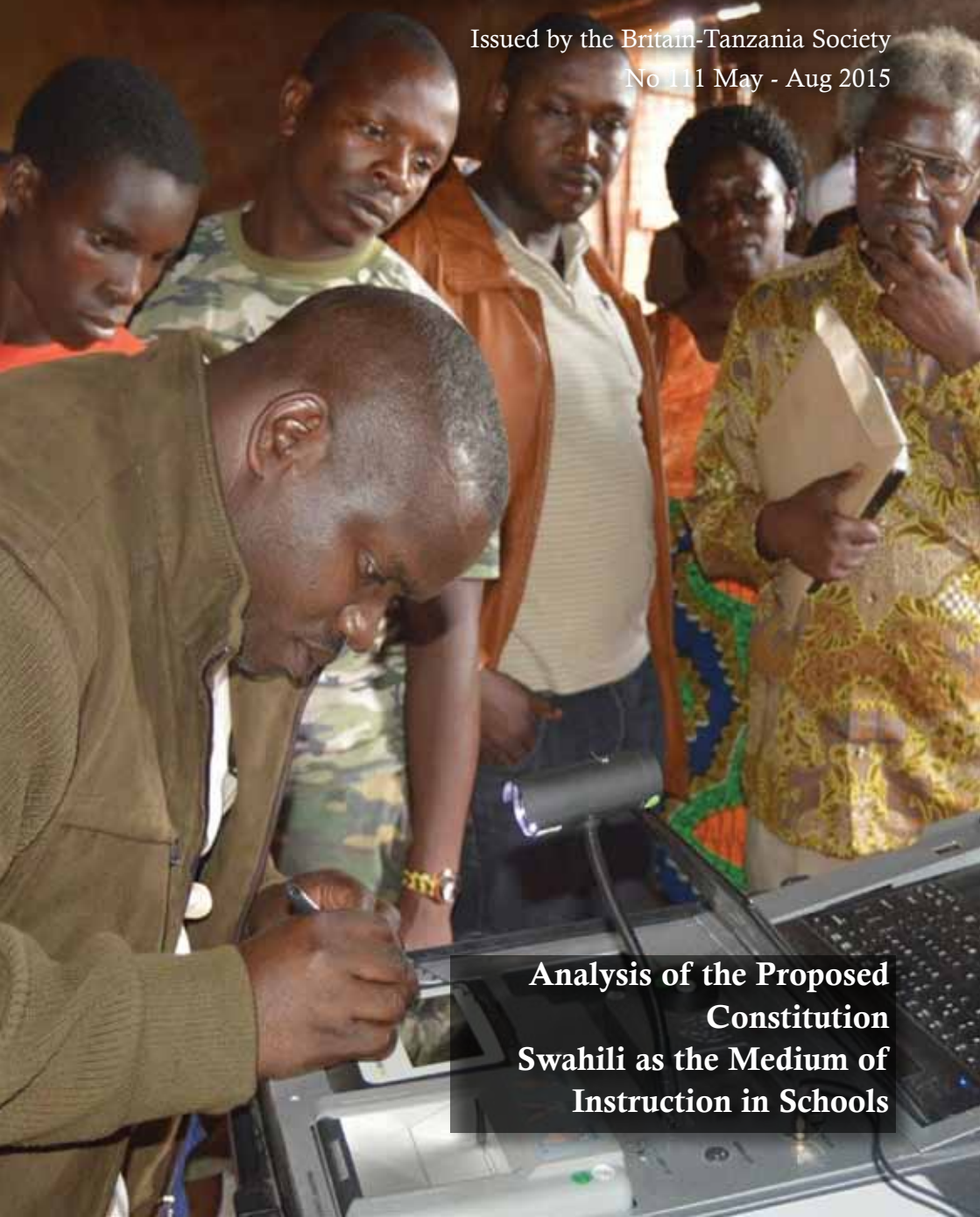


# Tanzanian Affairs

Issued by the Britain-Tanzania Society

No 111 May - Aug 2015



**Analysis of the Proposed  
Constitution  
Swahili as the Medium of  
Instruction in Schools**

## Abdul Paliwala : ANALYSIS OF PROPOSED CONSTITUTION

*The recent seminar arranged by BTS and the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) on the proposed constitution for Tanzania included four very enlightening presentations. Unfortunately, we do not have space here for all four, but we are delighted to be able to include this one. Abdul Paliwala is Emeritus Professor of Law at the University of Warwick; He is also currently Visiting Professor of Law at Birkbeck (University of London).*

The purpose of a Constitution is to serve and to promote the well-being of the people of a nation. In particular, it is intended to provide an element of peace and personal security for law-abiding citizens. It is intended to provide for citizens a solid foundation on the basis of which they can organise their lives knowing (or believing) that the things they most value will be safeguarded, and the things they most fear will not take place. In order to fulfil that function however, the constitution has to uphold, to strengthen and support the unity of the nation regardless of any internal distribution of power between groups or regions. It should be their conscious declaration of themselves as a unity. It should be their collective, "I am", a deliberate assertion by the group that is united in a common citizenship and with duties and rights to and from each other in that capacity.

Julius Nyerere

Mwalimu Nyerere was here emphasising the idea of universal acceptance and legitimacy, which is the hallmark of the most enduring constitutions.

Constitutional lawyers increasingly suggest that the Constitution is not a document but a process, and that constitutions have to be 'built' to last. This building involves the process of making a new constitution, the process of its enactment and the continual process of ensuring that the entire nation now and in the future continues to accept it as a collective 'I am'. This paper therefore deals briefly with these three aspects of Constitutional Building.

It is not my intention to lay any blame on any side, but it is sad that the Tanzanian constitutional review process, which started so well, faces  
*cover photo: MP for Ludewa, Deo Filikunnjombe, testing a biometric voting registration machine, with Prof. Amone Chaligha watching. (www.wavuti.com)*

severe challenges today. The very nature of those challenges, with parties walking out, puts in jeopardy the notion of a 'conscious declaration of unity, the collective I am' that Mwalimu talked about.

### **The Constitutional Process**

Tanzania established a Constitutional Review Committee composed of equal representation from Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar and containing eminent persons including as chair the former Prime Minister Joseph Warioba. The Committee carried out a wide consultation at the end of which it produced the first draft constitution in June 2013. This was again the basis of further consultation at the end of which was produced the 2nd draft in September. This draft was substantially revised by the Constituent Assembly and approved by 2/3 majority votes of members from each part of the Union. However, this was partly because the opposition walked out! They felt that the Government side was dominating the proceedings.

The Constitutional Review Act requires a referendum to approve the Constitution with a simple majority vote in each part of the Union. At one stage it was announced that this would be postponed until after the general election. However in October 2014 the President announced that the referendum will now take place in April 2015.

The confusion, opposition walk-out, delays and limited time for proper information and deliberation on the referendum means that the Constitutional Review process has been problematic!

### **The Constitutional Drafts**

The Second Aspect of Building a Constitution is the Document itself. How robust is it? It is therefore necessary to compare the drafts prepared by the Constitutional Review Commission (CRC) and the proposal approved by the Constituent Assembly (CA).

This section deals with four key aspects of the drafts and proposals. These include the Union, Presidential powers in relation to other institutions of governance, accountability and fundamental objectives and human rights.

### **The Union**

What is the authority of the Union Government over Zanzibar? The CRC proposed a 3 government structure including a government for

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Tanzania mainland, for Zanzibar and the Union Government. Each would have clear competence in relation to its assigned matters, so that Union laws could not override Zanzibar laws in areas of their competence. However, this proposal was rejected by the CA and its proposed constitution provides essentially for the retention of the existing two government structure. Zanzibar is responsible for certain areas and the Union Government responsible for Union and Tanzania mainland affairs.

The Union in 1964 was based on the Agreement between the two governments which was incorporated into the Acts of Union. This was essentially preserved in the 1977 Constitution and continues to form the basis of the Union and can be said to be the Fundamental Law of the Union. The CRC preserved this status under Article 1 (3); so does the CA. Yet at various points both drafts seem to refer to matters which under the Constitution come under Zanzibar authority. Does it mean that where there is a conflict the Acts of Union will prevail?

What are the areas of competence? The current Constitution provides for 22 matters as Union matters. The CRC reduced this to 7. The National Assembly Proposed Constitution provides for 14.

What are the limitations on competence of Zanzibar to decide its own affairs? There has been resentment in Zanzibar about a number of areas including the budgetary, financial and taxation relationship. Another area has been the ability of Zanzibar to make agreements at international level, in particular, the controversy over whether Zanzibar could become a member of the Organisation of Islamic Countries.

The CRC provided for the establishment of a Commission for Coordination of Relations between the three Governments consisting of five members. This would be chaired by the Vice President and include the Presidents of Zanzibar and the Mainland governments as well as Resident Ministers from Zanzibar and the Mainland and the Union Foreign Minister. It provided that in all matters, the Commission should observe the principle of equality in the provision of services in Zanzibar and the Mainland and the principle of 'proportionality' in matters of allocation.

The CA also provides for a Coordination Commission with similar membership. In addition, Article 252 of the CA proposal provides for a

Joint Finance Commission of the Union and Zanzibar Governments consisting of 4 members from the mainland and 3 from Zanzibar appointed by the President after consultation with the President of Zanzibar. The Finance Commission would work on principles of allocation of finances in the country. However, neither the Coordination Commission nor the Finance Commission are required to observe the principles of proportionality indicated in the CRC drafts, with the assumption that these will be worked out on a mutual basis.

The CRC was concerned to give stronger powers to the Coordination Commission and used the words 'special responsibility for ensuring', whereas the CA Proposal uses less mandatory language 'a special role to facilitate'. More significantly, the CRC provided for appeal to the Supreme Court in case of conflict in relation to issues. This recourse to the Supreme Court is removed in the CA proposal. Therefore the CA is tending to provide a facilitative rather than decisive role for the co-ordination process.

Both the CRC and CA Drafts provide that Zanzibar can borrow internationally with the cooperation of the Union Government. In addition they provide that Zanzibar can enter into agreements with international agencies and organisations, again with the co-operation of the Union government. However the CA proposal provides that the National Assembly may enact legislation to control any such agreements thus potentially limiting the power.

In relation to the judiciary, the CRC proposed a hierarchy with the Apex Court being the Supreme Court of the Union, A Union Court of Appeal which could hear appeals from both parts of the Union, and separate High Courts for the Mainland and Zanzibar. In particular, the Zanzibar court would exercise jurisdiction in accordance with the Zanzibar Constitution. The Two Government solution of the CA has meant that while the Supreme Court and the Court of Appeal have been retained, there is a High Court of the United Republic which can deal with all matters including union and Tanzania Mainland matters which are not specifically assigned to another court, for example the High Court of Zanzibar. However, Article 199 (2) provides parallel jurisdiction to the High Court of Zanzibar in relation to any law made by the union Parliament which applies to both Zanzibar and the mainland.

In relation to Parliament, the CRC Draft Article 113 proposed a small

union Parliament with a maximum of 75 members. This reflected the limited Union powers under the three government system. More specifically, it divided the numbers for the Union Parliament for Zanzibar and the Mainland with 20 members from Zanzibar and 50 from the Mainland. The CA Proposal has increased to a minimum of 340 and a maximum to 390 members. More specifically in relation to the Union, it does not specify any ratio between Zanzibar and the Mainland, presumably leaving it to the Electoral Commission, with the result that the principles of Zanzibar representation in Parliament are not clear. To some extent this is to cater for the fact that the Parliament, as now, will continue to be responsible for Mainland as well as Union affairs, but it also suggests that Parliamentarians who were dominant members of the CA did not wish for their status to be diminished and their jobs to end!

