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NYERERE - THREE BOOK REVIEWS

DISMISSAL OF MREMA TRANSFORMS POLITICAL SCENE

Who will be the next President of Tanzania? This is the question exciting the country at present. And the short answer is that nobody has the least idea at this stage. But the picture has been transformed following the dramatic entry of former Deputy Prime Minister Augustine Mrema and now Acting Chairman of the NCCR-Mageuzi opposition party into the fray.

Tanzania's first multi-party presidential and parliamentary elections will take place on October 29 1995. Voter registration will be from August 6 to September 4 and nominations of candidates must be completed before August 22.

The campaign will begin officially on August 29.

CCM LOOKS FOR A WINNER

Potential candidates for the presidency have started campaigning already. But, with the new threat from a potentially strong opposition candidate (see below) the monolithic Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), which has ruled Tanzania for the last 25 years, is faced with a formidable problem in finding a candidate who is not tainted with the corruption acknowledged to be widespread in Tanzanian society today.

A growing number of CCM members have let it be known or are likely to let it be known shortly that they wish to be in the running for the top job - the Presidency - as President Mwinyi, who will shortly complete his second term of office, has to step down under the Constitution. The CCM is no longer the united group it once was as various factions look over the possible field of candidates and decide where to lend their support. Political analysts are trying hard to identify the eventual winner of the much prized CCM candidacy because the odds still are on the CCM candidate winning the election.

The following are believed to be the leading contenders for the presidency:

MARK BOMANI, former Attorney-General and presently Chairman of the Broadcasting Commission.

NJELU KASAKA MP, Deputy Minister for Agriculture and Livestock Development, the first person to announce that he will stand for president; he was not well known until last year when he led the 'Group of 55' MP's pressing for a separate government for Tanganyika.

EDWARD LOWASSA, Minister of Lands, Housing and Urban Development.

JOHN MALECELA, former Prime Minister and still Vice-Chairman

of the CCM but greatly weakened by Mwalimu Nyerere's clear disapproval.

SIMON MBILINYI, Managing Director, National Development Corporation.

REGINALD MENGI, prominent businessman.

BENJAMIM MKAPA, Minister of Science and Technology.

PIUS MSEKWA, Speaker of the House of Assembly, the second person to declare his candidacy and regarded as a strong contender.

CLEOPA MSUYA, Prime Minister.

FRANCIS NYALALI, Chief Justice of Tanzania.

SALIM AHMED SALIM, Secretary General of the OAU, has stated that he will not be standing but he might change his mind or at least stand for the Zanzibar presidency.

TUNTEMEKE SANGA, MP for Makete

Little has been said so far on the issues to be debated during the election but Mr Msekwa has indicated support for a separate Tanganyika government and a return to the leadership code of the Arusha Declaration; both he and Mr Kasaka have emphasised good uncorrupt government.

THE DISMISSAL OF MREMA

The nation was stunned and the CCM severely shaken on February 24 when they were told that President Mwinyi had dismissed Labour and Youth Development Minister and former Home Affairs Minister Augustine Mrema for indiscipline.

The event which triggered off the dispute between Mr Mrema and the President was a debate in the National Assembly in Dodoma following the publication of a Parliamentary Committee Report into the affairs of a prominent non-citizen businessman and owner of several farms, Mr V G Chavda - a case which has been hitting the headlines in the press for many months. The Committee recommended the arrest and prosecution of Mr Chavda over a multi-million shilling foreign exchange scandal. The Committee alleged that Mr Chavda had misused Shs 916 million in debt conversion funds lent to him by the government, to develop four sisal estates he owned. Some ministers felt that he was innocent but on February 11 the government declared him a prohibited immigrant. Three days later the High Court restrained the government from deporting him.

Mr Mrema used the occasion to castigate the government. His conscience would haunt him, he said it he went along with the government line on Chavda. President Mwinyi therefore sacked him for failing to observe the rule of collective

government responsibility.

Shortly after, Mr Mrema announced that, as he was being 'harassed' by the ruling party (the CCM), he was resigning from it and had decided to join the opposition National Convention for Constitution and Reform - Mageuzi (Change) - NCCR-Mageuzi - whose Chairman Mr Mabere Marando promptly resigned to make way for him.

VAST CROWDS

Then began a triumphal procession. In Dodoma Mr Mrema was carried shoulder high by excited crowds and some 3,000 people signed up for the NCCR-Mageuzi. When he reached his home town, Moshi, police had to use tear gas to control the crowds and shops closed as thousands greeted him all the way from Kilimanjaro airport to the town.

In Dar es Salaam he addressed what was described as one of the biggest meetings ever held in the city. At the NCCR party headquarters officials were selling membership cards until late in the night making nearby roads impassable.

It is assumed that he will soon declare his bid for the presidency and there are indications that several other opposition parties might support him.

STINKING OF CORRUPTION

Mwalimu Nyerere addressed the Dar es Salaam Press Club at the height of the Mrema drama. He reiterated at length his views on the sacredness of the Constitution and the vital importance of preservation of the Union.

He then turned to the corruption issue. "Tanzania stinks of corruption" he said and reminded his listeners that, when he was President, people charged with corruption were not only imprisoned for at least two years but also flogged. "Twelve strokes before the sentence and 12 stokes at the end so that they could show their wives!" (Laughter). "The State House is a holy place (Applause). I was not elected by the people of Tanzania to turn it into a den of racketeers" (Wild Applause). "This year's elections will be ruled by money. Previously, candidates were asked where and how they got their property. Wealth was not a qualification. This year wealth will be the primary qualification!"

But Mwalimu was careful not to indicate which candidate he supported. It was essential he said first to examine the issues facing the electorate.

AUGUSTINE LYATONGA MREMA

The name Mrema evokes strong feelings. He is not considered to be an intellectual but he has charisma; he is a hero to the masses, and to the underprivileged but is regarded with some distrust by many of the thinking classes because of his unpredictable behaviour and the way he sometimes tends to take action which might be considered to be stretching the

law. He is very hard working and diligent in his search for injustice. But, having detected it, he tends to make very rapid judgements often without giving full thought to the probable consequences.

His reactions during the Dodoma drama are interesting. First, he is reported to have said that he was not going to quit the CCM party. Two days later he left it. Then he said he was leaving but still loved the party very much. Later he was attacking it with all barrels blazing; the party was guilty of 'corruption, negligence and theft.' He also said to have declared that he was not going to join another political party. Then he joined NCCR-Mageuzi.

In cabinet he often irritated fellow ministers by interfering in their portfolios.

His four-year crusade against corruption however has made him immensely popular. But the only people he managed to catch for corrupt practices seem to have been lower level managers and employees.

Mr Mrema is popular amongst women as he has declared war against wife beaters and husbands who neglect their families. In Moshi it was said that marriages were in danger as women flocked to join NCCR-Mageuzi while the men stayed with CCM.

He has frequently caused panic in business circles as he demands action within so many days on improving pay and conditions of workers. He was initially on the side of the petty traders, a large number of whom are operating in Dar es Salaam. On December 18 last year Mr Mrema assured a group of them in Kariakoo that they would not be forced out of the city centre as long as they obeyed the law. On February 16 however, the government drove them away from the market area and there was a riot which had to be quelled by the police.

HOW STRONG IS THE OPPOSITION?

A revealing analysis conducted by the Danish aid agency DANIDA and reported in the Business Times (January 20) indicated that in the most recent test of voter opinion - the local government elections held late last year - the opposition parties did very much better than at first appeared. The full results were not published.

Of the 2,411 wards on the mainland, contested elections were held in 1,226 wards while in the remaining 1,185 CCM candidates were elected unopposed.

DANIDA was unable to obtain data from the Kigoma (where the opposition scored well), Tanga, Rukwa, Lindi and Singida regions but it was able to study 537 of the contested wards in the other regions.

OPPOSITION WON ONLY 3% OF THE SEATS BUT 26% OF THE VOTE

Because Tanzania has opted for a 'first-past-the-post' or 'winner takes all' and not a proportional representation system of elections the results examined showed that the

opposition parties won over a quarter of the vote but gained only 3% of the seats. In Mara Region the opposition got 36% of the votes.

Thus, although the opposition parties fought against each other, obtained little or no publicity on Radio Tanzania and had very limited funds, they did garner, on a 50% voter turnout, a surprisingly large number of supporters. If a system of proportional representation were in effect (something which would have the support of many including the Chairman of the National Electoral Commission, Justice Lewis Makame) and the opposition were to unite, now that it has a credible presidential candidate, it could do very well in the next elections.

But it remains divided. Only four of the 12 registered parties obtained a significant number of local council seats;

CHADEMA	23
Civic United Front	21
United Democratic Party (UDP)	16
NCCR-Mageuzi	15

SETBACKS FOR CCM

The CCM has had a number of other setbacks recently. The Court of Appeal ruled that the successful CCM candidate in the February 14, 1994 Kigoma by-election, Mr Azim Premji, was not a Tanzanian citizen and upheld an earlier High Court decision annulling the results of the by-election. CCM leaders (including Mr Mrema) had intimidated voters, the Judge said, the counting of votes had not been fair and Radio Tanzania had campaigned for the CCM. Amidst strong protests from the opposition, the National Electoral Commission subsequently stated that a new by-election could not be held this year on the grounds that it was time-barred - it had to be held six months before the general election and this was no longer possible.

Then, after a long court case, the election last year of the CCM Mayor of Dar es Salaam, said to be a close collaborator of President Mwinyi, was declared nul and void.

OPINION POLL

The Swahili newspaper 'Heko' carried out an opinion poll in Dar es Salaam in January and found that Christopher Mtikila, the firebrand leader of the unregistered Democratic Party remained the most popular politician (with 41% of the votes); Mr Njelu Kasaka came second (18%). The best contender to succeed President Mwinyi was said to be Lands Minister Edward Lowassa (22%) followed by businessman Reginald Mengi. Former President Julius Nyerere was very much more popular (77%) than President Mwinyi (23%). Former Finance Minister Kighoma Malima was said to have been voted the most untrustworthy politician.

ELECTION OBSERVERS

Mr Justice Makame has indicated the National Electoral Commission's views on observers for the October elections. He said, at a three-day seminar on multi-party elections, in late January: "We have nothing to hide so we do not seek to stop any observers, local or international, from carrying out their assignments. For reasons which are obvious - we would not know where to stop - we do not take the initiative of inviting any observer...provided that observers do not seek to influence the trend and pervert the process, there is no harm in having people distant enough from the wood to be able to see the trees... Observers should be in place well before the election day and they should be conversant with our rules to be able to gauge properly what is going on. Their presence would promote credibility in the electoral process to some people...foreign observers could usefully operate with local observers".

CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM STILL NOT SOLVED

In the last issue of TA the problem of the constitutional position of the Vice-Presidency was outlined. Subsequently Parliament passed an 11th Amendment to the Constitution which deprived the Zanzibar President of his automatic right to occupy the position of Vice-President in the Union Government; it was accepted however that he/she would be entitled to a senior post in the Union cabinet. The reason for the change, which House Speaker Pius Msekwa has been vigorously defending, was the fear that, under multi-partyism, it would be possible for a Vice-President to be elected who was not in the same party as the elected President.

But Zanzibar was unhappy with the amendment and remains very unhappy. One party leader has said that if elected their party's president would not sit in the Union cabinet.

The Law Society pointed out that the Amendment conflicted with the 1964 Articles of the Union. To make the change there would have had to have been a two thirds majority of all mainland and Zanzibar MP's. If challenged in court, there could be a constitutional crisis. Surprisingly, on the same day (January 20) it was announced that President Mwinyi had signed the Constitutional Amendment a few days earlier!

As this issue went to press the government was promising a Bill in Parliament in April which would clarify the status and role of the Zanzibar President in Union affairs. The isles' main opposition party CUF has made it clear that it opposes the 11th Amendment.

The National Assembly also rejected an earlier proposal (TA No 50) that 20 seats should be reserved in the National Assembly for persons to be nominated by parties achieving a certain proportion of the votes in an election.

CANADA AND THE BARABAIG

My reaction on reading the Tanzanian part of the recent book 'No Man's Land: An Investigative Journey through Kenya and Tanzania' by George Monbiot (Macmillan. £17.99) was to want to know more about the latest situation in the Barabaig country of Northern Tanzania, where a large Canadian-supported wheat scheme (*Described in Tanzanian Affairs issue No 24, May 1986 - Editor*) has been steeped in controversy for many years. I did some research. I spoke to Charles Lane of the International Institute for Environment and Development in London, to an official of the managers of the project - the National Agricultural and Food Company (NAFCO) in Tanzania and also to officials of CIDA - the Canadian International Development Agency) in Hull, Quebec Province.

But first, about the book itself.

George Monbiot's earlier book 'Poisoned Arrows' exposed the plight of the people of Irian Jaya in Indonesia. For this he received a life sentence in absentia. He then wrote 'Amazon Watershed' about tribal life in Brazil. Now he has brought to our attention the plight of pastoral tribes in Kenya and Tanzania. To do this he spent some time living among them. He encountered much hardship and many dangers but found friendship and people as human as we are. In fact, once again, a book about East Africa reminds us who we really are: ancestors of the first travelling people like those whose footsteps are preserved in Olduvai Gorge. 'Humankind was born on the road. Our brains, our physique, our emotional identity, are those of the migrant. The restlessness, which in one corrupted form or another, is felt by every human being on earth, is incurable, for it is fundamental to our nature'. Writing like this, in its widest sense, helps us to live together with more understanding so has something to give to all its readers.

Monbiot visited Hanang District in Tanzania in 1991 and 1992 and met some of the Barabaig people and also Canadian and Tanzanian officials concerned with the 102,000 acre wheat farms. This chapter of the book usefully gives the history of the project including some of the scandalous details of the treatment of the Barabaig. It does not make pleasant reading. CIDA has serious reservations about some of what is written: 'The chapter, which is written in pseudo-journalistic style, is filled with innuendos and misrepresentations. Mr Henckroth flatly denies many of the quotes attributed to him. The author appears to be following his own particular agenda which does not include accurate reporting'.

However, Tanzania and also Canada have now faced up to the fact that there was a failure on the part of the original planners to give any consideration at all to the 40,000 Barabaig who depended on the land concerned for their survival. It is to be hoped that this story could not be repeated in the world of today. No doubt, at the time, Canada's proposal seemed like manna from heaven to the Government of Tanzania but our understanding of development

has matured since 1970 and human rights matter more, though not enough, particularly in the building up of democracy.

Tanzania eventually set up a lay commission headed by Appeal Court Judge Robert Kisanga to look into the problems of the Barabaig. In its 1993 report the commission made recommendations for the continued existence of the wheat farms and the Barabaig together. Some changes of staff were made on NAFCO's side and the District Commissioner for Hanang was replaced. The Barabaig were advised to organise themselves to take a full part in discussions at district level and this they have done. NAFCO's policy now is to help construct water points and to provide proper routes for the cattle of the Barabaig; to allow the people to visit their sacred burial sites; to stop harassing them whenever they are seen trespassing and to settle disputes amicably. The Ministry of Agriculture was recommended to update its guidelines on Hanang District and increase its extension services.

CIDA, for its part, is contributing Canadian \$4.5 million towards the implementation of the Kisanga Report. Of this sum, C\$700,000 have already been provided for photomapping the area for the purpose of confirming land use and its registration. Although CIDA is no longer involved with the wheat farms, since July 1993, they regard them as 'of strategic importance to the domestic food security of Tanzania'. In 1994 34,430 tonnes of wheat were produced but this was not a good year due to drought. An average 40,000 tonne crop would produce 180 million loaves of bread.

CIDA conducted a mission to Tanzania in January 1995 in order to produce 'an updated social and economic profile of the Hanang District'. A social and community development project is now being drawn up.

I hope that 'No Man's Land' will be read by many people for the light it throws on the plight of pastoral people today: most of it is highly readable, well-written with humour and understanding, even though some of it, notably the chapter about the Barabaig, is quite distressing.

Christine Lawrence

DONORS PROMISE \$1 BILLION - BUT WITH CONDITIONS

Tanzania's new Minister of Finance Mr Jackson Kikwete made a good impression at the crucial Consultative Group (donors) meeting in Paris on February 27-28. Donors were impressed by the actions he had taken to improve tax collection. According to the 'East African' he returned triumphantly to Dar es Salaam bearing a promise of \$1 billion in new commitments of foreign aid for 1995-96. 20-25% would go to balance of payments and the rest to finance development.

A REAL SHOCK

Mr Kikwete said in an interview that the November disaster (TA No 50) had come as a real shock to the government. He understood why donors had felt the need to let off steam on revenue and corruption issues and admitted that some Shs 70 billion (\$140 million) worth of tax revenues had not been collected last year. \$ 40 million of that was tax evasion and \$100 million was illegal tax exemptions.

The Controller and Auditor General had completed work on tax evasion by 20 major importers and found 12 whose collective tax evasion amounted to Shs 17.4 billion (\$31 million) of which tax evasion had amounted to Shs 4.8 billion (\$8.8 million). He named the companies involved. Since December, nine of the companies had cleared their debts leaving arrears of only Shs 2.3 billion (\$ 4.3 million). The investigation had revealed serious institutional weaknesses in the Customs Department and Treasury and negligence and dishonesty among some public officials had been confirmed.

KIKWETE'S TOUGH MEASURES

Measures being taken to recover funds included the arrest of four businessmen, impounding properties and auctioning them, closing some bonded warehouses (the number would be reduced from 177 to 65) and better control of transit trade with neighbouring countries.

Mr Kikwete announced that Tanzania was reviewing tax exemptions offered to attract investment in tourism, agriculture and industry, both to determine who had used them illegally and to limit those it would offer in future. Capital goods would remain exempt but raw materials and spare parts would not, because some investors had been reselling them within the country. The Minister also announced that the Government had stopped all discretionary tax exemptions given by the Minister of Finance.

Donors said that they wanted their relationship with the Tanzania government to 'get back on track'. The World Bank's Francis Colaco said that the donors were 'reasonably satisfied' on the tax front but that recovery of arrears had not been 'as full as had been hoped'.

In the following paper, as part of a regular series, on the ECONOMY OF TANZANIA Roger Carter puts these developments into perspective:

An informal meeting is likely to take place in the summer to take stock of the progress resulting from measures agreed in Paris. In the agenda of the meeting there had been one notable omission, the heavy burden imposed by the servicing and redemption of foreign debt. However, this subject, though of critical importance to Tanzania, lies in the domain of another international forum, the Paris Club. Some information on measures taken to reduce the debt burden was given in the September 1993 issue of the Bulletin of Tanzanian

Affairs.

The Consultative Group meeting took place under the shadow of the mismanagement and corruption recently disclosed by the President which had gravely affected revenues and led to an increased budget deficit and consequent rise in inflation. The meeting appears to have had some effect towards a restoration of confidence, though it is clear that the position will be closely watched and that a continuation of aid flows will depend on future integrity. The final communique recorded the commitment of delegates to external assistance to Tanzania and, provided that strong measures were completed to deal with tax exemptions and evasions, that the budget was brought into balance without borrowing from the bank and that certain structural reforms were accelerated, particularly, it is assumed, in respect of the banking system, new commitments for 1995/96 could reach at least \$1 billion. Whether this goal is attainable will clearly depend on the absence of external shocks to the economy in the near future.

The President's original response to the crisis had been cabinet changes (TA No. 50) and these have already resulted in a more effective tax collection. It now remains to be seen whether the new government team will be able to address itself to the country's formidable economic problems and to bring inflation down to single figures by the time of the next regular meeting of the Consultative Group in 1996.

There is indeed no single reform more important than the reduction of inflation to a level at least as low as in Europe. Inflation is the most important single cause of impoverishment. By depreciating the value of money rewards, inflation creates the temptation of corruption. The extension of education and health services, and even the proper maintenance of the existing provision, is well nigh impossible in the paralysing grip of inflation. Inflation damages confidence and limits the flow of investment capital from abroad. The task of exporters and economic planners is greatly complicated and impeded by the need to take account of domestic inflation. It follows that the conquest of inflation is an essential precursor to significant progress in many aspects of the economy.

In 1980 the campaign for universal primary education (UPE) had resulted in an enrolment in primary schools of over 90% of the appropriate age group, but sadly this remarkable achievement was not maintained and by 1980 enrolment had fallen to about 74%. The main cause of this retrogression was the high rate of population growth, the increase in the number of children in the eligible age group by about a third and the failure of available resources to expand in the same ratio. The health services have likewise been suffering severely from a lack of resources. A modest reduction of the trend may be possible by increasing the share of resources for health and education by reallocation and economies but any substantial progress must await the conquest of inflation and the emergence of a budget surplus.

