

# Tanzanian Affairs

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**ELECTION EDITION: MAGUFULI vs LOWASSA**

**Profiles of Key Candidates**

**Petroleum Bills**

**Ruaha's "Missing" Elephants**

David Brewin:

## SURPRISING CHANGES ON THE POLITICAL SCENE

As the elections approached, during the last two weeks of July and the first two weeks of August 2015, Tanzanians witnessed some very dramatic changes on the political scene. Some sections of the media were even calling the events “Tanzania’s Tsunami!”



*President Kikwete addressing the CCM congress in Dodoma*

### **What happened? A summary**

1. In July as all the political parties were having difficulty in choosing their candidates for the presidency, the ruling Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) party decided to steal a march on the others by bringing forward their own selection process and forcing the other parties to do the same.
2. It seemed as though almost everyone who is anyone wanted to become president. A total of no less than 42 CCM leaders, an unprecedented number, registered their desire to be the party’s presidential candidate. They included former prime ministers and ministers and many other prominent CCM officials.
3. Meanwhile, members of the CCM hierarchy were gathering in

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*cover photos: CCM presidential candidate, John Magufuli (left), and CHADEMA / UKAWA candidate, Edward Lowassa (right).*

Dodoma to begin the lengthy and highly competitive selection process.

4. The person who appeared to have the best chance of winning for the CCM was former Prime Minister Edward Lowassa MP, who was popular in the party and had been campaigning hard. However, amidst strong protests from his many supporters, he was rejected as a candidate by the CCM Party's Ethics and Security Committee during the selection process. Protests from his supporters began immediately.

5. The CCM then chose as its new leader and presidential candidate Dr John Magafuli. He was described as "relatively unknown," although he was, at the time, Minister of Works in the CCM government.

6. The CHADEMA party saw the chance of having a really well known candidate as its leader and, to astonishment all round, Lowassa suddenly resigned from the CCM and accepted CHADEMA's invitation to become its new leader and hence its presidential candidate. All this happened very quickly. Lowassa had been a forceful critic of CHADEMA (and vice-versa) for many years and now he found himself as the party's leader! This confirmed that Tanzanians, like many other voters around the world, often choose their governments on the basis of personality rather than policy.

7. In the previous elections, in 2010, CHADEMA's presidential candidate had been the party's Secretary General, Dr. Willbrod Slaa. He got a surprisingly good result with 2.2 million votes (23.6%) while the winner, President Jakaya Kikwete, got 5.2 million votes (61.7%). Thinking that there was plenty of time Slaa arranged to visit Britain in July this year, presumably to mobilise the Tanzanian diaspora to his side but he had to cancel the visit and hurry back to Dar Salaam to look after his political interests there. Then arrived the news about Lowassa which must have shocked him. He disappeared from the public eye for a few days before emerging to say that he had resigned from CHADEMA and, apparently also from politics altogether!

8. Similarly, Lowassa's move to CHADEMA has affected other parties in the opposition UKAWA coalition. Professor Ibrahim Lipumba, national chairman of CUF and the party's previous presidential candidate, has also decided that he was not comfortable sharing a platform with Lowassa. Like Dr Slaa, he has resigned both from his leadership position and apparently from active politics.

### **The CCM selection process**

The first step in the election/selection process in the CCM (the other parties have similar processes) was to reduce the field from the 38 candidates who returned their nomination papers, down to only five.

This is the function of the party's Central Committee (CC). The first job was to eliminate persons with criminal records or corrupt behaviour and the CC was also expected to look into whether the candidate's heart was aligned with that of the party. Other considerations were the education and professional conduct of the candidates.

The five they chose were Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, Bernard Membe; Deputy Minister for Science and Technology, January Makamba; Minister for Works, John Magufuli; Minister for Justice and Constitutional Affairs (and former UN Deputy



*CCM Secretary General, Abdulrahman Kinana, with Edward Lowassa at the party's National Convention in Dodoma, prior to Lowassa switching to CHADEMA.*





*"The elders," who reportedly played a highly influential role in the party's choice.*

Secretary General) Dr Asha Rose-Migiro; and the little-known African Union Ambassador to the UN, Amina Salum Ali.

The National Executive Committee then cut the list down to three – leaving out Bernard Membe and January Makamba.

Prior to the shortlisting, the Ethics and Security Committee of the party, which comprises a small number of party officials and other senior CCM personnel, along with "the elders" – the party's former leaders – met behind closed doors and rejected the candidacy of Edward Lowassa. This caused a storm of objections from his supporters. Outside the hall a group of youths started chanting "We need our Lowassa," and "Bring back Lowassa,... we trust him and if it wasn't for him Kikwete would not be the President today."

In the final stage, Dr John Magufuli obtained 2104 (87%) of the votes and beat his two challengers Ambassador Amina Suluhu Ali who got 253 votes and Dr Asha Rose-Migiro who got 59.

## **Biographies of the candidates**

### ***CCM Presidential candidate: Dr John Pombe Magufuli (55)***

Dr Magufuli hails from the Geita gold-mining region south of Lake Victoria. He is a chemist with a Masters degree from Salford University UK and a PhD from Dar es Salaam University. He has gained a reputation as a competent technocrat with a good head for statistics. He worked as both a teacher and an industrial chemist before becoming an MP in 1995 when he was immediately appointed Deputy Minister of Works. He has held a variety of portfolios since that time and has quietly built a reputation for completing projects successfully and for not tolerating under-performing officials.

After Magufuli's victory, according to the account in *Africa Confidential*, delegates decked in the CCM colours of green and yellow erupted into thunderous applause at the Jamhuri Stadium in Dodoma when he made a light-hearted remark: "To all irresponsible leaders, thieves and corrupt officials please be informed that I will deal with you in a very polite way".

The choice of Magufuli came as a surprise to most people. However, according to the media, former President Benjamin Mkapa had quietly pushed for his candidacy having recruited him as Deputy Minister of Works when he became president in 1995.

As *Africa Confidential* said in its July 24 issue, CCM is counting on the fact that Magufuli's name is less associated with corruption or rumours of it than many of his original rivals for nomination, including Lowassa.

After his election there were many comments. The National Chairman of the small United Democratic Party (UDP) Mr John Cheyo, described him as a hardworking person with a good track record. His work in several ministries had made him widely acceptable while his no-nonsense stance would restore hope among many. However, Singida East MP Tundu Lissu (CHADEMA) had nothing positive to say about him. "Whoever comes out of muddy water is also dirty," he asserted.

President Kikwete said "I am proud of our candidate. He is a very hardworking man and I am certain that he will be the best possible president. He is a no-nonsense man. We hope he will help the country to conquer poverty, fight graft and indiscipline."



*CCM Presidential candidate, John Magufuli (left), with President Kikwete and Vice-Presidential candidate, Samia Suluhu Hassan*

Magufuli himself said “I am profoundly overwhelmed by the results but I promise to give the CCM a resounding victory in October. I also promise to serve all Tanzanians to the best of my ability in line with the law of the land and the spirit of good governance”.

***CCM Vice Presidential Candidate: Ms Samia Suluhu Hassan (55)***

As his running mate Dr Magufuli named Ms Samia Suluhu Hassan for the Vice Presidential position. She comes from Zanzibar, in line with the country’s constitution that stipulates that if the President comes from the mainland the Vice President must be from Zanzibar.

Ms Hassan is the MP for Manyovu and has worked her way up from the ranks of a government typing pool, after taking a Masters degree in the United States, to her present elevated position.

She had been picked, said Magafuli, because she was a Zanzibari who understood the challenges facing the Union, having worked closely with the team addressing Union issues for almost a decade. Explaining further his choice of Ms Hassan, Dr Magafuli said that it was because of the trust he has in women’s abilities and commitment. He revealed that his political mentor, when he was appointed Deputy Minister for Works ten years earlier, was a woman – Ms Anna Abdullah – who had helped him greatly.

***The CHADEMA presidential candidate: Edward Lowassa (61)***

Mr Lowassa took his BA degree at the University of Dar es Salaam in 1977. In 1978 he was drafted into the army and fought in the Kagera War between Tanzania and Uganda. He later took an MSc in Development Studies from the University of Bath. His first major job was as a Minister of State in the Vice President's office.

His career thereafter can be summed up as "up, down and up again". He continued as a hardworking minister but in 2005 he decided not to seek the CCM presidential nomination but became instead a key campaigner for his long term friend Jakaya Kikwete in his bid for the presidency. He helped Kikwete to win and in return President Kikwete made him Prime Minister. He was up again.

Then, in 2008, he was down because he was alleged to have been involved in the Richmond energy scandal and decided to resign from the prime ministership even though he vigorously rejected the suggestion that he might have benefitted personally. Lowassa insisted that he was not guilty of corruption and was merely doing what he had to do as Prime Minister and arrange for an appropriate series of enquiries into the scandal.

In the 2010 elections he won his seat in parliament for Monduli with a huge majority and was up again. As the 2015 election approached, he had become the favourite to win the CCM nomination.

After his selection as CHADEMA candidate and leader of the main opposition party, he claimed to have been rapidly endorsed by 1.6 million CHADEMA members from 32 regions. The party's Deputy Secretary General (Zanzibar) Salum Mwalimu said the signatories were just the "initial capital" that would assure Mr Lowassa of massive support during the October 25 poll.

***The emergence of UKAWA***

In a move towards consolidation of the opposition parties and arising from the unresolved differences between the government and the opposition on the proposed new constitution (the referendum scheduled for mid-2015 has been postponed indefinitely) a new party grouping has emerged. UKAWA is the acronym for *Umoja wa Katiba ya Wananchi* or the "Movement for People's Constitution." It is not a legal entity but has





*Edward Lowassa campaigning on the CHADEMA ticket*

proved remarkably successful in holding together the different parties which have wisely come together to oppose the CCM. The group comprises CHADEMA and CUF plus two smaller parties, NCCR Mageuzi and the National League for Democracy.

These parties have agreed to field a single Presidential candidate - Edward Lowassa - and a single candidate for the parliamentary seat in each constituency, with the constituencies divided up in an agreement between the leaders of each party.

#### ***ACT-Wazalendo - Zitto Kabwe (39) and Anna Mghwira (56)***

While all this was going on the ambitious and fiery Zitto Kabwe MP, who is admired by many for the energy and determination he has put into his fight against corruption, tried to decide what to do.

He had joined CHADEMA at 16 while studying for a degree in economics in Dar and then in 2010 took a Masters degree in law and finance from a German university.

He became MP for Kigoma North in 2005 and rose rapidly. He became Chairman of the influential Public Accounts Committee of the National Assembly and also brought together MPs from different parties to review the mining industry. They devised a new law which became the Mining Act 2010 which made major changes in policy. The East African described him as the "One man Backbench." Although he was



*Zitto Kabwe addressing a rally of ACT-Wazalendo supporters*

appointed as No 2 in his party he chafed against the CHADEMA leadership and eventually resigned from the party.