### **Presidential Powers in Relation to Other Institutions**

The issue of the power of the president is recognised by constitutionalists as a key issue of democratic governance. The CRC drafts tried to limit presidential power in several ways. In particular, they provided that key Presidential appointments should be made upon advice by relevant bodies such as independent appointment committees and that they should be subject to confirmation by Parliament in a system similar to that in the United States and that appointments for example to the senior judiciary should be made by the President from names submitted to the President. Furthermore, the authority to make lesser public appointments was given to the Secretariat of the Public Service and to relevant other independent bodies such as the Judicial Services Commission or the Appointment Committee for the Electoral Commission. The CA proposal removes the need for confirmation by the National Assembly. The principle of independent nomination committees for specific appointments such as to higher judiciary and the chairs of the Electoral Commission and Human Rights Commission is retained; however, there is a requirement to submit three names for the judiciary, a number of names for the Electoral Commission and Public Ethics Commission but no such obligation in relation to the Public Service Commission.

The CA proposal also makes a significant change in relation to assent to legislation proposed by the National Assembly. The CRC Draft provided that the President may refuse to assent to a Bill. If the Bill is re-

presented to the President in 6 months, then the President would have to approve it. Similar provisions are retained in the CA Proposal; however, if the President still does not approve of the Bill as re-presented, then the President may dissolve Parliament. The power to dissolve becomes a threat to the careers of the Parliamentarians, who would be fearful of losing their seats!

### **Accountability**

Both drafts provide for accountability of public leaders in relation to their property and assets, foreign bank accounts and participation in business. However, while the CRC was clearly concerned about the accountability of Public Leaders and their Drafts categorically proposed a strong leadership code in the Constitution with an obligation to declare property and debts, the CA Proposal only provides a general framework for an ethics code, leaving the actual system to Parliament to decide upon. Thus, in relation to foreign bank accounts, while the CRC Draft provided prohibition of foreign bank accounts except as provided by law, the CA Proposal does not prohibit but provides that Parliament will enact legislation for the regulation of conduct of public leaders. There is a similar difference between the CRC and CA Drafts in relation to participation in business. While the CA Proposal provides for greater flexibility, there is an obvious concern that the party in power may use its majority to provide for weak proposals.

### **Fundamental Objectives and Human Rights**

The CRC Draft was remarkable for its substantive and interesting scheme of Fundamental Objectives, Directive Principles and National Policies as well as human rights to be protected by a Human Rights Commission and recourse to courts. Chapter Two on Fundamental Objectives, Directive Principles and National Policies is mainly concerned with duties of state institutions. The basic principle is that the Constitution and state institutions and every citizen should protect democracy, good governance, human rights and social and economic development including prevention of exploitation and the relief of poverty. Article 11 (2) provided an obligation on the government to report to Parliament once a year in relation to the fulfilment of these obligations. The issue as to whether any of these duties were justiciable in a court of law was left open, with the assumption being that courts like all institutions would give particular attention to these principles in

## 8 *Analysis of Proposed Constitution* their interpretation of law.

The Constitutional Assembly Draft also provides in Chapter 2 for Fundamental Objectives, Directive Principles and National Policies which emphasise democracy and good governance. While many of the provisions are similar, there is a greater emphasis on principles of economic development and no mention of prevention of exploitation or relief of poverty. More significantly, there is no obligation to report to Parliament and Article 20 (2) specifically states that the chapter provisions are not enforceable in any court.

Unlike the Fundamental Objectives and National Policy, both the CRC and the CA provide for an extensive set of human rights which can be enforced in the courts of law. The emphasis is on civil and political rights such as freedom and equality, life, non-discrimination, non-enslavement, personal freedom, privacy, movement, expression, information and mass media, religion, association, participation in public affairs, work, of employees and employers, to own property, citizenship, of accused and prisoners, to clean and safe environment and to education and learning. Specific categories of people such as children, youths, the disabled, women, the elderly and minority groups such as hunter-gatherers have specific rights.

Of particular significance was the equal right of women to own land and of equal membership of parliament with a proposal that each constituency would have one male and one female member, although no provision was made in relation to other state offices.

Another remarkable proposal was that enforcement of rights can be on behalf of a group rather than on an individual basis. However, there was no specific provision for public interest litigation. That is, an ordinary citizen who was interested in protecting the constitutional principles, but who did not have a claim for abuse of his or his group's own rights could not bring an action. In India, South Africa and more recently Kenya, the principle of Public Interest Litigation has become an important method of protecting constitutional rights on behalf of citizens.

The CRC rights were also subject to duties of citizens and state institutions including the duty to protect the constitution, national values, culture, traditions, environment and human rights and to work.



Significantly, in the interpretation of human rights the courts have also to take into account these duties and the interest of society in general. These rights can be restricted by legislation provided it observed the principles of democracy, transparency, dignity, equality and freedom and indicated clear reasons for doing so.

The CA Proposals have in the main retained these specific set of rights, but made significant changes in the provision. Most significantly, while the principle of equal number of male and female members of Parliament is retained, it is left to Parliament to determine the specific form this should take. A significant new provision in the CA Proposal is in relation to land. Specifically it provides that only citizens have right to own land. However, while this appears to be a dramatic provision, its significance is reduced by a provision that non-citizens can invest in land owned either by the State or other Tanzanians. In principle, this would not make significant change to existing practice under which most investment by foreigners has been on the basis of leases, either from the State or from private owners.

While the human rights provisions are significant, the key issue is whether they will make a substantive difference to the lives of ordinary Tanzanians. In this regard it may be that an opportunity was missed by both the CRC and the CA to provide significant social economic rights as in the South African constitution, which provides for example for rights to land, water and health. Secondly, as indicated above, while rights are justiciable and innovatively may be claimed on behalf of groups, the opportunity has been missed to introduce Public Interest Litigation.

Finally, while the CA Proposal appears to provide for a strong set of Fundamental Objectives, most of these are merely urging the state to make provision, and the actual obligation appears to be weak. Furthermore, the system of rights is balanced by a system of responsibilities of citizens. On the surface this sounds appropriate, but a key problem of balance between rights and responsibilities is that responsibilities provide instruments to the judiciary to weaken the actual implementation of the system of rights if responsibilities are interpreted as the interest of the state. Thus it requires a rights conscious judiciary, rather than a judiciary which is habituated into upholding state interest.

## **Implementation and Education of Citizens**

The notion that the constitutional process and the contents of the Constitution are only two parts of the exercise of 'building' constitutions means that the ultimate fulfilment of the Constitution's promise of a unified national consciousness requires two further elements: careful attention to the system of implementation and equally careful attention to constitutional education to ensure that each citizen is aware of the rights and responsibilities and promises of democratic good governance under the Constitution, to such an extent that each citizen feels that she or he owns it.

Firstly, how effective are the provisions for implementation in the Constitution? It is in relation to implementation that the various aspects of distribution of powers become significant. In particular, how powerful are the President and her/his Executive in relation to Parliament, the judiciary, organisations of supervision such as the Human Rights and other bodies? How powerful are all organs of government in relation to people? How can people assert the rights which are provided for in the Constitution? What are the forms of participation provided for citizens in the actualities of national and local governance? Is all they have is a right to vote once every few years?

In particular, what is the peoples' awareness of the provisions of the Constitution and their rights and responsibilities? To the extent that the Constitution remains a document for the national leadership, and remote from the people, its finest words cannot really mean anything to the people to whom it is supposed to belong. Both the CRC and CA drafts make it a responsibility of all state institutions and citizens to uphold the constitution and national values and provision is made for all school curricula to include the education of citizens. Article 34 of the CRC draft and Article 43 of the CA proposal provide specifically for a right of citizens to participate in the governance of the country and decisions which may affect them, but this has to be in accordance with law.

The CRC and the CA make the Electoral Commission responsible for the education of voters and additionally provides that it shall be responsible for the education of citizens in relation to the ethics and accountability of leaders. Both the CRC and the CA make it a duty of the Human Rights Commission to educate the public in human rights and good governance. Therefore educational provisions may be crucial

to enable people to participate effectively in their governance and to ensure that the fine words and promises will be implemented. In this respect, while both the CRC and the CA make provision for citizen education, much will depend on their effective implementation. That is, how strong is the Parliamentary legislation? What resources are provided for effective implementation?

### **Conclusion**

We commenced with Mwalimu's notion that a Constitution should be a conscious declaration by Tanzanians of their unity - a collective "I am". If the Constitutional process is inclusive with full consultation of all the people, and the resultant constitution is one which promotes a feeling of unity, then it may provide a case for saying "I am".

The real difficulty with the Constitutional process has been that it has failed to promote a sense of national unity. In relation to the content of the Constitution, it may be possible to argue either way on two or three governments. The real issue is that it has led to a divisive feeling. Similarly there is a feeling that the careful attempt by the CRC to control the powers of the President and systems of accountability has been diluted.

What is to be the future of the process? Whatever the result of the referendum, there is an inevitable dual reality involved in all constitution making. The construction of a constitution is a deeply political process and inevitably reflects the political realities of the day. At the same time, its sustainability depends on convincing the people that it belongs to them. In this respect, the constitutional developments in Kenya are instructive. The disaffection with the constitutional process ultimately led to a solution which is regarded as a fine constitution, but a feeling that there has to be a continuous struggle for effective implementation. In this respect it remains to be seen whether the Tanzanian constitutional process will lead to an enduring constitution or become a signpost in a continuing struggle for a feeling of 'I am'.

### **David Brewin: ZITTO KABWE IN THE NEWS**

Kigoma MP Zitto Kabwe (CHADEMA) has rarely been out of the news during the last few months.

In early March, the High Court in Dar es Salaam ruled in favour of CHADEMA, in a long-running dispute between Kabwe and the party. The judge also ordered Zitto to pay CHADEMA's costs. The case dated back to 2013, when Kabwe brought a case against the CHADEMA Board of Trustees and its Secretary General Willbroad Slaa, which asked the Court to bar CHADEMA's Central Committee from deliberating on or determining his membership of the party until his appeal was determined by the governing council of the party.

As the verdict was announced Kabwe, in his capacity as Chairman of the National Assembly's Public Accounts Committee, said "As you can see, I am still in a full position as an MP and am still the Chairman of the Committee". The MP seemed concerned by the court ruling to strip him of CHADEMA membership but he termed it a surprise, saying he was used to such challenges in building his political career. He said that his politics were based on issues and not on people.

CHADEMA's founder and former Finance Minister Edwin Mtei said he welcomed the final settling of Kabwe's long running stand-off over his membership of the party. He had admired him because he was aggressive but later realised he was too ambitious and no longer interested in CHADEMA's collective strength. Mtei dismissed fears that CHADEMA could suffer as a consequence although he had admitted that Kabwe still enjoyed a popular following.

CHADEMA lawyer Tundu Lissu told reporters that the party was preparing a bill of costs for the Registrar of the judiciary to ensure that Kabwe paid all the costs incurred during the case at the High Court. Lissu added that Kabwe was one of Tanzania's most powerful politicians on matters of national interest and was dedicated and hard-working. However, he was also an undisciplined figure who had made it his mission to stop the increasing popularity of CHADEMA.

Kabwe then resigned from CHADEMA and from parliament, and joined the newly created party 'Alliance for Change and Transparency' (ACT). He became leader of this party and thus obtained a platform in time for the next election, even though many people feel that Tanzania already has too many parties – over 20. It is not clear how much damage he has done to the prospects of CHADEMA, but it could be considerable.

David Brewin:

## CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENCY AND THE AGE FACTOR

The next stage of the election battle in Tanzania may well involve differences between the young and the old amongst politicians, as the *East African* has pointed out. The paper is widely read online within Tanzania. Those in their forties are described as 'the young ones', while the experienced older politicians are mostly in their sixties.

January Makamba has been the first MP of the ruling CCM party to declare his interest in the top job. He is 41, one year above the minimum age required by the Constitution for someone wishing to be President. Others in the same age group are the Minister for Natural Resources and Tourism Lazaro Nyalandu (46), the Deputy Minister of Finance Mwigulu Nchemba (40) and Hamis Kigwangala, who is currently 39 but will turn 40 before October.

