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RE-ELECTION OF MWALIMU NYERERE

How and Why

THIRD NATIONAL PARTY CONFERENCE

AGRICULTURE - THE CHANGING SCENE

A FRANCO-TANZANIAN OCCASION

MISERIES OF A MILLIONAIRE

THE STORAGE CRISIS:

The Problem

Government and Donor Action

An Additional Threat

New Technology

## THE THIRD NATIONAL PARTY CONFERENCE.

### THE RE-ELECTION OF MWALIMU NYERERE AS PARTY CHAIRMAN

There were those claiming to be wise before the event and others claiming to be wise after the event. But many people who were expected to be in the know were taken by surprise when they picked up their newspapers on October 22nd 1987 and read that Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere had been nominated by the CCM Party's National Executive Committee as the sole candidate for the Party Chairmanship. Many were even more surprised when they learnt that the nomination had been unanimous.

Some recalled vaguely how they thought they remembered Mwalimu saying some time ago that he was resigning as President of the United Republic, but would continue to serve as Chairman of the Party for two more years. They seemed to recall something about him retiring to his village to keep his six cows (Bulletin No 23). Then there was the Seminar about 'Tanzania After Nyerere' and the worry of one speaker at the seminar about the painful thing it would be for Mwalimu to find himself sitting in his Butiama village and seeing his progressive achievements eroded away (Bulletin No 25). Later, Mwalimu had taken on an important new international post - Chairman of the South Commission (Bulletin No 26) which many expected would take a lot of his time. In Bulletin No 27 we quoted from a paper by Dr. Haroub Othman who had stated that "despite his absence from the Presidency, Nyerere will continue to be a great influence on the country even after he retires as CCM Chairman in 1987". Another assumption that he would indeed retire. Even more recently, at several meetings in 1987 (Bulletin No 28), Mwalimu was himself quoted as saying that the two posts of President and Party Chairman should be held by the same person. That person could only be President Mwinyi.

#### The Debate Intensifies

By the middle of 1987 speculation as to what would happen intensified both inside and outside Tanzania. Mwalimu, when asked, as he was frequently, said that the matter would be decided by the Party Congress due to meet in October 1987.

In August, the widely read Tanzanian Catholic newspaper, Kiongozi, quoted in Africa Events, rather surprisingly and directly entered the debate. It wrote: "As time has passed, President Mwinyi has demonstrated his competence in leadership and those who thought he might be unequal to the job find they have misread the script. Just like Nyerere, Mwinyi is an intellectual and a simple man who is given to piety... However, what is amazing is that some ordinary people and some Party and Government leaders have emerged to launch a secret campaign aimed at persuading Nyerere to continue to lead the Party, the reason being that we still need his wisdom. We must accept that there is no leader who can claim to be indispensable or irreplaceable. As

human beings go, they are all prone to err. Equally, to each man his own style of leadership. This being the case, there is no substance whatsoever to the claims of some leaders that Nyerere should continue as the Party Chairman. If the point is to benefit from his insights, he can still offer them in his capacity as an ordinary member of the Party".

But A. M. Babu, writing in the September 1987 issue of Africa Events, began to express some worries which were clearly being felt further afield. He wrote that: "Nyerere is about to abdicate his position of power and this fact, together with the vacuum that he leaves behind, has naturally created a mood of uncertainty among Tanzanians. Lilliputians have frantically emerged in full force, fighting and back-stabbing each other, for the simple objective of advancing their blind personal ambition to fill the power vacuum.... As the power fighters are sharpening their daggers for the Party Congress, Tanzanians will do well to reflect on the 25 years of stability and harmony among the people and to remember that this is the greatest legacy for which Nyerere will be remembered in history... The whole world will be looking at us on how we resolve the problem of the leadership transition and we must do it in style"

Until a relatively short time before the Party Conference some uncertainty remained. Africa Events, in its November 1987 issue, recounted the story of what it described as a visit, sometime earlier, by one of Nyerere's old friends, to see him in Dar es Salaam. After the usual preliminary hearty salutations, the visitor lunged straight towards the heart of the hottest issue of the day. Was Julius going to call it quits? The answer was sober and frank. "Yes" the visitor was told. "Why?" he asked. The answer was that Mwalimu needed to have time to write his memoirs, to fulfill his new duties in the South Commission and do other things. But the visitor was not satisfied. What was the real reason, he wanted to know. The real reason, he was told, was that Mwalimu had had a lot of time to tour the country during the last year on behalf of the Party. He had been listening and talking to villagers. He could not help noticing the unmistakable signal in their eyes. They were telling him that it was time he went. It was clear that most Tanzanians would prefer to see the back of him. And that was why he was not standing for re-election.

The press in Kenya joined in the speculation and indicated a certain desire that Mwalimu should depart the scene. The Daily Nation wrote to the effect that it had been suicidal to try and apply a policy of socialism in a situation where there were no socialists.

The Economist, which is not an admirer of Mwalimu, was very blunt in its October 17th issue. "Mr. Nyerere... will probably find the forthcoming conference less comfortable than the international goodwill circuit.... delegates will, if their country is lucky, hear Mr. Nyerere announce that he really is retiring".

A few days before the conference Le Monde, in Paris, featured a major article under the heading 'Mr. Julius Nyerere, will he resolve to leave the political scene?' After examining all the evidence, the writer, Le Monde's correspondent in Nairobi, was not sure.

## The Third National Party Conference.

Before attempting to interpret what happened, a reference to the Conference itself. It was the first full conference since the 1982 one in Dar es Salaam. It was held in one of the National Milling Corporation's godowns (completely transformed inside for the occasion) at Kizota, five kilometres from Dodoma. It was big. 1,931 delegates accommodated in schools, houses and the newly extended - from 30 to 96 rooms - Dodoma Railway Hotel. Thirty-four foreign delegations stretching alphabetically from Albania to Zimbabwe. Ambassadors. Founder members of the two parties (TANU and ASP) from which the CCM was formed. The Conference lasted 10 days, from October 22nd to 30th 1987.

And what did it do? It elected the new leaders of the Party including the new National Executive and Central Committees (with two surprise results - see below); three thousand candidates were nominated for positions on the NEC and a subsequent short list contained the names of 300; these three hundred were competing for 90 national seats of which 10 were reserved for women, five each for youth and the armed forces and 20 for Zanzibar. There were 122 candidates for the 40 regional NEC seats.

The Conference also considered a draft 15-Year Party Programme and Economic guidelines for the next five years. The Party Programme is an 88 page green booklet, the first of its kind to be issued by the Party. Its text is said to include, among other things, reference to internal counter revolutionaries and external enemies, the raising of the ideological consciousness of the masses, the need for regularity in Party meetings, strict discipline and democratic procedures, collective decision making, the continued relevance of the Party leadership code, the gradual abandonment of the 'mixed economy' concept perpetuated by petty bourgeois forces and the firm resolve of the Party to build a new economic system to serve a socialist society.

## Mwalimu Warns on Wealth Accumulation.

In the opening session of the Conference Mwalimu Nyerere returned to some familiar themes. He called for concerted action to check the emergence of a class of the rich. He said that some dishonest public servants and unscrupulous individuals were taking advantage of the severe economic difficulties to enrich themselves. If this trend was allowed to continue, he said, it would jeopardise national peace and stability.

He explained that the number of people questioning the sincerity of leaders had grown rapidly and there was a feeling among the people that the contradiction between what some leaders preach and their actions was widening. "I am not saying that these questionings and this cynicism has yet become sufficiently widespread to be immediately dangerous to our equality and our stability. But I am saying that a trend can be discerned and, unfortunately, the facts to support it are there to be seen...".

Mwalimu gave the example of retired leaders who immediately

mobilised capital to launch capitalist enterprises. Though there was no law against it, the practice raised doubts among the people as to the sincerity of such leaders' previous speeches in support of Ujamaa.

It was also being suspected that the rich had better access to important publicly provided services, that they had powers to bend the law and that they were quietly exercising influence on policy making.

"We have people in prison because they cannot pay the development levy and we have rich people who do not pay income tax or pay very little. We have people who go to bed hungry and we have people who throw food away" Mwalimu said.

In his peroration, Mwalimu continued "Troubles make weak and chicken hearted people cry; effective people, with strong hearts, are matured by them. We are poor in material goods but we are not chicken hearted. We have the strength of unity and confidence which comes from knowing that we are fighting for justice and equality both within our country and beyond its borders....If we continue to keep a firm hold on the rudder of our unity and if we continue to have confidence in ourselves and our objectives, we are not afraid of storms. Let them blow. Our vessel will be tossed about by the waves and wind; often it will veer from the course; but it will not lose direction and will return to the sea lane. Finally we shall resume our journey with more power and arrive safely at the destination".

#### The Election Results.

The day before this opening address the National Executive Committee had unanimously nominated Julius Kambarage Nyerere as the sole candidate for the Party chairmanship. At the same meeting Ali Hassan Mwinyi was nominated the sole candidate for the post of Party Vice-Chairman.

Ten days later the Conference delegates voted. Mwalimu received 1,878 votes out of 1,910 cast. Mr. Mwinyi got 1,907 out of 1,908.

Mr. Rashidi Kawawa was re-elected as Party Secretary General by 158 out of the 159 NEC members who voted.

Many well known persons failed to be elected to the NEC including the Deputy Ministers of Local Government and Cooperatives and Agriculture and Livestock Development, the Chairman of the Leadership Code Enforcement Commission, Mr. Selemani Kitundu and Ms Lucy Lameck. Fifty two of the new NEC members are university graduates.