He then found a new home in a new party - the Alliance for Change and Transparency (ACT-Wazalendo) and became its leader. He started to develop the party so that it could take a major role in the October elections and talked about having over 200 candidates.

He clearly intends to stand for the presidency himself in future, but is barred in 2015 as he is just below the minimum age of 40.

Instead, ACT-Wazalendo has nominated their party chair, Anna Mghwira (56), as their presidential candidate. She becomes the only female presidential candidate on this year's ballot paper.

### **Party policies**

The subject of party or individual policies was hardly discussed at all during the fight for the CCM presidential candidacy. People asking questions were usually told to wait for the party manifestos which would explain all.

### **Who will win? Lessons from the local elections**

One guide as to what might happen in the November elections is the result of the nationwide local elections which were held in December 2014. The results favoured the CCM as they have done in every election

since independence. CCM won comfortably in seat after seat in rural areas but did less well in some urban areas, where CHADEMA made advances.

There were many irregularities, mainly connected with a failure to deliver election documents in time, late opening of voting centres, late delivery of ballot papers and some mixing up of names.

The government admitted that these local elections had been flawed in at least 13 regions and put the blame on officials in district councils.

The Ministry of Local Government, which was responsible for the administration of the elections, said that it was the responsibility of the regions to submit reports explaining what had happened in their areas. As a result of cases of mismanagement of the local elections, six district executive directors were sacked and 11 others were subjected to various disciplinary measures.

The government plans to make the National Electoral Commission manage local elections in the future.

### *Some local election results*

Amongst the published local election results were the hotly contested Arusha Region where CHADEMA got 75 neighbourhoods and CCM 73. In Mtwara CCM won in 58 seats and the opposition won 53. In Shinyanga Municipality the opposition won 29 seats and CCM 26 but, in the rest of Shinyanga Region CCM won 65 seats and the opposition parties won 18. In Mwanza Region CCM won in 96 seats, CHADEMA got 70 and CUF took 7.

As an indication of the way in which voters in coastal areas voted, the favoured opposition party was often CUF and not CHADEMA. In Tanga Region for example CCM won 118 seats, CUF 60 and CHADEMA only 2.

In Dodoma Region, always a CCM stronghold, it won with over 90% of the seats. In Bukoba Region, in Muleba District, out of 164 villages CCM got 89 and CHADEMA 70. In Bukoba Municipality out of 66 seats, CCM won 35, CHADEMA 29 and CUF won 2. Before the elections CCM had been holding 55 seats.

If the results from the local elections are followed by similar trends in the national elections in October, CCM seems likely to retain power. However, the voting population now includes larger numbers than before of young people, most of whom tend to support opposition parties.

### **Zanzibar**

In Zanzibar things are different, as they have always been. This time there could be again a fierce battle between CCM and CUF and, if there are signs that CCM may not win, the CCM party could take drastic measures.

The opposition CUF party, the leader of the party in Zanzibar, Seif Shariff Hamad, and its (former) national (Tanzanian) leader, Professor Lipumba, have tried several times before to win but each time have been beaten by CCM often with very small majorities.

Virtually all the elections in Zanzibar since independence have been troublesome. Some of the more observant international observers have alleged breaches of the rules including both a rigging of the voter registration process and the involvement of non-Zanzibaris in voting in certain key seats.

Zanzibar has a history of electoral violence and some people died during the 1995 and 2005 elections. The formation of a government of national unity with ministers from CCM and CUF working together for the last three years has brought some stability and less tension to the Isles.

### ***The candidates in Zanzibar***

CCM has chosen the existing President, Dr Ali Mohammed Shein, as its candidate for the presidency of Zanzibar and CUF has again chosen its Secretary General Seif Sharif Hamad.

For the first time, Hamad, has called openly for the Isles to secede from the Tanzanian Union. "We are only getting 4.5% of the total budget instead of 11.5%. That is why we are saying the Union is not helping us. We could sit down however and agree areas where we could cooperate."





*Queue for voter registration*

## **Registration of Voters**

The introduction of new Biometric technology ahead of the October 25 elections appears, despite many delays and numerous other problems during the process, to have been rolled out very successfully. The National Electoral Commission said that just over 24 million Tanzanians aged 18 and over had registered, which was a remarkable achievement. The figure was only about 300,000 short of the total number of eligible voters as estimated by the National Bureau of Statistics.

## **Who will win?**

The fight between the main candidates for the presidency of Tanzania seems likely to be a titanic struggle.

On the one hand there is John Magufuli, backed by the massive CCM Party “steamroller” with its representatives in almost every street and lane in the country and which has won every national election in the United Republic since independence.

On the opposition side there is Edward Lowassa, meaning that the opposition will be represented by a leader of greater national prominence than ever before, and considerable popularity. Lowassa officially represents CHADEMA, but the other parties in the UKAWA coalition are backing him and will not put forward presidential candidates. As such, the opposition vote is likely to be united as never before. If this

group remains intact until the election it could do much better than many expect.

The effect of the presence of a new very small party, ACT-Wazalendo which has huge support amongst young voters remains to be seen. In particular, with a little-known presidential candidate, will the party be able to capture attention when up against CCM and CHADEMA?

At the time this edition of TA went to press there was no clear indication about how many MPs and other CCM leaders would follow Mr Lowassa in defecting to CHADEMA. It is likely that some regional level CCM officials will switch sides, and possibly some CCM members who lose out in the race for the party's nomination as parliamentary candidates. But it also appears that none of Lowassa's more prominent supporters in the 2010-2015 parliament and cabinet have followed him, though there is still time for this to change – just another complicating factor in trying to determine who will win.

## **STOP PRESS**

As this edition of TA went to press other sensational news arrived from Tanzania.

### *Lowassa's stance on Tanzania's constitution*

In a major policy reversal, Lowassa and the UKAWA parties have announced that they will, if elected, radically change Tanzania's proposed new constitution. President Kikwete and the CCM government have insisted that the present government of two parts (one government for the Union and another for Zanzibar) as laid down by Father of the Nation Julius Nyerere in the 1960's, must be continued. The highly controversial alternative – one small government for Tanzania, a large one for the mainland and a small one for Zanzibar – as proposed by Judge Warioba when he presided over the preparation of the new constitution and now backed by Lowassa, could have a major effect on the election results. Many, especially in Zanzibar, strongly favour giving greater independence to the islands. Others contend that the change could prove very expensive and lead to the end of the Union between the mainland and Zanzibar.



*Mr Lowassa is being greeted by huge crowds as he tours the nation.*

### ***Mbowe health scare***

Mr Freeman Mbowe, Chairman of CHADEMA was rushed to hospital in mid-August suffering from fatigue and exhaustion. He responded well to treatment and was released two days later.

### ***Policing the campaign***

At a meeting of the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation in Dar, fears were expressed that the police were working in favour of CCM and against the opposition. It was reported that they had used tear gas to clear the Arusha-Moshi Road when a crowd had blocked it demanding that Lowassa should be able address them. Police in Mwanza were also reported as having used tear gas to disperse CHADEMA members after Lowassa had arrived in the region to collect guarantors' signatures.

### ***Sumaye follows Lowassa to CHADEMA and UKAWA***

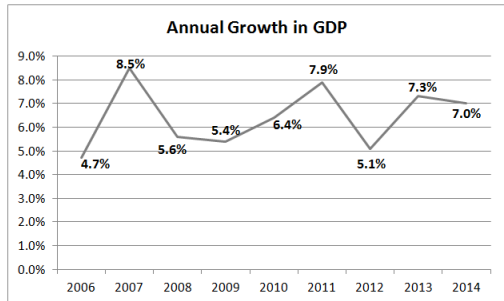
A second former Prime Minister, Frederick Sumaye, has announced that he too is leaving CCM to join CHADEMA and UKAWA. Sumaye, who previously served as Prime Minister throughout the ten-year administration of President Mkapa from 1995 to 2005, was among the 38 contenders for the CCM presidential nomination.

"My decision to join Ukawa has nothing to do with the originality of Ukawa's presidential candidate, Mr Lowassa or most of its top leaders. I want to use my administrative experience to speed up people's development soon after the October elections," he said.

### *Economic growth*

The Tanzanian economy continues to grow, at a rate of 7% in 2014. (Hali ya Uchumi 2014). Construction, transport and financial services were the fastest growing sectors.

Estimated GDP per capita was Tsh 1,724,416/- (USD 1,038), a small real increase over the year. This allowed the Minister of Finance, Saada Mkuyu, to state in parliament that Tanzania is on the verge of achieving middle-income status.



### *Employment*

Over 1 million people were added to the payroll in the private sector in the ten years 2005 to 2014, increasing the number of people formally employed from just over 1 million in 2005 to over 2 million in 2014. The National Bureau of Statistics reported results from the Employment and Earnings Survey of 2014. The biggest growth in formal sector employment was from 2012 onwards and in the private sector. Dar es Salaam, Morogoro and Arusha feature in the NBS' report as regions with especially strong growth. One-third of all formal sector employees are reported to be in Dar es Salaam.

There was a big jump in the number of newly recruited workers in 2014 and in their average earnings, with changes in new recruitment particularly strong for professional and technical employees. The percentage of formal sector employees who are female – 37% – has not changed in this ten-year period.

Unemployment rates have, accordingly, fallen, mostly among urban male adults. Changes were negligible for younger people, among women and people in rural areas.

### *Prices*

Prices increased by 6.1% in June – the same rate as a year earlier, but higher than the 4.5 and 5.3% in the two previous months. As is usual,



increases in the prices of foodstuffs were the main cause of the increase in prices overall.

### *Exchange rates*

The fall in the value of the Tanzanian shilling, depreciating by almost 20% in the first five months of the year, was reported with great concern in the newspapers. Much of the change was attributed by the Ministry of Finance to the strength of the dollar.

Recent inflows of external funds resulting from increased export earnings from tourism, coffee and cashews as well funding from international development banks have stemmed the shilling's decline.

Currencies in Kenya and Uganda have been similarly affected and central banks in all three countries are reported to be taking actions to tighten liquidity and dealing in foreign exchange. At the time of writing, the exchange rate has recovered to around Tsh 2,100/- to the dollar, an improvement from the 2,300/- reached in June.

### *The Development Plan*

The Annual Development Plan is tabled at the time of the budget. This year, the Parliamentary Standing Committee on the Budget identified the following priorities: managing inflation and depreciation of the shilling; scaling up efforts to reduce income poverty; construction of a new central railway line of standard gauge; increase electricity supply particularly in rural areas; improve rural water supply services; improve irrigation; improve livestock and fishing sectors; accord priority to education and health services; and improve the business environment for private sector investment.

The Annual Development Plan 2015/16 specified the following main policy targets: maintaining peace, stability, unity and strengthening good governance; poverty reduction; sustaining macroeconomic stability; value addition; increasing capacity for storage of food grains and strengthening crop market; attracting more tourists and promoting domestic tourism; and improving private sector participation in implementation of development projects.