Makamba, in particular, has made much use of the age factor in his recent speeches. He claims that Tanzania needs a youthful leader, strong enough to address modern challenges and bring in new ideas. Amongst the older generation are former Prime Ministers Edward Lowassa (61) and Frederick Sumaye (64) as well as Foreign Affairs Minister Bernard Membe (61) and the current Prime Minister Mizengo Pinda (66). Others who are also likely to compete for the job are two Minister of State in the President's Office, Stephen Wassira (69) and Mark Mwandosya (65); East African Cooperation Minister Samuel Sitta (72); Vice President of Tanzania Dr Mohamed Gharib Bilal (69); and President of Zanzibar Ali Mohammed Shein (66).

In a surprise intervention last year, President Kikwete called upon Tanzanians to opt for a young person as his successor. He said that the youth were the catalysts for development and he would like to see, as his successor, a person at least as young as he was when he ran for the presidency. He was then 55.

Lowassa, who is at present regarded as the one most likely to be chosen as CCM candidate, was President Kikwete's right-hand man during the presidential campaign in 2005. He resigned from the premiership in February 2008 over his alleged role in the Richmond energy scandal.

## Ben Taylor: **SWAHILI AS THE MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION IN SCHOOLS**

*As part of the recently launched new education policy, the Tanzanian government announced that the language of instruction in secondary schools would switch from English to Swahili. The change has drawn both criticism and support from commentators. The following are excerpts:*

### **Dr Aikande Kwayu**

The emphasis on Kiswahili as the language of instruction (in addition to properly teaching English) is a wise move highlighting the true spirit of Tanzania. Research and literature has it that the language of instruction should be what is spoken at home – in our case, Kiswahili. Teaching our kids in Kiswahili will improve learning for the masses.

### **Ali A. Mufuruki, Chair of CEO Roundtable, Dar es Salaam**

The changes were not made in good faith, nor was enough preparation done to make sure all systems are in place. We are going to put current and future generations of Tanzanians at a disadvantage from which they will not be able to recover easily. The arguments made by the proponents of the new policy are devoid of logic and paint a picture of a people who have very little or no understanding that we live today in a globalised world, where Tanzanians do not have the luxury of being able to create their own reality that can be kept safe from the effects of competitive forces that are a dominant feature of today's life.

The change may be nothing more than a knee-jerk reaction of policy makers to the steadily falling pass rates at both primary and secondary schools over the past twenty years and is therefore a wrong solution to the problem. Just as you cannot cure a gangrene wound by applying aspirin to it, you cannot turn around Tanzania's failing education system by replacing English with Swahili as a medium of instruction. I am very curious to see if those responsible for this policy change are going to move their children from the private English Medium schools to the Kiswahili-only public schools where the rest of the country's children go.

### **Prof. Kitila Mkumbo, University of Dar es Salaam**

The decision to recognise and promote both Kiswahili and English languages in teaching and learning seems to have been reached as a compromise to please the two sides of the debate. As a consequence, I can bet that English will continue to be used as a medium of instruction

because it still is largely associated with 'being learned' and because it is much more available in the literary world than Kiswahili. Furthermore, the case for Kiswahili as a medium of instruction has always been made on the basis of cultural activism and romanticism, rather than on solid evidence-based scholarly discourse.

**Prof. Karim Hirji**

The manner in which the issue language of instruction is being posed and discussed is a diversion from much more fundamental issues. The primary requirement for Tanzania is to have a genuinely sustainable, implementable and integrated economic policy (agriculture, industry, commerce, transportation, services and communication). The nature of the education system (at all levels) has to reflect and be embedded within the context of that policy.

In the present foundational condition, it is possible to utilize either a national, local or foreign language to achieve the goals of imparting effective, high quality education and raising the standard of living, health status and general level of well-being of the broad masses of the people. And in the absence of such a foundational condition, you will end up with a mass of unemployed, unemployable youth (including graduates), generalized poverty and social unrest.

Whether you know your physics well in Swahili or English is immaterial so long as you are out in the street having nothing to do. Even a bilingual system of instruction is feasible in that context. Just consider the history of education systems and nations throughout the world and you will see the validity of my assertions. Let us not discuss the issue of language of instruction in isolation from that of economic policy and the nature of the education system as a whole.

Personally I am in favour of utilization of Swahili as the medium of instruction throughout the East African Community. But given the chaotic, fragmented and externally dominated economic policies that prevail at present, I do not think that goal is easy to achieve. Whatever language we use in schools, our streets will be flooded with semi-literate, literate and well-qualified youth selling socks and what not."

**Chambi Chachage, PhD Student, Harvard University**

We all want Tanzanians to be fluent in English and Kiswahili – and, if possible, other languages too, both local and foreign. How can we

achieve that when we are “backward” as far as such bilingualism – let alone multilingualism – is concerned. I took Mathematics in both O-Level and A-level in English but some of our teachers used Kiswahili when they realized we did not understand them. We could communicate – and understand each other – easily in Kiswahili by saying, for example, ‘diferentieti’ and ‘intagreti’, which were our own ‘Swahilized’ versions of the English words. For us what mattered was communicating and understanding.

I support the usage of Kiswahili as the language of instruction simply because it facilitates communication relatively more easily and connects with our environment. At the same time I support the effective teaching of English as a second language to make us really capable of using it. What we now have in the classroom is what language experts call ‘subtractive bilingualism’ in contrast to ‘additive bilingualism’. Put simply, the former makes one end up knowing little Kiswahili and very little English, but the latter makes one gain both ways – Knowing more Kiswahili as well as English. More significantly, the former subtracts knowledge and the latter adds knowledge through effective communication. So, why should we get ‘lost in translation’? Let us teach English and teach in Kiswahili. Both can be done.

### **Biya Bandele**

Until every single mathematical theorem and every single theory in astrophysics and cosmology, [and] in medicine and chemistry, and in every single sphere of knowledge, is written or available in translation in Kiswahili and Igbo and every other African language, I personally will always reject and abhor that easy [and easily comforting, xenophobic language] that dresses itself in the ultimately empty and cheaply sentimental rhetoric of noble nationalism.

### **Richard Mabala**

People who advocate the use of Kiswahili are not saying that Tanzanians have failed to master English. We are saying that if people do not have enough English to start with in secondary school, to use it as a medium of instruction is self-defeating as they do not have enough language to address other subjects. In fact we are saying that if they are taught English well, they will have better English than if it is used as a medium of instruction.



Why are those who argue for English prepared to continue putting the majority of our students today ... not tomorrow, not in 25 years time ... through four years of not understanding what they are taught. Everyone knows that language alone is not the issue – there are many, many more – but it is the point of entry to comprehension of whatever little teaching they may or may not get.”

## David Brewin: **POLITICS**

### **Cabinet Reshuffle**

Tanzanian Affairs 110 reported that President Kikwete had removed from office (or accepted resignations from) Attorney General Frederick Werema, Energy and Minerals Minister Sospeter Muhongo and Lands and Housing Minister Anna Tibaijuka in connection with the Escrow scandal. The President named William Lukuvi as the new Lands and Housing Minister and George Simbachawene as Energy and Minerals Minister.

Muhongo had earlier described himself as “incorruptible” and denied any wrongdoing. But Zitto Kabwe, chairman of the Parliamentary Accounts Committee, said that Muhongo “had to be held to account” as he had misled parliament by saying that Escrow money did not belong to government.

Others who resigned from parliamentary committees were Victor Mwambalaswa (Energy and Minerals Committee), Andrew Chenge (Budget Committee) and William Ngeleja (Legal Affairs and Governance Committee).

The resignations and dismissals were praised by Secretary General Moseni Nyambabe of the opposition National Convention for Construction and Reform (NCCR – Mageuzi) who said “We are satisfied with the steps the government has taken against senior government officers involved in the scandal, but we want further steps to be taken so that we see how committed the government is to dealing with corruption.” (*See also the Section on Energy and Minerals in this issue*).

### **Swiss bank accounts**

Deputy Governor of the Bank of Tanzania Juma Reli has reported that at least 99 Tanzanians were holding over TSh 197 billion in Swiss bank accounts in March 2015. A report released in February listed foreign

countries which had large deposits in Swiss bank accounts. It did not disclose whether the amounts cited were illegal deposits or involved money laundering, but said that the maximum amount of money associated with any single client in Tanzania was \$20.8 million.

### **Data control**

*The Citizen* reported on 27 March that Parliament had approved a new Bill which could make Tanzania one of the strictest countries for publishing firms, researchers and academicians including those reporting on the forthcoming elections. According to some critics, the Bill would ban the publication of data if the statistics were not provided by the National Bureau of Statistics, as well as making it illegal to publish statistics that are “false” or that “may result in distortion”. The Bill had been withdrawn after it was first presented to parliament in February 2015 and had been widely criticised.

Executive Secretary of the Media Council of Tanzania, Kajubi Mukajanga, supported the criticisms expressed earlier, particularly the section on publication of unauthorised statistics. “It is amazing that they would retain such a provision now”.

Executive Director of the Legal and Human Rights Centre Hellen-Kijo Bisimba, said she was shocked that the parliamentarians should be so lacking in wisdom and grace. This is a desperate and calculated move by a draconian government keen on stamping out dissent and alternative views. We will not stop making a noise until this bad law is removed. It defeats logic that, while we are struggling to remove numerous bad laws, this government is adding more.

At the time of printing TA, President Kikwete had not yet signed the Bill to make it law.

### **Terrorism**

As terrorism escalates, Tanzania has not been exempt. In early 2015 two persons were charged with facilitating acts of terrorism and, offering support to terrorists.

A 26 year-old Kuwait-born British citizen, Mohammed Emwazi, known as “Jihadi John”, was reported as having stopped off in Dar es Salaam some years ago, ostensibly on his way to Somalia. When he arrived at Dar airport, he was efficiently dealt with by the Tanzanian authorities and detained for about 24 hours before being returned to Europe.

In April there was a devastating terrorist attack by Al Shabaab on Kenya's Garissa University College in which 148, mainly Christian, people were killed. A Tanzanian from Mwanga District was later reported to have been arrested in connection with the attack.

### **Local election results**

Local elections were held throughout Tanzania in November/ December 2014. They were expected to give some guidance as to the way national elections in October 2015 might go, but it has proved difficult to find a reliable summary of what happened as the Electoral Commission only provides the national election results.

In previous years local elections have attracted only limited interest but at the ones held at the end of 2014 many people showed considerable interest and it is believed that there was a higher than usual turnout. It is also believed that the election result revealed a considerable shift of support from the ruling CCM party to the opposition CHADEMA in several key seats.

### **Alleged assassination plot**

Wilbroad Slaa, Secretary General of CHADEMA, has been the subject of alleged plot to assassinate him by poisoning. It was alleged that one of Dr Slaa's personal security officers was in communication with officers from Tanzania's intelligence service. The police later confirmed that a security officer was under arrest and that investigations were continuing.

### **A Tanzanian success story**



Julius Shirima, aged 25, has been awarded the Commonwealth Youth Award for Excellence in Development Work for 2015. This is in recognition of his efforts in setting up DARECHA, a micro-venture capital fund and entrepreneur network that is helping young business people to turn enterprising ideas into profitable ventures. The award includes a prize of £5,000. Julius also won the African Regional Award. (*Commonwealth Journalists Association*)

## David Brewin: **FOREIGN RELATIONS**

### **Aid resumed following action on Escrow scandal**

TA 110 explained the 'Escrow scandal' which had shocked the whole country. The reaction of many major foreign aid donors, represented by the Budget Support Development Partners, was to suspend their aid programmes.

Then they changed their stance. Reacting to the actions of President Kikwete in dismissing or accepting the resignations of the Attorney General and other senior ministers and officials involved in the scandal, on 11 March Finance Minister Saada Mkuya was able to announce that the BSDP were now satisfied with the government's handling of the scandal. Finnish Ambassador Sinikka Antila, Chairman of the Development Partners, said: "We are fully impressed with how the government has been handling the saga".