One prudential step taken by the government is the pruning of the capital development programme in recognition of the fact that capital projects normally lead to additional recurrent expenditure for operation and maintenance, some or all of which may fall as a charge on the national

budget. It seems likely that in the past inadequate attention to the recurrent cost consequences of capital development may have led to the overloading of the capital development programme, leading to the neglect of maintenance and increasing Tanzania's external debt problems. This is a matter over which donors may have been less than helpful.

The tasks before the new government team are truly formidable. One gratuitous obstacle to fiscal balance has been caused by drought in the regions supplying hydro-electricity to the national grid, leading to load shedding. The shortage of water for the generators in these areas is attributable not only to natural causes, but has been exacerbated by the diversion upstream of water for irrigation. About 75% of Tanzania's installed generating capacity is from hydro-electric sources, the remainder from diesel-powered generators. Before 1992 most of the thermal generators remained in reserve and 95% of power was taken from hydro-electric sources. But severe drought conditions in 1992 led to a resumption of diesel generation to about 18% of the total. TANESCO, the electric power company, reacted to the situation by installing a 36MW gas turbine generator at Dar es Salaam and by rehabilitating diesel generators connected to the grid. Owing to the continued shortage of water for the generating plant, however, these measures proved insufficient and TANESCO was forced to institute load shedding in 1994 and again in 1995.

Load shedding is a disaster for industry and for the economy as a whole. It has seriously adverse effects on Government revenues and damages confidence among potential investors. For the short run the government has started an emergency power project (*See Business News - Editor*) but in the medium term, plans are in train for the diversification of power sources by the installation of gas fired generators at Songo Songo using natural reserves of gas, and a similar gas-fired installation at Mnazi bay. A power link with Zambia is also being considered. But these additions to capacity, necessary in any case in the face of rising demand, will take several years to materialise.

Another serious burden on the budget is the restoration of the environmental damage caused by the influx of refugees from Rwanda (TA No 50).

Whether in the face of these obligations and difficulties the Government can successfully restore its finances to stability within the next ten months remains to be seen. In April Parliament was scheduled to enact a Code of Conduct for Leaders and it is hoped that this will set the tone for public affairs. The mastery of corruption will only finally be achieved when inflation has been brought under control and money rewards have been stabilised at a reasonable level. But the recent public exposure of corruption will, it is hoped, have had a cleansing effect and have provided the new administration with a springboard from which to bring future future dishonest dealings under control.

BANK OF TANZANIA TAKES OVER MERIDIEN BANK

Bank of Tanzania Governor Idris Rashid announced on April 2 that the Bank of Tanzania had taken over the operations of the Meridien BIAO Bank.

Its Board of Management had been suspended and the Bank of Tanzania's advisor John Montgomery had been appointed the new manager. The development followed the earlier take over by central banks of the Meridien Banks in Kenya (March 14) and Zambia (March 28).

The Tanzanian bank's foreign exchange exposure amounted to Shs 17 billion (US\$ 30 million) which had apparently been transferred abroad to support other loss making branches. It was later announced that Tanzania might sue the Directors and management of the Meridien Bank if they fail to return the \$30 million.

Mr Rashid assured the public that the Bank would remain in operation and there was no need for panic as the measures taken were aimed at safeguarding macro-economic stability and protecting the interest of depositors.

Negotiations were under way with local and foreign firms interested in buying the bank.

Meridien BIAO was the first private international bank to be licensed to conduct business in Tanzania two years ago when banking restrictions were lifted. It soon became the third largest bank in Tanzania after the National Bank of Commerce and the now privatised Cooperative and Rural Development Bank. It had 30% of the total business.

TANZANIAN JUDGES AND THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

THE LAW has a vital role to play in the current transformation of government and politics in Tanzania, as Chief Justice Nyalali demonstrated in his impressive survey reported in the last issue of *Tanzanian Affairs*: as Chairman of the Presidential Commission which recommended 'multi-partyism' he identified among the first essentials for a true democracy an environment of respect for the Rule of Law and for Human Rights. The Bill of Rights adopted in Tanzania by constitutional amendment in 1984 came into effect in 1987. The Nyalali Commission itself listed no less than 40 oppressive laws which violated the Constitution (many of them laws of Zanzibar); the expectation, yet to be fulfilled in most cases, was that these laws would be repealed, or suitably amended.

BOLD AND THOUGHTFUL JUDGEMENTS

Meanwhile Tanzanian judges have given many bold and thoughtful judgements over the past six years, often overturning laws which infringed human rights (most of them reported in the international series *Law reports of the Commonwealth*).

In the first case under the Bill of Rights Mr Justice Mwalusanya in 1988 struck down the Deportation Ordinance, a colonial legacy dating from 1921, which authorised the 'rustification' of individuals with no requirement for fair trial or hearing; Parliament responded strangely in 1991 by

purporting to amend this septuagenarian Act which the court had declared to be void!

Another early case tested the power given to the Director of Public Prosecutions by the Criminal Procedure Act to prevent an accused person being released on bail, if the Director certified that bail would prejudice the safety or interests of the state. In the High Court at Mwanza in 1988 Mr Justice Mwalusanya held that this provision was unconstitutional and void, an improper denial of the basic right to personal liberty; he granted bail to Daudi Pete pending his trial for robbery with violence. The Court of Appeal, led by the Chief Justice, rejected the state's appeal in a judgement which included several important points:

1) The Swahili version of the Constitution is the controlling one - the judges noted significant discrepancies in the official English translation, which lacks some subtleties of the original;

2) the Tanzanian Bill of Rights (which came into force in 1987) also, unusually, stipulates fundamental duties: 'a constitutionally recognised coexistence of the individual human being and society';

3) in applying the Bill of Rights the courts can take account of the African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights 1981 signed by Tanzania in 1982.

WOMEN HAVE THE SAME RIGHTS AS MEN

The Bill of Rights prevails not only over statute law but also over customary laws. Holoria Pastory, an elderly lady, inherited some clan land in Muleba District, Kagera Region, under her father's will and sold it for Shs 300,000. Her nephew disputed the sale, citing a rule of Haya customary law that a woman cannot sell inherited clan land. The District Magistrate (reversing the Primary Court) held that under the Bill of Rights women had the same rights as men; the appeal came before Judge Mwalusanya, who, in a judgement quoting sources as diverse as *Religio Medici* and *the Beggars Opera*, rejected it, upholding the sale.

LAWSUITS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT

The Bill of Rights guarantees access to the courts to settle disputes. A case of wide general importance (Kukutia Ole Pumbun) concerned a rule enacted in 1967 that a lawsuit against the government could not be started without first obtaining the consent of the Attorney General (a rule not unique to Tanzania). In 1993 the Court of Appeal held the rule was invalid because it violated the right of unimpeded access to the courts: although individual rights must be balanced against the collective rights of society, any derogation from basic rights must meet two conditions: the law must not be arbitrary and the limitation imposed on rights must be no more than a reasonably necessary to achieve a legitimate purpose.

VILLAGIZATION AND THE LAW

Land rights are obviously vital to most Tanzanians. In the Akonaay case a father and son by court order in 1987 recovered land in Mbulu District which had been taken from them during 'Operation Vijiji' in the 1970's. Then in 1992 an Act of Parliament purported to extinguish all customary law rights acquired before 'Operation Vijiji' in 'established villages'. The landowners brought a new case, challenging the validity of this Act. In 1993 Mrs Justice Munuo at Arusha held that the Act was void for violating several basic rights - the right to own property (subject to lawful acquisition and payment of compensation), freedom from discrimination and the right of access to the courts. In deciding the state's appeal, the Chief Justice in the Court of Appeal examined the history of land law in Tanzania from the start of British rule, recognising that it was crucial, for a better understanding of the present, to understand the past (without living in it). The court noted the persistence of the underlying principle of protecting customary rights in land, held that such rights are property rights which the Constitution protects and identified 'the Nyerere Doctrine of Land Value' reflecting the value added to land by clearing and working it (citing Nyerere's *Freedom and Unity* 1966). However, the court allowed the appeal in part, because the customary rights in question had been effectively extinguished by legislation of 1987, before the Bill of Rights, which is not retrospective, became enforceable. Therefore the 1992 Act, which the court aptly termed 'draconian legislation', was not so much invalid as superfluous.

THE DEATH PENALTY

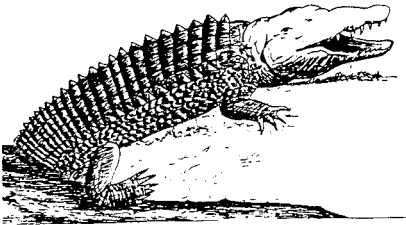
The most dramatic decision on the Bill of Rights was the scholarly, wide-ranging judgement of Mr Justice Mwalusanya, at a murder trial in Dodoma in June 1994, that the death penalty is unconstitutional as a cruel, inhuman and degrading punishment; convicting the accused Mbushuu and Sangula of murder, he sentenced them to life imprisonment. However, in January 1995 the Court of Appeal disagreed and quashed his decision, affirming the constitutionality of the death penalty; but it also quashed the convictions for want of vital evidence and therefore set aside the life sentence. The court rightly commended the judge 'for the unexcelled industry in his exploration of the human rights literature'.

These recent judgements are now being studied by the new Constitutional Court in South Africa, which is considering the very same question - the constitutionality of the death penalty - as its first case under the new Bill of Rights there. It is notable that Tanzania, from its relatively short experience of a Bill of Rights, is able to make such a contribution to the application of an even newer system guaranteeing human rights.

THE JUDICIARY, THE EXECUTIVE AND THE LEGISLATURE

In his talk Chief Justice Nyalali noted that the trend in court cases challenging the constitutionality of oppressive laws, if mishandled, 'is bound to generate some heat' between the judiciary on the one side and the executive and legislature on the other. The latter has responded with the Basic Rights and Duties Enforcement Act 1994, which restricts the enforcement of basic rights by requiring a bench of three High Court Judges to sit and requiring them to refer any deficient law to Parliament for amendment, instead of immediately declaring the law to be void. The question has already been raised whether this act itself infringes the basic rights explicitly guaranteed by the constitution.