#### The Central Committee

On November 2nd came the elections for the powerful Central Committee of the Party. And here there were two surprises. The dynamic Chief Minister of Zanzibar, Seif Shariff Hamad and the Minister of Finance, Economic Affairs and Planning, Mr Cleopa Msuya, who had previously been members, failed to be elected. In the first case the intricacies of Zanzibar politics must have played a role and perhaps Mr. Hamad has been a little too direct in his relations, particularly with older colleagues. In the case of Mr. Msuya one can

only conclude that the IMF medicine which he has prescribed for Tanzania is either too potent for the taste of certain of the patients or there are genuine fears amongst Party members that it was not the correct prescription in the first place.

The succesful candidates in the various elections for the Central Committee were as follows:

Julius Kambarage Nyerere  
Ali Hassan Mwinyi  
Idris Abdul Wakil  
Joseph Sinde Warioba  
Salim Ahmed Salim  
Rashidi Kawawa  
Gertrude Ibengwe Mongella  
Abdullah Saidi Natepe  
Ali Ameir Mohamed (new member and Editor of  
the Party newspapers, Uhuru and Mzalendo)  
Paul Sozigwa  
Sebastian Chale (new member and Ruvuma CCM  
Regional Chairman)  
Hassan Nassor Moyo  
Mustafa Nyang'anyi  
Moses Nnauye  
Ali Mzee Ali  
Daudi Ngelautwa Mwakawago  
Andrew Shija  
Alfred Tandau  
Salim Amour  
Kingunge Ngombale-Mwiru

A further change was the appointment of Prime Minister Joseph Warioba as Secretary of the NEC Commission for National Defence and Security in place of Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, the Minister of Defence and National Service.

Why was Mwalimu Nyerere Re-elected?

From the evidence available it seems that there were at least five factors involved in the re-election of Mwalimu Nyerere as Party Chairman:

a) A request to him to accept re-election from the only possible alternative candidate - President Mwinyi himself. President Mwinyi may well be feeling the pressures of high office. He is deeply involved in tackling the serious economic crisis and in negotiations with the IMF and with donor countries. He is becoming more involved in the struggle in Southern Africa after his participation in the Commonwealth Conference in Vancouver where this was again the main subject under discussion. He must worry about the involvement (an involvement which it is understood was entered into with great reluctance by Tanzania in view of the economic implications) of the Tanzanian army in northern Mozambique. It can easily be understood that President Mwinyi might

prefer someone else to handle the affairs of a political party of the size and constitutional importance of the CCM.

b) Mwalimu Nyerere's own disappointment at the state of the Party as revealed to him during his extensive touring of the last 18 months. Mwalimu must have felt a sense of duty in wishing to continue to try and strengthen it; he has not hidden his view that many of its leaders are lacking in the socialist ideals to which he attaches such importance.

c) The Party members themselves must have had a clear interest in retaining in charge the person who formed the Party, who believes in it and who can best defend it.

d) The political situation in Zanzibar remains delicate (Bulletin No. 28). Mwalimu Nyerere was really the architect of the Union between the mainland and Zanzibar. He is much respected there and is presumably anxious to see the Union very firmly established before he relinquishes the power to help bring this about.

e) Perhaps the most important factor of all - a growing feeling that the country is less united in its policies and objectives than it was. Tanzania is an island of free speech amidst much oppression and Tanzanians have been becoming more and more outspoken in different directions. Yet they do not have to look very far to see what happens when a country is not united. Mwalimu Nyerere is also fully aware of the key role of the army in the African context. The importance of stability must have been apparent to all. By re-electing Mwalimu Nyerere, the Party members have indicated that continued stability remains high in their list of priorities.

#### Mwalimu Nyerere's Acceptance Speech

Mwalimu Nyerere confirmed much of what has been written above in the speech he gave at the Conference on October 31st 1987.

He said that it was the need to strengthen Party democracy and the pressure of events - both domestic and international - which made it difficult for Tanzania to re-combine the Party Chairmanship and President in one person for the time being. The President found it difficult to find time to do the needed Party work.

The following are extracts from the speech:

"Ndugu Delegates,

Twice I have had the honour of having my name proposed at the Party's National Congress for election as CCM Chairman for periods of five years. On neither occasion was I compelled to make an official acceptance speech. But on this occasion I believe that it is inevitable that I should do so.

Many years back, before 1985, I said openly that from that year on, I would not accept nomination as Party candidate for the Presidency of Tanzania. I contend that the experience we have gained during the last two years, during which our nation has been led by President Ali Hassan Mwinyi, confirm that the decision was for the benefit of our nation (applause)

I have been stressing the danger of divisions that could emerge in



our nation between two groups - a group led by the President of the country and a group led by the Party Chairman. Even if there is no difference between the two leaders themselves, such a difference could emerge as a result of their tasks... It has been argued that this is not the right time to combine the tasks of Party Chairman and President. Although all of us accept that normally both caps should be worn together, it is appropriate for the time being to allow more time for the strengthening of our Party.

The other argument put forward is that I and President Mwinzi have worked together on the basis of excellent cooperation .... so it is argued that if this period is extended, there will be no danger of creating divisions in the Party and our nation.....

Ndugu CCM members, it is appropriate that I should avail myself of this opportunity to affirm to CCM members and all the people of Tanzania the reality of the situation..... Reports ... published by the international press and media and whispered by those who wish to create chaos, agents sent by people outside (applause) have always been untrue and fabricated reports.

Truly, the motive of such reports is envy. They are made in the hope that they will help divide us. If they did not divide me and President Mwinzi, perhaps they would divide the people of Tanzania. And even where there are no divisions, newspapers, our enemies' broadcasts and the fools in our midst (laughter) would continue to sing: divisions do exist - they are there between the President and the Chairman. Eventually, even reliable people could start believing that this is true. They would quote proverbs like: if it is spoken about, it exists. They would say: even if it does not exist now, it is coming (laughter). Ndugu members and Ndugu citizens: there is no split between the Chairman and your President. It does not exist (shouts and prolonged applause)....

I wish to state this: I have resolved to accept the nomination Ndugu President for two reasons. Firstly, it is true the arguments about the strengthening of our Party are valid. And secondly, the fact is that you, the country's President, wish me to do so".

## The Reactions

Reaction to his re-election was very enthusiastic at the Conference. Otherwise, they appear to have been rather muted. The Tanzanian Daily News confined itself largely to factual descriptions of the events. Several messages of congratulation were reported to have been sent to Mwalimu from within and without Tanzania.

The British press almost entirely ignored the event and the news came too late for the African monthly press based in Britain to comment.

Africa Events, ever alert to happenings in Tanzania, in its November issue, in a column headed 'Shop Talk', thought that the Party had been a 'spoil sport'. In re-electing Mwalimu Nyerere it had denied the old campaigner the joy of lazing it out on the quiet fringes rather



than in the bustling centre of power. "More importantly, the Party has again shown how far removed is its ear from the national pulse on the ground.....the price of gross political expediency is diminished goodness in ideology".

Finally, the *Tanzanian Sunday News*, in its November 8th issue, under the heading 'Democracy Wins at Dodoma' wrote that 'The gains and losses at the Third National Party Conference have been described as the achievement of the CCM's implementation of democracy. The defeat of two Deputy Cabinet Ministers and several prominent figures in the Party and Government indicated two things: First, it proved the delegate's voting power; second, it demonstrated the people's freedom to vote for candidates of their own choice.'

David Brewin

### AGRICULTURE - THE CHANGING SCENE

Any recent visitor to Tanzania is bound to observe certain changes in the agricultural scene. These changes are related primarily to the improved input supply (machinery, spares, fuel, chemicals and , fertilisers) and the better prices now available for crops. Most noticeable are the imports of the agricultural inputs which have been assisted by foreign exchange support from aid donors. Producer prices for the major food crops are being kept at a level which has stimulated production. Tanzania has a surplus of maize and a major headache over how to move and store it.

However, high inflation and soaring prices of imported goods as the shilling has depreciated, have made long term planning for farmers very difficult. To date, the improvements to production have been achieved with minimum new investment. The fundamental restructuring of agriculture to allow a greater role for the private sector from production through to marketing is a longer term process.

Recent Government policies are generally pointing in this direction. Having achieved food self sufficiency the emphasis now is on export crop rehabilitation.

#### The Private Sector

The driving force for this export crop rehabilitation is recognised as being the private sector. The Government is trying to reduce its own role as a direct agricultural producer on large state-owned farms and ranches. For example, a recent development has been the leasing of National Agricultural Food Corporation (NAFCO) land in Arusha to the private sector for the cultivation of food crops. Another example is the sale of formerly nationalised sisal estates. Certain Government coffee estates in the Kilimanjaro and Arusha regions are also understood to be in the process of transfer to the private sector. Already, the privately owned tea and sisal industries are investing in new equipment and professional management. Coffee is heading in the

same direction.

As production from small farmers and private estates increases, the need for Government owned farms is reduced and Government resources can be released for the improvement of the infrastructure, import of inputs and development of research.

The Government is keen to encourage non-traditional exports as well so efforts are being made by entrepreneurs to set up new horticultural and fisheries businesses. Crucial to the success of these efforts to attract investment is the liberalisation of export marketing, to allow funds to be retained outside Tanzania to cover the foreign exchange costs of the farming operations in the country.