One agency immediately disbursed \$44 million of its aid. The African Development Bank, the World Bank and other donors also agreed to continue their disbursements at a later date.

### **Tanzania – Kenya relations deteriorate**

For several months relations between Tanzania and Kenya have not been as warm as they used to be. Kenya took a first hostile step by introducing a ban on Tanzanian tourist vehicles from accessing Kenyan airports and tourist sites.

Tanzania retaliated by cutting Kenya Airways lucrative flights from Kenya to Tanzania from 42 per week to just 14. This must have been a shock to Kenya, as its airline already faces other serious problems.

Tanzania has been concerned about Kenya's hard line stance on issues surrounding the Bilateral Air Services Agreement. Discussions have been under way for eight years without result and Kenya refuses to let the Dar-based airline Fastjet from using Nairobi airport. Its cheap fares policy has proved very popular in Tanzania.

### **Japan advises Tanzania to reduce red tape**

The chief representative of the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), Onishi Yasunori, has said that in order to attract an increased number of Japanese investors, Tanzania must reduce the number of institutions dealing with business registration. Apparently it requires three institutions in Burundi, eight in Rwanda, ten in Kenya and fifteen

in Uganda, whereas Tanzania has far more. He added that Tanzania must also deal with the issue of corruption among employees of the institutions handling business registration.

### **The “East African” banned**

At the end of January the *East African* newspaper, which has its HQ in Kenya, was banned from circulation in Tanzania, 20 years after it was launched. The reason given was that the paper had been circulating in the country without being properly registered, contrary to Section 6 of the Newspaper Act No.3 of 1976.

Government spokesman Assah Mwambene was quoted in the media as accusing the paper of having a negative agenda towards Tanzania. He singled out a cartoon which he said demonstrated bad taste and disrespect to the person and office of the President. It is understood that the *East African* will not be allowed to circulate in Tanzania until the legal issues are settled.

Needless to say, this action resulted in widespread protests from various parts of the media and others, as it appeared to be against freedom of the press. The East African Law Society was among many to express dismay over the action.

### **Financial irregularities at the EAC**

The East African Legislative Assembly has demanded immediate action by East African ministers on an audit report that has referred to financial irregularities at the Community Secretariat. The Speaker of the Assembly said that the East African Community Council of Ministers must punish those found guilty before its next sitting.

The East African Secretariat pointed out that the audit report did not portray misuse or loss of any funds, nor did it mention governance weaknesses or executive negligence. It simply tabled findings that certain areas needed to be strengthened.

### **South Sudan and Somalia**

As the new Chairman of the EAC, President Kikwete announced on 20 February in Bujumbura, that South Sudan and Somalia will not be allowed to join the East African Community unless they return to stability and adopt democracy. He said that good governance, human rights and the rule of law were critical elements of the EAC.

## Enos Bukuku: **CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM**

### **Will Tanzania get a new constitution? Referendum postponed**

In January I wrote about the opposition challenge to the proposed constitution. By “opposition” I was referring to the informal alliance of opposition party members who call themselves Umoja wa Katiba ya Wananchi (usually translated as the Coalition of Defenders of the People’s Constitution), better known by the acronym “UKAWA”. It looks likely that UKAWA will play a pivotal role in the upcoming elections, using its dissatisfaction with the constitution making process as a springboard to challenging the government on much broader issues.

The referendum on whether to adopt the draft constitution had been scheduled to take place on 30 April 2015. Cynics suggested that the reason for the referendum to be pushed through quickly was so that the government could take the credit for a new constitution before the general elections and to avoid the embarrassment of its opponents convincing the public to vote against it.

In the event, the National Election Committee (NEC) eventually bowed to the inevitable and announced that the biometric voter registration process would not be complete in time and that the referendum would be postponed. This was confirmed by the government, with a future date “to be announced later”. It now looks a strong possibility that the referendum will not take place before the General Election.

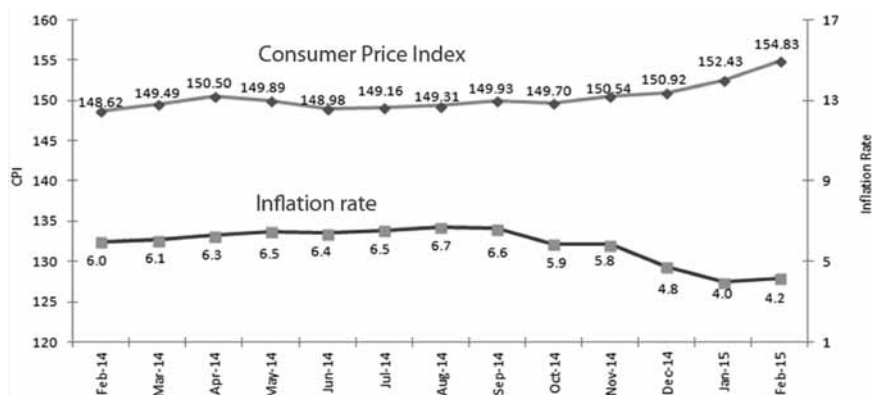
Pressure had been mounting on the government for several months, with calls not only from UKAWA and the NEC, but also from religious leaders. This is not the first time that religious organisations have entered the debate, which recently prompted President Kikwete to criticise some of those leaders who called for voters to vote against the adoption of the proposed constitution. It must be worrying for CCM to see the opposition parties join together against it, apparently with the support of influential religious figures, in an attempt to undermine both the constitution and the ruling party.

One undeniable truth is that this process has created a considerable atmosphere of mistrust of the government. This mistrust has manifested itself as serious doubts about this government-endorsed document, which was supposed to herald a new era for Tanzania. For Tanzania to receive a new constitution, that trust must be restored very quickly.

## Economic Outlook

The IMF review in March was generally positive but with cautions about government spending. GDP growth has been close to 7% again in 2014 and rates of inflation continue at close to 4%, helped by falls in international oil prices and falls in the prices of food.

Chart: National Consumer Price Index and Inflation



Source: NBS, Press Release, 9 March 2015 ([www.nbs.go.tz](http://www.nbs.go.tz))

Tanzanians surveyed in Afro-Barometer were not so positive about the economy. In a survey of about 2,500 people conducted in August/September 2014 two-thirds considered current economic conditions to be fairly bad or very bad. The chairman of the CEO Roundtable of Tanzania, Ali Mufuruki, told an international forum in London that Africa is still facing problems such as low education levels, lack of access to reliable energy, inefficient transport and logistics infrastructure, inadequate technology for maximising agricultural production and depletion of Africa's biodiversity as a result of corruption. (*The Citizen*, 12 February and 12 March 2015)

The IMF team raised concerns about government budget implementation because of "substantial tax and nontax revenue shortfall and some delays in budget financing. To avoid further accumulation of expenditure arrears, it will be important to strengthen the expenditure commitment controls.

"The [IMF] mission welcomes the steps taken to address the govern-

ance concerns raised by the IPTL case. Continued progress will be critical both to sustain the resumption of donor financing and to limit any repercussions on the business environment. The accumulation of payment arrears in the public sector needs to be tackled forcefully. This problem has become pervasive with large and growing government arrears to domestic suppliers and pension funds, and persistent arrears of TANESCO, the national electricity company, to its suppliers. It is important that the government now implements measures to settle existing arrears and prevent the recurrence of new ones by tackling their root causes.

“It is essential for preserving fiscal policy credibility that the budget for 2015/16 be based on realistic revenue and financing assumptions. A realistic budget with a moderate deficit is a key prerequisite to avoid the accumulation of new arrears and large mid-year expenditure adjustments, and also to preserve debt sustainability.” (*www.imf.org/tanzania Press Release No. 15/125, March 19, 2015*)

As reported elsewhere in this TA, constraints on government finances may be relieved to some extent by the release of some of the budget support from external development agencies. The Budget Support Development Partners (BSDPs) have agreed to start disbursing USD 44 million out of over USD 400 million which they had withheld pending the outcome of the inquiry into the Escrow affair. (*The Guardian, 12 March 2015*)

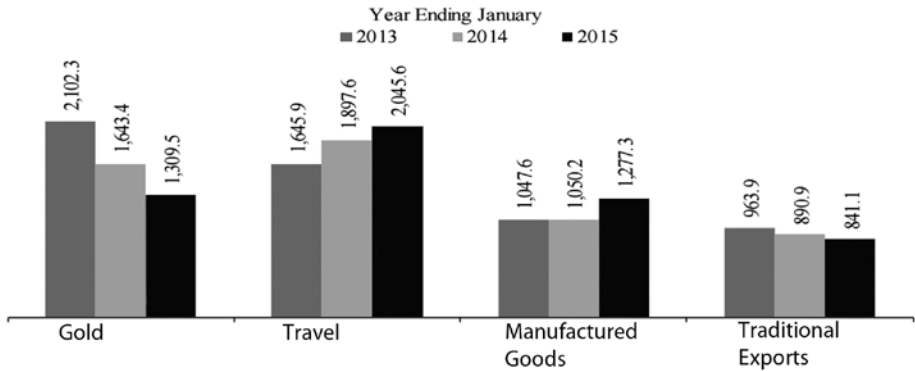
Insufficient government funds have affected farmers who had produced a much larger harvest of maize than expected. Payments were delayed to farmers for purchases by the National Grain Reserve. The Prime Minister promised to repay them. The government has borrowed about TSh15 billion from CRDB to settle extended debts that the National Food Reserve Agency (NFRA) owes farmers. (*The Citizen, 24 February 2015*)

As a result of the large harvest, food stocks in the National Food Reserve were 459,561 in January 2015 - almost twice their level in January 2014. Stock levels had risen steadily from July 2014. Maize will be exported, including to China, and some of the stock will be sold to the World Food Programme so that the proceeds may be used to pay debts to farmers still waiting for payments owed them. (*Daily News, 24 March 2015*)



## External Trade

Chart: Export Performance of Selected Goods and Services 2013 - 2015  
(Millions of USD)



Source: Bank of Tanzania, *Monthly Economic Review*, February 2015

The Bank of Tanzania's *Monthly Economic Review* in February 2015 reports that revenue from tourism, \$2.05 billion, in the period January 2014 to January 2015 exceeded that from gold exports, which raised \$1.31 billion. Both the volume and price of gold exports fell in this period. Plans to expand tourism include a project to upgrade the Southern Circuit of Ruaha and Katavi National Parks and Selous Game Reserve. (*The Guardian*, 27 January 2015)

An increase in exports of cashew nuts of 28 per cent was reported by the Cashew Nut Board of Tanzania, which said 149,742 tonnes of raw cashew nuts worth \$226 million have been exported so far during the 2014/15 agricultural season. Horticulture exports are also increasing, reaching \$450 million in 2014. (*The Guardian*, 9 February 2015 and *he Citizen*, 2 February 2015)

## Investment

A consortium of international companies, led by Ferrostaal Industrial Projects of Germany and Tanzania Petroleum Development Corporation (TPDC), plans to establish a \$1 billion fertiliser complex in Mtwara. This is expected to start operations in 2019/20 and will produce more than a million tonnes of fertiliser annually. (*The Citizen*, 3 February 2015)

Also in Mtwara, Nigerian tycoon Aliko Dangote is reported to be setting up a factory that will produce 3 million tonnes of cement annually. (*The Citizen*, 3 February 2015)

Construction of a large new port in Bagamoyo is expected to begin in July. Oman's General State Reserve Fund (GSRF), the Tanzanian government and China Merchants Holding International (CMHI) will jointly develop the USD11bn port and a special economic zone. The first phase of the project is planned to be ready in three years' time and will handle 20 million containers annually. The project also includes building a 34km road joining Bagamoyo and Mlandizi and a 65km of railway connecting the port to Tanzania's Central Line and Tanzania-Zambia Railway. (*The Guardian*, 12 March 2015)

Ben Taylor:

## EDUCATION

### **New education policy**

The government has officially launched a new Education Policy. National examinations for primary school leavers will be abolished, and "compulsory basic education" will be extended to include four years at secondary level. This means that students will sit their final examination after 11 years in primary and secondary school. School fees for public secondary schools will be abolished. The use of different text books will also be abolished, with a single textbook for each subject.