James S Read



CROCODILE BITES AND TRADITIONAL BELIEFS IN KOROGWE

Attacks by crocodiles on human beings have been reported in Korogwe since 1925 but accurate statistics are not available for the period before 1990. The table below compares human fatalities with the corresponding number of crocodiles shot by professional hunters or game scouts between January 1990 and April 1994:

Date	Human Deaths	Crocodile Deaths
1990	5	10
1991	9	5
1992	8	8
1993	11	10
1994	18	16

It seems strange that these voracious human predators are not exterminated, indeed they seem to be flourishing at the expense of the local population

According to local beliefs not all people are susceptible to crocodile attack. From long ago certain crocodiles have been fed meat and deliberately tamed for service. This 'service' has included transporting their 'owners' across the river in times of floods. However, more sinister activities are also attributed to the tamed beasts. At one point the Pangani River is punctuated by five small islands. Crocodile owners

are reputed to frequent these islands employing their animals as procurers of women. Hapless ladies brought by the crocodiles would undoubtedly be in no state to resist demands placed upon them. In addition, tamed crocodiles are believed to be used as assassins, disposing of enemies of their 'owners. Crocodiles in this employ will apparently travel considerable distances from water in pursuit of their victims, even into their houses. These talented animals may be given as an inheritance to relatives or, particularly after any misbehaviour, they may be slaughtered for their skins.

WHY HAVE CROCODILE ATTACKS INCREASED RECENTLY?

Up to the 1950's the river was clean; fish were plentiful and bathing and collecting water were relatively safe activities. Since then, overfishing, coupled with the dumping of the sisal industry's waste products into the river, has reduced the crocodiles' primary food supply. In addition, traditional riverine customs are no longer properly observed. Not only are cooking pots, maize cobs and offal thrown into the river, but menstruating women now visit the river, further provoking the crocodiles. Thus increasing attacks are seen as a consequence of human folly.

If a person is missing and a crocodile attack is suspected, advice is sought from certain authorities, who will then consult the beast in order to determine whether they have been involved. If a body turns up in the river these men, protected by witchcraft and by local medicines applied to their bodies, will fish it out with impunity. Such medicine is available for sale and may be applied, for example, by boys collecting sand from the river' in order to ward off attack.

WHY ARE CROCODILES NOT HUNTED TO URBAN EXTINCTION?

Firstly, they are viewed as a natural resource and their destruction is controlled. Secondly, over and above the difficulty that government game scouts have in obtaining ammunition and a daily wage are other ingrained beliefs which inhibit both individual and group action. Foremost of these is the real fear of witchcraft used by the 'tamed' crocodiles' owners. Others believe that it is impossible to kill a 'tamed' crocodile. Another worry is that a crocodile's killer will subsequently lose a son to another beast. Finally, if one is successful in hunting, it is essential to bury the crocodile's bile in front of witnesses to avoid the possibility that others might use it as a poison.

WHAT ADVICE CAN BE GIVEN TO A PERSON ATTACKED?

The best defensive action is to counter-attack the animal's eyes; indeed, most survivors presenting to the two Korogwe hospitals attribute their escape to this manoeuvre.

HOW CAN CROCODILE BITES BE REDUCED IN KOROGWE?

The importance of a reliable, pumped water supply in reducing risky bathing and water collection is clearly shown in the statistics for 1994. Eighteen deaths - about one a week - coincided with the failure of the town water pump. Failing this, villagers could collect water from the various bridges by using a long rope. Concerted village activity to reduce the vegetation along the river's edge would help hunters to flush out the enemy. Lastly, the role of education in counteracting the influence of superstition cannot be over emphasised. This would reduce the pervading fear and allow crocodiles to be killed more freely.

Richard Scott and Heather Scott

(This is an abbreviated version of an article which appeared in the British Medical Journal of 24-31 December 1994 - Ed).

TANZANIANS AND THE ARTS OF AFRICA

As part of 'Africa 95', a festival of African arts being presented in Britain from August to December this year, the Royal African Society is organising an international conference titled 'Mediums of Change' at the School of Oriental and African Studies from September 29 to October 1.

Tanzanians taking part will be:

ABDULRAZAK GURNAH - Novelist, who teaches literature at the University of Kent;

EVERELYN NICODEMUS - Painter and writer; and

PENINA MLAMA - Playwright, Professor of Drama, University of Dar es Salaam.

Details from Richard House - Tel: 0171 637 4388/4389

PROMOTING TOURISM

Tanzania is planning a \$1 million-a-year tourism promotion campaign to make tourism its main foreign currency earner (ahead of coffee) Mr Peter Mwendu, Director of Marketing for the Tanzania Tourist Board announced recently.

Last year Tanzania received 300,000 tourists who spent some \$240 million. This compares with 230,000 and \$147 million the previous year.

Recently published material includes a 36-page colour news quarterly, and the 'Tantravel' magazine. A 96-page in-flight magazine featuring the Serengeti National Park was published in cooperation with Lufthansa in January - East African.



(In order to make this part of the Bulletin as interesting and representative as possible we welcome contributions from readers. If you see a mention of Tanzania in the journal, magazine or newspaper you read, especially if you live or travel outside the UK, please cut out the relevant bit, indicate the name and date of the journal, and send it to the address on the back page. If you do not wish your name to be mentioned please say so. We cannot guarantee to publish everything we receive but if your item gives a new or original view about Tanzania we certainly will - Editor)

THE MOST IMPORTANT INDIGENOUS INITIATIVE SINCE INDEPENDENCE

This is how AFRICAN BUSINESS (March 1995) grandiosely described the setting up of the first truly indigenous bank in Tanzania. The promotion committee of the new bank - the Akiba ('savings in Swahili) Commercial Bank - has announced that the mobilisation of share capital was proceeding well particularly in Mwanza and Arusha, with some Shs 200 million (\$370,000) subscribed so far. Several donor agencies have said that they are willing to provide training, computer equipment and experts during the bank's initial stages. But the article quotes some observers as questioning the launching of such a major project in the present tough economic climate. To be viable businesses needed to operate at an average 50% profit because of the high inflation rate. Most local banks had not started full-scale lending and were making their money mostly from commissions, opening of letters of credit, financing foreign trade and operating forex businesses.

THE ANSWER TO THE 20TH CENTURY'S BIGGEST ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEM

'Next time you are in a public institution or business in Tanzania take a look in the car park or around the back of the building' advised 'Green Bullet' writing in the November 1994/January 1995 issue of the Dar es Salaam environmental magazine AGENDA. 'You will probably see some of the dying or dead population of some 10,000 Landrovers. Usually, the impact of a head-on collision is evident, with a concertina-style bonnet....but the LRMT has now been in operation for over eight years and people still come in with broken down Landrovers, receive a quote for reconditioning, and if they then agree to have the work done, achieve what, two years ago (before the operation ran down - it now employs only 25 workers) I hoped would be the answer to the 20th century's

biggest environmental problem - a totally recycled motor vehicle'. The writer went on to outline the environmental spin-offs of the process - the idea that a car had to be replaced by a new one would be eroded and the monthly influx of reconditioned Far Eastern saloons that have no chance of survival could be reduced.

CHOCOLATE ELEPHANTS A BOOST FOR TANZANIA'S REAL-LIFE ATTRACTIONS

Under this masterpiece of the headline writer's art BRITISH OVERSEAS DEVELOPMENT (January) described a partnership between the Cote d'Or Chocolate Company (the ones with the elephant on the wrapper) and Britain's ODA, to support the Ruaha National Park. Britain has allocated £1 million to the reserve, which is a home to leopards - rarely seen elsewhere - and more elephants than any other park in Tanzania. Numbers of elephants are now increasing and over 300 species of birds have been identified.

AND IN THE SELOUS NATIONAL PARK

'I woke with a start to a tremendous crashing and ripping sound...Lifting the tent flap I could dimly make out a huge shape bearing down on me. The intruder edged nearer and stopped inches away from my face, breathing heavily. Immobilised, I waited for the beast to charge, trample all over me, or, at the very least, trip over a guy rope and bring the tent down. But the elephant was much more interested in the palm trees outside as he tried to pull down massive fronds laden with fruit....Next morning it was explained to us that the new Mbuyuni site in the Selous Game Reserve had been pitched among the palms to get maximum shade. The manager explained - "Elephants have been coming here for years to feed. They are not going to be put off by a few tents" - Jill Sherman, The TIMES WEEKEND of January 25.

GAME HUNTING CONTINUES

About 200 Britons a year visit Africa to hunt game said the TIMES WEEKEND (January 21) and Tanzania is one of the hottest destinations because four of the big five animals can be hunted. But Tanzanian costs are the highest because of government levies. Prices range from around £700 to £1,300 per day. Some hunters spend £70,000 a head for a 28-day safari.

Issue No 9 of the publication MSITU (Press Cuttings on Environmental Issues In Tanzania, P O Box 840, Dodoma) featured on its front page attacks on the hunting policy of Minister for Tourism, Natural Resources and Environment Juma Omar. The MP for Monduli was quoted as saying that he had personally seen game that had been killed being loaded into two military aircraft from the United Arab Emirates and asked the Minister to explain what the 60-strong UAE party were doing in the country. MP for Mbulu Philip Marmo, who has since become Minister of Information and Broadcasting, wanted to

know why too many hunting licenses were being issued. Parliament set up select Parliamentary Probe Committee.

Other press cuttings in this very informative publication featured the Mafia Marine Park, tree felling, charcoal burning, the Mkomazi Game Reserve, the Pangani Dam Project and the melting snow of Kilimanjaro.

A QUESTION OF NATIONALITY

Another angle to hunting was the report in the KENYA WEEKLY NEWS (December 23) which explained how so-called white hunters had allowed the killing of three of Kenya's best known, almost 50-year-old bull elephants, which had crossed the border into Tanzania from the Amboseli National Park. There then followed a dispute as to the nationality of the elephants Tanzania insisting that they were not Kenyan. Dr. Cynthia Moss who has been studying pachyderms for many years was categorical that they were Kenyan and gave them names - M10, Sleepy and RBG.

The London TIMES took up the story and protests flowed in. The Times identified three alleged German, Zimbabwean and American hunters as being guilty. The head of Tanzania's Wildlife Department Mr Mohidin Ndolanga subsequently reassured his Kenya opposite number that such hunting would be banned in future. *(Thank you Christine Lawrence, Ian Leggett, John Sankey and J de Graaf for the above wildlife items - Editor).*

THE CHALLENGE TO TRADITIONAL LIFE

OVERSEAS, the journal of the Overseas League in London, featured Tanzania prominently in its March-May issue. Writing on the challenge to traditional life, Danford Mpumwila, who grew up among the Benas in Southern Tanzania, described how confusion now reigned as new values and new social norms emerged among the tribe. 'Traditional dances which used to be part and parcel of funerals, births, marriages and harvests have been repackaged and are now performed in modern halls for a fee; newspaper adverts for medicine men and healers are placed side by side with those for church services; entertainment halls alternate amplified western music with tribal dances; portable telephones are sold across the road from spears and shields; goats and cattle occupy the same streets as the latest Mercedes Benzes and BMW's...