The support services for agriculture (input supply, transport, credit, marketing) are still weak and in need of investment. Here a major role should be played by the cooperatives, in the supply of inputs and in the collection and marketing of crops. At the moment the burden on the cooperatives is too great as their financial and administrative abilities remain weak after their reconstitution in 1984. The Tanganyika Farmers Association (TFA), a private cooperative organisation based in Arusha, has continued for many years to provide a valuable lifeline to farmers. The role of membership-based organisations like TFA in providing support services and an interchange of ideas for farmers is most valuable.

International reaction to these developments has been positive. This bodes well for the success of Tanzania's efforts to develop new and traditional export markets in accordance with recent Government statements.

Robert Whitcombe



The National Assembly had a short session in November 1987 immediately after the Party Conference. Over 500 questions were submitted by members.

The Member for Iringa West asked about the crime situation in the country.

Reply: Theft of public property has fallen in the last three years by 23%. There were 914 incidents in 1984 and 697 in 1986. Burglaries had fallen by 8% from 3,512 to 3,323 cases. Some 624 weapons had been impounded in the last three years. Special campaigns had been launched in areas with a high rate of crime like Tarime and Serengeti districts.

A Nominated Member, Mr. Haji Mohamed, asked "Why can't Britain be expelled from the Commonwealth.

Reply: Expelling Britain from the Commonwealth was not a solution to the problem in racist South Africa. But Tanzania was opposed to the British stand as expressed by Mrs. Thatcher during the Commonwealth Conference. Commonwealth countries had accepted the idea that they might have differences of opinion on some issues.

The Member for Kongwa asked how soon the godowns at Kizota, one of which had been used for the Party Conference, would be used for the storage of grain.

Reply: Two of the godowns would be filled immediately with 20,000 tons. The third would take a short time to be cleared of conference equipment.

The Member for Mwembe-Makumbi asked about wheat production.

Reply: Wheat growing regions were expected to produce some 75,000 tons of wheat in 1987. 53,000 tons from Arusha region, 14,000 tons from Iringa, 5,600 tons from Ruvuma, about 2,000 tons from Mbeya and 1,200 tons from Rukwa. Wheat production in Mbulu had gone down because of lack of combine harvesters and for no other reason. The Government was assured of smooth running of the Canadian assisted wheat project in Hanang even after the departure of Canadian experts. "There is a time when we have to be self-reliant, relying on our own people" the Deputy Minister of Agriculture said.

A National Member, Ms Lucy lameck asked for a progress report on the two duty free shops in Dar es Salaam.

Reply: The two shops were run as a partnership between the 'Biashara Consumer Services' and the 'Palestine Martyr Organisation'. They had raised some U.S.Dollars 487,000 since they were opened two years ago. 39 Tanzanians were employed in the shops.

The Member for Muleba asked about honey exports.

Reply: About 10,800 dollars had been made from honey exports and about 854,000 dollars had come from export of beeswax during 1984/85 and 1986/87.

The most heated debate during the session was on one clause in a new Bill which makes the possession of a sum of over Shs 1.0 million in the home a criminal offense. The Minister of Justice said that hoarding money was a crime of economic sabotage. Others said that it was unreasonable to force people to put money into banks when these were often situated at long distances from peoples' homes. The Bill was eventually passed by 57 votes for to 47 against.

#### THE MISERIES OF A MILLIONAIRE

This latter Parliamentary event persuaded Sunday News humorous writer Adam Lusekelo to put pen to paper. He commented "The

Government's Chief Law Officer feels that people who move about with a lot of money or sleep on mattresses stuffed with millions should be asked why they are doing that. If they don't give a sufficient answer they will be punished.

Now this could be tricky. Is someone telling us how we should spend our money? I thought how I should spend my money was none of anybody's bloody business.

Of course, I could understand if the Chief Law Officer was concerned with people who stuffed money in their right pockets.... you could then be charged with the unforgivable in ideological crimes. It could just mean that you are a rightist capitalist roader. And rightist capitalist roaders will never sway us from our cherished goals of socialism.

But then dear reader, the million dollar question is - what are we supposed to do with the money?

Bank it ?

But our ancient banking system still demands that you you write a cheque and then wait for hours while watching pretty bank clerks swinging their derrieres now this way, now that....

The only remedy is to have a girl friend in your local branch. Which doesn't sit well in this age of that deadly terror called immunodeficiency virus.

If you don't have a girl friend then you may end up parting with some of your money just to jog up the mind of a bank clerk who has been feigning total memory loss on where your cheque is...."

#### 5,000/- REWARDS FOR LION KILLERS

The CCM Party has offered rewards of Shs 5,000 to persons able to kill lions in Tunduru district. Man-eaters have killed 36 people during the last three years in the district. 16 villages along the Tanzania-Mozambique border have been affected.

But Daily News writer Reggie Khango is sceptical. He wrote that there were rumours locally to the effect that the man-eating lions were man sent. A Mozambique poacher was said to have been conned of his rhino horn by corrupt Game Scouts who, after impounding the trophy, sold it themselves. The writer noted that among the victims of the lions had been a number of Game Scouts. Another story he had heard was that a Tunduru resident who had been wronged by a neighbour had obtained a herbal concoction with which to settle scores. He lost the 'prescription' which was concealed in a rope. The rope was allegedly the lion and it killed him. After that the lion had satisfied its hunger on the 36 other human beings.

Although the writer considered both stories to be bizarre he noted that they were in agreement on the possibility that there had been only one man-eater. He wondered whether any of the 15 lions killed in the hunt so far had been man-eaters. He was concerned that Tanzania might thus be in danger of losing one of Africa's proudest animals.



# Letters

Send letters to:  
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C78

## SOKOINE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

With reference to the short report in the May issue of the Bulletin on the suspension of 297 students (out of 500) at Sokoine University of Agriculture I would be most grateful if the following facts were brought to the attention of your esteemed readers.

- The students were suspended for removing from some of the rooms double decker beds which had been installed for those who opted to use them. They had a choice to live off-campus and receive Shs 2000 monthly to meet costs involved. They were also suspended for obstructing their colleagues from using the double decker beds. Finally, they were suspended for refusing an order of the Executive Committee of Council requiring them to install the beds they had dismantled. This indicates that refusal to live in threes in rooms designed for two was not the basic reason for the suspension. They had the freedom to live off-campus if living in threes in rooms designed for two was considered (by them) to be inconvenient.

- 250 of the 297 (the figure was 296) resumed classes on 15th March 1987, 25 were suspended up to the end of 1987 and the rest up to the end of 1990. Council set up an ad hoc committee to investigate causes for the unrest. The suspended students were also allowed to use their right to appeal to a statutory Disciplinary Appeals Committee.

- Council, at its meeting on 2nd September, received reports from both committees. Council has allowed all those still on suspension to resume studies in January 1988. This follows from the advice of the two committees.

I hope that this information will help to get the facts up-dated.

Professor G.R.V. Mmari,

Vice-Chancellor

## A SLUM

Your issue of September 1987 quotes a woeful article in the Economist (June 20th) in which Tanzania is described as 'a slum' and Kenya as a 'shaky success'

Fortunately, one of the hard-won liberties of the 1980's is not to have to pay the slightest attention to economists. Their capacity for producing conflicting analyses of trees while missing woods is

inexhaustible.

I was however struck by the fact that the quote should appear close to an account of a Frenchman's tourist experiences in Zanzibar in which he found the Kenyans not very pleasant and the Tanzanians friendly and happy.

I will personally fund five days in a Nairobi shanty town for that Economist feature writer's next holiday, to be followed by five days in any Tanzanian village, so that he may return to Berkshire, or wherever, with his spirits revived.

Tanzania may be going through an economic upheaval, but it is in the strength of Nyerere's ideas and policies that that upheaval brings immediate and tangible benefits from the top to the bottom of society - even though the policies themselves have necessitated the upheaval. Name me one other country where the same has been, or could be, achieved.

Dr. Tim Cullinan  
Mbeya

#### PUNCHING

I refer to your article in Volume 28 of the Bulletin concerning the views expressed by Eileen Stillwagon on oppression of women at the University of Dar es Salaam.

I do not entirely agree with the impression created by Ms Stillwagon. The 'Wall Literature' on a wall at the back of one of the cafeterias is used as a mechanism to check the behaviour of members of the University community, not the women alone. Thus, anyone in the University can be 'punched', ranging from lecturers to students and the person who 'punches' others comes from any part of the University community - not from the engineering department only.

Female Ex - University Student

#### MAKONDE AND MAWIA

In the September issue of the Bulletin I was interested in the contribution by Mr. Godwin Kaduma 'The Makonde Carving: Its Essence'.

For nine years I worked at Newala on the 'Makonde' Plateau' looking over the Ruvuma River to Mozambique. Members of the Mawia tribe, a tribe in Mozambique, frequently came over from Mozambique to seek work on the sisal estates on the coast and to sell their carvings. The Mawia were a tribe quite distinct from the Wa-Makonde; different in their language, manners, habits, characteristics and appearance. Mr. Kaduma describes them accurately in describing Wa-Mawia - not Wa-Makonde!

The Wamawia are by nature gifted artists. This is evident in their ebony carvings showing the decoration of their heads, the pattern of their hair treatment, the pattern of their facial markings (Mr. Kaduma calls them 'tattooed'; actually they are 'incised' - carved on the skin); also they file their teeth to a point.

A Mawia boy came to St. Josephs College, Chidya; he stood out clearly from the others especially in his gift for drawing, pattern and picture making.