President Kikwete said the new policy was in line with Vision 2025 and takes into account global economic, social and technological changes. "In the next seven years, we will have built capacity whereby every child who starts Standard One will reach Form Four."

It has been widely reported that the policy makes Kiswahili the medium of instruction from primary school to university level, thereby ditching English —which has dominated Tanzania's education system from secondary to tertiary level. However, the policy also states that the use of English as medium of instruction will continue. [*For more on the apparent change in the language of instruction in secondary schooling, see separate article in this issue.*]

### **O-level results announced**

The National Examinations Council of Tanzania (Necta) released the 2014 Certificate of Secondary Education Examination (O-level) results showing that performance has improved by 10% since 2013. Private schools dominate the list of best performers and no public school appears in the top ten.

297,365 students registered for the examinations and 196,805 (68%) passed. In 2013, 235,227 students (58% of those who sat the exams) passed. Performance varied greatly between subjects. 69.7% of those who took Swahili passed, more than in any other subject. Only 19.6% of those who took Mathematics passed.

The grading system has changed from the previous division system, where pupils were assigned to Division I, II, III, IV or fail, based on their performance across seven subjects. The new grade point average (GPA) system follows other changes introduced in 2013, which reduced the exam scores required to achieve a grade A from 81% to 75%. A meaningful comparison of exam results from 2013 and 2014 with results from earlier years is impossible. (*The Citizen*)

### **Early years learning**

The Prime Minister, Mizengo Pinda, launched a national programme to raise the level of reading, writing and numeracy skills among Standard One and Two pupils. Commissioner for Education Eustella Bhalalusesa said the programme will attract TSh 150bn - to be injected directly to education funding. All preparations for the programme, including the syllabus for Standard One and Two and the teacher's guide, are complete.

The programme is being financed by the Global Partnership for Education, the UK Department for International Development, UNICEF and USAID. (*Daily News*)

Ben Taylor:

## **TRANSPORT**

### **Road safety hits the headlines**

The number of deaths on Tanzania's roads has risen up the national agenda, following a series of horrific bus crashes. The worst took place in early March, when a bus travelling through Iringa region was involved in a collision with a lorry. The lorry's container fell on top of the fully-loaded bus, claiming 50 lives.

Meanwhile, a strike by bus drivers on both national and commuter routes in early April left passengers stranded and brought many parts of the country to a standstill. The strikers were pressing the government to change an allegedly oppressive by-law that required them to undertake two-week driving training and pay a TSh 560,000 fee to renew their

driving licence every three years. They were also protesting against the allegedly unfounded penalties. At one point the police had to use tear gas to disburse the crowds gathered at hotspots, including Ubungu bus terminal.

The measures opposed by the strikers were part of the government's efforts to reduce road traffic deaths. Nevertheless, the government was forced to back down, shelving the new measures that had angered the drivers. In the days after bus transport was resumed, another series of crashes occurred, including two in Mbeya region that claimed 18 and 20 lives.

## Roger Nellist: **ENERGY & MINERALS**

### **Simbachawene replaces Muhongo as Minister**

The Escrow account scandal finally claimed the head of Energy and Minerals Minister Sospeter Muhongo, who resigned on 24 January saying he was tired of the "false" allegations levelled against him. His Ministry's Permanent Secretary, Eliakim Maswi, has been suspended since December 2014 pending investigations into his role in the matter.

Muhongo, who is a respected geologist, denies any wrong-doing but was blamed for failing to exercise due diligence in the saga. He had also upset the Public Accounts Committee, which had been calling for his removal over other issues (see TA110). Muhongo remains politically ambitious and his supporters maintain that he was not personally involved in the Escrow scandal, even though it happened on his watch.

President Kikwete named George Simbachawene as the new Minister of Energy and Minerals, and appointed Charles Mwijage as the new Deputy Minister. Simbachawene was formerly the Deputy Minister of Lands and Housing. After being sworn in at State House, he acknowledged the crucial role that energy plays in the country's development and said that boosting rural electrification is among his top priorities. He added: "While I am aware that the Ministry faces many challenges, I personally feel that these can be overcome by effectively partnering with the private sector".

### **Slow progress with LNG...**

Concerns are being expressed that the government's pre-occupation with the constitution and the 2015 elections is damaging the prospects

for Tanzania's long-term gas commercialisation. It is believed that some key gas legislation, that the companies need to give them regulatory certainty before committing billions of dollars of investment, will not be enacted by the current Parliament. Moreover, the escrow account scandal has now resulted in a change of leadership in the Energy Ministry and the government has not settled on a site for the LNG project – whether in Mtwara or in Lindi – despite the project partners submitting a location proposal a year ago. The Ministry says there are some land acquisition policy issues that need settling first. There are worries that these delays and uncertainties may unsettle the investors, especially at a time of low oil prices, and that the potential overseas markets for Tanzanian LNG may get filled by other big gas producers.

The current Mtwara versus Lindi rivalry for servicing the gas industry mirrors the decision that had to be made by the British Government in 1947 as to which town would be the port for the ill-fated groundnuts scheme. Mtwara was chosen and, over subsequent years, Lindi's facilities gradually declined. *The Citizen* on 1 February 2015 gave a potted history, citing Kathleen Stahl's 'Sail in the Wilderness' (published in 1961 with a foreword by Mwalimu Nyerere). The article begins: "Mtwara is booming and buzzing. It was not like this seven years ago... Even the richest person in Africa, hailing from an oil producing country, is also frequently visiting Mtwara. He is constructing a cement plant named after him - Dangote Industries (Tanzania) Limited. No wonder roads are being paved and hotels upgraded".

### **Singida wind farm project**

In March, it was announced that the government is in talks with the China's Export-Import Bank (EximBank) for a low-interest \$132 million loan to fund Tanzania's first wind power project. The wind farm will be built in Singida and is expected to start next year with a capacity for generating 50 megawatts (MW) of electricity, with plans to raise that to 300 MW in future. The project is a joint venture between the National Development Corporation (NDC), TANESCO and a privately owned company, Power Pool East Africa Limited. The initial aim had been to commission the wind farm in 2013 but construction was delayed because EximBank raised its interest rate from 1% to 2% and accelerated the loan repayment period from 25 to 20 years.

Tanzania presently relies heavily on hydro-electric power, natural gas

and fuel oil for electricity generation, and the government wants to add wind and geothermal power to its energy mix.

Mark Gillies:     **TOURISM & ENVIRONMENTAL  
CONSERVATION**

In January, the Sixth Tanzania Economic Update was published by the World Bank. The tourism industry in Tanzania generated \$1.9 billion by the end of November 2014, 22% of the value of all exports in that period. Although this is impressive, the number of tourists who visited Tanzania is just 11% of those that visited South Africa in 2013.

Considering the abundant natural resources in Tanzania, the World Bank believes that expansion of the tourism sector beyond northern Tanzania and Zanzibar to include southern destinations like Pangani, Ruaha and Katavi; plus stimulation of a domestic tourism market, could increase revenue to \$16 billion a year in the next decade.

Echoing this need for expansion and investment, the Minister for Natural Resources and Tourism, Lazaro Nyalandu, met representatives from the World Bank, the United States and Germany to explore ways to generate the \$300 million that the Ministry have identified as being required to improve the infrastructure and tourism facilities in the Selous Game Reserve, Ruaha and Katavi National Parks. (*The Guardian* 27 January)

The US and German Ambassadors, plus Minister Nyalandu, had previously visited the Selous Game Reserve. This visit heralded the transfer of a significant amount of field equipment to the Reserve, improvement of infrastructure and the provision of training for rangers, all designed to assist in the fight against the poaching that currently affects the Selous. It can only be hoped that this continued international focus on combatting poaching of all kinds also affects the criminal figures controlling the trade in Tanzania who have so far avoided prosecution. (*The Citizen* 24 January)

Sustainable conservation of Tanzania's natural resource is dependent upon the tourism industry. But Tanzania is not South Africa and so it is to be hoped that policy makers will develop a Tanzanian strategy for growth that draws upon international examples, but does not seek to copy them in their entirety.

## **Improving banana production**

According to the International Institute of Tropical Agriculture, Uganda and Tanzania produce over 50% of all bananas grown in Africa and the crop is valued at \$4.3 billion.

However, banana production achieves only 9% of its potential yield. A new \$3.8 billion project, supported by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation is planned to begin in June 2015 and is intended to support on-the-farm testing of newly developed banana hybrids and improvements in the technical capacity of the banana breeding programmes. The project will also support a number of students in PhD and MSc level studies to assist in the management of the project.

## **Pastoralists v. farmers issue moves to parliament**

In the last edition of TA reference was made to the continuing clashes on land use between pastoralists and farmers. The issue came before parliament recently after the publication of a report.

MPs from livestock keeping areas sided with the herders while those coming from mainly agricultural areas blamed the herders for the land conflicts which have become common across the country. But there was a third groups of MPs who stood in the middle, blaming the government for not taking proper actions to implement laws and policies which should guide land management.

The debate soon became heated until Prime Minister Mizengo Pinda felt it necessary to warn that bias would create more problems and not help in finding solutions. He said that what was needed was friendly relation between the two groups to help them to live together peacefully.

## **Saving the Nile Perch**

The population of Nile perch in Lake Victoria has been reduced from 1.2 million tonnes in the early 2000s to a mere 3,000 tonnes today.

It is a large fresh water fish introduced into Lake Victoria in 1954 to increase the fish population. Before the introduction of fish processing plants in the lake zone regions, Nile perch had little value and were favoured mainly by families that could not afford more expensive fish like Tilapia. But between 1992 and 2004 the status of the Nile perch rose dramatically due to demand from Europe following reports from

scientists that the fish has omega-3 fatty acids which could help to check heart problems and high blood pressure. Now, 22 years later, over-fishing has drastically reduced Nile perch fish stocks.

Tanzania has been lobbying hard for Kenya and Uganda to support its own plan, called 'Operation Save the Nile Perch', to impose a six-month ban on fishing Nile perch over the next three years on its side of the Lake. This would replenish the stock, but leave its 200,000 fishermen without a livelihood for half the year and put \$325 million in export earnings at risk. EU traders might look for alternative year-round sources of Nile perch. The plan would also affect hundreds of fish processing plants around the lake and threaten the nutrition of thousands of residents who depend on the Nile perch as a source of protein.

### **Sugar**

In Tanzania about 50% of the sugar consumed is imported of which a proportion is smuggled into the country. In 2013/14 130,000 tonnes were expecting to be sold, compared with 103,000 tonnes in 2012/13. It is estimated that between 40,000 and 60,000 tonnes were imported illegally in 2014. Illegal sugar is hurting Tanzanian factories so much that some are at risk of being closed down.

Minister for Finance Saada Mkuya has announced that government will investigate the amount of taxes which are being lost through illegal imports and the impact of this on the sugar industry. Duty remission schemes would be changed after the investigations are complete. This move came after complaints from sugar producers that they had 55,000 tonnes of sugar in stock by December 2014 but were unable to sell it because the market was flooded with cheap imports.

The Kilombero Sugar Company, Tanzania's biggest sugar factory has had a good year and has grown rapidly since it was privatised in 1998 when its production was 38,000 tonnes. The most recent figures indicate that 1.2 million tonnes was produced last year of which 700,000 tonnes of cane came from its own operations and 500,000 tonnes from independent out-growers.

Sugar producers in East Africa are forming an association to raise funds to help the region become self-sufficient by 2030 according to Executive Chairman of Agro Eco Energy, Tanzania, a subsidiary of a Swedish-based firm that has invested \$550 million in sugarcane farming in Bagamoyo.