An article on the history of the TAZARA Railway by E J Kisinga reminded us how it was on a Sunday morning in March 1970 when the first 1,000 Chinese railway workers disembarked in Dar es Salaam, dressed identically in Mao suits and all carrying the same standard suitcases. 'The workers left a lasting impression; in contrast to other expatriates they lived frugally and self-reliantly, planting vegetables and raising chickens and pigs for food and building their beds from the boxes which had contained the construction materials. At one time they even voted to reduce their salaries by one third to help the Tanzanian economy....'

"WE ARE RELIANT ON THEM" - RWANDAN PRIME MINISTER

The problems of Rwanda (and hence, often the problems of Tanzania also) continue to receive considerable coverage in the media.

In an attack on French policy towards his country Rwandan Prime Minister Faustin Twagiramungu, quoted in THE TIMES (December 26) stated that Rwanda tended towards trade links with East African countries. "We are reliant on Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania...for these countries English is the most useful language". The article added that many of the Ugandan Tutsis now coming home after 30 years of exile spoke only English and Swahili.

On December 26 THE GUARDIAN had reported that 'Medecins Sans Frontieres' had decided to pull out of refugee camps in Tanzania saying that it could no longer support mass murderers and those preparing to fight again.

TANZANIA'S EXASPERATION

As this issue of TA goes to press the DAILY TELEGRAPH (April 12) reported from Ngara that Tanzania was firmly resisting international pressure to accept yet another massive wave of some 50,000 refugees - Hutus from Burundi. 'They are being greeted with unexpected violence from the neighbour they hoped would take them in' wrote the paper. Tanzania shut its border with Burundi at the beginning of April, exasperated by the world's assumption that - with 700,000 refugees already camped there - it would continue to welcome the flow of victims. About 1,500 Burundian refugees who succeeded in crossing the border swamps and banana groves were confronted by Tanzanian troops at Mugoma. 300 were said to have been marched back into Burundi and the rest scattered into the bush.

Tanzanian Minister of State for Defence Col. Abdulrahman Kinana had been quoted earlier in the Uganda NEW VISION (April 5) as stating that Tanzania would stick to its rejection of an appeal for it to reopen the border. "We are not going to bow to pressure from anyone" he said. The world was not doing enough to force Rwanda to take back its refugees.

As this issue of TA went to press it was reported that thousands of Burundi refugees stranded on the road to Ngara had agreed to return to their refugee camps in Burundi.

CHANGING THE COURSE OF COMMERCIAL AVIATION IN EAST AFRICA

The recent launching by Tanzania, Uganda and South Africa of the new joint airline 'The Alliance' has sent shock waves through Kenya Airways according to AFRICAN BUSINESS (March 1995). The move would force Kenya Airways to change both its operations and its policies in order to withstand the competition. Alliance is using the prestigious Boeing 747-SP initially on Johannesburg/London/Dubai/Bombay routes with stopovers in Dar es Salaam and Kampala. South African Airways holds 40% of the shares, Air Tanzania and Uganda Airlines 10%

each and most of the remainder are to be subscribed by private investors in Uganda and Tanzania. The HQ is in Kampala. The airline also poses a threat to the Air Tanzania Corporation (ATC) according to the article, something underlined by the reluctance of Tanzanian Government aviation officials to comment on the new project. Success would depend very much on the degree of trust between the new partners.

TANZANIA SIXTH LARGEST RECIPIENT

Statistics in the British ODA's ANNUAL REVIEW FOR 1994 indicate that Tanzania received £23.57 million worth of aid in various forms from Britain in 1994 which made it the sixth largest recipient in sub-Saharan Africa after Uganda (£38.06 million), Zambia (£37.91 million), Mozambique (£29.93 million), Kenya (£28.82 million) and Zimbabwe (£24.56 Million)

'IT WAS HIM - WORLD PICTURE EXCLUSIVE'

With this massive headline and a wedding photograph covering the entire front page, the NEWS OF THE WORLD (December 18 1994) announced that, after a search lasting several days, it had located the winner of £18 million in Britain's National Lottery. The winner had tried hard to avoid publicity. He is 42-year-old Mukhtar Mohidin, a factory worker in the North of England, the son of Indian immigrants to Tanzania. He left the country for Britain in 1970 and he and his wife worked very hard for many years to save up to buy a run-down corner shop. 'Now he can buy a supermarket' the paper wrote 'and pay flunkies to run it for him'. The same paper caught up with Mr Mohidin (who had gone into hiding) and filled most of its front page on April 16 with the news that he was going to be sued by his best friend who was claiming half the money; they had apparently agreed to split any winnings.

The SUNDAY TIMES (February 12) reported that Mr Mohidin's family had been torn apart by bitter infighting.

VACCINATION A CAUSE OF LION DISEASE?

A disease outbreak has culled 250 lions in the South Eastern corner of the Serengeti National Park, about a third of the study population of the Serengeti Lion Project, according to a recent issue of the TROPICAL AGRICULTURE ASSOCIATION NEWSLETTER. The study population is a 25% sample of the estimated 3,000 lions in the park - the largest population of big cats in the world. Tests indicate that the lions are dying from canine distemper virus (CDV) or something like it. CDV has infected hyenas in the Serengeti since the 1960's so why has it now become a problem for lions? One explanation is that, until recently, lions may have gained immunity to CDV by eating wildebeest or cattle which have rinderpest. The eradication of rinderpest amongst cattle through vaccination may have left the lions more vulnerable to CDV. But prospects are fairly good. The Serengeti population

is probably large enough to recover even if the epidemic should spread from the south-east corner of the park.

BIGGEST TO DATE

The 1994 World Travel Market in London saw Tanzania's largest attendance to date according to the January issue of AFRICAN BUSINESS. There were representatives from 15 Tanzanian companies. The Tanzania Tourist Board (TTB) has stated that it is aiming for a high income, low volume tourist approach and is opposed to mass tourism development. More than 75% of Tanzania's visitors come to see the wildlife. During 1994 there were 200,000 visitors to the country but its 'carrying capacity' has been estimated at half a million.

MOVING UP

In a summary of very recent research by the World Bank on adjustment in Africa, FINDINGS (February 1995) states that Tanzania (with Mozambique) has moved up from the category 'Very Poor Macroeconomic Policy Stance' to 'Poor Economic Policy Stance'. The paper states that in almost all African countries real exchange rates remain overvalued, fiscal deficits high and inflation still a problem. Only one country is classified as having an adequate macroeconomic policy stance - The Gambia.

"LET DEMOCRACY EVOLVE. DON'T IMPOSE IT"

In a recent issue of the American publication AFRICA REPORT there were interviews with Robert Mugabe, Sam Nujoma and Julius Nyerere. Nyerere was asked about democracy. He said "The North says we must have a multiplicity of political parties to be democratic....this is going to cause a lot of chaos on the African continent...let Africa be given time to develop its own systems of democracy. The people will want democracy. No people will accept oppression. The mechanisms of developing democracy will change as history changes, as the country, the standard of living, the level of education changes. Let democracy evolve. Don't impose it".

PETER MANDELSON

The GUARDIAN WEEKEND (February 11) revealed that Mr Peter Mandelson MP, former British Labour Party Leader Neil Kinnock's media magician and presently a close collaborator of the new leader Tony Blair, (Mandelson is referred to in the article as a 'Mephistopheles', a 'Rasputin', a 'Master of Mendacity', a 'brilliant strategist', a 'rigorous campaigner') spent one of his younger years in Ngara - sponsored by Bishop Trevor Huddleston, whom he had badgered for help. He worked as a teacher, and, according to the paper, also as an anaesthetist 'pumping an ether balloon with one hand, while thumbing through Love's Book of Surgery with the other.

BUSINESS NEWS BUSINESS NEWS B

Exchange Rates (April 1995):

US\$1 = Shs 560 - 570

£ Sterling = Shs 850 - 910

The WORLD BANK, advised by its representative in Dar es Salaam (who was accused of interfering in Tanzania's sovereignty) and supported by TANESCO's Board of Management and the press, has forced the government to change the decision it had made on the award of a tender. This was for the Emergency Power Supply Project urgently needed to relieve the electric power shortages which have been crippling industry during recent months. The Canadian firm Ocelot won the tender. A combined Irish, South African and Malaysian tender had been favoured by the government - Business Times.

Although heavy rain during the last few weeks has led to improved electricity generation TANESCO has warned that rationing will continue because water levels in the main dams had not yet risen substantially - Daily News.

SOUTH AFRICA'S PROTEA HOTELS has recently taken over the management of 20 African hotels outside South Africa including four formerly state-owned hotels in Tanzania - Johannesburg Star.

INFLATION had reached 39.5% by the end of January and there are fears that it will reach 45% by budget time in June; food prices increased by almost 20% during the five months after September 1994 - Business Times.

The TANZAM Railway Authority plans to lay off a third of its 6,000 workers in the next 14 months because of severe competition - Business Times.

OBITUARIES

AMIR JAMAL who died in March in Canada was one of the earliest members of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), served in many cabinet positions after independence.

BILL TULLOCH was in Tanzania from 1951 to 1963 and served as a District Commissioner. He wrote a children's book *Kishanda and the Elephant* based on the friendship between his daughter and an orphaned elephant calf. After Tanzania he tried several business ventures but became best known as a successful racehorse owner.

JOHN OWEN, Director of National Parks (1960-70) was described in The Guardian (March 6) as the outstanding conservationist of his time who was largely responsible for forming the magnificent national park system as it is today.

50 YEARS AGO

The following extracts are from the 'Tanganyika Standard' in 1945.

V E DAY - May 8, 1945

Midst very heavy rain in Dar es Salaam, church bells rang out, sirens sounded, guns sounded in salute. The official 'Tanganyika Territory Gazette' appeared in red, white and blue. There was a two-day public holiday. The most ambitious documentary ever produced on Nairobi Radio was heard in Tanganyika.

In Kigoma children from the Greek refugee camp held a torchlight procession through the town dressed in their national colours. Belgian Lake steamers arrived gay with flags and passengers had an all-night party on board. Palm leaves and flags were flying outside African houses. Even pieces of the memsahibs' dresses had been promoted to sticks and were flying happily in the wind.

In Tabora the signal for the opening of celebrations was the sounding of Reveille from the four corners of the battlements of the Boma. Four bands marched through the streets and 100 head of cattle were slaughtered for celebrations which continued for eight days.