Key issues of focus in the plan were identified: completion of ongoing development projects particularly projects in the "Big Results Now" initiative; ensuring food security; improving the business environment;

developing human resource skills especially in oil and gas, science, technology and innovation; and mitigating effects of climate change.

### *The Budget*

The budget, announced in June, includes plans to increase revenue from domestic sources and reduce the share of the budget coming from external financing from 14.8% in 2014/15 to 8.4% in 2015/16. Uncertainties about external development funding have led to a reduction in the share of the budget for development expenditure. No new development projects are to be included in the budget, though there is a possibility that the new government after the October elections may choose, through a supplementary budget, to modify priorities and allocations.

Tax revenues currently amount to 12.5% of GDP, not enough to fund much needed investments in infrastructure and social services. The World Bank argues that greater increases in domestic tax revenues are needed through a reformed, more productive and well-managed tax system. Among the measures included in the budget is a new levy on imported goods of 1.5% which is to be earmarked for improvements in the rail infrastructure. It is a measure which has been agreed by all the countries of the East African Community. There is also an increase in petroleum levy on petrol, diesel from 50 to 100 shillings per litre and on kerosene from 50 to 150 shillings, the proceeds from which will go towards rural electrification.

The minimum wage has been increased and the low band PAYE rate lowered from 12% to 11%.

At the time of the budget, the World Bank approved a fund of USD 100 million to help increase transparency and accountability in Tanzania's governance, and to help improve public financial management.

### *IMF's review*

The IMF's assessment of the state of the economy in July was largely positive: "The draft 2015/16 budget, which targets an underlying deficit of 3.5 % of GDP (excluding arrears clearance), is built on more prudent revenue and foreign financing assumptions. The fiscal target also puts Tanzania on a path to a 3-percent deficit over the medium term, which is consistent with maintaining a low risk of debt distress."

The Fund, however, also expressed concern about the accumulation of arrears in government payments and actions were urged to have them cleared. It commended a policy paper, approved by the cabinet, for a fiscal framework for managing resources from natural gas which is based on international experience. There will be a Natural Gas Revenue Fund that will be fully integrated into the budget, with no parallel spending authority.

### *Recent Developments*

President Kikwete, at the Dar es Salaam International Trade Fair directed all regional and district commissioners to stop banning the transportation and exportation of produce. He said that such bans do not benefit farmers and business but rather engender corruption.

On a visit to the port of Dar es Salaam, World Bank Vice President for Africa, Dr Makhtar Diop commended its improved infrastructure and efficiency. He pointed out the benefits to the economy of Tanzania and its landlocked neighbours of a well-functioning port.

An aspect of the planned large trading centre at Kurasini has been criticised by a representative of small traders now operating in Kariokoo who believe the new trading centre will benefit Chinese rather than local traders.

Further progress has been made in the reduction of non-tariff barriers to trade in the larger region with an agreement between the governments of Tanzania and Zambia. Border management will be improved with a one-stop border post by the Nakonde-Tunduma corridor which will speed up transit times and lower costs of trading.

### *Structural change in the economy*

Manufacturing is a growing albeit still a small part of the Tanzanian economy. A research paper for World Institute for Development Economics Research (WIDER) by Samuel Wangwe, Donald Mmari, Jehovanes Aikaali, Neema Rutatina, Thadeus Mboghoina and Abel Kinyondo examined the manufacturing sector in Tanzania. It remains largely undiversified, and vulnerable to variations in agricultural production and commodity prices.

The growth in output and exports, production innovation and product

diversity have been most dynamic in the manufacturing of food products, plastic and rubber, chemicals, basic metal work, and non-metallic mineral products. However, the extent to which Tanzanian manufacturers have added value has been limited by their dependence on imported intermediate goods. This limits inter-industry linkages that are important for promoting a domestic manufacturing base and employment.

The authors conclude that various technological, financial, policy and administrative constraints remain unresolved and they are limiting faster industrial growth and transformation.

## Enos Bukuku: **CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM**

### **New constitution low on the priority list**

In the last issue I wrote about the delay in the government arranging for a national referendum on whether Tanzanian voters should adopt a new constitution which was presented to it when the Constitutional Assembly completed their task of finalising a draft constitution in October last year. The referendum was scheduled to take place in April this year but was postponed indefinitely.

One reason given for the April postponement was that the National Election Committee (NEC) were not satisfied that there was enough preparation and education given to the public about the proposed constitution, and also the fact that new Biometric Voter Registration (BVR) equipment had not been implemented. From the 22nd July voters were being registered through the new BVR system. This should mean one less obstacle to overcome.

However, with the general elections now close at hand, it does seem as though the referendum has been pushed further down the government's list of priorities. There has been talk of the referendum taking place at the same time as the general elections but there has been no confirmation that this will be the case.

Prime Minister Mizengo Pinda and other Members of the Constituent Assembly recently implied that they might be able to sway President Kikwete into ensuring that the referendum take place before the elections. There are many who are of the view that an agreement took place



last September in which the parties agreed that the referendum would take place after the general elections.

It is not possible to say with any certainty when such referendum will take place, if indeed it does. There is no clarity on this issue and it does seem as if politicians are in no hurry to push this agenda through only months before the election. The danger is that whoever is voted as our next president, will be reluctant to force such a controversial process at such an early stage of a new presidency. As the silence continues and the closer we get to the general election, the chances of a new constitution grow slimmer and slimmer.

We can but hope that over 3 years and a considerable amount of money spent on finalising a new constitution does not go to waste.

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

### **LNG project land acquisition**

The government has acted to address the two big hurdles delaying development of the liquefied natural gas (LNG) plant - namely, complex land acquisition procedures and the unclear legal framework (see TA 111).

On the first, government announced in May that it had set aside Tsh 12 billion (about US\$ 6 million) to buy land and compensate 450 people in Lindi where the LNG terminal is to be built. The plant, which will process the large volumes of gas discovered in recent years offshore southern Tanzania, may cost the developers US\$ 30 billion and is unlikely to start operating until the early 2020s.

The development consortium comprises the licensees that discovered the gas (BG Group, Statoil, Exxon Mobil and Ophir Energy). Reuters reported the consortium will make a final investment decision next year.

So far, more than 53 trillion cubic feet of gas has been discovered and analysts believe that Tanzania (along with Mozambique) is now in a race with Russia, Australia, the USA and Canada to satisfy the gap in global gas supply expected by around 2020. Reuters also reported that Royal Dutch Shell agreed in April to buy the BG Group for US\$ 70 bil-

lion in the first large oil industry merger in more than a decade, thereby giving the Anglo-Dutch oil giant access to BG's Tanzanian projects.

### **Petroleum Bills passed amid controversy**

Amid much controversy the government has also addressed the second big hurdle, ensuring in early July in the last session of Parliament the passage of three petroleum sector Bills: Petroleum Act 2015, Oil and Gas Revenue Management Act 2015, and Tanzania Extractive Industries (Transparency and Accountability) Act 2015.

These Acts were tabled, debated and passed under fast-track process known as a certificate of urgency, and in the absence of most Opposition MPs who, along with a group of about 60 Civil Society Organisations, pointed to alleged weaknesses in their content and flaws in the Parliamentary process and called for the Bills to be shelved pending further stakeholder discussions.

According to *The Citizen* (6 July), there was continuous uproar in the National Assembly for three consecutive days as Opposition lawmakers repeatedly tried to block Energy and Minerals Minister George Simbachawene from tabling the Bills following the government's insistence that MPs should debate them. The Speaker suspended the first session and then barred more than 40 Opposition MPs from attending - a ban the Opposition contended was a deliberate move to ensure the "controversial" Bills were passed without any meaningful debate.

Minister Simbachawene said the Bills were sent to the House under a certificate of urgency because of their importance to the nation. The new laws were needed so government could negotiate good exploration and gas development contracts with investors. "We want this Parliament to debate the laws because they have been trained well enough on oil and gas issues ... we even took them for learning tours to various countries such as Norway, China and Trinidad and Tobago". He said deferring the Bills to the November Parliament would cause further costly delays to Tanzania and fresh training would be required for the new legislators; moreover, preparations for the three Bills had started in 2010 and stakeholders were involved and their views considered at several stages.

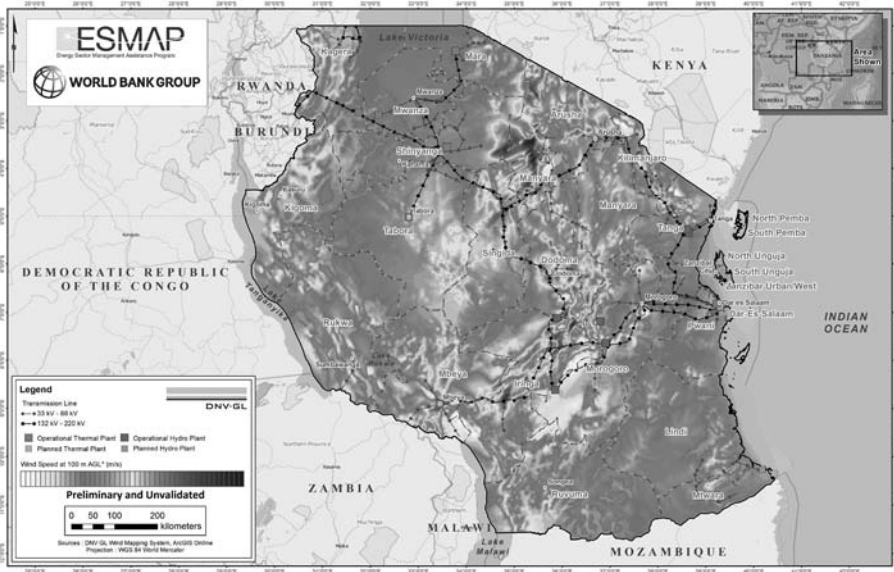
Among other things, the Petroleum Act 2015 establishes a Petroleum Upstream Regulatory Authority and an Oil and Gas Advisory Bureau (to advise the Cabinet on strategic matters). The Act also transforms

the Tanzania Petroleum Development Corporation into the National Oil Company, with the mandate to manage the country's commercial interest in petroleum operations as well as downstream natural gas activities.

It seeks to ensure that the gas industry benefits all Tanzanians including through the sourcing of Tanzanian goods and services, the training and employment of Tanzanians, and technology transfer. It repeals the previous petroleum laws, including the Petroleum (Exploration and Production) Act 1980 under which all exploration and development contracts and operations have been conducted for more than three decades but which did not fully address gas issues.