I understand that a group of Mawia settled near Dar es Salaam and

sold their carvings which came to be known as 'Makonde carvings'.

Someone better qualified than me could give the Mawia their due and describe their characteristics.

The late Dr. Lyndon Harries shared life with me at Newala for a time and studied the Mawia language and I think wrote about it.

I fear the tourists who buy these carvings have spoiled their art by showing their preference for what is less original or, as Mr Kaduma says, less authentic.

Canon J.W. Cornwall

*(Christine Lawrence who has also lived in the area has been doing some further research on the matters raised by Canon Cornwall and writes as follows - Editor)*

It is not surprising that Canon Cornwall is puzzled over the Wamakonde and the Wamawia. In fact, they are one and the same although the latter is a nickname. This is explained by J. Anthony Stout in his book 'Modern Makonde Sculpture' (1966. Kibo Art Gallery Publications, Nairobi).

'The Makonde are Bantu Africans and a distinctive people. These sculptors, or, in some cases, their fathers, were born in the north eastern corner of Mozambique. There is also a Makonde people indigenous to the area north of the Ruvuma in Tanzania'. Dias (in his book 'Portuguese Contribution to Cultural Anthropology'. A. Jorge Dias. Witwatersrand University Press. Johannesburg. 1961) supposes that both Makonde groups were closely related at one time but have developed important cultural differences from their long separation.

Stout goes on to write 'Because of the high cost of goods and the scarcity of employment in that part of Mozambique, there has long been considerable migration across the shallow Ruvuma into Southern Tanzania..... they are generally regarded with both respect and fear. A reputation for ferocity and violence has accompanied them from Mozambique where they had the derogatory nickname 'Mawia - the short tempered ones.'

'Mawia' comes from the Swahili verb 'wia' meaning to warm up, begin to boil, or to seethe.

Anthony Stout's book was published following an exhibition of Makonde carvings at Kibo Art Gallery, Kilimanjaro in 1965.

Stout also wrote that 'the times move on and we should not expect modern Makonde art to stand still. The artists have overcome great problems in the recent past because they would not stagnate. Makonde creativity is as unquestionable as life-force'.

#### PROPOSAL FOR A ZANZIBAR RESEARCH GROUP

There is a widespread feeling among Zanzibaris and others that the islands have been neglected in terms of academic research for a very long time. This has been partly because of the intellectual climate over there for the past couple of decades and partly because of the lack of co-ordination between scholars with interest in Zanzibar.



The climate in Zanzibar is now changing. The Government there is showing every sign of trying to bring about a revival in education and cultural development. The effort to establish a national library has begun to bear fruit; the Zanzibar archives are being rehabilitated; and the Government is apparently considering a proposal to set up an institute for social research in Zanzibar.

The renaissance however will be hampered by the fact that intellectuals with interest in Zanzibar have been scattered over the four corners of the globe. While some have attempted to maintain some informal contact among themselves, most are not aware of the interests and academic pursuits of their colleagues. This may not only lead to duplication of effort but also hamper the identification of the most fruitful avenues of research and collaboration between scholars with common interests.

We would like to propose a modest project to help correct this situation. The first requirement is to establish contact with all those with interest in Zanzibar.

Secondly, we would like to build up our research resources on Zanzibar. Many of us have written articles (academic as well as newspaper) and books but these are often inaccessible to many of us when we become aware of them. We would like to propose the setting up of a unit where these materials can be collected. We would welcome two copies of these publications, one which can eventually be deposited in the Zanzibar library when it begins to operate. Readers of the Bulletin can send materials written by others if they are easily accessible or they could be donated.

Thirdly, to disseminate information on scholars and publications, we propose a modest newsletter. Unfortunately the cost of production and postage will impose a heavy burden on individuals. We wonder whether anyone would be in a position to share the cost with us in the form of a modest subscription or donation.

While such information, if disseminated by the newsletter, will be useful to us all, we feel that the unit can play a useful role in identifying or initiating specific research projects. One such project could be the recording of the experience of the last thirty years of the political and other changes on the Islands. Twenty years after the revolution, for example, there is only one scholarly account of it, and that written from a colonial perspective. And yet there are many participants in the political struggle leading up to it who have not yet been induced to put their reflections down on paper or on tape. Some of these participants are already dead and it will be unfortunate if we fail to record the memories of those still with us. Other projects could focus on aspects of culture, scientific development, language etc.

We hope you will agree with us about the need to initiate this modest project.

Professor Abdul Sheriff, History Department.  
University of Dar es Salaam, P.O. Box 277,  
Dar es Salaam (to whom correspondence should  
be directed) and,

Dr. Haroub Othman, Institute of Development  
Studies, Dar es Salaam.

## A FRANCO - TANZANIAN OCCASION

The members of the 'Association des Amities Franco-Tanzaniennes' are too modest. On October 23rd and 24th 1987 they held a seminar (or 'colloque' as they rather charmingly term it) in Paris (jointly with the Centre de recherche et d'etudes sur les pays d'Afrique Orientale - CREPAO) which was something of a model of its kind.

It was held in two locations and squeezed a very great deal into two long days. No tea breaks in France! There were speeches, as one would expect, and much animated debate, but there were also films, video and slide shows and, at the conclusion, naturally, as we were in France, a convivial 'diner Tanzanien'. Yet throughout, members were saying to me that they hoped I would not be too disappointed as everything must be so much bigger and better when organised by the Britain-Tanzania Society.

Several different nationalities participated, including some fifteen Tanzanians and virtually everyone spoke at some stage (although I was somewhat disoriented when the interpreter suggested that perhaps we would get on rather better if I made my own contributions in my mother tongue!) The interpretation was of a remarkably high standard - especially in one session handled by Father Justo Laconza - now studying at S.O.A.S. in Britain - so that I could not complain.

As regards the formal sessions, much had indeed been covered in the wealth of seminars which have been held in Britain during recent months - including a presentation not dissimilar to the excellent paper 'President Nyerere and the State' by Jeanette Hartmann which was published in Bulletin No. 26.

The first address, by Professor Francois Constantin (University of Pau), dealt with Tanzania's image in France. It was not a very strong image. There was the absence of any colonial connection and many in France had only become aware of Tanzania when a certain French Foreign Minister had become involved, many years ago, in a public altercation with his Tanzanian counterpart at Dar es Salaam airport! But the real reason for the low profile of Tanzania in France had been the lack of eccentricity in Tanzania's leadership. Reference was made to Bokassa, Idi Amin and others. Perhaps another reason is that the French have not been exposed, as have so many Britons, to the skill with which Mwalimu Nyerere handles the English language.

But those French people who were aware of Tanzania had been deeply impressed, according to Professor Constantin, by Mwalimu's integrity, humanism, life style, moral stature and charisma. Latterly however, things had changed. There had been the economic problems, the corruption and a lot of faulty insinuation. The French Association needed to communicate better and re-establish the truth.

Mr. Gerard Fuchs, Socialist member of the French Parliament explained that, for each country, the Parliament had established interest groups. There were some thirty Deputies in the Tanzanian group which made it, numerically, one of the largest. Unfortunately, however, it was not as active as it should be.

Father B. Joinet, author of the book 'Manger d'abord', gave a colourful address under the title 'Nyerere - Has He Achieved His

Objectives?'. Like a recently graduated student in management technique Professor Joinet first clearly spelt out what he felt the objectives had been. For example, Ujamaa had not been an objective to be achieved. It was an image of a utopia which had not been achieved anywhere on earth. It was an idea aimed to give inspiration.

Father Joinet hypothesised that Nyerere had had four objectives:

- liberty at all costs and of all kinds; cultural, political and economic;
- unity of the nation;
- elimination of gross inequality; and,
- adequate food, water, clothing and housing for everybody in Tanzania

These objectives Nyerere had achieved. He should be awarded (in the French system of academic assessment) 18 out of 20 (or was it 19? various different grades were bandied about for different elements of the programme!)

The implication was that development, as such, had not been high in Nyerere's list of objectives. All employment was an exploitation. There had been, therefore, no proper division of labour as understood in other countries. Father Joinet felt, and he believed that Nyerere agreed with him, that Nyerere had envisaged a nation of modest but self-supporting crofters.

On the subject of stability (a matter of particular relevance as the nomination of Mwalimu as the sole candidate in the election for the chairmanship of the C.C.M. had been published in that day's edition of 'Le Monde') Father Joinet referred to Tanzania's regional administrations. You often found conflicting forces. The Party Chairman might push hard for development; the Party Secretary might want to go forward more slowly. Result 'stability'. Rapid development could lead to instability. But stability could also mean stagnation.

Nyerere had been very far sighted on several occasions. For example, during the war with Uganda, he had instructed journalists not to emphasise the presence of Libyan troops on Uganda's side. It might prove necessary to work with Gadaffi again at a later date and there was no point in permanently antagonising him.

Nyerere's attachment to his own culture would long be remembered. There was no Government supported 'Academie Anglaise' in Dar es Salaam.

Clear differences of opinion emerged on some issues. Dr Jeanette Hartmann spoke about two groups that had been jockeying for power in Tanzania. The first group were Nyerere's men; together a long time; much ideological rhetoric; not wanting too much change so that they could continue to control the political process. Another group were supporters of President Mwinyi. Many of them were in Government trying to find pragmatic solutions to day to day problems. Both groups however were agreed on the need for political stability.

Professor Bavu, also from Dar es Salaam University, said that there were not really different groups. Mwinyi had been created by Nyerere. There were however certain ideological differences.

