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# Tanzanian affairs

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NEW PRESIDENT SWEEPS CLEAN

CONTROVERSIAL ELECTIONS:

WERE THEY FREE AND FAIR?

WINNERS AND LOSERS

WHY DIDN'T OPPOSITION DO BETTER?

POPOBAWA IS DEAD

CULTURE SHOCK

BUSINESS NEWS

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# A PERSONAL ELECTION DIARY

October 18, 1985. Arrive in Dar es Salaam.

October 19. Election rally in Kinondoni, Dar es Salaam. Music, warm-up speeches and jokes; boys on stilts help to entertain the moderately-sized crowd. Large numbers of uninterested passers-by showing signs of election-fatigue. Finally, presidential candidate for the ruling Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) Party Mr. Benjamin Mkapa arrives standing atop a Landrover and accompanied by a procession of other vehicles. He looks as though he is hating every moment of the slow procession into the centre of the, by now, much larger crowd. His Vice-Presidential running mate Dr. Omar Ali Juma, the Chief Minister of Zanzibar, clearly a more seasoned campaigner, smiles and enjoys himself. But once he gets hold of the microphone Mr. Mkapa looks happier. He speaks clearly and forcibly. He points out that CCM has provided peace and stability since independence and it could be risky to throw it all away. He spends a surprisingly long time talking about foreign policy on which, of course, he is the expert, but it can hardly be a subject of priority for the people of this densely-packed suburb.

October 19. Comfortable (US\$ 30) hydrofoil journey to Zanzibar. Coloured portraits of Dr. Salim Amour, the CCM leader, everywhere. A helpful porter at the dockside explains that you can get Dr. Amour's pictures free but you have to pay for pictures of Mr Seif Shariff Hamad, the Vice-Chairman and Zanzibar leader of the Civic United Front (CUF)! This surprising information turns out later to have some truth in it. We (myself and a journalist from the 'Economist') stop on the roadside and attend a small, quiet but highly organised and very good-natured meeting of supporters of the CUF. Lively speeches and great emphasis on the historic nature of the decision voters will be taking in two days time.

Arrival at the hotel and the lights go out - but only for one hour under a power-sharing scheme with other parts of the town. By election day however, the nightly power cuts no longer seem to be necessary!.

October 20. A day-long briefing for the 130 international observers. They are told that they are there to observe and not to intervene but they should use their common sense when problems come up. They did not then realise how many problems they were going to face. Lots of questions are addressed to the Zanzibar Electoral Commission (whose Chairman and Deputy Chairman are present) about the earlier voter registration process which had been boycotted for a time by the CUF opposition. How many objections had there been? Originally about 1,000 but now only 600 remained. How much did it cost to raise an objection? A deposit of Shs 5,000. Had there been

# It is polling day

Millions vote in historic elections CUF cries foul

Observers: What they witnessed

## Hamad Rais?

Shariff is Zanzibar next President

- DTV yasema: Hamad ameshinda
- STZ, RTD zadai matokeo leo
- Wapinzani Dar washangilia



# The Guardian

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**ELECTION  
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and reports on  
Pages 2, 3, 4 & 6

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# CHAOS AND CONFUSION

Amour scrapes  
through

Salmin defies  
Mwalimu  
CCM sweeps  
more seats

Mwalimu:  
You must  
accept  
results

Zanzibar: A political wound that is far from healing

intimidation? Yes, in three cases in Pemba and also in Zanzibar town. The ZEC had sorted them out and sacked one registration clerk. Was it true that 3,000 CUF supporters had been taken off the register and 20,000 had not been allowed to register? No, but the law did specify that to register in Unguja, you had to have been resident for five years and some Pembanans therefore did not qualify to vote.

The average size of a constituency was 7,019 votes. Voters had to place their ballots in three boxes - for the President, the MP and the Ward Councillor.

Next off to the Ministry of Information to collect the 'magic' press card. With this document priority of entry was guaranteed to every rally, every press conference, every event.