## Renewable Energy

Tanzania's plans for generating electricity from renewable energy resources should complement the country's existing commercial energy supplies of hydropower and gas. In May, TANESCO announced preliminary results from the World Bank's renewable energy resource mapping project, using global datasets and satellite analysis, indicating that Tanzania has immense solar and wind potential. The country's resources suitable for solar power generation are considered to be equivalent to those of Spain whilst Tanzania's potential for high wind



power covers more than 10% of the country (an area the size of Malawi). One key finding is that certain areas of Tanzania with high solar irradiation also have high wind speeds at night, raising the possibility of round-the-clock power generation.

These initial findings will be validated over the next two years by placing 30 ground-based solar and wind measuring stations around the country, as part of a long-term partnership between the World Bank and TANESCO to modernize Tanzania's power sector.

### **Africa Progress Panel report**

A report (Seizing Africa's Energy and Climate Opportunities 2015) by Kofi Annan's Africa Progress Panel says 621 million people in Sub-Saharan Africa lack access to electricity. Energy bottlenecks and power shortages cost the region two to four per cent of GDP annually. Yet, driven by economic growth, demographic change and urbanisation, African energy demand is surging - widening further the energy gap between Africa and the rest of the world. Annan's report says it would take the average Tanzanian eight years to use as much electricity as an average American consumes in a month!

### **Mining: Coal and Iron Ore**

The Minister for Trade and Industry, Dr Kigoda, announced to Parliament in May the start of development of two related mega industrial-mineral projects – the Mchuchuma coal and Liganga iron ore projects in Iringa. They will establish an iron industry with an annual production capacity of one million tonnes (making Tanzania the third largest iron producer in Africa). Mchuchuma mine has more than 500 million tons of coal deposits, enough to produce 600 megawatts (MW) of electricity for more than a century. The coal-fired electricity plant will generate 250 MW for the iron industry and 350MW for the national grid.

Minister Kigoda said the two projects will create 32,000 jobs and generate about Tsh 3.13 trillion (US\$1.5 billion) annually. They will be the largest single industrial investment in Tanzania since Independence.

The projects are being implemented by Tanzania China International Mineral Resources Ltd, a joint venture between Tanzania's NDC (20%) and a Chinese firm (80%). According to Press reports these mega projects will cost up to US\$3 billion to develop.

**Relaxation of restrictions on GM Crops**

Assistant Director of Crop Research at the Ministry of Agriculture, Food Security and Cooperatives Husain Mansoor has announced that scientists will, in future, be allowed able to carry out confined field trials of Genetically Modified crops without fear.

Under the previous regulations a strict liability clause had meant that scientists, donors or partners funding research could be held accountable in the event of any damage that might occur during or after research on GM crops.

The new rules allow scientists to carry out confined field trials of GM crops to find out their effects on humans and the environment. Plant materials would have to be enclosed within a laboratories or greenhouses and field trials would be undertaken only in specific areas, usually small pieces of land set aside for experiments.

For some time Tanzanian scientists have been keen to pursue their trials on drought-resistant and insect-tolerant maize under a new international project entitled "Water efficient maize for Africa and cassava varieties resistant to mosaic and brown streak diseases". It is anticipated that this project will promote drought-tolerant and insect-protected maize using conventional breeding methods. Its goal is to make these varieties available royalty free to smallholder farmers through seed companies associated with the Nairobi-based 'African Agricultural Technology Foundation', the coordinating agency.

Scientists plan to carry out the first confined field trials of GM modified maize tolerant to drought and pests this year and hope to commercialise it when research is completed in coming years.

**Revival Plan for Cotton**

Cotton has been, for many years, a mainstay of Tanzania's economy. During the last three years, however, production has declined substantially.

In 2011/12 350,000 tonnes were produced, but this dropped to 246,000 tonnes in 2012/13 and just 201,000 tonnes the following year.



The cotton is largely grown by small-scale farmers owing farms of between two and ten hectares. It is 100 percent rain-fed and not irrigated, as in many other countries,

In these circumstances, Director General of the Tanzania Cotton Board, Gabriel Mwalo, accompanied by many experts and others involved in the industry, held a significant press conference in Dar es Salaam recently.

He expressed concern about the state of production and admitted that the Cotton Board had not played its part well, but pointed out that the industry was handicapped by a lack of a reliable input supply system and that there had been frequent changes in world market prices. He said that these had greatly affected performance in terms of yield per hectare.

The decision to liberalise the cotton industry in the early 1990s had been a success although it was still facing a number of challenges. The number of ginneries had increased from 36 in 1993 to 56 and the number of cotton buyers had also increased to about 35 companies which had largely taken over from a handful of large regional cooperative unions.

Speaking about cotton seed he stated that in the last season almost 17,000 tonnes of fuzzy seeds and 1,200 tonnes of de-linted seeds had been distributed. He said that there was a high demand for clean seeds for oil milling purposes but this demand could jeopardise the availability of good seeds for planting. There were no cotton seed production farms in the country so that the industry had had to depend entirely on seed cotton produced by the small farmers themselves.

He said that the problem of poor seed germination could best be dealt with through contract farming, where farmers' business groups would be the centres of cotton sales and custodians of their own products.

He added that in embracing contract farming, the system of using ginneries would be abolished. Such a model of cotton production would not only assure farmers of better seeds for planting but would also ensure quality yields and high incomes since cheating through weighing scales would no longer be there. The lasting solution was to use certified seeds.

### ***France interested in Tanzania's Fisheries and Livestock***

During the first Franco-Tanzanian Economic Forum held in Paris in March 2015, organised by the French Business Confederation (the most representative organisation of the private sector in France), French investors showed considerable interest in investing in livestock and fisheries in Tanzania, according to Tanzania's Minister for Fisheries and Livestock Development Dr Titus Kamani, who attended the forum.

### ***Sale of maize surplus***

Last year Tanzania harvested a record 2.5 million tonnes of maize. The country then began talks with China so as to find a market for this huge surplus. America previously supplied China with maize but Beijing suspended the deal after the US started using genetically modified technology in maize growing. China's growing demand for maize is driven by population and economic growth.

During the last three years Tanzania has been harvesting more food crops than it can consume having enjoyed 118 percent food sufficiency in 2013.

### ***Tractor Assembly***

The Tanzanian farming system is largely dominated by smallholders cultivating average farm sizes of between 0.9 and 3.0 hectares and mechanisation is limited. The government has now received a loan of €50 million from Poland to help it in assembling Polish tractors locally. It is understood that Tanzania will start assembling the tractors this year.

### ***Grape Juice Processing***

The TIB Development Bank is providing TSh 729 million in loans to construct two major ultra-modern grape processing plants in the Dodoma Region. This will enable grape producers to start selling millions of litres of grape juice to Kenyan and South African wine companies. At the initial stage of development of this new industry Chamwino District farmers received financial support from the CRDB Bank to grow more than 300 hectares of grapes. The project is reported to be going well.

***"Milk production needs to be increased"***

At a recent conference on climate change, a senior lecturer in Animal Science at Sokoine University of Agriculture, Dr Msalya, said that in a study conducted in 2014, although Tanzania had huge potential for milk production its actual production was only some 2.3 billion litres. This was far below UN Food and Agriculture global standards which are based on consumption of 200 litres per person annually. In order to reach this standard Tanzania needed to step up its production to 9 billion litres per year.

Dr Msalya mentioned various problems including the case of a small project under which goats from Norway had been supplied to small-holders to help them produce goat milk. However, the project had had to be abandoned as those involved started to sell the goats rather than market the goat milk.

## David Brewin: FOREIGN RELATIONS

### *Tanzania and Argentina*

In its unrelenting efforts to gain control of what it calls the Malvinas (and Britain calls the Falkland Islands), the Argentine Secretary for Malvinas Affairs, Mr Daniel Filmus, has approached African countries to help it regain the disputed territory. In April this year Argentina invited reporters and editors from across Africa to a conference in Addis Ababa to drum up support for its diplomatic efforts to regain the islands from the UK. The Secretary made a passionate appeal to Tanzania to support its cause as it had done in the past during the liberation of Southern African countries. He mentioned Tanzania's notable support at the UN for oppressed people. "Tanzania's role in our cause is very crucial because of its track record of always siding with the oppressed and standing against the oppressors," Mr Filmus said.

Responding to the Argentine position that the UK had seized the islands and expelled indigenous residents, the UK High Commissioner to Tanzania, Ms Diana Melrose, said that the Argentinian claims were absolutely untrue. "There were no indigenous people on the islands before

the first settlement established by France and the UK in the 1760s” she said. The UK had administered the Falklands peacefully and effectively for 182 years, interrupted only by the short-lived Argentine invasion of the islands in 1982”. Ms Melrose said that the Falkland Islands had never legitimately formed a part of the territory of Argentina and British sovereignty predated the existence of Argentina itself.

Ambassador Filmus said that the UK came and seized the islands. “We shall regain them through diplomatic means with support from the international community”, he said.

### *Yemen, South Africa and the DRC*

Violence escalated seriously in Yemen during recent months and there have also been attacks by South African citizens on foreigners working in South Africa. In both cases arrangements were made by the government to evacuate Tanzanian personnel trapped and wishing to leave.

Two Tanzanian peacekeeping soldiers in the Democratic Republic of the Congo were killed in May when their convoy was attacked by suspected rebels in Kivu.

Mark Gillies:

## TOURISM & ENVIRONMENTAL CONSERVATION

### **Are there any left?**

This is the question that all who value the elephants of Tanzania will find themselves asking in the coming years if no concerted effort is made to tackle successfully the systematic slaughter currently affecting this most charismatic of species.

On 1st June, the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism in Tanzania officially released the results of a nationwide survey of the elephant population, which estimates that there are between 40,400 and 46,600 elephants remaining. This represents a decline of 60% since the last census in 2009.

This authoritative study, funded by Paul G. Allen, the co-founder of Microsoft, and conducted in conjunction with the Frankfurt Zoological

Society, included all of the seven key ecosystems where elephant have traditionally be found in large numbers.

The decline in elephant numbers in the Selous has been well documented before now, with the historic low point being recorded in 2013 at 13,084. Happily, in 2014, the number was up slightly to 15,217, but, as Rob Muir, the Africa Programme Director for the Frankfurt Zoological Society is quoted as saying in an article in *The Daily Telegraph* on 19 July, this is probably due to the fact that their numbers have reached 'a critical threshold' and are so low that the poachers are unable to find them as easily as had been the case.

Alarmingly, this raises the spectre of the poachers turning their attention to other locations with high populations – and the statistics bear this out. The 2014 census showed the other areas most hard hit to be the Malagarasi-Muyovozi and Ruaha-Rungwa ecosystems, where the populations were down 81% and 76% respectively.

Such statistics should prompt politicians into concerted action if they are to safeguard both Tanzania's natural resources and the long term future of a tourism industry that depends upon the elephant and other threatened creatures like the rhino and lion. Instead, they often panic and say things that make the rest of the world sit up in surprise.

In this case, *The Tanzania Daily News* on the 4th of June reported how Natural Resources Minister Lazaro Nyalandu, said that TANAPA would launch an investigation into the 12,000 elephants "missing" from Ruaha.