Tanzania's Deputy Minister of Education, who was in Paris for a Unesco conference, said that Tanzania was proud of its twenty-five years of unity and stability. Tanzania had, in spite of all the difficulties, remained as a fundamentally democratic society.

Marjorie Mbilinyi, also from Dar es Salaam University, spoke about the sexual division of labour. Cultivating by hand with a baby on your back was very hard. Young women were leaving the land and trying to get any other work. A powerful film on the income - generating activities of women (work carried out without any help from the menfolk) was shown later in the seminar and followed by a discussion. It is called 'Kumekucha' (From sunrise) and has been highly and rightly praised in a Daily News review by Martin Mhando. He wrote that the six women interviewed in the film have one thing in common - a clear understanding of their role in society vis-a-vis the man; and that, if a man leaves the theatre after the 20 minutes of being stripped naked of his humanity without feeling guilty then he is no human being. The subsequent discussion on the film in Paris was less successful however than it might have been due to the extreme pugnacity of the film's producer.

Professor Robert Mabele, also from Dar es Salaam University, took part in a brief discussion on the import of 'useless goods' (whisky was mentioned). He explained that the Trade Liberalisation rules were often breached.

Ms Anna Cassam, former Assistant to President Nyerere, spoke with considerable force and passion. France was guilty of cultural arrogance. It was part of the northern world in which there was a lack of comprehension; there were different dimensions of time and space. She spoke of a visiting Parliamentary delegation in the 1970's from an unnamed European country. The leader had been impressed during his up-country tour. "You are trying to build democracy and equality" he had said to Mwalimu Nyerere. "But is this going to bring happiness?" There had followed a moment of silence. "No" said Mwalimu, "we are not engaged in metaphysical research. We are involved in a struggle against exploitation and underdevelopment. This has nothing to do with happiness".

Everything about Tanzania had to be understood as part of a struggle. The struggle with the IMF had not been just a struggle against the organisation in H Street, Washington DC. It had been a struggle against the modern equivalent of slavery. The objective had been to maintain Africa on the margins of the world economic system. France had been the beneficiary; Africans had been the victims.

Zanzibar was squeezed in to a short period near the end of the seminar. "We are accustomed to that" said a lady from Zanzibar. We were treated to a rather skillfully devised potted history of Zanzibar which, as is customary on these occasions, stimulated some controversy as to what actually has been happening in Zanzibar during the last twenty years. We also heard some strong words about the new mass tourist complex being constructed in Zanzibar and the unfavourable effect it was likely to have on the environment and the social structure.

Our French counterparts are deserving of considerable praise for arranging such a stimulating two day programme.

One criticism. At the 'diner Tanzanien' there was no Dodoma wine. We had to make do with Bordeaux!

David Brewin

## ZANZIBAR TOURISM FORGES AHEAD

Since the Zanzibar Government opened the gates to private investment two years ago and enacted a law to encourage foreign private investment, some 19 applications have been received by the Ministry of Marine, Tourism and Forestry for permission to build tourist hotels in the islands. Five of the applicants have been allowed to proceed with construction while the rest have yet to comply with Government requirements before permission is granted. The Government now has in its hands 13 applications from people wishing to become tour operators and travel agents. Seven applications have been accepted and the Isles' Tourism Director, Mr. Andrew Katema, hopes that the tourism industry will soon be able to contribute to the diversification of Zanzibar's declining mono-crop economy.

Since 1984, the number of tourists visiting Zanzibar has increased threefold (to 22, 753 in 1986). In that year tourism brought to the Islands' Treasury some Shs 6.7 million compared with clove earnings of Shs 284.5 million - Daily News

## THE TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS CORPORATIONS - 10 YEARS OLD

(Extracts from a feature article in the Daily News)

THE TANZANIA HARBOURS AUTHORITY was established in 1977 to take over from the East African Harbours Corporation when it collapsed.

There have been some fairly massive investments during the last 10 years to cope with growing demands. Current projects include:

- conversion of cargo berths nos. 9, 10 and 11 into a modern container terminal;
- rehabilitation of berths 1 to 8;
- rehabilitation of the Kurasini oil jetty;
- construction of a new grain terminal; the above, all in Dar es Salaam; and,
- strengthening of jetties at Kilwa and Lindi.

Nothing is planned for Mtwara as it is running below capacity; studies are underway for developments at Tanga.

THE TANZANIA RAILWAYS CORPORATION was also established in 1977. Its Lake services include:

- on lake Nyasa, the mv Iringa (80 passengers) and the mv Songea which can carry 125 tons of cargo;
- on Lake Tanganyika, the German built mv Liemba (700 passengers), mv Mwongozo (400 passengers) and an oil barge - the mv Sangara.
- on Lake Victoria, the mv Victoria (750 passengers), mv Bukoba (400 passengers), mv Butiama (160 passengers) and mv Clarias (290 passengers); there are also one wagon ferry (the mv Umoja), two motor vessels, each with a capacity of 200 tons, the mv Ng'ombe which can transport 100 head of cattle, two

tugboats, an oil tanker and a lighter.

The rail service is faced with very serious problems including low availability of locomotive power and rolling stock and shortages of spare parts. Thus, for example, passenger train frequency has had to be reduced from daily to four times a week on the Central line and to three times per week on the Link line (to Moshi and Tanga)

The road service to the Southern Highlands has 60 buses, 30 trucks, 10 tankers and six trailers. It is intended to introduce new routes to Malawi, Zambia and Kenya in the near future.

AIR TANZANIA CORPORATION was formed in 1977. It started with two Fokker Friendships inherited from the defunct East African Airways Corporation and a Boeing 737 leased from DETA of Mozambique. Today there are eight aircraft - 3 Twin Otters, 3 F 27-600's, and 2 Boeing 737's bought gradually during the last 10 years. The airline serves 21 domestic airports and 12 regional destinations including Maputo, the Seychelles, Lusaka, Muscat, Dubai and Gaborone. Passenger numbers have increased from 85,000 in 1977 to 441,000 in 1986. The airline claims to be operated by 99.9% Tanzanian personnel.

THE TANZANIA POSTS AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS CORPORATION came into being in February 1978 and has gradually expanded its services during the last 10 years. In 1978 Tanzania had 562 post offices with 45,444 letter boxes. Today the Corporation operates 740 post offices with some 82,000 post boxes. But this growth follows far behind the demand. Over 40,000 people are on waiting lists for post office boxes because of lack of wall space in existing buildings and shortages of locally made boxes and locks.

The greatest advance in telecommunications was the commissioning in 1979 of the first satellite ground station at Mwenge, Dar es Salaam which has 60 voice grade circuits to handle telephone, telex and telegraph traffic. The Mwenge station has access to the INTELSAT satellite over the Indian ocean thus providing links between Tanzania and the rest of the world.

A further important development was the completion in 1982 of the Tanzanian part of the Pan African Telecommunications Network (PANEFTEL). The microwave link stretching from the Namanga border in the north to the Tunduma border in the south has greatly improved the quality of the country's telecommunications services with Kenya, Uganda, Zambia and Ethiopia.

In February 1987 the Corporation signed a contract for 514 million shillings for the installation of a new Grade A ground satellite station at Mwenge which should result in further improvements in service.

## 23 MILLION PEOPLE

The Minister for Finance, Economic Affairs and Planning, Mr. Cleopa Msuya estimates that Tanzania's population now totals 23 million, almost double that of 1967. The estimate is based on an annual

population growth rate of 3.3% which the Minister described as 'very high'. He noted that the economic growth rate was only 2.5%. "If the actual population coincides with the estimated figure" he said "it means that we have been getting poorer, year in, year out".

The Minister announced that the next census would be conducted in August 1988 and that it would cost some 80 million shillings.

In Zanzibar the Statistics Department estimates a population growth rate of 2.7% p.a. during the period between the last two censuses - 1967 and 1978. Zanzibar's population should therefore be well in excess of half a million today. - Daily News.

## 20th ANNIVERSARY OF THE NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

(Extracts from an article in 'Habari' the journal of the Svensk-Tanzaniska Föreningen translated by J. Roger Carter)

Tanzania's sole state-owned commercial bank, the National Bank of Commerce recently celebrated its 20th anniversary. The Bank was established as a sequel to the Arusha Declaration by the nationalisation of the existing foreign commercial banks. The largest of these were Barclays Bank, the Standard Bank and National and Grindlays Bank. In addition there were certain Indian banks, the Bank of India and the Bank of Baroda together with a number of small establishments of various ownership.

The Bank had, among other things, invited to its celebrations certain foreign guests among whom were to be found some of us 'faithful servants' from the Nordic countries.

It was a fantastic week. The programme included everything an old friend of Tanzania could hope for. Visits to game parks, cultural events, social gatherings and last, but not least, opportunities for discussion about the Bank's achievements in the last 20 years and its prospects in the difficult economic circumstances in which Tanzania finds itself.

The Bank's growth has been tremendous. Before nationalisation there were about 50 branches mainly concentrated in the main towns supplemented by 'mobile branches', vehicles that drove around smaller places one or more times a week. Now there is an established representative and one or more branches in every district in the country. In addition, there continue to be a large number of mobile branches serving the smaller localities.

This expansion has naturally created a big demand for staff training and development. The initial internship scheme has grown considerably and the Bank now operates its own college in Iringa. Side by side with this, and for higher training there is the Institute of Finance Management which operates in conjunction with the country's public financial institutions.