At Arusha School there was a fancy dress Victory party, a concert and a picnic.

In Manyoni some 3,000 people gathered in the market square and began ngomas which lasted for two days and nights.

In Bukoba there were bonfires on the hills.

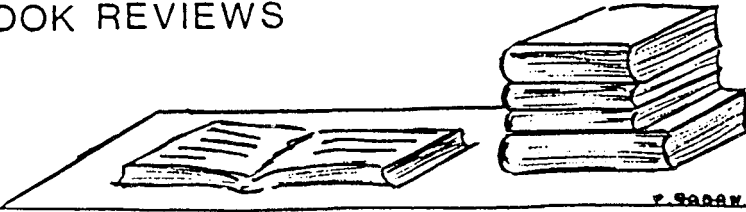
FIRMLY ESTABLISHED

"We are about to embark on a new epoch of prosperity in Tanganyika Territory....British rule is, for the first time, firmly and permanently established here". So said Attorney-General C McFurness-Smith in welcoming at a ceremony at the High Court the new Chief Justice, His Honour Sir George Graham Paul. Mr Furness-Smith said that during the past quarter century of British rule the country had been handicapped by a sense of insecurity aggravated by the continuing fear that British statesmen might barter Tanganyika to Germany under their policy of appeasement. "Now" he said "we are at the beginning of a new epoch in the fortunes of Tanganyika".

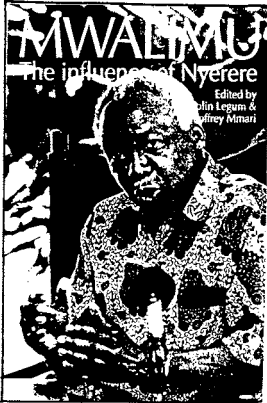
MUSLIM FUNDAMENTALISTS

Four alleged Muslim fundamentalists have been sentenced to four years imprisonment each after being found guilty of rioting, stealing and damaging pork butcheries in Dar es Salaam - Daily News.

BOOK REVIEWS



F. SALAM



NYERERE

THREE BOOKS

MWALIMU - THE INFLUENCE OF NYERERE. Edited by Colin Legum and Geoffrey Mmari. Mkuki Na Nyota, Dar es Salaam; Africa World Press, Trenton USA; and, James Currey, London. Published in association with the Britain-Tanzania Society. 1995. Clothbound £35. Paperbound £11.95. Special offer price to readers of 'Tanzanian Affairs': Clothbound - £10 from James Currey, 54B Thornhill Square. London N1 1BE.

The British Empire had many achievements. One which is rarely cited is the remarkable group of leaders who led its colonies to independence. Had these colonies been fortunate enough to inherit power at the same time they would have been among the tallest on the world stage. Liberation movements attracted many intellectuals who might otherwise have taken careers other than politics. The quality of British education at home and in the colonies contributed to their formation. When history is written Julius Nyerere will rightly occupy one of the foremost places in this galaxy along with Gandhi, Nehru, Jinnah, Kaunda, Lee Kwan Yew and others.

This book is neither a biography nor the orthodox collection of eulogy produced on the retirement of an eminent figure. It is a scholarly compilation of some 14 essays covering his ideas, the policies that followed from them and their application to Tanzania during the 30 years of his leadership. It merits attention as one of the few attempts to analyse in depth and with objectivity the achievements of a very poor country immediately after it assumed control of its

own destiny.

Nyerere has many qualities of heart and head. Huddleston, in his contribution places stress on his humility, austerity and dedication. Mmari reminds us that he did not lack determination. His attachment to his Catholic faith is an important factor in his life. Above all the theme is repeated that he is a thinker and a *mwaliimu* (teacher) hence that honorific has been bestowed on him permanently - uniquely among political leaders who have generally preferred to emphasise their power and leadership. Gandhi, Nehru and Mao were Asian leaders of an earlier generation who also had a vision of creating a New Society and of moulding a new man. Needless to say they differed in the essentials of that vision. Nyerere had a vision of building a more perfect society and a better individual in Tanzania based on African roots and socialism which encompassed Fabian humanist Marxist ideologies. Some day it is hoped that a study comparing Nehru and Nyerere will be made as these charismatic leaders had much in common. Nehru died in harness. Nyerere, having retired from office is still with us, active in the public service. Among their achievements, as Green points out in his contribution, is that much of the political engineering they accomplished continues to survive - a rare occurrence in post independence societies.

The gaining of independence from colonial rule was seen by the leadership as a new dawn when everything could be achieved. In the euphoria they believed that the same enthusiasm and the same willingness to sacrifice that enabled the ouster of foreign rulers would continue indefinitely. This would provide the motivation for the revolution to be brought about in the social structure and the economy. It was soon discovered that human nature and habits cannot be radically altered nor can vested interests be removed without enormous effort and education over a period of time. Too often unable or unwilling to confront this task the post-colonial leadership has moved back to authoritarianism. In many cases this was the penultimate stage before military rule. Nyerere realised he could not achieve his goals by using the system left by the British. As Kweka explains he believed a one-party state would better serve the entire nation. Democracy would be preserved by ensuring freedom of discussion, a policy debate and a choice of candidates for Parliament. In reality the party became all powerful and power and decision making were centralised. The one-party state instituted in 1965 was eventually dismantled in favour of a multi-party system in 1992. By that time Green states that sturdy institutions, a plural society and faith in the system had been firmly implanted. Legum, while acknowledging the achievements, prefers to remain sceptical about the future.

The overall thrust of Nyerere's philosophy is enshrined in the Arusha Declaration of 1967. This emerged after much debate but it was essentially the distillation of Nyerere's own thinking over a long period and was largely imposed from above. Its facets appear in most of the chapters of the book. Irene and Roland Brown sympathetically spell out the reasons

behind the perceived need for planning, for education for self-reliance and for community formation in the 'ujamaa' village. They and other contributors recognise that it was not so easy to implement these policies. Legum points out that, although some people had to be forced, what has been achieved with very limited coercion is indeed remarkable. India, with her partly successful Five-Year Plans and community development programmes in various forms, knows very well that revolutions in agriculture and economics do not come overnight. But they do come slowly at different speeds in different places. Enthusiasm for rural modernisation can be generated. Ultimately awareness grows with decentralisation, grassroots democracy and especially education. All this needs adequate resources. Groups and individuals have to feel that they too benefit from the revolution in the quality of life and being able to acquire goods unobtainable earlier. That is why socialism and planning do not succeed if they neglect to inject a sufficient measure of market forces. Nyerere may not have realised this till the 80's and 90's. But he has never lost sight of the importance of self-reliance and its relevance to independence in policy formulation. It is only in the post cold war era that this reality has been forced on many developing countries which had relied on aid-driven development.

Svendsen, writing on the economic sphere, explains how, after the shocks of the 1979-81 period, the costs of implementing the Arusha Declaration became impossible to sustain. Pride had to fight with need. As countries like India had discovered 15 years earlier, altruism does not exist in international finance and commerce. Tanzania fought a spirited battle with the World Bank and the Fund but the inevitable compromises had to be reached.

'The development of a country is brought about by people and not by money' as Komba asserts. To do this in Tanzania required an initial revolution which most other countries did not need. There were no rural communities. People were gathered into villages with the intention that these would eventually evolve into full-fledged cooperatives. Unlike in the Soviet Union and China this was done mainly by consent. It is however not clear from the book how Tanzanian society has evolved; in the desire to emphasise the unity achieved, the normal process of emergence of group identities is not clearly analysed.

The book is somewhat weak on Nyerere's international achievements. Ramphal's contribution highlights the Commonwealth role and touches upon Nyerere's contribution as Chairman of the South Commission. The Commission's contribution to the economic reform now going on around the world might not be fully appreciated in the pain of ongoing structural adjustment. Self-reliance is being accepted. Just now this is being done at the national level rather than at the multilateral level as the Commission had hoped. It is perhaps utopian to hope that the new rich will be any more altruistic than the old rich.

Nyerere was always a Pan Africanist as Ramphal points out

in his reference to Nyerere's offer to delay Tanganyikan independence to help preserve the East African Union. His outspoken statement that Tanganyika would not share the Commonwealth table with South Africa after it achieved independence in 1961 prompted the latter's exit from the Commonwealth. Decisions on Southern Africa were not without cost to the Tanzanian economy. But they were borne bravely.

Legum explains the rationale behind the final ouster of Idi Amin and the incorporation of Zanzibar into Tanzania and how this was motivated by the same philosophy of African solidarity. The TANZAM railway may not have been a success but it was another effort in the same direction.

For anyone interested in Julius Nyerere and Tanzania this book is essential reading. It suffers from the defect of people on the inside writing about their special subject. Almost every contributor has worked for the Tanzanian Government or the University of Dar es Salaam. Outsiders may feel that they have not been provided with the adequate foundation of facts and data on which the analysis is based. There is also no attempt at any comparative study of neighbouring African or other developing countries. This would have provided some benchmarks against which judgements can be made. These are however minor points against the carefully drawn and relatively objective picture that is projected and is retained by the reader. The Mwalimu's legacy is indeed that of his ideas. Maybe some of them need to be updated. But the basic thrust which comes through loud and clear still remains valid for Tanzania and indeed for many other nations.

Eric Gonsalves

UONGOZI WETU NA HATIMA YA TANZANIA. Julius K Nyerere.
Published by Zimbabwe Publishing House. 1994

This is a short book but one which seems to be of exceptional significance. Its launch in the late Autumn of 1994 created such interest that the first printing became unobtainable in a matter of days. When the author addressed a meeting of the Press Association in March this year, at which he was to return to its major theme, over 800 people are reported to have attended.

Readers in the UK might wonder what all the fuss is about. We have become accustomed to the attacks of Edward Heath on his successor and on the seeming reluctance of Margaret Thatcher to show much enthusiasm for hers. But this is of a different order. Nyerere is the 'father of the nation'; he led the movement for independence; he presided over a Party which, whatever its internal divisions, presented to the public a sense of unity in building a peaceful nation, free from racism, tribalism and religious intolerance, a nation seen as an example to the rest of the world, even if its economy ran into major problems. Moreover, Nyerere retired voluntarily with the status of a world statesman. Ten years later, though

the economic framework to which he had committed himself is fast being dismantled, and though there are those in Tanzania who dismiss him as a figure of the past, he retains great influence among large sections of Tanzanian society.