## Onions, Avocados and Rice

The chair of the Tanzania Women's Chamber of Commerce Fatma Riyami, led a group of business women to the Gulf Food Exhibition in Dubai in February. They came back with smiling faces as they reported that they had received orders for 1,000 tonnes of onions from Dubai firms, two containers of avocados from Qatar and rice from Oman. "It is high time Tanzanian growers acted rapidly and got a firm grip on this opportunity" she said.

## 'Taking the Spice out of Cloves'

In an article in its January 2015 issue, *African Business* has explored the clove industry in Zanzibar. It said that cloves have been a major foreign exchange earner in Zanzibar for the last 150 years and they continue to be an agricultural mainstay of the island as the major cash crop. However, production figures continue to register a steady decline from an average of 16,000 tonnes in the 1970s to between 1,500 and 3,500 tonnes in 2013.

Part of the problem is the government's 'chokehold' on the sector, despite the relaxation of some protectionist policies. The Zanzibar Minister for Commerce, Industry and Marketing said: "We cannot let the farming of cloves go into private hands because the commodity is the symbol of Zanzibar". He added that free market operations would spell the death of the sector by subjecting it to price fluctuations and profit motives. In April 2014 Zanzibar's President in a "State of the Nation" report, spoke of how his government would annually distribute one million clove seedlings for the next three years as part of a plan to enhance production.

But the uncompetitive prices that the government offers farmers have seen some hoard their harvest, sell it on the black market, turn their trees into firewood or charcoal or start farming other products like coconuts which can be traded freely. The clamour for a liberalised market however continues to be ignored and in January 2015 the House of Representatives endorsed a new Cloves Act that discourages clove growers from making charcoal or otherwise consuming clove trees.

The decline in production may adversely affect the island's booming tourism earnings since visits to clove farms have become a cornerstone of the island's tour packages.

Ben Taylor:

## HEALTH

### **President Kikwete to chair global health panel**

United Nations Secretary General, Ban Ki Moon, has appointed President Jakaya Kikwete to be chairman of a new global panel to recommend ways to prevent and manage future health crises, taking into account lessons learned from the outbreak of Ebola virus.

The panel will hold its first meeting in early May and is expected to submit its final report by the end of the year to the UN Secretary General for further action as appropriate.

### **HIV/AIDS**

WHO and UNAIDS recommendations emphasise that male circumcision should be considered an efficacious intervention for HIV/Aids prevention in countries and regions with heterosexual epidemics, high HIV/Aids and low male circumcision prevalence.

HPIEGO, a non-profit health organisation affiliated with Johns Hopkins University, recently completed a five-year voluntary medical male circumcision (VMMC) project in three regions of Tanzania - Iringa, Njombe and Tabora, targeting those aged between 10 and 49 years.

Conducted in collaboration with National Aids Control Program (NACP), the programme managed to reach out to more than 210,000 adolescent and adult males in Iringa and Njombe Regions, and 220,000 people in Tabora Region.

Dr Wanga noted that the project was a success story of change, innovation and evolution on how the three regions went from being traditionally non-circumcising regions to the majority circumcised in just a few years.

Commenting on the achievements, the Iringa regional medical officer, Dr Robert Mahimbo, said he was grateful to JHPieGO and to the US for their support. "We hope the US will continue supporting efforts of bringing down HIV/Aids transmission in our region," he said.

Experts say male circumcision provides only partial protection and, therefore, should be only one element of a comprehensive HIV/Aids prevention package, which includes: the provision of HIV/Aids testing and counselling, treatment for sexually transmitted infections, promotion of safer sex practices, provision of male and female condoms and promotion of their correct and consistent use.

**Cross Country**

Five Tanzanian athletes took part in the world cross-country championships held in Beijing in late March. Hopes were raised that the lean spell since the last time the country won a medal - 1991 when Andrew Sambu triumphed at the Antwerp Championship in Belgium - could end. Whilst there were no medals, the team finished a respectable sixth position in a competition which attracted 410 athletes from 51 nations with Ismail Juma one of the better performing athletes. The post mortem will again focus on the need for more adequate preparation time. (*The Guardian* 30/3/15)

**Football**

The drive to find and develop world class players of the future has been strengthened, thanks to a ground-breaking deal worth TSh 16bn between the National Social Security Fund (NSSF) and Spain's football giants Real Madrid to construct an ultra-modern sports complex in Kigamboni, on the outskirts of Dar es Salaam. (*The Citizen*, 27/1/15)

NSSF director general, Ramadhan Dau revealed that the construction of the NSSF Sports Centre would get underway in the next four weeks. The NSSF-Real Madrid Sports Academy project is the second in the country after the Kidongo Chekundu academy being constructed by Symbion Power and English Premier League side, Sunderland FC.

Not so good news for the national side Taifa Stars who have fallen to 107th in the latest FIFA rankings (*Daily News* 10/4/15). The next goal is to qualify for the 2017 Africa Cup of Nations which is a tough group with Nigeria and Egypt (45th and 51st respectively in the current rankings) included, along with Chad (151st).

**Cricket**

The senior national cricket team's delivered a lacklustre performance in this year's ICC Africa Twenty20 Division 1 Qualifiers in South Africa, which brought together the top six associate members in the continent: Botswana, Ghana, Kenya, Namibia, Tanzania and Uganda.

Namibia and Kenya, who finished in the top two spots of the tournament, have secured qualification for the World Twenty20 Qualifiers in Ireland and Scotland later this year, where the top six teams will qualify

for the 2016 ICC World Twenty20 finals in India. Tanzania finished last after suffering defeat in all matches to now face relegation to the ICC Africa Twenty20 Division 2 Qualifiers. An anonymous player is quoted as citing lack of competitive friendlies, financial backing, and throwing talented but inexperienced players into high profile tournaments too quickly, as some areas that needed to be addressed by management. (*Guardian*, 3/4/15)

## Donovan McGrath: TANZANIA IN THE INTERNATIONAL MEDIA

*Editor's Note: This section of Tanzanian Affairs, is very popular with readers, as it includes interesting and often moving stories that readers can relate to. It is reliant on the contributions by the TA readership, and it would be greatly appreciated if you could send in any news items you find concerning Tanzania. We would also like to hear your comments on any items published in TA.*

The South China Post (Hong Kong) continues its news on the illegal ivory trade in East Africa (see TA107 and TA110 ). Many thanks to Ronald Blanche for these latest articles of interest - Editor

### For man and beast

The main focus of this feature, written by Sarah Lazarus, is Richard Leakey's involvement in wildlife conservation in Kenya, which is to be depicted in the forthcoming blockbuster movie *Africa* by Angelina Jolie. However, the following extract is edited to focus on Chinese interest in ivory.

[The movie] *Africa* is loosely based on *Wildlife Wars*, Leakey's memoir of the late 1980s and early 90s, when he successfully combated ivory poaching in Kenya... "The threat to elephants is greater than it's ever been," says Leakey. "It's partly because the human population in Kenya has increased and people need to make a livelihood, but particularly because the economies of Asian countries, especially China, has grown exponentially. Ivory is a part of Chinese culture and history — it's a commodity that indicates a certain status.

If we're serious about saving a species as important and symbolic as the elephant, then we've got to bite the bullet and say, 'We don't need ivory.' It's complete and utter nonsense to say, 'We need it.' What

modern society needs is a healthy environment across the planet, and that includes elephants.” It is estimated that 33,000 African elephants are killed for their ivory every year... Last year a tipping point was reached; more elephants are now being killed than are being born. With only 350,000 left in the wild, they could be driven to extinctions within a decade. (*South China Sunday Morning Post* 1 March 2015)

### **China urged to end trade in ivory**

British naturalist David Attenborough [*writes Bryan Harris*] has joined some 70 high-profile figures, including the comedian Ricky Gervais and the conservationist Richard Leakey, to urge China to help end the ivory trade. They have signed an open letter to President Xi Jinping, asking him to outlaw the trade and educate people about the true deadly cost of ivory. “The elephants of Africa are dying in their tens of thousands every year to provide ivory for misguided consumers in China and elsewhere. Without your help, they will continue to perish and be pushed towards extinction.” The signatories include 39 members of the British parliament... (*South China Sunday Morning Post* 1 March 2015 - Hong Kong)

### **E-commerce sites ‘advertising ivory sale’**

China’s e-commerce websites are carrying thousands of adverts for illegal wildlife products, including ivory, rhino horn and tiger bone. (*South China Morning Post* 4 March 2015)

### **The elephant in the room**

Every year, thousands of elephants are killed for their tusks in Tanzania, and the trade of their ivory is sophisticated, global and hugely lucrative. In March 2013, after China’s President Xi Jinping toured Tanzania on a state visit, he and his fellow officials left the country with plenty of good will, a pile of signed cooperation deals, and some warm memories. But according to allegations in an investigation conducted by the Environmental Investigation Agency (EIA), the Chinese delegation also left with a large amount of illegal ivory... while President Xi was mingling with Tanzania’s elite, officials reportedly took advantage of the reduced checks for diplomatic visits to take bags full of ivory back to China..... [I]n some Chinese traditions, ivory as well as many other animal parts are thought to have medicinal qualities.... these beliefs are often compounded with ignorance about how the items are actually harvested. The Chinese word for ivory literally translates as “elephant

teeth” and there is a widespread misperception that ivory can be taken without killing the animal... (*New African January 2015 - UK*)

The African Wildlife Foundation has contracted a Tanzanian-based group to train sniffer dogs and handlers for canine detection units at ports and border crossings. An aerial census in 2013 found that elephant numbers had declined to just over 13,000 from over 39,000 in 2009. Despite national efforts by Kenya and Tanzania, poaching is still rampant ... (*East African*)

### **Families seek safe havens for albino children**

Kizito Makoye writes: ... Buhangija centre in Shinyanga, which shelters children with special needs, said the number of albino children seeking protection had almost doubled to 218 from 115 Witch doctors will pay as much as \$75,000 for a full set of body parts from an albino, according to a Red Cross report.

Beatrice Lema, 16, an albino girl whose parents brought her to the Buhangija centre ... from the neighbouring Simiyu region, said she feels much safer there than at home. “I don’t want to die, I want to stay safe. I have a lot of friends to play with and I believe no one will come to hurt me here,” There is growing outrage over the lack of protection for albinos — only five successful prosecutions to date ... (*Thomson Reuters Foundation trust.org 25 February 2015*)

### **Warship that inspired ‘African Queen’ still going at 100**

Once a feared gunship defending an African lake for Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany, the legendary vessel — which inspired the 1951 classic “The African Queen” — has been sunk and refloated twice, renamed and repurposed as a ferry. The MV Liemba began its life in a shipyard in Papenburg, Germany, in 1913 where it was named the Graf von Götzen after German East Africa’s former governor... As it marks 100 years of service, the MV Liemba [*see TA98*], originally a symbol of colonial power, is now an essential lifeline for the people who live along the lakeshore...

The tale of the warship and the battle for Lake Tanganyika inspired British novelist C.S. Forester to write his 1935 novel “The African Queen”, later adapted by Hollywood in the movie of the same name starring Humphrey Bogart and Katherine Hepburn... The MV Liemba may not stay afloat much longer without a complete overhaul... But it

may be cheaper to simply replace it with a new ferry, ending a century of fascinating history... (*news@yahoo.com* 19 February 2015)

### **Cardiff hotel murder suspect found**

A man suspected of murdering a woman in a Cardiff hotel room on New Year's Eve has been arrested by police in Tanzania. Sammy Almahri, 44, from New York, was wanted following the discovery of 28-year-old Nadine Aburas's body at the Future Inn, Cardiff Bay. An international search was launched and officers from South Wales Police major crime unit were sent to Tanzania to work with local police. They were able to trace Almahri's movements over hundreds of kilometers across the country." Extradition proceedings will now begin... (*bbc.com* 20 January 2015)

### **Illegal logging threatens tree species with extinction**

Over 70% of wood harvested in forests is unaccounted for, causing huge losses of government revenue. Illegal loggers are slipping into forests at night and transferring their natural wealth to highly organised syndicates, seemingly with impunity... Indigenous tree species such as mninga and mpodo are facing local extinction due to high demand for their wood in the construction and furniture industries. (*theguardian.com* 14 January 2015)

### **TPDF operating Seabird Seeker aircraft**

*Writes Gareth Jennings and Lindsay Peacock.* The Tanzanian People's Defence Force (TPDF) Air Wing has received into service the Seabird SB7L-360 Seeker surveillance and reconnaissance (ISR) aircraft. A video of local musicians singing in front of items of Tanzanian military hardware shows a Seeker aircraft with the serial number JW-9704. This suggests that at least four such aircraft may have been received.