The Bank's personnel appear, however, to be unusually stable with little turnover. It was extremely satisfying to return after nearly 20 years and find so many old colleagues still in post. Many of our



erstwhile young friends have now developed both in experience and stature and become important personalities in the Bank. This is important for the branches where so much of the activity of the Bank rests on knowledge of people, confidential and personal contacts, not least where foreign business is involved.

A great deal of the merit for these developments must be attributed to the present Chairman of the Bank, Ambassador Amon J. Nsekela. Under his leadership there has grown up an atmosphere and working conditions in the Bank, which have clearly proved stimulating for the staff.

The rapid expansion has also caused difficulties with the handling of the growing volume of transactions. All of us who have stood in the queue at the Bank's counter seeking attention for the withdrawal of part of our balances know this situation well. One must, however, have some understanding of the need for a control mechanism that ensures reasonable security. The absence of a functioning communication system, not to mention mechanised accounting techniques, preclude an effective banking system of the kind to which we are accustomed. Add to this the fact that the tendency towards pilfering, unfortunately present also among certain members of the staff, can be substantial in a community living on the fringes of poverty and one has much of the explanation for the, at times, cumbersome and time-consuming procedures with which the Bank's customers are confronted.

One of the Bank's present problems is to decide precisely what technical apparatus it should now go in for. Accounting and book-keeping in general are not yet computerised. Old fashioned recording equipment of the fifties and sixties continues to be used. The problem is that servicing and spare parts are no longer available. One is compelled to go over to something else. Should one computerise in a society in which the infrastructure, energy supplies etc. are so unreliable? Otherwise, how can one manage to tackle the constantly increasing volume of transactions? That is bound to be one of the big questions for the coming years.

Sven Öhlund

#### STOWAWAYS

Stowaways from Tanzania are turning up in various parts of the world and the Government is beginning to express some concern about the problem. In the most recent cases, three are understood to have died in a ship near Dar es Salaam; another group were thrown into the water off Mtwara; they were provided by the Greek captain of the ship with lifebuoys and survived to face prison sentences when they returned to land; and seven have been reported as being rounded up in the Atlantic Ocean islands of Sao Tome and Principe. Another group did not get so far. They were arrested in Maputo.

Mwalimu Nyerere, during a recent tour of Kilimanjaro Region, bitterly criticised parents, according to the Daily News, who encouraged their children to stowaway in the belief that the youths

would thus easily acquire wealth and be able to buy luxury goods from foreign countries. The Party Chairman called for a joint drive incorporating parents, the Party and the Government to deal with the problem.

#### DAR BUILDINGS DESCRIBED AS DANGEROUS

A probe team investigating the collapse of a building in Msimbazi Street, Dar es Salaam in August last year, which resulted in the death of two persons, has concluded that the Consultant, the Dar es Salaam City Council and its officials were directly responsible for the accident through negligence and technical incompetence.

The team said that it had also found irregularities in other projects it had studied. Architectural drawings were inadequate, land use requirements were not followed, the sizes of rooms were below requirements and in public buildings, such as cinema halls, toilets were not provided.

Since January 1985 some 3,000 building permits have been issued by the Dar es Salaam City Council but the probe team considered that "probably up to 95% of these....are incorrectly issued".

The team suggested two ways to deal with the problem. There should be a quick re-appraisal by 15 registered architects and 15 registered engineers of some 3,500 projects; this should take six months. The second approach would be for another team of architects and engineers to do a detailed re-appraisal of some 700 selected projects over a period of nine months. In the meantime, all permits should be revoked except in cases where proof could be furnished that registered architects and engineers had been involved - Daily News.

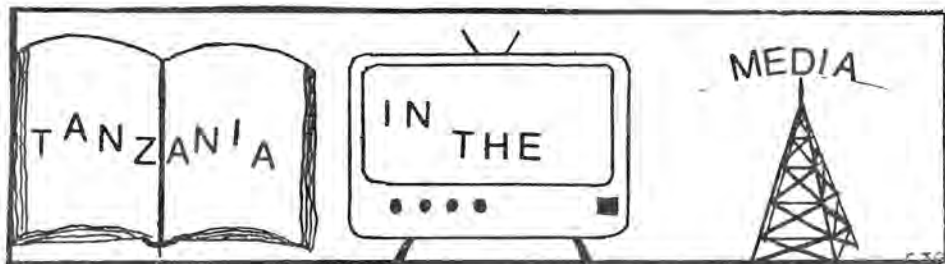
#### VIJANA CRITICISED

A strongly worded letter from a reader (Mr. Satiel Mgalla) to the Daily News has taken the C.C.M. Party youth wing, VIJANA, to task. "Tanzanian youths are today a scandal to the old generation because of their participation in racketeering, murders, bhang smoking, stowaway and, you name it, any criminal activities reported....it puzzles me to read however in the newspapers the Party youth wing concentrating in condemning apartheid South Africa, MNR Mozambique, UNITA Angola bandits while Tanzania's youths roam in urban streets creating terror to law abiding senior citizens. My advice to VIJANA is that building socialism is not dancing to the tune of 'Mdundiko' (Zaramo dance music) and that let it clean its own house before indulging in condemnations of other evils outside our border....."

#### .....AND PRAISED

The day following publication of this letter however, Party Secretary General Rashidi Kawawa was reported to have praised VIJANA

for its timely completion of the main platform, designed to seat 276 delegates, at Dodoma, in preparation for the Third Party Conference which was due to open four days later.



DO NOT LEAVE YOUR GOLD IN THE ROOM.

African Concord in its October 1st issue wrote about gold mining in the Lake region. It reported that in a hotel lobby in Mwanza there is a notice warning residents not to leave gold in their rooms and to deposit it with the hotel cashier. Mwanza, it reported, had become the trading centre for thousands of local and foreign fortune seekers combing lake region hills and valleys. They dig pits six to eight metres deep; two or three strong men enter with pick axes and begin to tackle the hard layer. A guard, armed with a club, bush knife or gun keeps an eye on the gravel shovelled out of the pit. Large caves have been made underground without any supporting pillars for safety.

The miners are said to sell their finds to both legal and illegal dealers at five times the price of Shs 27,000 an ounce offered by the State Mining Corporation. The local 'godfathers' use couriers at airports, seaports or on donkey back to transport the gold to overseas 'goldlords' through a watertight ring founded on trust. The gold business accounts for a large part of the imported goods now abundant in the region -goods imported under the guise of liberation of trade. the once empty shops are full of commodities but at sky high prices to make up for the high risk in earning the dollars.

#### FIRST LOAN SYNDICATION AGREED

The African Economic Digest in its October 16th issue states that Tanzania has reached an agreement with commercial banks for a £50 million revolving credit to support coffee exports. The initiative, led by the US Bankers Trust, is the first internationally syndicated loan to be made to Tanzania. The loan, made to the National Bank of Commerce at 1 3/8 % interest margin over base rate will be drawn down in tranches according to shipment and contracts of sale. The African Economic Digest stated that donors have regained confidence in Tanzania's economy and that commercial banks were impressed by Tanzania's recent economic performance.

## AIDS - WHERE DOES TANZANIA STAND?

African Farming in its October/November issue published a table comparing the number of aids cases currently reported in 20 countries. The worst affected, on a per capita basis, is Bermuda with 1,071 per million of population followed by French Guiana. Based on a reported figure of 1,130 cases the proportion for Tanzania is 48 per million compared with 173 for the USA, 113 for Uganda and 56 for Zambia.

## IMPROVING AUDITS

According to the October 9th issue of *Marchés Tropicaux*, the accounting situation in Tanzania's para-statal bodies is beginning to show a 'tendance encourageante'. The journal recalled that President Mwinyi instructed the para-statals in 1985 to get their accounts into good order not later than November 1987. Rumours were said to be circulating in Dar es Salaam to the effect that some 400 institutions are now showing positive progress but a further 100 were still showing deficits.

## NEW CHAPTER FOR TANZANIAN INVESTORS

Under this heading *African Business* in its November 1987 issue stated that the Government is planning legislation which will clearly spell out the areas of investment open to foreigners and the policy on repatriation of dividends and profits by foreign companies and individuals. Economists at the Treasury were said to be blaming part of Tanzania's ills on the wholesale nationalisation of private property in 1967 which some experts say led to a flight of capital and skilled personnel.

Party Chairman Nyerere was said to have acknowledged recently that in many socialist countries the state was withdrawing from direct control of the sensitive agricultural sector by giving a role to private firms. He had said that this is what he thought Tanzania should do to revamp its agricultural sector.

However, the journal reported that restive and growing adherents of Ujamaa, Party cadres known as "watoto wa chama waliotelewa na chama" (Party cadres who were brought up by the Party) were said to be unhappy with the Government's flirtation with the West - "This noisy group who have made inroads into the Party's top decision making bodies may derail President Mwinyi's drive to attract foreign investors". "The talk about making tactical reverses is nothing but an excuse for the capitalists to re-coup and settle old scores they suffered after the Arusha Declaration" one youthful Party cadre was quoted as having said.

## MENACE OF DESERTIFICATION IN IRINGA

*Marchés Tropicaux* in its September 4th issue quoted Iringa's Regional Planning Officer as having stated that unless rapid action is taken to control deforestation in Iringa, one of the country's main

agricultural regions, it will become a desert within 20 years. The case of Ismami, one of the districts in the region, was quoted. It was said to have been rich and fertile in the 1970's, but then to have attracted large numbers of new people who had cleared off the trees to build their houses and to find a place to cultivate. Now the district could only be described as sterile, bare and dry. The Government was having to force people to cut down on the cultivation of maize and an Irish organisation, Concern, had been brought in to help reafforest the area. Some 340,000 trees had been planted in 1986 and 500,000 in 1987.