The thrust of the book is a passionate defence of the United Republic and the main features of its Constitution. Nyerere believes there are those working to split the Union into the two constituent parts that existed in colonial times. He points out that the present borders of Tanzania represent virtually the only example of a post-colonial state which has borders different from those determined by the colonialists and borders which have reunited people of the coastal area and the islands who had been divided by imperial force. He argues that, once the Union were split into two parts, there would be a danger of a descent into regionalism and into divisions based on religion. Which of us in Europe, looking at events in the former Yugoslavia, can confidently say this is wrong?

But Nyerere goes much further. He accuses the then Prime Minister and the then Secretary General of the CCM - both since moved to posts of lesser importance - of conniving in these moves. They are alleged, with much documentation, to have defied the policy of their own ruling Party, undermined the authority of the President and done this to further their own personal political ambitions. He says that this would not worry him so much if he could see signs of an effective opposition party. As it is, without such an opposition, he thinks it even more important that the CCM should look to the strengthening of its internal democracy. Failing that, he sees the danger of dictatorship of the kind he observed in a neighbouring country.

The book is of importance in the lead up to the first multi-party general election. It must be of interest to all students of Tanzanian Affairs. I understand that an English translation will be available shortly.

Trevor Jaggard

THE DARK SIDE OF NYERERE'S LEGACY. Ludovick S Mwijage. Adelphi Press. 1994. 135 pages.

It is common knowledge that a secret intelligence service was very active in Tanzania during the Nyerere years and, as a result, a number of people were detained and some were ill-treated. Most of this book is devoted to the 'exciting' (as the publisher describes it) story of these detainees. The author made no secret of his opposition to the one-party state and in 1983 fled, first to Kenya and then to Swaziland when he knew that he was in danger of arrest. He describes in dramatic detail how he was then abducted, treated very roughly, and taken back to Tanzania via Mozambique and how he was then detained there.

Part of the book skims hastily over scores of other cases of injustice, reported at the time by Amnesty International,

and perhaps inevitable in a system in which democratic differences of opinion were suppressed and in which, as in the case of Zanzibar, violent revolution seemed to be the only way of bringing about change.

The author began as a teacher in Bukoba. After his release from detention he fled to Rwanda, then Portugal and is now, apparently, in Iceland studying for a degree in social sciences with Britain's Open University! - DRB

LIMITED CHOICES. THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM IN TANZANIA. Dean E McHenry Jr. Lynne Rienner Publishers. 1994. 283 pages. £33.95.

This book looks at the endeavour by the political leadership in Tanzania to establish a socialist state. Its coverage is wide and quite good in my opinion, and it includes some developments almost as recent as its year of publication.

One thing which impressed me was its title - 'Limited Choices'. The author was clearly trying to tell something impressive about Tanzania but at the end of it I felt that he still wished to tell a bit more than he actually did. The theme of the work is very much like the experience of Tanzania and the Tanzanians; they tried to achieve something significant by pursuing socialist policies but in the end they do not have much to show for it.

McHenry shows that Tanzania had few logical options other than pursuing the strong appeal of the socialist ideals which had been opted for through the Arusha Declaration. He isolates a number of factors essential either as the vehicles to achieve socialism or define its objectives in Tanzania. These include a standard of socialist morality in the leadership, democracy, equality, rural cooperatives, the parastatal sector and self-reliance. The author's finding is that at the end of the period under study, none of them had been achieved to any commendable standard. Socialist morality, and even commitment by the leadership had been virtually abandoned. But McHenry does not indicate that the choice of socialism should be regretted.

He does not blame the socialist option for the country's economic failure; he puts the blame on the agreement with the IMF and the conditions attached to it. As evidence he points to the fact that Tanzania did make some progress after the Arusha Declaration. But serious decline came in with alarming consistency after the signing of the agreement with the IMF in 1986. He shows further that the trend in Tanzania's development has been just like that of other countries in sub-Saharan Africa, including Kenya, which never contemplated a socialist option.

McHenry's work is very rich in its factual account of Tanzania's political and socioeconomic development. But somehow it leaves you with the impression that the author has been too uncritical of the country generally. While blaming the IMF can be justified, it is not easy to understand the author's total reluctance to try and apportion blame to local

factors like mismanagement, corruption and other factors which may not necessarily concern policy, but which may nevertheless affect economic performance, irrespective of whether the policies have been socialist or not, and irrespective of the IMF conditions.

In fact the author has sometimes appeared to be too sympathetic to Tanzania. Thus, while showing quite graphically the overall decline in incomes even before the IMF, he makes no attempt at all to explain that decline. Instead he tends to view it rather positively because there was, simultaneously, an apparent decline in income inequality!

Most writers about Tanzania have found the dominance of Julius Nyerere extremely difficult to avoid. McHenry's work, while not being an exception, must be commended for its reasonably successful attempt to draw attention to the role of persons other than Nyerere. In fact he even asserts rather boldly that, shortly after initiating socialist policies, Nyerere surrendered his 'proprietary rights' over socialism to the party as a collective unit. Unfortunately, the author does not assess whether indeed the party ever accepted socialism as an objective. That assessment is necessary in view of the virtual abandonment of the Arusha Declaration (through the Zanzibar Resolution of February 1991) barely six months after Nyerere's exit from party leadership.

McHenry categorises Tanzania's socialists, particularly in the political leadership, into 'ideological' and 'pragmatic' socialists, each struggling for control, while Nyerere maintained a midway position between the two. I find this categorisation rather disturbing. Some of the people categorised as pragmatic socialists and most of the things they have stood for are not considered as socialist, at least not in Tanzania. They may have been pragmatic but certainly not socialist. Perhaps the author made a misleading assumption that, because of Tanzania's commitment to socialism, the entire leadership consisted of socialists only.

There are a few inaccuracies but they are negligible as far as the main thrust is concerned. But while commending the author for the effort he made to authenticate his sources he could have done a little better if he had tried to cross check what he read in the government-owned Daily News with other sources including the independent papers which emerged after 1990. Some of them are in Kiswahili, which could be a limitation to some researchers, but not to McHenry; each chapter in the book opens with its own all encapsulating Swahili proverb.

All in all this is a work well worth reading. Even if you disagree with the author's views, arguments or conclusions his work will certainly tell or remind you about things concerning Tanzania which you may have overlooked.

J T Mwaikusa

ARMED AND DANGEROUS. MY UNDERCOVER STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID. Ronnie Kasrils. Heinemann. 1993. 374 pages. £6.99.

MBOKODO. INSIDE MK - MWEZI TWALA. A SOLDIERS STORY. Ed Benard and Mwezi Twala. Jonathan Ball Publishers, Johannesburg. 1994. 160 pages. South African Rands 19.99.

These two action-packed and well-written books tell parts of the same story - what it was like to be involved in the armed struggle against South African apartheid. And, as Tanzania was an early headquarters of the African National Congress (ANC) to which both main authors belonged, Tanzania gets more than a mention.

Ronnie Kasrils was head of ANC military intelligence. He was, called the 'Red (because he was a dedicated communist) Pimpernel', South Africa's most wanted man. He is now Deputy Minister of Defence in the South African government. For him his period in Tanzania (he was also in the Soviet Union, Cuba and East Germany for training and in Angola, Mozambique, Swaziland and South Africa on active service) was a generally happy one, and followed an escape over a ladder on the South Africa/Botswana border. He arrived in Tanzania in a six-seater chartered plane. He started by licking stamps, and answering the telephone at the ANC's 'shabby office' in Dar es Salaam. The 'romantic town' reminded him of Durban. He married there - 'The colonial registrar, who was still in place in 1964, stuck by the book and refused to marry us because we did not have our divorce papers (left behind in S. Africa) but we knew the Tanzanian Attorney General, who wrote a curt note ordering the registrar to stop being obstructive!'. Later, Kasrils had to say his traditional Judaic incantation at the Israeli Embassy in Dar es Salaam when he heard that his father had died back at home.

Tanzania in the 1960's was the centre of much radical political activity. 'An unforgettable event' Kasrils wrote 'was an address to 200 people by the legendary Che Guevara at the Cuban Embassy.... I met him later as I was sitting on the harbour wall. He was smoking a large Cuban cigar; it was his striking features, almost feline, that set him apart from ordinary mortals'.

Kasrils also met, sometimes on the verandah of the New Africa Hotel, such personalities as Oliver Tambo, the Shakespeare-loving Chris Hani, Joaquim Chissano, Jonas Savimbi 'the gentle Malcolm X' and many others.

For Mwezi Twala, the person whose experiences are described in the second book, ('Mbokodo' is a Xhosa word for a grinding stone and was used to describe the security branch of the ANC's armed wing - 'Umkhonto we Sizwe') Tanzania was a very different place. As was the ANC. Mr Twala is now an organiser for the Inkatha Freedom Party in South Africa.

He was a dissident from an early age having organised a strike in his primary school! And when, as a training officer in the 'Umkhonto we Sizwe', he sometimes disagreed with policy, he was inclined to say so. The result was that he was brutally punished in ANC detention camps in Angola and later

transferred, as a prisoner to Tanzania.

His first stop was Dakawa camp where some 700 South Africans were housed in two villages and a large tent community called 'Hawaii'. Here the author was happy at first. He was elected as a camp leader and made responsible for brick making and the manufacture of prefabricated walls for the growing settlement.

But, according to the author, Chris Hani and other senior ANC officials came to the camp. Chris Hani, 'strutted with all the arrogance of a cockerel, while barking orders like a dog. He proceeded to issue banning orders on all of us'.

He and eighteen of his friends decided to plan an escape. And their chance came when the Tanzanian contractor with whom they had been working, apparently without the knowledge of the ANC authorities, invited them for a two-day New Year break in Dar es Salaam. Conditions had not been good at Dakawa. On the way to Dar somebody pushed a coke into his hand. 'It was the most beautiful coke I have ever tasted in my life'.

Chapter 9 of the book describes the following period in early 1990 - imprisonment in Dar es Salaam, hunger strike, appeal to foreign embassies - and Chapter 10 describes the escape, helped considerably by friendly Tanzanians, to Malawi and eventually, after the release of Nelson Mandela, to South Africa. 'After fifteen years absence, the changes that had taken place in Johannesburg were mind boggling' the author concluded. 'Everything I saw exuded wealth'.

Quite a lot of other things in these two exciting to read books are also mind boggling!

David Brewin

STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT: A TREASURY EXPERIENCE. J P Kipokola. Institute of Development Studies Bulletin. Vol. 25. No 3. 1994 Sussex University. 5 pages.

The evaluation of structural adjustment (SA) is a growth industry these days. This article however has two merits - it tells the story of Tanzania's SA remarkably concisely and it tells it from the point of view of the recipient treasury.