Prior to this, Tanzania was not believed to have such reconnaissance aircraft, the TPDF inventory being made up almost entirely of Chinese-built fighter jets, trainers and transport aircraft. (*janes.com* 7 January) Built by Seabird Australia and Seabird Jordan, the Seeker is a small single-engine aircraft with a crew of two, a cruising speed of 200 mph and a range of 500 miles.

### **Taarab music school in Zanzibar**

In Zanzibar, taarab music is finding new patrons and audiences. Musician Mohammed Issa Matona has been the driving force in the

music's continued popularity... Taarab was born from a rich mosaic of Indian Ocean influences... In 2002, the desire to preserve this music led Matona and violinist Hildegard Kiel to create the Dhow Countries Music Academy, Zanzibar's first music school... In just over a decade, more than a thousand students have passed through the school's doors... (*Africa Report* April 2015)

### Pay-as-you-go Solar



Despite their relative prosperity, until 2013 the Nosim Noah family had no electricity. "We waited 10 years for them to turn the power on - 10 years and nothing," says Noah. Then, one afternoon, the Noahs had an unexpected knock on the door. An agent from a new electrical company M-POWER said that, for a sign-up fee of only \$6 he

could install a fully functioning solar system in their house - enough to power several LED lights and a radio. The payoff was immediate. While Noah's wife used to spend \$18 a month on kerosene, she now pays a monthly average of \$11 for her solar lighting, and she no longer has to go into town to charge her cellphone...

The idea is not to electrify every appliance in a household. Instead, it is to install a small solar panel not much bigger than an iPad to power a few lights, a cellphone charger, and other basic necessities that can still significantly alter people's lives. Going smaller better fits the budgets of the rural poor. People use the money they normally would spend on kerosene to finance their solar systems, allowing them to pay in small, affordable instalments and not rely on government help. (*Christian Science Monitor Weekly* 26 January - photo from article)

Ben Taylor:

## OBITUARIES

**Captain John Komba**, band leader of Tanzania One Theatre (TOT) and Member of Parliament for Mbinga West, died on 28 February. He was a hugely popular musician and one of the foremost cheerleaders for



CCM. He was most in his element when belting out songs in praise of the country's leaders and the party. He and his team were a crowd puller and when he stood to sing, crowds literally sung along in hysteria.

Capt Komba was born in 1954 in Ruvuma region. He studied at Lituhi Primary School and Songea Boys' Secondary School before earning a certificate in teaching from Kleruu Teacher Training College in Iringa. He served in the Tanzania People's Defence Force from 1978 to 1992. He had been a CCM National Executive Committee member since 1987 and entered elective politics in 2005. He had already been highly active in CCM campaigns for many years, a close ally of Presidents Mkapa and Kikwete, and most recently of presidential aspirant Edward Lowassa. Up to his death, he was CCM's Chief Cultural ambassador.

Many Tanzanians will remember Captain Komba most for his response to the death of Mwalimu Nyerere in 1999. With tears in their eyes like most of their compatriots, Captain Komba and his troupe led the nation in grief with songs based on choral traditions. They captured in a vivid and moving manner the challenge Tanzanians faced: living without Mwalimu. "CCM will always remember Komba for his contributions to the party and to issues that were of national interest; he was a friend, father, musician, politician and all in all a leader" said CCM General Secretary, Abdurahman Kinana.

**Christopher Alex Massawe**, a former midfield player with Simba Sports Club and the national football team Taifa Stars, died in Dodoma after a long illness.

An uncompromising defensive midfielder, Alex's most memorable moment was being a member of Simba team that knocked out the then CAF Champions League champions Zamalek of Egypt to book a place in the last eight. He converted the last penalty to seal the historic win. Simba had previously disposed of South African champions Santos in the first round on their way to the group stage of the premium club competition on the continent.

**Alhaj Abdul Sapi Mkwawa** was chief of the Hehe tribe of Iringa. He was buried within Kalenga Museum premises, in a ceremony that also included the installation of his successor, 14-year old Chief Adam II, who is his first born son.

The late chief was born in 1949. He studied at Tosamaganga in Iringa and Iyunga Secondary in Mbeya, before joining the school named in honour of his famous ancestor, Mkwawa High School.

He studied for a degree in business administration before working with Tanzania Elimu Supplies between 1977 and 1993, Tanzania Southern Highlands Tobacco Growers in 1993. Most recently, he was an employee of the Iringa-based Maji Africa spring water company.

**Geoffrey Delves Wilkinson** who died on 7 June 2014 aged 87, was prominent in agricultural activities in Tanzania, off and on for almost fifty years. He started his career as the District Agricultural Officer in Zanzibar and later in Pemba (where he received the Queen's Coronation Medal). Later he set up the agricultural education department of the British Overseas Development Ministry in London, his responsibilities covering all aspects of agricultural training, especially in Tanzania. He built on his strong ties with Tanzanian institutes of agriculture, particularly Tengeru, near Arusha, by setting up a link project and exchange programme with the Hereford diocese in the UK. He was a born story teller and a passionate naturalist and relished his role in training hundreds, if not thousands of students in agricultural skills in 29 countries.

**Prof Terence Ranger**, the first editor of *Tanzanian Affairs*, editing issues No 1 (Dec 1975) to 6 (July 1978), died on 3 January 2015. He spent most of his career researching and publishing on the history of Zimbabwe, though he is probably better known as co-editor (with Eric Hobsbawm) of the 1983 text, *The Invention of Tradition*.

Born in London in 1929, he was appointed as university lecturer in the then Southern Rhodesia in 1957. Deported from Rhodesia in 1963, Ranger joined the University of Dar es Salaam, to establish its history department. He joined a group of radical scholars, and talk of a 'Dar es Salaam school' of African nationalist history. This was defined by a commitment to African agency in its historical analysis and to the production of 'useable' history for the newly independent nations of Africa.

From Tanzania, Ranger went on to professorships at UCLA, Manchester and Oxford. In retirement, he returned to bolster the history department of the University of Zimbabwe in Harare, where he again found himself aligned with the victims of the state. He returned to Britain in 2001.

**Mr T O (Dale) Robson**, who died recently, worked in Tanganyika from

1950 to 1961. He served at various agricultural research stations as a Pasture Research Officer. He advised the Commission on the establishment of the Serengeti National Park and whether it would be necessary to exclude the Maasai. It was finally decided to improve conditions by clearing the tsetse-infested bush, improving water supplies, increasing disease control measures for the cattle and introducing regular cattle markets. (*Thank you Hilary Broad for this – Editor*)

**Dr Alec Smith** (1927 -2014) was a graduate of Birmingham University (BSc. Zoology and Comparative Physiology (1948)) and the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (Ph.D. Tropical Medicine 1950)). He joined the Colonial Medical Research Service and worked as a medical entomologist in Tanganyika from 1950-1973, including 13 years in Arusha at the Tropical Pesticides Research Institute.

In 1973 Alec joined the World Health Organisation and, after leaving Arusha, worked on malaria control projects in South Africa (1973-1976) and West Africa (1973-1980). He was then assigned to Geneva headquarters, where he remained until 1986 when he retired. In 1982, he was awarded the Ademola Medal, jointly with Dr Robert Kaiser, by the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine for “Outstanding Achievements in Health in the Tropics”. In 1993, Alec published his memoirs entitled “Insect man – A Fight against Malaria in Africa”.

Alec enjoyed a happy 28 years retirement in Bexhill-On-Sea, Sussex. He is greatly missed by Irene, his wife of 60 years, his daughters Linda and Diana and his grandchildren, Allison, Elizabeth and Claire. (*Thanks to Dr Linda Thomas for this information – Editor*).

Martin Walsh:

## REVIEWS

*Martin Walsh has taken over as editor of the TA reviews section from John Cooper-Poole. The editorial team would like to thank John again for the wonderful job he has done since 2002. Correspondence about past, pending and future reviews should now be addressed directly to Martin (kisutu@virginmedia.com).*

**COTTON IN TANZANIA: BREAKING THE JINX.** Joe C. B. Kabissa. Tanzania Educational Publishers, Bukoba, 2014. 338 pp. (paperback). ISBN 9789987070077. Available from African Books Collective, £24.95.

The right strategy for cotton in Tanzania has been a key issue for the agricultural

sector both before and after independence. The question is complex and many observers and participants have contributed analyses which were specific to their time. Dr Joe Kabissa has now written a comprehensive account of the growth of the industry since German times up to the present day. Kabissa is uniquely qualified for this task, being an entomologist who has served both as head of cotton research at Ukiriguru and Ilonga and as Director of the Tanzania Cotton Board, retiring in 2012. He has a very broad knowledge of the global cotton sector and is also that rare ex-civil servant who is prepared to criticise in public his former political masters.

The challenges facing the industry have always been both scientific (pests, viruses and yields) and institutional. Alongside these has been the critical issue of farm-level cropping options: what are the relative margins of cotton, maize, and rice in an ever-changing world and domestic market? These issues have not prevented nearly half a million small farmers growing cotton in a 'good' year, such as 2005/6 when a record total of 376,000 tons of seed cotton was achieved.

The potential value of the crop to the national economy was first recognised by the German colonial government which saw the eastern belt (Moshi to Iringa) as the principal home of the industry, with plantations linked to compulsory labour. The British government pushed the industry into the Lake Zone, focusing research at Ukiriguru, managed by the British (later Empire) Cotton Growing Association. In the 1950s, with high commodity prices, this policy was largely successful, with rising yields and an increasingly viable institutional structure in the Victoria Federation of Co-operative Unions (VFCU). This owned its own ginneries, exported most of the crop to the UK and was led by luminaries like Paul Bomani.

For the first decade after independence this format was preserved and production continued to rise. However, the big changes mandated by CCM in the structure of co-operatives in the 1970s proved immensely debilitating to the VFCU (now the Nyanza Co-operative Union, NCU). The donor-led ultra-liberal reforms of the late 80s and 90s reduced the NCU to a rump organisation and created destructive competition between about 30 ginners, eventually leading to a five per cent discount on the world price for Tanzanian cotton lint. A parallel history had taken place in textile manufacturing, with substantial investments in joint ventures by the National Development Corporation and seven foreign companies, nearly all of which were privatised in the 1990s with similarly disappointing results. However, at least two new private companies have emerged and perform impressively.

Kabissa deals with both the detail and the broader policy issues in an impressive way. He is very clear that high quality research in the 1950s and 60s facilitated the development of improved varieties with resistance to the critical pest and viral threats from bollworm and Fusarium wilt. This created a potentially powerful springboard for the sector. However, the national co-operative reforms of the 1970s were disastrous for the NCU and its members and underinvestment by government in research and development from the mid-1970s was grossly negligent. The lack of a policy on genetically modified cotton, embraced by Tanzania's competitors, was an opportunity lost (for the time being). He shows how the cotton growing and textile manufacturing sectors have not been developed in recent years with any form of real interdependence in spite of a long-standing goal that 70 per cent of cotton should be spun and woven within Tanzania. In practice the low quality of lint supplied by the ginnerers and with its implications for yarn quality has locked the three or four weaving companies into production of kanga and kitenge cloth for a largely captive market.