However, it is unlikely that these elephants are merely "missing". High carcass rates were recorded in all areas surveyed, which is an accepted method of determining abnormally high mortality rates. Additionally, not all carcasses will be spotted: many are picked clean of flesh and hidden by vegetation long before.

Certainly, many elephants have moved deep into the bush to avoid detection, or, as reported by a camp manager in Ruaha National Park who prefers to remain anonymous, clustering together in large numbers for perceived protection. Normally, in July, when water is still easily available, elephant will be dispersed and feeding peacefully in small family groups.



While the stability of population numbers in the Serengeti and Tarangire ecosystems provides a glimmer of hope, the Tanzanian Government should not under estimate the damage to the Tanzanian tourism industry that a widespread perception of unfettered poaching in the country will do. The African tourism industry is immensely competitive and the tourists will go to where they think the animals to be. Both The Guardian and The Telegraph picked up the story of the catastrophic decline in elephant numbers, following on from The Daily Mail and the BBC last year.

If the international media is consistent in its reporting on the conservation failings in Tanzania, then it will take a lot more than some advertising in Sunderland on a match day (Tanzaniainvest.com) to repair the damage.

Ben Taylor:

## TRANSPORT

### **Floods cause chaos once again**

The annual event that is flooding in Dar es Salaam has once again caused several days of transport chaos in the city. Two days of solid rain rendered many roads impassable, paralysed transport networks and caused extensive delays. Police had to step in to manage the crisis.

Hundreds of residents of the city fled their flooded homes and sought shelter elsewhere. The hardest hit areas included Tegeta, Kawe, Sinza, Msasani, Masaki, Oysterbay, Kinondoni, Tandale, Mbezi and Kimara.

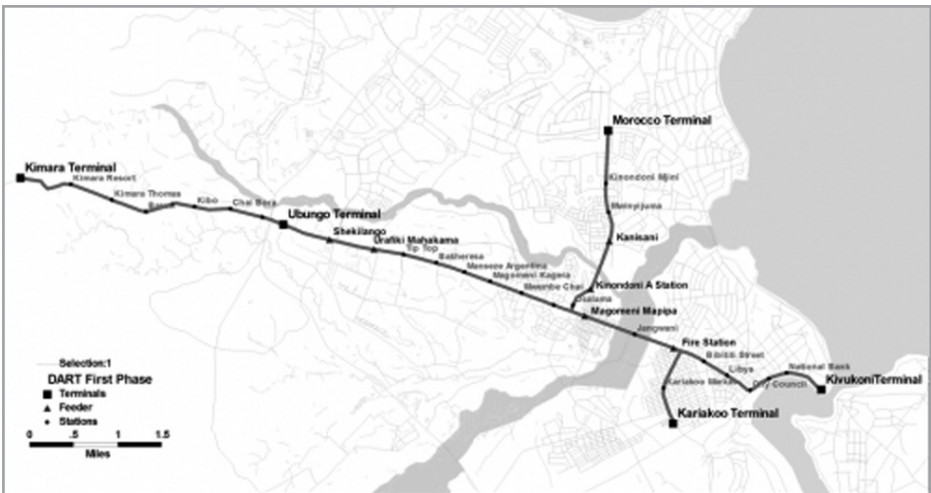
In Jangwani, Kariakoo, Kigogo, Buguruni, Ilala Sharif Shamba and Tabata Dar es Salaam residents paid the price of clogged drainage systems and roads. Many homes were submerged, causing considerable suffering. The flood waters reportedly also claimed at least three lives.

The Prime Minister, Mizengo Pinda, reported to parliament that the flooding had caused TSh 9.5bn/- worth of damage, mostly to road networks.

## Dar es Salaam Bus Rapid Transit launch imminent

Trials of the long-awaited Dar es Salaam Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) commuter bus system are underway, along with training for drivers. The system, also known as DART, is expected to be formally launched and to become fully operational in October.

The buses will operate along purpose-built routes following major roads into the City from the west. The principle route is 20km long, following Morogoro Road from Kimara, through Ubungu and into the City Centre to Kivukoni. Additional routes from Kariakoo and along Kawawa Road from the Morocco junction connect into the main route. (See map)



Along these routes, a fleet of 76 buses, each carrying up to 150 passengers will replace current daladala services along these routes. Daladalas will continue to operate elsewhere in the city, including feeder routes connecting passengers to the BRT system.

Once the system is fully operational, the new buses are expected to carry 350,000 passengers per day.

The trials are taking place without conductors, with passengers instead paying their fares through swipe cards, similar the Oyster card system that operates in London. Bus fares have not yet been announced by the

Surface and Marine Transport Regulatory Authority, SUMATRA.

The BRT project is financed by the World Bank and the government at a cost of more than TSh 400bn/- and covers construction of roads, main terminals, depots and feeder stations. It is designed to reduce traffic congestion, particularly into the City Centre. Estimates made by DART in 2010 stated that about USD 2.5 million was being lost daily in the city through decreased productivity, wasted fuel and late delivery of products resulting from traffic jams. (*The Guardian*)

Ben Taylor:

## EDUCATION

### **Are children learning?**

Only 1 in 5 children in the third year of Primary School in East Africa have acquired the literacy and numeracy skills expected of children in the second year. This was the main conclusion of the latest annual Uwezo survey of learning outcomes among primary school-age children in Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda.

The survey also found that only 24% of children completing seven years of primary schooling have mastered Standard 2 reading and numeracy skills.

Mbeya Urban district in Tanzania was the best performer, but Kenyan districts outperformed the region in overall assessment. Most Tanzanian districts ranked in the middle – below Kenya but above Uganda.

The survey found that poverty was a major factor in learning outcomes, with children from wealthier households performing substantially better than those from poorer households.

Data was collected on learning outcomes, school conditions and households in 2013, including testing of over 325,000 children aged 6 years to 16 years in 150,000 households in 366 districts.

### **Shortage of space in Form 5 as O-level results improve**

Around 16,000 students will miss out on places in Form 5 this year as

record numbers achieved qualifying grades. Of just under 200,000 students who sat for O-levels, over 70,000 qualified for A-level admission. However, there are only 55,000 spaces available.

An editorial in the Daily News described the situation as “a colossal waste”. “It is high time the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training and other responsible stakeholders seriously addressed this problem of shortage of Form Five slots in public secondary schools. Frankly speaking, something must be done – and fast – to find a solution to this very challenging situation.”

This is the second year for such a shortage to emerge, following a major change to how O-level candidates are graded. The new grading scheme, introduced from 2013, substantially lowered both the standard required to achieve a grade in each subject and the number of subject passes required in order to qualify for A-level entry.

### **Parents prefer English**

A new survey by Twaweza, a non-governmental organisation, found that 89% of parents said their children found it difficult to switch from Swahili as the medium of instruction in Primary School to English in Secondary School. When asked what measures should be put in place to address this challenge, 63% stated that Primary Schools should adopt English as the language of instruction.

In contrast, the new Education Policy, launched earlier this year, signified a shift to make Swahili the language used through Primary and Secondary schooling.

### **Death caused by caning reignites debate on corporal punishment**

The death of a Secondary School pupil in Kiteto district, after he was punished for failing a Swahili test, prompted a fresh debate on corporal punishment in Tanzanian schools. The boy, a Form 2 student, was reportedly given 12 strokes of the cane by his teachers, after failing a Swahili test. He died soon after.

“We have for years urged the government to abolish this form of punishment in schools because it’s against children’s rights, but we have been ignored,” said Dr Hellen Kijo-Bisimba, Executive Director of the

Legal and Human Rights Centre.

Coordinator of the Tanzania Education Network (TEN/MET), Cathleen Sekwao, said local NGOs, UN agencies and others have been campaigning against lashes to no avail. "Though we want the punishment eliminated, communities are letting us down because some parents think caning a child is the right thing to do." (*The Citizen*)

Ben Taylor:

## HEALTH

### **President Kikwete confirms commitment to "super-hospital"**

PRESIDENT Kikwete has affirmed the government's intention to partner with an Indian hospital, Apollo, to set up a medical centre in Dar es Salaam. This is intended to cater for over 100,000 Tanzanians who travel abroad annually in search of treatment for chronic diseases.

President Kikwete, said the government, through the National Social Security Fund (NSSF), has entered into a deal with Apollo Hospital for the establishment of the centre that will serve primarily those that require surgery.

"With collaboration from the Tanzanian government we are ready to set up the centre and we believe that it is very crucial for the country in the fight against non-communicable diseases with assurance of thorough health services to citizens," said the Chief Executive Officer of Apollo Hospital, Mr Sangita Reddy.

### **22 million nets**

The government, together with USAID and various anti-malaria organizations, has launched a 12-month nationwide campaign to distribute over 22 million long-lasting insecticide-treated mosquito nets.

Miriam Lutz of USAID said after increasing awareness and the use of pesticide nets, malaria infections have been reduced by 50%. Partly as a result of such anti-malaria initiatives, there has been a 28% reduction in mortality rates among children under five.

Dar es Salaam Regional Commissioner Said Meck Sadiki said at the launch that each household registered to receive long-lasting insecticide-treated mosquito will be given it free of charge.



### **Athletics**

Tanzania's elite athletes are eagerly preparing for 2 significant events this year and hoping to improve the country's medal record in recent times. First, the World Athletics Championships will take place in Beijing in August. Following that, the All Africa Games will be held in Congo-Brazzaville in September (which happens to be the 50th anniversary of the Games being held in the country who first hosted it in 1965).

Ismail Juma (5,000m), Alphonse Felix (10,000m), Ezekiel Ngimba and Fabiano Joseph (both marathon) have already run the necessary qualifying times in recent events and are expected to travel to both events, and other athletes in some shorter distances are also hoping to make qualification times (The Guardian, 14/7/15).

To help them achieve their goal, the sport has received an injection of Tsh 10m from TANAPA (Tanzania National Parks Authority).

### **Football**

Gloomy news continues on the Tanzanian national men's football scene. After presiding over a string of defeats in the 2017 Africa Cup of Nations qualifying round, most recently a 0-3 defeat at home to Uganda, Mart Nooij, the Dutch coach of Taifa Stars, has been sacked after 14 months in charge (BBC Sport website 22/6/15). It was reported that the team and coach were booed throughout the Uganda match and Nooij had to be shielded from angry fans by tight security (CCTV-Africa.com).

Yanga Sports assistant coach Charles Boniface Mkwasa now acts as interim coach whilst a permanent successor is found. The team has been drawn against Malawi in the opening 2-leg qualifying round in October for the 2018 FIFA World Cup; there remains a long journey ahead if the team are to have any chance of making the finals in Russia – if it happens there of course....

Unfortunately the women's national team have not been faring much better as their under 20's team went down 4-0 to Zambia in a qualifying game for the 2016 World Cup in Papua New Guinea.