In the evening, in a huge aircraft hanger-like building, the elders of Zanzibar, women on the left, men on the right, are invited to hear Union presidential candidate Professor Ibrahim Lipumba (CUF) who had been chosen to contest the election at the last minute when the CUF failed to agree with Union opposition leader Augustine Mrema (NCCR-Mageuzi party) on a joint candidature. Lipumba speaks eloquently and repeatedly about honesty and probity and justice in government. "We want leaders" he said "not rulers".

In the evening I meet a pilot and copilot of an 8-seater plane hired apparently by CCM from Kuwait. It is part of what is clearly a no-expenses-spared CCM election campaign.

October 21. A carnival atmosphere. I don't think anything as exciting as this has happened in Zanzibar for some time. Two big final political rallies.

In the morning it is the CUF. At all the meetings I later attend the respect and tolerance so typical of Tanzania is there to be seen. What happens is that the opposing party fills a truck with supporters and party banners and drives past the opposition meeting, makes a lot of noise, receives some banter in return and then, after two or three passages, withdraws and politely leaves the other party to continue its meeting in peace. Bright and colourful head scarves of the women sitting on the ground in the middle of this CUF gathering make a beautiful picture on this hot sunny day. It is very much like a prayer meeting - so disciplined and orderly and the rapt attention paid to all that is said. Even the bicycle park is carefully demarcated and supervised. Three white doves, clearly well trained, are released and wheel over the huge assembly to the delight of everyone. And the CUF leader, Seif Shariff Hamad, wearing a light beige safari suit and a distinctive beard both looks and behaves as if he is on an evangelical crusade. He gives a powerful speech in the mellifluous pure tones of Zanzibar Kiswahili. Amongst other things he says "Under the British this island was run efficiently. We aim to do the same".

In the afternoon a much larger gathering. A higher calibre pop band to warm things up is followed, to the great excitement of the crowd, not by doves, but by the release from a low-flying aircraft, of thousands of last-minute leaflets

exhortating people to 'Vote CCM'. Many speeches culminating in an impressive performance by the CCM Zanzibar presidential candidate Dr. Salmin Amour who reiterates the message about peace, progress and stability and how his party rescued Zanzibar from its original oppressors. The presidential candidate then drives away in his luxurious Mercedes saloon followed by a truck load of heavily armed police. Part of the crowd, which had stood back from the meeting and seemed apathetic or tired of listening to speeches, now shows its political allegiance; they warmly and loudly applaud him on his slow passage home. Some tell me that they are "not going to hand the Zanzibar back to the Arabs" - something about which there appears to be widespread fear.

The ideological differences between CCM and CUF do not seem to be great although CUF believes that injustice was done in the past to landowners and should be redressed. CUF would be likely to foster closer relations with and more investment from Oman and the Arab world and, although accepting the need for a continuation of the Tanzanian Union (all major parties agree on this) would want more autonomy for Zanzibar than CCM is likely to favour.

October 22. Election day. It is reminiscent of the scenes at the South African election last year. But this time it is not the hot sun which causes the suffering. This time it is torrential rain. A moving scene long to be remembered - as the clouds open nobody moves from his/her place in the long lines waiting to vote. In a massive turnout (over 95%) almost everybody is soaked and soaked again as the rain goes on and on. But the voters remain resilient and doggedly determined to vote. Let there be no doubt about the enthusiasm for multi-party elections in Zanzibar.

But then things start to go wrong. The educational level of many polling clerks is such that, although they have only 300 names on their voters lists it sometimes takes almost a quarter of an hour for the clerk to find the name of one voter on his or her list. 11 am.....1 pm.... 3pm.....and at many polling stations voting has not yet started.

Some people are still trying to vote in the pitch dark at midnight. Tension rises. At one polling station in a large secondary school, although voting is long since over, at 10.30 pm the counting has not yet started because there are no lights. Eventually CUF provides a generator and all the lights come on. But the counting does not start. The CCM representative, who is not joking, says that counting cannot begin under CUF lights! Entreaties to the effect that light is light whoever provides it, are met with a firm no. Eventually at about midnight a collection of official hurricane lamps arrives. But mutual suspicion remains. We are all called in - observers and pressmen alike - to calm the atmosphere but a compromise is worked out under which all the lamps will be placed in one room and each collection of ballot boxes will be counted separately and not simultaneously as originally planned. Hence the beginning of the long delays in publishing results.