The lessons which have been learnt include:

- the value of an inter-ministerial technical group;
- the importance of timely action - something which Tanzania was slow to accept;
- the need to prioritize those resources with the most rapidly visible recovery impact; in the case of Tanzania - agriculture, industry and transportation;
- not to postpone financial sector reforms;
- avoiding over-emphasis on exchange rate policy and interest rate structure;
- not to accelerate privatisation and thus create new monopolies owned by foreign enterprises;
- the need to continue to protect local infant industries;
- the need to be patient - DRB.

PARADISE. Abdulrazak Gurnah.

This book is about many things; the growing up of a young boy, the disintegration of traditional society under colonialism, the nature of freedom, and even a tragic love story.

At the age of twelve, Yusuf, the central character, is torn away from his family for reasons he does not wholly understand. It quickly becomes clear that his parents have become indebted to a wealthy trader - 'Uncle' Aziz - and that Yusuf is the payment. Khalil, who is older than Yusuf, has already suffered the same fate as him and thus attempts to protect Yusuf from his youthful naivety and vulnerability. Yusuf's confusion is understandable as he faces up to the contradictions of his new situation. On the one hand Yusuf is forced to understand his new position in terms of a master-servant relationship; he is told that his 'uncle' is not his uncle, he should now call him Seyyid. On the other hand Khalil emphasises the honour of their 'master'; 'He buys

This book reached the Booker Prize Short List for 1994 - Ed

anything...except slaves, even before the government said it must stop. Trading in slaves is not honourable'.

The whole area of slavery, bondage and freedom is thus introduced into the book at an early stage and is pivotal to Yusuf's transition to adulthood. Yusuf is presented to us as an innocent. He is passive, things happen to him, not because of him.

'It never occurred to him...that he might be gone from his parents for a long time, or that he might never see them again. It never occurred to him to ask when he would be returning. He never thought to ask.....'

He is frustrating in his passivity; one finds oneself demanding, along with Khalil 'Are you going to let everything happen to you all the time?' Of course this passivity is bound up with him coming to terms with this position of bondage, and it is this that he realises that he must ultimately challenge. Yusuf cannot understand why Both Khalil and the gardener, Mzee Hamdani, have refused to take their freedom when offered. He accuses them of cowardice and impotence respectively. But of course Yusuf's greatest challenge comes when he realises he himself is free to go - like Khalil and the gardener he is freely in the service of the Merchant. This forces him to reconsider his position and face up to his own inability to control his life.

Yusuf's final action is to attempt to take control and deliver himself from 'slavery'. Of course the fact that he left one slave-master relationship for what was clearly another, means that his liberation was obviously limited. Nevertheless it was clearly a progression and was reflective of the lack of choice that someone in Yusuf's position would have had.

The style of 'Paradise' is poetic. Gurnah attempts a fusion of myth, dream, religious tradition and realism. He succeeds in this, although it must be said that he comes nowhere near the poeticism and magic realism of Okri's 'Famished Road'. Gurnah is most successful, however, in providing a sensitive portrayal of one young boy's transition to adulthood in a society where a legacy of slavery and an ever increasing colonial presence complicate notions of honour, freedom and bondage.

Leandra Box

"DRIVE SLOW SLOW - ENDESHA POLEPOLE". Carlotta Johnson. 1994. 91 pages. Obtainable @ £6 from Jane Carroll, Britain-Tanzania Society (which will receive receipts from sales) 69 Lambert Road, London SW2 5BB.

An account of a six-month's return to Tanzania, Uganda and (briefly) Kenya after 17 years. Carlotta Johnson allows us to dip into her journal. And it makes evocative reading. I wanted to ask questions, to know more, to 'see round the edges' as one often does with the television screen. It is not an easy book to categorize, being neither a reference book for prospective travellers to East Africa, nor yet a guide for ornithologists - although it has something of interest for both. It is a very personal account of belonging and not belonging: of stranger-ness after many years away from a much-loved country. It is both a questioning and an understanding of the clash of cultures. The poems between the chapters are an added bonus; this from "So, what did you go out in the world to see?": 'To try and understand about distance,/ separation, homecomings, here and there,/ to see what far is, discover/ if I can be at home away.'

Archbishop Huddleston has said that this book should be read by anyone who knows and loves Tanzania. It should also be read by anyone who recalls their own youthful contribution to that fascinating country, how little they learned at the time and how much they have realised since.

Jill Thompson

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

TRADE ROUTES IN TANZANIA: EVOLUTION OF URBAN GRAIN MARKETS UNDER STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT. *Sociologia Ruralis*. 34 (1) 1994. 12 pages.

ACCUMULATION, INDUSTRIALIZATION AND THE PEASANTRY: A REINTERPRETATION OF THE TANZANIAN EXPERIENCE. *Journal of Peasant Studies*. 21 (2) January 1994. 34 pages.

PREVALENCE OF HIV-1 INFECTION IN URBAN, SEMI-URBAN AND RURAL AREAS IN ARUSHA REGION. K Mnyika and others. *Aids*. 8 (9). September 1994. 4 pages.

TANZANIA. Jens Jahn (Ed). Fred Jahn, Munich. 527 pages in German and Swahili. 1994. £57.00. This is described in the 'Art Book Review Quarterly' as a superbly illustrated (b & w) catalogue of traditional sculpture in Tanzania. It shows ceremonial works, figurative wood carvings, ornate staffs, furniture and masks. The text indicates the similarities in the aesthetics of Western Tanzania and southeast Zaire.

MINING AND STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT. C S L Chachage et al. Sweden. 1993. 107 pages mostly about Zimbabwe but with a section on mining and gold in Tanzania.

CONSERVATION OF ZANZIBAR STONE TOWN. Abdul Sheriff (Ed). 1994. 224 pages. £12.95. Essays on culture, history and architecture.

THE ORGANISATION OF SMALL-SCALE TREE NURSERIES. E Shanks and J Carter. Overseas Development Institute. 1994. 144 pages. £10.95. This is designed for policy-makers/professionals and includes case studies from six countries including Tanzania.

TEACHING AND RESEARCHING LANGUAGE IN AFRICAN CLASSROOMS. C M Rubagumya (Ed). 1994. 214 pages comparing experiences in four countries including Tanzania. £14.95.

WHAT'S IN A NAME? UNAITWAJE?: A SWAHILI BOOK OF NAMES. S M Zawawi. 1993. 86 pages. £6.99.

ECONOMIC LIBERALIZATION, REAL MARKETS AND THE (UN) REALITY OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT IN RURAL TANZANIA. Sociologia Ruralis. 34 (1). 1994. 17 pages.

SOCIAL CHANGE AND ECONOMIC REFORM IN AFRICA. Ed: P Gibbon. Scandinavian Institute of African Studies. 1993. £12.95. 381 pages. Contains three papers on Tanzania - on the effect (or lack of effect) of structural adjustment on the growth of NGO's, on education and on agriculture.

ECONOMIC POLICY UNDER A MULTIPARTY SYSTEM IN TANZANIA. Eds: M S D Bagachwa and A V Y Mbelle. Dar es Salaam University Press. 1993. 218 pages. £14.95.

THE DEMISE OF PUBLIC URBAN LAND MANAGEMENT AND THE EMERGENCE OF INFORMAL LAND MARKETS IN TANZANIA. A case of Dar es Salaam City. J W M Kombe. Habitat. Vol. 18. No 1. 1994 20 pages. Management of urban land can be undertaken by either state-led or market-led instruments. This paper explains, through four case studies, the extent to which the informal market-led sector is growing largely because of deficiencies in allocation under the old system.

SOME LESSONS FROM INFORMAL FINANCIAL PRACTICES IN RURAL TANZANIA. A E Temu and G P Hill. African Review of Money, Finance and Banking. 1/94. 26 pages. This paper, which is full of interesting insights, explores in some detail informal financial practices in the Kilimanjaro Region. These include the keeping of cattle for emergencies, borrowing from friends and relatives, borrowing livestock and using money lenders; it points out the lessons bankers can learn from this informal sector.

BEYOND DEVELOPMENTALISM IN TANZANIA. Geir Sundet. Review of African Political Economy. No 59. 1994. 10 pages. 'The Arusha Declaration is

arguably the most influential policy paper to come out of Africa' this writer states and goes on to analyse theories of political economy and the nature of the 'African State'. He questions present modes of analysis of African political systems.

RECENT DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE IN TANZANIA: CAUSES, CONSEQUENCES AND FUTURE PROSPECTS. A J Mturi and P R Andrew Hinde. Journal of International Development. Vol. 7 No 1. 1995. 17 pages. Fertility in Tanzania is very high by world standards - a woman bears on average more than six children (it used to seven in the early 1980's). The population growth rate is around 3%. These writers argue, in a fact-filled paper, that a further decline in fertility will depend mainly on the family planning programme.

DOCTORS CONTINUING EDUCATION IN TANZANIA: DISTANCE LEARNING. S S Ndeki, A Towle, C E Engel & E H O Parry. World Health Forum. Volume 16. 1995. 7 pages. This a description and evaluation of a programme of distance learning for 150 medical personnel in the Arusha, Kilimanjaro, Tanga and Singida regions. The most popular module was the one on obstructed labour; the most difficult was on epidemiology. Costs were \$341 per trainee or \$0.38 per person in the region. The paper points out the lessons learnt.

TANZANIA DEVELOPS GAS. T Land. Southern Africa Economist. October 1994. 2 pages.

ESTIMATING THE NUMBER OF HIV TRANSMISSIONS THROUGH REUSED SYRINGES AND NEEDLES IN THE MBEYA REGION. M Hoelscher. AIDS. Vol. 8. No. 11. 1994. 7 pages.

POLITICAL COMMITMENT, INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITY AND TAX POLICY REFORM IN TANZANIA. O Morrissey. Univ. of Nottingham. 1994. 25 pages.



FOOTPRINTS

It was stated in The Times on 24/12/94 that 'the world's earliest footprints are to be preserved in a joint effort by the J Paul Getty Trust and the government of Tanzania...Over the next two years the tracks will be exposed, stabilised and buried again'.

I feel it is a great pity that the footprints have to be buried. Is it not possible, in these days of scientific ingenuity, that the prints could be somehow protected enough to remain visible to all who would like to gaze at them and marvel at this evidence of our ancestors 3.6 million years ago. I realise that possible tourist damage and the activities of over keen archaeologists would have to be guarded against, but I wonder if enough thought has been given to the matter.

Christine Lawrence

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