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.*

### **By the river of Msimbazi, a health crisis looms**

“I will live here until I die,” says Mussa Kibwana, crouching in an ankle-deep pile of decaying garbage. The main road in his neighbourhood is made entirely of trash – plastic bags, bottles and far more sordid kinds of waste. Kibwana lives in Magomeni, a small ward in the Kinondoni district of Dar es Salaam. The garbage is left over from last year’s rainy season, deposited there by the flooding of the Msimbazi River... “The trees around this area block the dirt in the river, and when the water can’t pass through, it rises and flows into people’s houses.” The Msimbazi is severely polluted, he explains, and its bacterial levels are as dangerous as the flooding itself. But the pollution is both a gift and a curse to communities by the river – when the flooding starts, their only protection comes in the form of “waste walls.” They use trash found in the Msimbazi to build barriers along the banks which help keep the rising water at bay... [I]t just so happens that the garbage is the cheapest way to fight the floods. The Msimbazi is the longest river in Dar es Salaam ... Garbage blockages not only force the water higher during the flood season ... but prevent it from flowing during the dry season as well... [T]he residents of Magomeni aren’t the only ones polluting the river – the Msimbazi is a discharge sight for textile industries, municipal waste stabilisation ponds, and home sewage pipes... (*East African*, April 11-17, 2015)

### **Dangote Cement to Begin Production In Tanzania**

The sub-Saharan Africa's leading cement producer, Dangote Cement, said it will begin production of cement in Tanzania's Mtwara region in August. This is contained in a statement by the Office of Tanzania President, Jakaya Kikwete, in Dar es Salaam. It said the date was announced at a meeting between President of Dangote Group, Aliko Dangote and Kikwete ... The 500 million dollar factory, which has an annual capacity of 3 million tonnes, will double the country's annual output of cement to 6 million tonnes. However, Dangote faces challenges in accessing coal and natural gas as sources of cheap power to run the factory. Tanzania, East Africa's second-biggest economy, has made big natural gas discoveries and had coal reserves of up to 5 billion tonnes, but lacks infrastructure to deliver the energy to major factories... The Tanzanian

plant will supply the domestic market and export to landlocked countries in the region. It will be competing with other Tanzanian cement producers, including Tanzania Portland Cement, owned by a subsidiary of Germany's Heidelberg Cement AG. There is also the Tanga Cement, owned by Afrisam Mauritius Investment Holdings Limited; and Mbeya Cement, owned by France's Lafarge SA. (*nigerianobservernews.com* - 6 May 2015)

### **US forces train game rangers in Tanzania**

Extract: An elite unit of the US Armed Forces was ... in Tanzania to train game rangers and wardens in how to use American war tactics to fight poaching and wildlife trafficking in the country. The first ever exposure of the game rangers and wardens to American combat skills ended on March 27 with a graduation ceremony attended by senior diplomats and Tanzania wildlife conservation officials... The use of the US military in the war against trafficking of animal parts is the latest endeavour by the government to end rampant poaching, which has reached alarming levels in the whole of East Africa... (*East African*, April 4-10, 2015)

### **Reports: Nonprofit VETPAW kicked out of Tanzania**

By Jon R. Anderson, Staff writer. A small but splashy veterans group with lofty plans to take on African poachers has been kicked out of Tanzania in the wake of what appears to be a self-inflicted publicity blitz run amok. A six-person team with VETPAW - Veterans Empowered to Protect African Wildlife - was ordered to leave the East Africa nation following a burst of controversy. According to VETPAW posts and comments online, the team had been accompanied by an Animal Planet film crew that was producing a show on the group... In a recent press conference surrounded by dozens of fatigue-clad Tanzanian park rangers whom VETPAW had come to train, the head of the country's Ministry of Tourism and Natural Resources said he was "saddened" by recent posts that have been circulating widely online. Those have included pictures of "tactical model" Kinessa Johnson - a former Army diesel mechanic now with VETPAW - posing with various weapons and gear. Most, if not all, of those pictures appear to have been taken before her tour to Tanzania but have been posted recently in the group's social media accounts, spurring a spate of blogger and media interest. "Meet the Badass, Tattooed Army Vet Who's Hunting Down Poachers in Africa" was typical of many headlines. Overblown media hype of a group that was just there to train, not fight? Maybe, but then some of her actual comments surfaced... "We're going there to do some anti-poaching. Kill some bad guys and do some good," Johnson says in one YouTube video posted from the gun industry's annual SHOT Show in Las Vegas in January as VETPAW was preparing to depart for Africa... (*militarytimes.com* - 7 May 2015)

### **Rich getting richer, poor getting poorer? Africa's inequality struggle**

Fast cars thunder down tree-lined avenues. Luxury yachts sway in the sparkling marina, while diners in trendy beach-side restaurants clink Champagne glasses, enjoying the gently ocean breeze. This isn't Miami or the French Riviera, but Luanda, the capital of Angola. The city is a poster-child for the extraordinary economic boom experienced by many African nations since the early 2000s, its crane-filled skyline testament to the breakneck speed of construction seen in recent years. But it's not just Luanda. From million-dollar mansions dotted along Mozambique's coastline, to high-end shopping emporiums in Nigeria's metropolises, oases of influence have sprung across the continent which has been home to seven of the 10 fastest-growing economies in the world... "On the one hand you hear glowing stories of growth and prosperity, shiny new buildings being built, big cars, nice homes, and lots of consumption. But Africa is producing bigger and bigger numbers of poor people, so poor so desperate" says Ali Mufuruki, CEO of Tanzania's Infotech Investment Group and member of the International Monetary Fund's Group on sub-Saharan Africa. He adds that the growth statistics measure only those who are active participants in the economy leaving out the marginalized masses who often find themselves in sporadic, informal employment... Reasons for these diametrically different realities are complex, but the main culprit seems to be the nature of the growth pattern which enabled the already wealthy to get richer, without a significant impact on the rest of the population. Rakesh Rajani, a Tanzanian civil society activist, says that a lot of the growth has been driven by industries like mining, oil and gas and, to some extent, tourism - all of which don't employ a huge number of people... (*edition.cnn.com* - 12 May 2015)

### **The albino children locked away to be safe from witch-doctors**

The terrible plight of albinos in Tanzania continues (see related article in TA111): It was from neighbours that Scola Joseph first heard of two strange men in the village asking after her children. She knew immediately the moment she dreaded had com. Packing small bags for Elijah, 3, and Christine, 5, she led them away from their home and towards the nearest town, to a government camp where hundreds others like them were living under protection. It is the only way to keep them alive. Buhangija is one of nine such centres in Tanzania. This is where the country's endangered class of albino children are moved in an attempt to keep them safe from witch-doctors, who claim their body parts, ground up and put in charms, can bring wealth and fortune... Albinism, caused by the lack of pigmentation in their skin, hair and eyes, affects about one in 20,000 people worldwide, but is for unknown reasons more common in sub-Saharan Africa and Tanzania particularly, where it claims one in 1,400. At least 75 children and adults with albinism have been killed here since 2000 and more

than 62 others have escaped with severe injuries following the witch-doctors' attacks. With witch-doctors paying as much as \$75,000 for a full set of body parts ... [S]ome of those implicated in the killings are members of the victims' own families. The UN warned recently of a marked increase in attacks on albinos, which it said were at greater risk with the approach of national and local elections in October... January Makamba, a candidate vying to take over from President Jakaya Kikwete, said a better solution had to be found for people with albinism to live safely in Tanzania. "It's an embarrassment to this country that we have to keep them in camps like this," he said... (*Sunday Telegraph*, 5 July 2015)

### **Tanzanian low-cost water filter wins innovation prize**

A water filter which absorbs anything from copper and fluoride to bacteria, viruses and pesticides has won a prestigious African innovation prize. Its inventor, Tanzanian chemical engineer Askwar Hilonga, uses nanotechnology and sand to clean water. He told the BBC his invention should help the 70% of households in Tanzania that do not have clean drinking water. The prize, worth £25,000 (\$38,348), was the first of its kind from the UK's Royal Academy of Engineering. Head Judge Malcolm Brinded said, "His innovation could change the lives of many Africans, and people all over the world." The sand-based water filter that cleans contaminated drinking water using nanotechnology has already been trademarked. "I put water through sand to trap debris and bacteria," Mr Hilonga told the BBC's *Newsday* programme about the filter. "But sand cannot remove contaminants like fluoride and other heavy metals so I put them through nano materials to remove chemical contaminants." ... "For people who cannot afford water filters, we have established water stations where people come and buy water at a very very low, affordable price," he added... (*bbc.co.uk* - 2 June 2015)

### **Cholera hits refugees in Tanzania**

About 3,000 refugees fleeing political turmoil in Burundi have been infected in a cholera epidemic in Tanzania ... Up to 400 new cases of the deadly disease were emerging every day ... mainly in Tanzania's Kagunga peninsula where tens of thousands of Burundians have taken refuge ... ([*London*] *Guardian*, 23 May 2015)

### **Inside the elephants' graveyard of Tanzania**

Herd numbers face wipeout at the hands of poachers, but little is done to halt the slaughter. Extract continues: As Howard Frederick flew in a Cessna low over the scrubland of Tanzania's Selous game reserve, it was the complete absence of elephants rather than the piles of scattered bones he saw that chilled him the most... Tanzania had lost two-thirds of its once mighty elephant



population in just four years as demand from China for ivory tusks sent a highly organised army of rifle and chainsaw-wielding criminals into its game reserves... Having let the way in calling for a ban on elephant ivory exports in the Eighties, Tanzania has grown complacent about safeguarding its bountiful wildlife... Run by big criminal syndicates based in Dar es Salaam, the poachers worked in "highly mechanised teams", according to Mr Frederick. "You would have lead teams who would go out and scout an area, then kill teams come in, ambush and kill whole groups," he said. "They move on to the next area while the butchering team comes in and chops all the tusks, and then the transport team comes in. "It's progressed from being very casual poaching to teams of highly organised individuals." Tanzania's herds ... in 1976 ... had 316,000 elephants, the largest population on the planet... In Selous and its surrounding ecosystem, the elephant population was the lowest since counts began, down from 109,000 in 1976 to 13,084. The Tanzanian government said it would beef up protection and accepted offers of help, including one from the Americans who sent marines to train its rangers... (*Sunday Telegraph, 19 July 2015*)

### **Radio: Twiddle that dial**

With half the adult population in Tanzania tuning in to local radio, community stations have an influence way bigger than their budgets - and have even been known to save lives. Extract continues: Baloha FM had only been on air for five weeks when a deadly storm struck the village of Mwakata in north-west Tanzania, killing more than 40 people and destroying hundreds of homes. The radio station's founder, Samada Maduhu, found himself catapulted into the emergency relief effort in early March of this year: "The district commissioner, MPs, representatives of NGOs [non-governmental organisations], UN agencies and officials from ministries were here broadcasting information to the victims," he recalls. In the following days, people stranded by the torrential rains were found because they were able to call in to the radio. Such community engagement often lies behind the impulse to create a local radio station. Micheweni FM, situated in the remote rural area on the Zanzibar Archipelago island of Pemba, began in reaction to local conservative voices preventing young girls from attending school. "You only need to educate one girl and she can change the whole world," says Ali Massoudi Kombo, manager of the station, which is the only media in the district of more than 130,000 people. Micheweni FM only began broadcasting in 2010, yet girls now outnumber boys by two to one in classrooms, according to the local government's district planning officer, Hamadi Massoudi... (*Africa Report, June 2015*)