Counting goes on and on. Polling clerks are assiduous in opening the boxes and showing everyone present how every single vote has been cast. Long arguments about where exactly the tick has been placed on the ballot paper. A lot of people sleep at the polling stations. Observers on duty until the early hours.

October 23. Counting of votes continues all day.

October 24. The CUF issues a statement saying that the CCM is rigging the elections and lists 14 irregularities. They call for a total recount in the presidential election and the right to inspect closely the electoral register. Outside the CUF headquarters two units of the armed Field Force arrive suddenly and disperse the crowd with some vigour. The few Asian shopkeepers still open, close and bar the doors of their shops inside 15 seconds!

We talk to CUF Secretary-General Shabaan Mloo who elaborates on the extent of what he claims to be the rigging. He says that the army and the police had their own polling stations; how could they have voted, as he claimed they had done, 100% for CCM?

Later, at one polling station, it takes 45 minutes of argument to decide whether CCM won 44 or 45 votes in a ballot box. The CCM polling supervisor eventually breaks the deadlock by agreeing to accept the figure 44 'provisionally' pending the final tally!

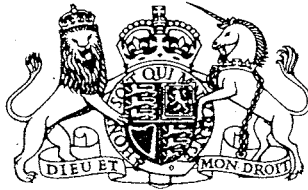
From Dar es Salaam the Daily News reports that Professor Lipumba (CUF Union presidential candidate), who had been expected to mobilise a substantial Muslim vote in the mainland elections, is facing a civil suit in the High Court filed by a resident who claims that the Professor has committed adultery with his wife.

Here in Zanzibar, to considerable surprise, if not disbelief as so few results have been issued, it is reported that there has been an announcement stating that Dr. Salmin Amour will be sworn in as President in two days time!

I had planned to return to the mainland today assuming that the Zanzaibar election would be over but decide to stay on. Most of the rest of the media do likewise foreseeing further drama.

October 25. A clearly agitated CCM issues a statement saying that the elections have not been free and fair and that fresh elections should be held in six months time. Many people had not voted; there had been harassment and intimidation by CUF supporters; there were differences between the election results declared at polling stations and those being issued by the ZEC. The Finnish UN diplomat Kari Karanko and his few remaining observers looking harassed as they also find serious discrepancies at two closely fought polling stations.

We go and talk to CCM Deputy Secretary-General Ali Ameir Mohamed who explains that it was not an easy decision to reject the election results but there had been so many discrepancies. The Electoral Commission had clearly been



## COURT CIRCULAR

BUCKINGHAM PALACE  
November 23:

His Excellency Dr Abdul-Kader Shareef was received in audience by Her Majesty and presented the Letters of Recall of his predecessor and his own Letters of Commission as High Commissioner for the United Republic of Tanzania in London.

Mrs Shareef was also received by The Queen.

incapable. The observers had exceeded their mandate and had to be very careful when working in a third world environment as they could trigger the sentiments of the people. Asked whether, as it seems that the election is going to be almost a dead heat, it would not be wise to set up a government of national unity as proposed by CUF, The Deputy Secretary General tells us that this is not South Africa - where the arrangement is only transitional after all - there are all kinds of historical, ideological and political reasons why it would not be feasible in Zanzibar. Most of the CUF leaders were in earlier Union and Zanzibar governments. We should read the party manifestos and see how much they differed. CUF had been promising heaven.

Still no official declaration of results. I go to the ticket office to postpone my departure yet again.

In the absence of truth, rumours flourish. One rumour says that Dr. Amour has been to see President Mwinyi and told him that CCM is in danger of losing the election. President Mwinyi is said to have replied that this is democracy and the result must be accepted. Dr. Amour is then said to have stated that he is not prepared to do this and will deal with the matter in his own way. But it is only a rumour!

In the evening, Dar es Salaam TV announces that CUF has won. People are not sure whether to believe it or not.

Julius Nyerere, speaking at a rally in support of Benjamin Mkapa in Morogoro, is reported on the radio to have appealed to the two leading parties to accept the result whatever it is. Later, when he hears the result, he suggests that, in view of the closeness of the result a government of national unity would be the best solution.