#### SISTER AND DAUGHTER INDUSTRIES

The Norwegian publication *Sør-Nord Utvikling* (No. 5 of 1987) had a lengthy article on a Swedish 'Sister Industry Project'. This is a cooperative venture involving FIDE, a consulting firm, the official Swedish aid agency, SIDA and the Small Industries Development Agency in Tanzania. Some 20 Swedish firms have been involved in helping to set up about ten Tanzanian small firms during the last ten years.

The article went on: "It is not often that sisters have children but the sister industry project defies the usual biological laws. With FIDE as midwife, three of the Swedish-Tanzanian sisters plan to produce daughters. The intention is that the Tanzanian sister firms are to help to start up further new small firms."

#### A NEW TYPE OF TRACTOR

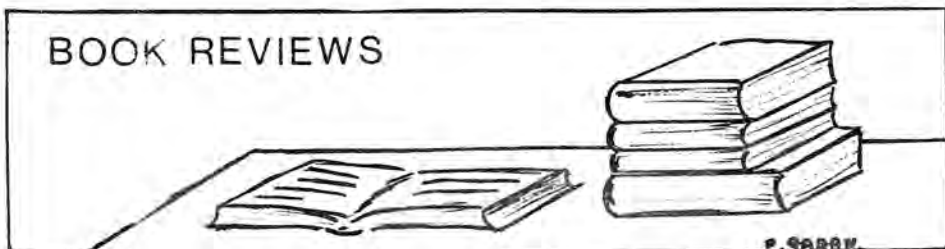
Tanzania is now producing a new type of tractor - the Valmet 604 4WD. It has 4-wheel drive and is designed for rice farming where it has to operate in wet conditions and also for steep hillsides where extra traction and stability are important. The first of the new models came off the assembly line on October 18th 1987 midst much jubilation at the TRAMA plant in Kibaha, near Dar es Salaam.

#### NO MORE TRUCK SAFARIS

The Tanzanian Government intends to ban truck safaris because they are economically not viable. 'Tourism experts' had advised that persons participating in these safaris brought their own food, drinking and sleeping facilities (thereby interfering with facilities provided by the Government) and contributed little in foreign exchange while damaging safari routes.

No sooner had this news been published in the Daily News than it brought an angry letter from a reader to the effect that the 'tourism experts' were making ridiculous allegations. It would be better if they thought more about improving the present hotel facilities and thus tried to ease the problems faced by tourists.

## BOOK REVIEWS



### TANZANIA CRISIS - NORDIC VIEWS

Tanzania: Crisis and Struggle for Survival. Edited by Jannik Boesen, Kjell J. Juhani, Koponen and Rie Odgaard, Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala, Sweden. 1986. (distributed by Almqvist and Wiksell International, Stockholm) 325pp. Sw Crowns 185 (approx. £18.50)

This is an important book. It provides key insights to the underlying causes of the crisis, especially how different policies could have shielded the country from the worst effects of the world economic recession which has affected all countries - the less developed countries more than most.

The book consists of 16 papers written by Nordic scholars with many years of experience working in Tanzania, covering population growth, macro-economic policy, various aspects of agriculture (including agro-pastoralism and pastoralism), manufacturing industry (both large and small scale), rural water supply and health services. They criticise the aid policies of Nordic governments (and other external advisers and aid agencies) as much as Tanzanian policies, wrong decisions of the one often supporting those of the other. However, they explicitly distance themselves from 'much of the latter-day criticisms of Tanzanian policies' and their claim to share 'a basic sympathy with Tanzanian aims and ideals' was clearly demonstrated in their approach. Thus, their criticisms are of the practical and constructive kind that can provide the basis for developing new policies to solve current problems and avoid similar crises in the future.

In fact, the overriding cause of the crisis (or the degree of its intensity) brought out in virtually all the papers was the extent to which the Tanzanian Government, during the years following the Arusha Declaration, went in almost the diametrically opposite direction to the declared policy of socialism and self-reliance. Thus, the industrialisation programme was almost totally dependent on outside support and imported inputs. To keep industries running, even the bulk of the small industries established during this period, required ever more foreign exchange. Unfortunately, the world recession, with the declining prices of primary commodities upon which Tanzania was dependent for its foreign exchange earnings, together with the dramatic rise in interest rates, coincided with the time the

accumulated debts from this exercise had to start being repaid. Meanwhile, the administrative apparatus, and other parts of the managerial and service sectors had expanded vastly, which increased the demand for financial resources at state level. At the very time the Government needed the peasants to produce more, every incentive had been taken away, through low producer prices to pay for the tasks the state had taken on. The increasingly overvalued exchange rate also went against self-reliant solutions, making imports of goods (technology, industrial and agricultural inputs and consumer goods) cheaper than they otherwise would be, which undermined local supplies of these or substitutes.

Similarly, the approach to solving problems peasants faced was to make them more dependent on the state rather than more self-reliant. The excellent paper on rural water supply by Ole Therkildsen, for instance, showed how the Government committed itself to provide water supplies - a commitment in the end it could not fulfil - rather than supporting villagers to do it themselves. The technocratic approaches of Nordic and other agencies assisting the Government further undermined any steps towards self-reliant solutions. Recipients were the last people to be consulted, which itself is the antithesis of socialism.

Many of the papers showed that, when the country had to be more self-reliant because there was no foreign exchange and a dearth of goods, it was the peasants and ordinary people rather than the policy makers who had the greater capacity to improvise and innovate in order to survive, developing their own local network of trade and barter to substitute for the unreliable and unrewarding state system. If socialism and self-reliance is to be put back on the agenda, the Government has to trust ordinary people to develop local solutions to local problems, and to create a stimulating macro-economic environment to enable them to do this. A start has already been made in the form of better producer prices. It is the organisation of production that has now to be tackled. The key to this is the newly created village structure. Unfortunately, most of the authors were rather negative about villagisation, blaming the policy for such things as environmental degradation, fuel shortages and long distances from fields. However, though one may criticise the means used in some places, it is only by bringing people close together that true advantage can be taken of cooperation in production. Through cooperation, all those problems, and many others besides, such as financial support for village health workers, a crucial factor noted by Harald Heggenhougen, can be solved. But, above all, given the right sort of support to those who lack political and economic power, cooperation forms the basis for gradually increasing productivity and diversifying production, thus creating new financial resources in the hundreds of rural communities. Neither the authors of this book, nor the Government seem to have a very clear idea of the forms cooperation should take. Perhaps it should be left to the peasants and workers to work it out for themselves for a change - with a little help from their friends.

Jerry Jones



## WILD FLOWERS

Collins Guide to the Wild Flowers of East Africa. Michael Blundell. 1987. £12.95

Faced by a book describing 1,200 wild flowers, an amateur scarcely knows where to begin a review. However, when the three volumes of the Flora of Tropical East Africa are completed, this will probably cover about 11,000 species so one cannot but congratulate the producer of this present book on making a selection of plants which can be contained in a large pocket sized book. No doubt it will become essential to plant loving travellers and residents in East Africa.

Identification of plants is intended to be mainly from the beautiful colour photographs of which there are 864. Descriptions are given in reasonable botanical terms (there is a glossary and a guide to leaf and flower forms at the back of the book) and grouped together in families. Grasses and sedges are not included but flowering trees are. I was at first surprised to open the book and find the Baobab tree included but it does have a lovely white flower worthy of notice and quite unlike the tree's massive form.

We must not expect to find in this book the ornamental flowering bushes which we are so familiar with, such as frangipani, Chinese hibiscus or jacaranda, as these are not classed as 'wild'. Nevertheless, there are very many beautiful flowers to be found; some spectacular ones like the Flame Lilly (*Gloriosa superba*) and others with fascinating form and colour.

Incidentally, the African Violet (*Streptocarpus*), I discover, actually does look like a violet when growing wild in East Africa (mostly in Tanzania)

Christine Lawrence

50 years  
ago

### German propaganda in Tanganyika

The Tanganyika Standard (March 5, 1938) reported on a question that had been asked in the House of Commons in London. "Has the Minister's attention been drawn to the intensification of German propaganda in Tanganyika which was of an anti-British character and urged the transfer of the territory to Germany". The Minister replied

acknowledging the existence of some propaganda of the nature specified but added that the Government of Tanganyika had the matter under constant observation and would take any measures to deal with it which appeared requisite.

Seeing the country again after twenty years

The London representative of the Kenya and Uganda Railways and Harbours, a Mr. W. M. Hardy, was reported in the Tanganyika Standard of February 12th 1938 to have been visiting Tanganyika after an interval of 20 years. He noticed a few changes.

"The development of the gold mining industry has taken place since my day" he said, "as have the immense strides in aviation with the regular internal and trans-Africa services. Dar es Salaam has grown out of all knowledge and the number of buildings and fresh enterprises seems to be legion. As you know however, it is trifling things that strike one on returning to a place. One that surprised me (especially in the towns) is the tendency for people nowadays to dispense with sun helmets and even with hats altogether. In my day, no one would have dreamed of going on the street without a helmet or other cover.

#### The Wachagga Unrest

The Indian owned 'Tanganyika Opinion' in its leading article on February 4th 1938 attacked it's contemporary -the Tanganyika Standard which it considered to be a Government mouthpiece.