Kabissa's central point is that the huge potential of the cotton sector both from the point of view of farmers and the national economy has not been realised over more than a century of opportunity. With regard to the recent past he blames the lack of an effective strategy on government with its failure to build up the Tanzania Cotton Board as a regulator and driver of change. In particular he shows how repeated changes in the system for distributing inputs has created disillusionment among farmers who depend on an efficient system and for whom this a matter of economic survival. His conclusion, captured in the book's subtitle, is that there seems to be a 'jinx' on real change, although he sees major possibilities in recent shifts to contract farming. Cotton in Tanzania is not only a courageous book, but sets an excellent precedent for seasoned professionals in Africa to take apart the failures of agricultural policy which continue to hold back output and rural security. This is a pioneering study, which deserves to be replicated in other sectors and countries.

Laurence Cockcroft

**DISTRICT OFFICER IN TANGANYIKA: THE MEMOIRS OF DICK EBERLIE. PART 2: 1956-60.** Dick Eberlie. Privately printed, 2014. 309 pp. (paperback). Available from the author (eberlie@vigomews.orangehome.co.uk).

This book about Dick Eberlie's colonial service in Tanganyika is the second volume of his memoirs (the first was about his early life). He attended the Oxford Devonshire Course in 1956 when there were eight of us on the course,

and towards the end of the year we held a riotous dinner in Oriel College at which we gave ourselves the whimsical name Haidhuru, ‘it doesn’t matter’. What none of us knew then was that Eberlie was minutely recording his daily life, and from this he has skilfully put together a coherent and interesting narrative of the period up to 1960 and the work that he did as a young District Officer.

We sailed to Tanganyika in July 1957 before dispersing to our various districts. Eberlie spent some months in Handeni District, where he had an amusing encounter with Governor Twining. He describes the extraordinary responsibilities given to him as a new DO when he was left on his own at district HQ. He then moved to Nzega District, where his work included the development of local water supplies, trading centres and the development of local government.

Then his health began to fail and he was moved to Ocean Road Hospital in Dar, having been diagnosed with TB. From this point on his account reads more like pages from the *Tatler* than that of a recovering patient. He began to get involved with Government House, and describes his first meetings with Lady Turnbull and later the Governor. When pronounced reasonably fit, he was posted to Kisarawe District, 1,000 feet higher than Dar and healthier. Reading about his safaris there I particularly admire the thoroughness of his work, which makes me feel quite idle. At different times he and I were presiding officers in the national elections at Shungubweni. In 1958, I waited all day for the twelfth registered voter to turn up and read the whole of Robert Graves’ *Good-Bye To All That*; Eberlie had much more usefully employed himself dealing with the sub-chief and local people.

This book will have a much wider appeal than to those of us who served together (only five of our original group of eight Overseas Service Course students now survive). It has been printed privately, has an attractive wrapper depicting palm trees, and includes excellent maps and numerous photographs.

Simon Hardwick

**CAPITALISM AND CLOVES: AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF PLANTATION LIFE ON NINETEENTH-CENTURY ZANZIBAR.** Sarah K. Croucher. Springer New York 2015. 256 pp (hardback) ISBN 978-1-4419-8470-8. £90.00. Nineteenth-century European visitors to Zanzibar were wont to wax lyrical as they described the approach to Unguja (Zanzibar) by sea. First the scent of cloves, which had the explorer Richard Burton quoting from Milton’s *Paradise Lost* (“Sabaeon odours from the spicy shore”); then the verdant island itself,

which in the words of the second British Consul, Lieutenant-Colonel Rigby, “presented the appearance of an unbroken forest of cocoanut, mango and other trees, with the clove plantations on the hills forming the background”. Rigby continued to enthuse over the beauty of the rural landscape, though he left no doubt that this was a man-made scene in which the “country-houses of the Arab proprietors, and the huts of their slaves, are thickly dotted over the surface”. The larger part of his Report on the Zanzibar Dominions (1860) was about the iniquities of the slave trade and the need to suppress it. Happily, this was eventually achieved, though slavery has left an indelible mark on the society and politics of Zanzibar as well as the agricultural landscape of the islands. The smell of cloves still lingers around Zanzibar’s wharves.

As the Zanzibar government struggles to revive the fortunes of a crop that once dominated the economy, this is as good a time as any to begin digging into its past. Sarah Croucher’s *Capitalism and Cloves* is a brave book. It is based primarily on a surface survey of clove plantations in four areas of Unguja and Pemba islands, and the excavation of an Arab plantation owner’s house near Piki on Pemba. Chapters describe the regional context, Zanzibar’s plantation landscapes, the archaeology of slavery, plantation households, and the global trade and local ceramics associated with them. Croucher’s central argument is that the plantation economy of Zanzibar has to be understood on its own terms, not least because of the way in which slaves assimilated into Swahili society.

Croucher found that slavery is now relatively invisible in the archaeological record, while the presumed descendants of slaves have mostly forgotten the fact, and can only recite generalised narratives about the bad old days. As a result, she had far too little material to work with: the archaeology is thin, its interpretation often too speculative. The book is padded out with more information (and jargon) about the archaeology of the Atlantic world than many readers will be comfortable with. The author might have made much more use of recent anthropological and agricultural research on the islands. I was also surprised to find no reference to historical sources like Henry Stanley Newman’s *Banani: The Transition from Slavery to Freedom in Zanzibar and Pemba* (1898), or Robert Nunez Lyne’s *Zanzibar in Contemporary Times* (1905), which includes a nice description of the house of one of his Arab neighbours in Dunga. That said, *Capitalism and Cloves* is an original study that has much to recommend it. It raises important questions about Zanzibar’s past and its interpretation, is replete with interesting observations, and will no doubt be consulted by students and researchers for many years to come.

## Hugh Wenban-Smith: **DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH**

*In the aftermath of the Holborn fire, the LSE library could not be accessed by your correspondent. However, Tanzania items in the African Studies Abstracts were provided by a kindly librarian.*

**An intensity analysis of land-use and land-cover change in Karatu District, Tanzania:** John LR, H Hambati & FA Armah *African Geographical Review*, Vol 33 (2):

Land-use and Land-cover changes (LULCCs) are the result of complex interactions between the human (cultural, socio-economic and political) and the biophysical environment at different spatial scales. The present study assessed the spatial distribution of LULC (1976-2008) in the high and low altitude zones in the northern highlands of Karatu, using both qualitative (in-depth interviews and group discussions) and quantitative techniques (Intensity Analysis). The qualitative approach was used to elicit information on the coping strategies adopted by land users as transitions occurred with time and Intensity Analysis was used to assess the systematic land losses, gains and persistence of the various categories with time.

**Iron Age agriculture, fishing and trade in the Mafia archipelago, Tanzania: New evidence from the Ukunju Cave:** Crowther A & nine other authors Azania: *Archaeological Research in Africa* Vol 49 (1):

Small-scale excavations were recently undertaken at the site of the Ukunju Cave in the Mafia archipelago to collect new bio-archaeological and material culture data relating to the site's occupation and the nature of early subsistence and long-distance trade in the region. Our findings suggest that occupation of the cave began during the Middle Iron Age (seventh to tenth centuries AD), as indicated by the presence of Early Tana Tradition/Triangular Incised Ware pottery in the lowest layers above bedrock, as well as small quantities of imported ceramics and glass beads, also dating from the mid- to late first millennium AD. Small assemblages of faunal and botanical remains, including introduced African crops (pearl millet, sorghum, baobab and possibly cowpea) were found in association with these finds, indicating that these communities practised a mixed economy of fishing, domestic livestock keeping and agriculture. In addition, the presence of cotton suggests they may have also been producing fibres or textiles, most likely for local use, but possibly also for long distance trade.

**A deposit of Kilwa-type coins from Songo Mnara, Tanzania:** Perkins J, J Fleisher & S Wynne-Jones Azania: *Archaeological Research in Africa* Vol 49 (1):  
A deposit of coins was recovered during excavations at Songo Mnara, contain-



ing over 300 copper Kilwa-type coins. This is the first deposit or hoard of these coins found in a well-defined archaeological context and it therefore offers a unique glimpse into both the typology of these coins and their contemporary uses. ... In particular, the deposit is firmly attributable to the end of the fourteenth or very early fifteenth centuries, allowing for some chronological resolution. Coins of the late eleventh to early twelfth century Sultan Ali ibn al-Hasan show that these types remained in circulation for several hundred years. In addition, the common coin type of Nasir ad-Dunya can now be attributed firmly to the fifteenth and possibly fourteenth centuries by this find.

**Can your child read and count? Measuring learning outcomes in East Africa:** Jones S, Y Schipper & R Rajani *Journal of African Economies Vol 23 (5)*: The last 15 years have seen major changes to education systems in East Africa. Superficially, there is much to commend. Net primary enrolment rates have risen to over 90% alongside significant improvements in gender equity. Nonetheless, there are growing concerns that better access is not adding up to more learning. This paper introduces unique test score data collected by Twaweza's Uwezo initiative for over 600,000 children across East Africa, including children enrolled and not enrolled in school. Using these data we show that many children in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda remain functionally illiterate or innumerate, despite having completed multiple years of school.

**Industrial transformation or business as usual? Information and communications technologies and Africa's place in the global information economy:** Murphy JT, P Carmody & B Surborg *Review of African Political Economy Vol 41 (140)*:

Many view information and communications technologies (ICTs) such as mobile phones, computers and the Internet as tools that can significantly strengthen the quality and depth of Africa's engagement with the world economy. This paper interrogates the impacts of Africa's burgeoning ICT 'revolution' through an examination of their use among small, medium and micro-scale enterprises (SMMEs) in South Africa's and Tanzania's wood products and tourism sectors. The findings reveal that while new ICTs are being adopted rapidly, they are generally used for communication purposes, not deeper forms of information processing and management. While positive in many ways, this has done little to stop a trend towards the devaluation of the goods and services provided by the SMMEs surveyed here. Moreover, ICTs are enabling new forms of outside intervention and intermediation unto African markets, often further marginalising local firms and industries

*We also note here four recent reports by Tanzania's think tank, REPOA (Policy Research for Development):*

**Rural non-farm activities and poverty alleviation in Tanzania: A case study of two villages in Chamwino and Bahi Districts of Dodoma region:** Katega IB & CS Lifuliro (Research Report 14/7)

**Socio-economic factors limiting smallholder groundnut production in Tabora region:** Katundu MA & 3 other authors (Research Report 14/1)

**The invisibility of wage employment in statistics on the informal economy in Africa: Causes and consequences:** Rizzo M & M Wuyts (Working Paper 14/1)

**Integrating traditional and modern knowledge systems in improving productivity in Upper Kitete village, Tanzania:** Nawe J & H Hambati (Research Report 14/3).

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

I am writing to correct and clarify some points in John Arnold's review of Ralph Ibbott's book published in the last issue of *Tanzanian Affairs* (issue 110, Jan to April 2015).

Firstly, the correct title of the book is: *Ujamaa – The hidden story of Tanzanian's socialist villages* (and not, *Ujamaa - The hidden story of Tanzania's economic development from the grassroots*).

Secondly, the reviewer uses the words *co-operative* and *collective* interchangeably, which confuses the history. The Ruvuma Development Association was a self-governing collective. It was not and never called itself a co-operative, a completely different set up in the Tanzanian context. Co-operatives introduced by the State were operating at the same time as the RDA was thriving, and were limited largely to marketing the produce of peasant farmers. They were often corrupt and not under the control of growers who were found to be very discontented (*Cranford Pratt, 1976*).

In contrast, in the RDA villages every member had an equal right to participate regularly in decision-making. Further, everyone – women, men, sick and elderly – received an equal share of the food produced and of any income raised. All able-bodied adults worked on the communal farms, where necessary after fulfilling other responsibilities, as

collectively agreed.

Solveig Francis (*on behalf of the Ujamaa Working Group, Crossroads Books*)

*The editors would like to encourage readers to send their responses to any of our articles. Letters can be sent by email to [ben.d.taylor@gmail.com](mailto:ben.d.taylor@gmail.com).*

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