October 26. The English language newspaper 'The Express' and the Swahili newspaper 'Majira' announce prominently on their front pages that Seif Shariff Hamad has been elected as President of Zanzibar by 164,548 votes to 155,787 for CCM. Other papers print the same news with a question mark. Augustine Mrema congratulates Hamad on his victory.

In Zanzibar tension rises as everyone waits for the Zanzibar Electoral Commission to finally issue the official results. People standing around radios all over the town. Most shops firmly closed.

A long private meeting of the leadership of the ZEC. A twice postponed press conference finally starts in a very small, stiflingly hot room at the ZEC at 2.30pm. If a pin were to drop you would hear it.

The result is announced. CCM has won by a majority of 0.4% No questions allowed. There is no appeal against the decision. The ZEC Chairman disappears rapidly. One observer is overheard to say that this is a disaster.

The media pack besiege the CCM's Ameir Mohamed. Does he still feel that the elections were not free and fair? With face beaming he replies that he is very happy with the results and on the other point he will have to speak to his colleagues. He fights his way to his car.

Within minutes jubilant CCM supporters are out on the streets noisily celebrating. Cars with horns blowing; CCM flags everywhere. CUF supporters not easy to find and very subdued.

The entire media pack jumps into anything with four wheels and sets off at high speed for what turns out to be a very modest single story house in Mtoni - the home of Seif Shariff Hamad in the outer suburbs. He is expecting us. He brings chairs into the garden and in a cool and relaxed tone states that he finds the results totally unacceptable. It is simple, he says, more people have voted than there are on the electoral register. His party will not work with what he describes as 'this illegal government' in any way and will boycott the Union elections on Sunday. This latter decision is subsequently overruled by the CUF Executive Committee. Asked what will happen next he says that CUF members are well disciplined and there will be no violence. The new president will be very oppressive. Hamad will continue to inform international public opinion about what has happened.

While he is speaking, a Landrover full of armed police arrives. Have they come to arrest him? No, they say. They are here to give him extra security. He tells them that he doesn't need it. They look rather uncomfortable midst so many foreign TV cameramen and stay outside, beyond the gate.

The remaining observers continue checking and rechecking results. It seems that they are in a dilemma. Some observers want to publish their figures. Others fear that it might cause disturbances. The observers appeal to all parties to keep the peace.

President Mwinyi is reported on the radio to have sent his congratulations to President Amour on his victory and to Mr Hamad for participating and for the results he has achieved. I

postpone my departure for the mainland yet again but am becoming worried that I may miss what is, after all, the main event on the mainland. CCM celebrations continue.

October 27. Nineteen hours after the declaration of the results Dr. Salmin Amour is sworn in at a colourful and well-organised ceremony midst thousands of excited CCM supporters at the Amaan National Stadium. A 21-gun salute. Western diplomats conspicuous by their absence but the locally resident consuls of India, Mozambique, China and Oman can be seen in the grandstand as can the Kenya High Commissioner.

#### THE MAINLAND ELECTIONS

I catch the hydrofoil to Dar es Salaam in the afternoon. Arrive in time to attend the penultimate rally of down-to-earth Union presidential candidate John Cheyo (UDP). His final rally next day is to be on his home ground in Shinyanga. It is a very small gathering lost in the vast open spaces of Jangwani. He is much the most entertaining of the presidential candidates - some very good jokes, clear enunciation and pronounced Thatcherite views. He wants to clear away restrictions on land ownership, actively encourage investment, close down cooperative unions. Tanzanians must be allowed to make money he says. But few seem to take him seriously.

October 28. NCCR-Mageuzi supporters with flags on every street corner in Dar es Salaam. A festive air. Can NCCR presidential candidate Augustine Mrema surprise everyone by beating the powerful CCM? To the ordinary visitor it seems obvious that he will. Young and excited NCCR supporters are everywhere.

In the afternoon a massive and well organised NCCR rally with fiery speeches from several speakers - a particularly fiery one from the lawyer Dr. Mazumbuko Lamwai. "Seif Shariff is the true president of Zanzibar" he shouts. Loud applause. Perhaps the loudest applause of the whole afternoon.