### **How a displaced Polish family found itself as refugees in Tanzania**

(See related article in TA108) As the world marks World Refugee Day on June 20, millions of people around the world today are stateless or are refugees. This

story traces the journey of one Polish family uprooted from their home during the Second World War who found themselves stateless refugees in Africa in the 1940s. Extract continues: The letters are written in ink in a tight, classic script... Some of the earlier ones are datelined Teheran or Morogoro, but most were written from Tengeru and address to "Our dearest Papa." ... And they are written in Polish... The writer of this momentous news was the almost 13-year-old Stanislaus Odolski, who lived, along with 5,000 other Poles, at Tengeru, northern Tanganyika, one of the first refugee camps in Africa, from 1944 to 1948... [F]ew East Africans ever expected to see large groups of Polish people deposited in their midst as refugees... [The wife of Anton Odolski - "Dearest Papa", his] daughter and son Stan were among the 37,272 Polish - but stateless - civilians, including 13,948 children, who were evacuated from the Soviet Union and travelled overland to Teheran and then on to various parts of the world under British influence for resettlement since they could not return to Poland. The Odolski family landed in Nairobi; some of the Polish refugees went to Masindi in Uganda. They went to Tengeru via Morogoro... (*East African*, June 20-26, 2015)

Ben Taylor:

## OBITUARIES

Hero of southern African liberation battles, *Brigadier-General Hashim Mbita*, died at Lugalo Military Hospital in Dar es Salaam, in April, aged 81.

Mbita's most prominent public role was as Executive Secretary of the Liberation Committee of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Liberation Committee executive secretary. The committee had been hosted in Tanzania, and offered support to African liberation movements in their fight for independence.

He served for 22 years from 1972, stepping down after the first democratic elections were held in South Africa in 1994. "Mission Accomplished" was the title of his statement to the meeting in Arusha that marked the closure of the Liberation Committee.

He also served in various leadership capacities, including army officer with the Tanzania People's Defence Forces (TPDF), press secretary to the country's founding president Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, and a politician.

His efforts earned him the highest recognition around Southern Africa. President Robert Mugabe awarded him the Royal Order of Monomotapa, the country's highest honour available to non-Zimbabweans, bestowed to those who excelled in the struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe and other southern African countries. South Africa bestowed on him the Order of the Companions of OR Tambo, for his "exceptional and gallant support of African

liberation movements and his tireless efforts in ensuring that the struggle for freedom throughout the African continent bore fruit." He was honoured by the Southern African Development Community (SADC) with the Sir Seretse Khama Medal, and by the African Union with its first "Son of Africa" award.

Nevertheless, he wore his medals lightly, never one to seek out publicity or attention.

"There are few people in this country who we can compare with Brig Gen Mbita; he was a man of his own kind who served this country for a long time and in all that period, he executed his duties ably and diligently," said President Kikwete. "There was no freedom fighter in Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Mozambique and South Africa who did not know the immense contribution made by Mbita."

Tanzania's Chief Sheikh, *Mufti Issa bin Shaaban bin Simba*, died in June at the TMJ Hospital in Dar es Salaam where he had been undergoing treatment for kidney and bronchial complications.

Dar es Salaam Chief Sheikh, Alhadi Mussa Salim, told reporters in Dar es Salaam that the Mufti had undergone surgery the previous day but did not recover.

The late Sheikh Simba became the Mufti of Tanzania in 2003 after acting in the post for 3 months following the death of the then Mufti of Tanzania, Sheikh Hemed Bin Jumaa in 2002. Prior to this, he had been Chief Sheikh of Shinyanga Region since 1970.

As death is inevitable for every human being, we have to accept it. It's our responsibility to pray for Sheikh Simba so that he rests in peace," said President Kikwete in a condolence message.

National chairman of the opposition party, Chadema, Freeman Mbowe, said "the Mufti has been heard several times saying that he is not the leader of Muslims alone but all believers. I join other Muslims in the country during this difficult moment as we mourn the death of their spiritual leader."

*Mr John Nyerere*, the son of Tanzania's founding father, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, has died in Dar es Salaam, aged 58. He had been battling with diabetes. The late John Nyerere is survived by nine children. He was the fourth of Mwalimu Nyerere's seven children. He will be remembered for his contribution during the Kagera War in 1978-9 when he served as a Tanzania People's Defence Force fighter jet pilot.

Martin Walsh:

## REVIEWS

**MOBILIZING ZANZIBARI WOMEN: THE STRUGGLE FOR RESPECTABILITY AND SELF-RELIANCE IN COLONIAL EAST AFRICA.** Corrie Decker. Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2014. xiv + 254 pp. (hardback). ISBN 978-1-137-46529-0. £62.50.

Those familiar with Decker's earlier publications will know the rich oral history she has accumulated through extensive research with women of various generations in Zanzibar. This book builds upon her previous work to present a thorough investigation into the development of women's education and professionalisation in 1920s and 1930s Zanzibar and the emerging significance of women within the public sphere in the post-war and late colonial period.

Central to the argument is an exposition of the processes by which women, and female teachers and professionals in particular, shaped prevailing notions of *heshima* (respectability) in the early colonial period into what was by the post-war period 'a symbol of the publicly active, self-reliant, middle-class professional women' (p. 2). Women's literacy was a key element in their manipulation of *heshima*. That many Zanzibaris describe the late colonial period as the time of *maendeleo ya wanawake* (women's development) underscores the indispensability of women's education and professionalisation to more general social and economic development the 1950s and 1960s. Decker uses the term 'self-reliance' to encapsulate the Swahili concepts of *faida* and *nafuu* (benefit or profit) and other factors to describe 'the goals – economic and social, individual and communal – that professional women set out for themselves and their families' (p. 13). Women's mobility and action is contrasted throughout the book with the attempted 'mobilization' of women in male-authored discourses, including those by the colonial government, elite Arab figures and nationalists.

The decision by the colonial government to support women's education in the late 1920s was related to the drive to improve standards of living. Although the colonial government sought 'to produce "good wives and mothers" not professional women' (p. 80), generations of educated women delayed marriage to continue to work as teachers or nurses. Decker demonstrates that this was far from a top-down movement – aspirant scholars and educated women reshaped notions of *heshima* to gain greater social and economic freedom. Furthermore they were essential mediators who established acceptable methods for disseminating colonial policies, such as those related to health, which were often seen as invasive interventions into the domestic sphere.

These insights into the domestic alongside the official make this a particularly engaging study, as Decker interweaves of archival records and oral history. Although these sources are used in tandem throughout, each chapter has a penultimate section focusing upon an individual whose experiences provide a personal perspective on key issues. As such we learn of the diverse outcomes of women who through education gained greater 'self-reliance' and also the ways in which they articulate these

memories. These narratives elucidate how such women negotiated the public and private sphere – we cannot understand their professional experiences without also locating them in the domestic setting as daughters, sisters and mothers.

This book is vital reading for scholars of 20th century Zanzibar, and education and development in the global perspective. Decker's final point clearly demonstrates the wider significance of this work. Evident in her interviews with men and women was the 'refusal by women to see explicit political gains or losses as the only lens through which to understand their history. Instead they highlighted the continuities in women's education and work between the colonial and postcolonial period as the message to take away from our conversations.' (p. 161). Such fresh perspectives, which occur throughout the book, challenge the prevailing histories of colonial, revolutionary and post-colonial period in Zanzibar and as such the book makes a vibrant and important contribution to scholarship on East Africa and beyond.

Sarah Longair

**GROWING UP WITH TANZANIA: Memories, Musing and Maths.** Karim F. Hirji. Mkuki Na Nyota, Dar es salaam, 2014. 302 pp. (paperback). ISBN 978-9987-08-223-0. Available from African Books Collective, £17.95.

Karim Hirji grew up during the dramatic years before and after independence. He is an Ismaili whose parents came from the Indian subcontinent and this memoir provides a rare view of how Indians made the future Tanzania their home. Hirji begins by depicting provincial life in Lindi during British colonial rule where many Asians of different communities were engaged in trade and commerce, and he reflects on the hierarchical relationship between the colonial rulers, the Indians and the Africans. The family moved to Dar es Salaam when he was in his teens in 1961. The Ismaili community were mainly living in Upanga where their Jama' at Khana (mosque) was located and he describes playing cricket and attending the Aga Khan Boys' school. This is when Hirji fell in love with numbers, anticipating his later life as a professor of mathematics in the US. The memoir is sprinkled with mathematical concepts, presented in a thoughtful but fun way (readers who are not mathematically inclined can readily skip these pages: they are not essential to the story).

Hirji went to Dar Technical College for his secondary education and found himself in an environment where the majority of students were Africans. This had a transforming effect on his outlook, and he began to see himself as 'a member of an emergent nation unified and guided by a noble leader'. During this period he attended a 'nation-building' camp at Kinondoni for a month, where the majority of students were again African. At that time not many Asians were exposed to the wider world because they tended to remain segregated within their own communities. His discovery of mathematics led him to move next to a boarding school at Kibaha to complete his schooling. *Ujamaa* was in full swing and all school leavers had to do national service prior to going to university. Hirji attended Ruvu camp for six months and during this period he reflected further on social and racial equality.

This was a challenging time for Asians in the country, and they did not always perceive the transition from colonial rule as positive. Hirji manages to capture how many of his friends reacted to these changes. Asians had come from India to Africa under the umbrella of British colonial power, and cultural separation from the local population was embedded in their mindset. Africanisation in the 1970s led to the mass exodus of many Asians because they felt insecure. The nationalisation of property after the Arusha Declaration led the Aga Khan to negotiate with the Canadian government to allow the Ismaili community to leave Tanzania and resettle in Canada. Hirji captures the early euphoria before nationalisation and reflects thoughtfully on its consequences. He notes that many of his family and friends (of Indian origin) are scattered all over the globe, including in the US, Canada and England. He himself spent 20 years in academia in the US, but does not reveal how this came about.

This memoir is very much a personal journey seen from the eyes of an Asian growing up in Tanganyika/Tanzania during a period of great change. It provides a rare glimpse of the Ismaili community and its cohesiveness. The Aga Khan has played a fundamental role in directing the life of its followers and there is no doubt that Hirji is very much a product of that community. There is much to recommend his account, particularly his musings on education and mathematics.