"Our local European contemporary has at last been constrained to admit what we have been saying all along that, contrary to the statement by the Government that the recent riots in the Kilimanjaro area were the outcome of the mischievous activities of a handful of irresponsible agitators, there was widespread unrest among the native coffee growers .... and that the riots were the acts of a people who were driven to desperation owing to their inability of having a legitimate grievance redressed.

It is unthinkable that the omniscient Government with its costly ramifications throughout the length and breadth of the country can be unaware of the reports of victimisation etc which reach the much humbler organisations represented by the Fourth Estate. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the Government are fully aware of the malpractices of certain Chiefs but to be under the necessity of condoning them. And Why? We can only refer to the second part of King Henry IV in which William Shakespeare records the following dialogue:

Davy: I beseech you Sir, to countenance William Visor of Wincot against Clement Perkes of the Hill.

Shal (Mr. Justice Shallow): There are many complaints Davy against that Visor; that Visor is an arrant knave, on my knowledge.

Davy: I grant your worship that he is a knave Sir, but yet, God forgive Sir, but a knave should have some countenance at his friend's request. An honest man, Sir, is able to speak for himself, when a knave is not.

I have served your worship truly, Sir, this eight years; and if I cannot once or twice in a quarter, bear out a knave against an honest man, I have very little credit with your worship. The knave is mine honest friend, Sir; therefore I beseech your worship, let him be countenanced.

Shal: Go to; I say; he shall have no wrong.

The point of comparison is obvious. Granting that the Chiefs are in the habit of harassing the population, they nevertheless squeeze out the taxes from them and fill the coffers of the Government...therefore the Government must needs overlook their misdemeanours and countenance them. A Government that has mainly got to depend on Native taxation for its costly and extravagant top-heavy administration cannot afford to be over nice in such matters.

## THE STORAGE CRISIS

### THE PROBLEM

#### GOVERNMENT AND DONOR ACTION

#### WINNING THE BATTLE AGAINST AN ADDITIONAL THREAT

#### ACTION IN THE VILLAGES

#### BRINGING NEW TECHNOLOGY TO BEAR

Tanzania is facing a crisis as a result of the bumper crops harvested during the last two years and the inadequacy of storage capacity. The Government has indicated the importance it attaches to a resolution of the problem by putting the Office of the Prime Minister in charge of coordinating the campaign to improve storage facilities. A National Coordinating Committee has been set up and there were two well attended donor meetings in September and November 1987.

#### The Problem

In every decade there are approximately five years of good harvests and five years of drought. There was adverse weather, for example, from 1980 to 1984/85 but from 1985/86 Tanzania enjoyed two good seasons. Similarly, in the 70's, the early years were dry; in the later years Tanzania had good rains.

As a result of the good rains in 1985/86, primary cooperative societies had to handle over 500,000 tons of various cash and food crops. In 1986/87 the quantity rose by 28% to over 640,000 tons. The 1987/88 season seems likely to produce crops totalling 760,000 tons. Needless to say, therefore, Tanzania's existing storage capacity cannot

cope and large quantities of crops have had to be left with the farmer to store.

Existing storage capacity at primary society level is estimated to be just less than 500,000 tons. There is a shortfall therefore of some 260,000 tons.

#### Government and Donor Action

At the household level: A US\$ 3.2 million project has been negotiated with the UNDP to undertake research on improved household stores in ten regions.

At the Primary Society level: Government, EEC, West German and FAO assistance is being used to construct 75 godowns, each with a capacity of 300 tons in villages all over the country. This will only partially resolve the problem however as there are only 3,689 godowns available at present and an estimated need for 5,267. The 75 new godowns should provide 22,500 tons of additional storage capacity and it is intended that this will be a continuing programme. The EEC is also assisting in the provision of concrete slabs with tarpaulins at some 83 sites.

At the Cooperative Unions: these 24 Unions have, at present, capacity to store 138,000 tons compared with a need for 270,000 tons; the Unions plan, if they can raise the funds, to build 48 godowns with a capacity of 41,000 tons in the first year of their development programme,

At the National Level: Existing National Milling Corporation godowns are in need of rehabilitation. A World Bank project is underway but will not have adequate funds to support construction of the new silos needed in Tabora, Songea, Makambako, Mbeya, Sumbawanga and Dar es Salaam.

(Extracts from a Speech by Mr. Charles Kileo, Minister of State, Prime Minister's Office).

#### Winning the Battle Against an Additional Threat

"We are winning the battle" declared Dr. Peter Golob, the Director of the campaign against the Larger Grain Borer Beetle in Western Tanzania run by the Overseas Development Natural Resources Institute (ONDRI) under an FAO project.

The beetle, which is believed to have been introduced from Central America in a load of grain for refugees, is spreading into neighbouring Kenya. It has been decimating stored food crops, mainly maize and cassava since about 1977.

The Swahili name for the beetle is 'Dumuzi' but the Tanzanians, with their cockney-style humour, call it the 'Scania beetle' because

of its facial resemblance to the front of a Scania lorry!

Dr. Golob told 'Friends of Urambo and Mwanhala', the Devonshire based aid group, at Tavistock, Devon, that the campaign against the beetle had at last 'taken off' and that although the pest could never be completely eliminated from Africa, its ravages were now being reduced to a manageable level.

He said they were hampered by the poor communications, both transport wise and educationally, by farmers' reluctance to abandon traditional storage methods, by the tremendous distances and by the increased cost of pesticides caused by the devaluation of the currency forced on Tanzania by the IMF. The insecticide is now being produced in the country.

Dr. Golob praised the work of two VSO volunteers. Their number had now been increased to nine.

Among those present at the meeting was Mr. Malcolm Flory of the Bicton College of Agriculture in Devon which is currently negotiating with the Tanzanian Government about the setting up of a link between the college and villages in the Tabora area.

John Budge

### Action in the Villages

It is now four years since Tanzanian extension workers, together with British and American volunteers, began tackling the problem of 'Dumuzi' at village level. The recommended method of control has remained consistent throughout this period whilst the extension techniques have been developed enormously. The result is that more and more families are now receiving the basic information they need to control 'Dumuzi' in a more appropriate and understandable form.

When the insecticide dust first became available in Tanzania in 1984 it was obviously an unknown commodity and the extension worker's first task was to advise on its safe and effective use. A wide range of issues were raised at village meetings. "Was it really necessary to shell one's maize?"; "Yes, the insecticide cannot kill insects already inside the cob if it is only sprinkled on the outside". "How much insecticide do I use?" Initially, the chemical was in large sacks and dosages were recommended in terms of matchboxes full of insecticide. However, several tons of insecticide were repacked in Tabora into packets suitable for protecting six 'debbes' of maize, the equivalent of one large sack. This proved to be much more reliable. Currently, insecticide is imported in accurately weighed sachets with printed instructions in Swahili.

During the campaign much emphasis was placed on the need for building traditional woven stores which could be protected to some degree against rats and rain. It was usually possible to find an 'Mgogo' expert to demonstrate his skill in basket weaving to a predominantly 'Sukuma' or 'Nyamwezi' village, or for the smaller baskets traditionally used for low volume crops to be adapted for storing shelled maize. In practice, it was not until some of the 'entrepreneurs' in a given village had successfully stored maize for

eight to ten months that any of the new ideas began to appeal to the majority of families.

One volunteer has experimented with drama as a medium of spreading the recommendations and in helping to allay the fears of villagers regarding the use of insecticides. This has proved to be most successful and, because of local participation in the acting groups, these events have drawn wider audiences than would be expected at village meetings.

For the hard pressed extension worker, who may be responsible for several villages and also for coordinating all the inputs for cash crop production, there can never be enough hours in the day to patiently explain the changes in storage practice which the 'Dumuzi' beetle has made inevitable in Tanzania.

Caroline Hanks

### Bringing New Technology to Bear

Prompted by the damage caused by the Larger Grain Borer and other storage pests, in early 1977 a British company, Rural Investment Overseas (RIO), set out to find a way to encourage timely and effective insecticide dusting of maize.

A large proportion of the country's maize crop has to remain in store for several months in village stores holding 2-500 tons and operated by primary cooperative societies. Without insecticide treatment anything up to 30% of this maize is destroyed by insects.

The normal treatment for insect damage is fumigation but this can only be done effectively under closely supervised conditions, in central stores.

In a project funded by the ONDRI, two manually operated machines were designed at Silsoe College and tested at the Tanzanian Centre for Agricultural Mechanisation and Rural Technology (CAMARTEC) near Arusha. One is a pedal operated combined sheller/duster and the other is a bagged maize duster called the 'Swinger'.

Field testing of prototypes in Songea district have been positive.

The 'Swinger' consists of a cage into which an open bag is strapped with the dose of insecticide dust sprinkled on top. The cage pivots on an A frame and has a drum above it into which the maize empties when the cage/drum assembly is swung vertically through 180 degrees. There is a mixing cone inside the drum, and it is necessary to swing each bag through two complete revolutions to effect adequate mixing. A team of four operators can comfortably mix 100 bags a day. This ties in well with the sequence of delivery of grain by the farmer - weighing, dusting and putting the bag into the store. The alternative dusting method is much more labour intensive and time consuming as it involves emptying the grain onto the ground and hand mixing the insecticide before refilling the bag.

It is intended that the 'Swinger' should be manufactured in Tanzania.

Robert Whitcombe

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