Shamshad Cockcroft

**The Development State: Aid, Culture and Civil Society in Tanzania.** Maia Green. James Currey, Woodbridge, 2014. xi + 227 pp. (paperback). ISBN 978-1-84701-108-4. £19.99.

Readers familiar with Tanzania will find much of interest and much to ponder in this book. Tanzanian development and development politics has a long, rich tradition from the socialist policies and experiments of the Nyerere years to the changes heralded by structural adjustment and beyond. Notwithstanding some excellent historical work, there have been very few book-length studies of development in Tanzania in recent years. For this reason Maia Green, a social anthropologist with considerable knowledge of contemporary Tanzania, is well placed to write a comprehensive study.

*The Development State* comprises an introduction, eight chapters (all but one previously published) and a conclusion. The introduction sets out her general approach, which focuses on the effects of neoliberal development on forms of governance. This donor-driven 'discourse' legitimises and supports a very specific agenda of trade liberalisation, macro-economic stability and fiscal discipline. It has important consequences for developing countries like Tanzania: aid relationships are framed in the language of partnership and local ownership, which in turn are underpinned by limited forms of donor support in the expectation that a state will empower its citizens to achieve development. This is a world away from the 1970s when the state was *the* political actor which defined and implemented development.

Green argues that Tanzanians have, for a variety of reasons, come to accept and pur-



sue a neoliberal vision of development even though this has delivered very little for the majority of citizens. In Chapter 1 she defines 'development states as those that are materially and ideologically sustained through development relations' (p. 15). That Tanzania is such a state is reinforced by her view of the history of development from the British mandate to the present. Chapter 2 looks at the 'participatory' rhetoric which has dominated Tanzanian development from the 1990s, and argues that participatory planning is *the* form through which development is organised at all levels. Chapter 3 examines the ubiquitous planning workshops that rely on logical frameworks and participatory methods to identify and agree 'manageable projects'. In the next chapter Green critiques notions of participation, which, she argues, is a tool 'to enrol divergent interests' into supporting a common enterprise.

While Green states that there is little evidence that participation delivers real benefits, she does not ask why Tanzanians fail to question this way of thinking and pursuing development. Subsequent chapters focus on civil society actors who claim to represent local 'communities' to 'anticipate development', obtain funding and become development agents. Green argues that this process creates inequalities because these people, who have tenuous links to communities, are in fact 'privatising development' even as they attempt to enrol local people into a project through workshops aimed at 'capacity building'.

Chapter 7 provides a fascinating account of 'anti-witchcraft services' which, Green argues, are modelled on modern, neoliberal forms of governance and service delivery. Chapter 8 examines the cultural logic of neoliberal development for Tanzanians, by which she means the small urban-based middle class. This class is largely the product of policies which created and maintains the public sector; in Green's view it is parasitic in that its access to education, modern housing, IT technology and modern forms of consumption are underpinned by exploitative arrangements with poor rural households. Green concludes, rather unsatisfactorily, that the state has prioritised forms of development which promote the capitalist transformation of the economy (which will benefit very few Tanzanians), while using participatory planning to reinforce the message that ordinary citizens are responsible for their own development.

This book is problematic for several reasons. The various chapters do not fit together to provide a coherent analysis of development, and despite the book's claim to speak about the whole of Tanzania, Green's research and analysis is largely focused on Morogoro region. While her insights are interesting, we learn very little about how ordinary Tanzanians participate in or experience development. Finally, the terms and language used by the author make the book difficult to read and her arguments hard to comprehend. Her focus on 'discourse' obscures an understanding of the complex social and political relations and networks that underpin development, the diversity of actors and institutions with an interest in development, and, critically, what two decades of pursuing neoliberal development policy has or has not delivered.

John R. Campbell

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

*This compilation of articles on Tanzania, culled from journals in the LSE library, covers January to June 2015. The abstracts are based on those published by the author(s).*

**"Regulatory compliance in Lake Victoria fisheries"** Eggert, H & RB Lokina *Environment and Development Economics* Vol 15(2).

This paper analyses the causes for regulatory compliance, using traditional deterrence variables and potential moral and social variables. We use self-reported data from 459 artisanal fishers in Lake Victoria. The results indicate that the decision to be either a non-violator or a violator, as well as the violation rate – if the latter – are influenced by changes in deterrence variables like the probability of detection and punishment and also by legitimacy and social variables. We also identify a small group of fishers who react neither to normative aspects nor to traditional deterrence variables but persistently violate the regulation.

**"Households' income-generating activities and marginal returns to labour in rural Tanzania"** Nerman, M *Journal of African Economies* Vol 24(3).

This study uses detailed household-level data to assess whether rural Tanzanian households seem able to allocate labour so as to maximise their incomes, and what factors determine if they do. In contrast to much earlier work on income diversification I use crop-level data to explicitly evaluate marginal returns within agriculture. The integrated household survey used allows me to then link these returns to household characteristics and broader labour supply decisions and consumption behaviour. In line with expectations, agricultural wage work seems to be a last resort option, as agricultural wage labourers have lower marginal returns than others due to a higher labour allocation to own agricultural production. Furthermore, wage rates are much higher than the shadow wages, implying that there are gains to be made from expanding the non-farm side of the rural economy.

**"Rural policies, price change and poverty in Tanzania: An agricultural household model based assessment"** Tiberti, L & M Tiberti *Journal of African Economies* Vol 24(2).

The main objective of this study is to develop a robust and comprehensive tool to evaluate the effect on household welfare of different agricultural policies in Tanzania and food price changes. A two-stage estimation strategy is adopted: the shadow price of labour is first estimated and then used to estimate production and demand systems as well as labour market functions. These models are subsequently used to simulate the effect on household welfare of a hypothetical 40% increase in the price of cereals and other crops and a hypothetical 10% increase in the hectares of arable land and in the use of ox-ploughs. The results are finally compared with the case in which a separable model is adopted.

**“Inter-temporal and spatial price dispersion patterns and the well-being of maize producers in Southern Tanzania”** van Campenhout, B, E Lecoutere & d’Exelle B *Journal of African Economies* Vol 24(2).

We revisit a methodology to gauge the short-term effect of price changes on smallholder farmer’s welfare that is popular amongst policy makers and academia. Realising that farmers face substantial seasonal price volatility over the course of an agricultural year, we pay particular attention to the timing of sales and purchases. In addition, we depart from the implicit assumption that all farmers scattered across rural areas face the same prices when interacting with markets. Using maize marketing during the 2007-2008 agricultural season in a sample of smallholders in Tanzania as an illustration, we find that especially poor farmers face greater losses than what a standard analysis would suggest. We also relate our methodology to factors that are likely to affect potential benefits or costs from inter-temporal and spatial price dispersion, such as means of transport, access to price information and credit.

**“The role of credit facilities and investment practices in rural Tanzania: A comparative study of Igowole and Ilula emerging urban centres”** Larsen, MN & T Birch-Thomsen *Journal of Eastern African Studies* Vol 9(1).

Small urban settlements or small towns in rural areas represent the fastest urban growth in most of the African continent. Along with a renewed political interest in African agriculture, the role of urban settlements has gained a prominent position in poverty reduction in rural areas and as an alternative to out-migration. Based on data collected between 2010 and 2012 covering more than 60 business operators in two emerging urban centres (EUCs) and their rural hinterlands, the article explores development trajectories in two EUCs in Tanzania, both of which have experienced rapid population growth and attracted new investments in business by both migrants and the indigenous population in an effort to exploit new opportunities in the centres. The initial urbanization has not been driven by the state or by new institutional interventions such as microfinance but rather by the ‘market’. This paper argues that microfinance plays a role in facilitating possibilities for some businesses to sustain, expand or diversify their businesses once the business is well-established in the EUCs. Migrants play a pivotal role for the early development and later diversification of business activities within both EUCs. They have been attracted by new investment opportunities and bring capital and knowledge from previous experiences with economic activities.

**“The challenge of intermediary coordination in smallholder sugarcane production in Tanzania”** Mmari, DE *Journal of Modern African Studies* Vol 53(1).

Orthodox approaches to development view the market as a key institution for driving economic transformation and for fostering innovation and competitiveness. The working of markets alone, however, does not always lead to

improved outcomes such as increase in productivity or production efficiency in the context of smallholders. This paper examines the role of intermediary coordination in addressing constraints to efficiency and productivity in smallholder sugarcane producers in Tanzania. It also makes a contrastive analysis of different organisational arrangements for smallholder sugarcane producers in Malawi. The key proposition is that while intermediary organisations of cane out-growers in Tanzania have played a significant role in promoting effective market linkages, an increase in productivity required for competitiveness is limited by the lack of effective horizontal coordination.

**“Participatory forest carbon assessment in south-eastern Tanzania: Experiences, costs and implications for REDD+ initiatives”** Katani, KZ, I Mustalahti, K Mukama & E Zahabu *Oryx* (FirstView article, 25 June 2015)

The aim of this study was to determine the changes in forest carbon in three village forests in Tanzania during 2009-2012 using participatory forest carbon assessment, and to evaluate the capability of the local communities to undertake the assessment, and the costs involved. The results show that forest degradation is caused not only by disturbance as a result of anthropogenic activities; other causes include natural mortality of small trees as a result of canopy closure, and the attraction of wild animals to closed-canopy forests. Thus mechanisms are required to compensate communities for carbon loss that is beyond their control. However, an increase in the abundance of elephants and other fauna should not be considered negatively by local communities and other stakeholders, and the importance of improved biodiversity in the context of carbon stocks should be emphasised by those promoting REDD+ (Reduced Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation). This case study also shows that the cost per Ha of USD < 1 for participatory forest carbon assessment is less than that reported for Tanzania and elsewhere (USD 3-5); this is attributed to the large area of forest studied. However, the cost of data analysis and reporting in 2012 (USD 4,519) was significantly higher than the baseline cost (USD 1,793) established in 2009 because of the involvement of external experts.

**“Landlords in the making: class dynamics of the land grab in Mbarali, Tanzania”** Greco, E *Review of African Political Economy* Vol 42(155).

This paper reorients the analysis of land grabs in Tanzania towards the role of class dynamics. It draws on primary research on resistance against the privatisation of a rice farm in Mbeya region. This is a land grab ahead of its time, as it occurred before the wave of global land enclosures spurred by the 2007/8 crisis. The paper argues that the recent wave of dispossession builds on pre-existing processes of rural social differentiation and class formation, which are played out through the politics of land and its class dynamics. It claims that if scholarship is to support the progressive potential of resistance against land grabs in Africa, the class dynamics of land grabs must be acknowledged.

# TANZANIAN AFFAIRS (ISSN 0952-2948)

*The editors would like to thank John Sankey, for the wonderful proof-reading service he has provided to TA for the past four years, and Valerie Leach, for her dependably insightful contributions on Tanzanian economics.*

*We are now looking for someone else to take on these roles. Please contact Ben Taylor ([ben.d.taylor@gmail.com](mailto:ben.d.taylor@gmail.com)) if you are interested.*

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

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