Nine prisoners, pardoned on October 20 by President Mwinyi, after having been given life sentences in December 1985 for plotting to overthrow the government and having completed 13 years in jail, are paraded before the crowd.

The speeches culminate in a bitter attack by Mrema on Julius Nyerere which is received less enthusiastically. "He says that we are vagabonds, that we are inexperienced...but I've been a Minister for four years!" Mrema says.

At Jangwani at the same time the CCM fills the vast space with what must be the biggest rally of the whole campaign. Benjamin Mkapa speaks yet again about peace and stability and continuity and says that CCM alone has the experienced and capable people to lead the nation.

And at the same time Professor Lipumba closes his campaign with a small rally at Mnazi Moja.

October 29. Mainland election day. In the centre of the city Asian CCM supporters calmly queue and vote without difficulty.

But we then tour Ukonga and are besieged at almost every stop by angry people. These are not passive Zanzibaris. And again they assume that we are observers. They expect us to do something. One angry roadside hotelier protests that his premises have been taken over as a polling station by the Police without consultation even though he has already cooked the chicken and rice for his customers! Who is going to compensate him for his loss of business. Eventually he cools down and begins to see the funny side of it.

It is mid-day and voting has hardly started at many polling stations. One cannot but admire the ingenuity of the election staff in converting the most unpromising of premises into functioning polling stations even though often of extreme simplicity. Secrecy is often ensured by a single piece of gunny bag suspended over a small table.

An angry lady complains that she left her breast-feeding baby at home when she came to vote at 6am and still voting hasn't started.

By the end of the day thousands had found it impossible to vote as their polling stations never opened. Widespread shortages of ballot papers, special ink, rubber stamps. There are accusations that the worst affected constituencies are those in which the opposition has the best chance of winning.

A four-hour extension of voting time is announced in the afternoon by the National Electoral Commission (NEC) but even this doesn't solve the problem for many voters who have given up hope of taking part in the election. Many polling stations still do not open. At Kawe angry people attack a car containing Shs 2.7 million in cash and ballot papers when they find posters supporting CCM in the car.

October 30. After headlines in the morning press like 'CHAOS AND CONFUSION', National Electoral Commission Chairman Judge Lewis Makame announces, in a surprisingly nonchalant way, at a much delayed and packed press conference, that the Dar es Salaam election will have to be held again later. Some up-country polling stations will also remain open tomorrow.

October 31 First results indicate a clear win for the CCM. No celebrations because the results are few and far between. Confident CCM Campaign Director Col Abdulrahman Kinana tells me that there is a widespread but faulty assumption that, when you introduce multi-party elections, the ruling party has to lose. He sees no reason for the Dar elections to be held again. Polling could continue for a day or two longer, he says. He is very critical of the Electoral Commission.

November 1. A few more results confirm CCM's big victory. Ten opposition parties file a petition with the High Court to nullify the elections.

November 2. Powerful oratory at a loud protest meeting at the Starlight Hotel Hall of all the opposition party leaders - finally together in defeat - to demand new elections and an interim government under the Chief Justice.

November 3. A densely packed gathering at the High Court to hear the result of the appeal of the opposition parties. Justices Luhekelo Kyando, Josephat Mackanja and William Maina reject an opposition request to bar further issuing of election results. A few over-exuberant opposition supporters create a disturbance outside and are taken away by the Police. One of them tells me later that he paid the police Shs 2,000 and they let him go. The others paid what they could afford!

November 13. The High Court dismisses with costs the opposition's application in a 19-page ruling.

November 16. The leaders of most of the opposition parties declare that they will boycott the Dar es Salaam elections.

November 19. Second election in Dar es Salaam. Half of the registered electors turn up to vote; no problems at polling stations.

November 20-23. Final election results announced exactly one month after the elections began. CCM takes six seats and NCCR one in Dar es Salaam and Benjamin Mkapa has won a great victory for CCM.

#### CONCLUSION

Although Tanzania's long-time ruling party the Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) won the Presidency and the elections for the Union Parliament in Tanzania convincingly, for the first time in the history of the country, a powerful block of 50 opposition MP's now sit in Parliament to keep cabinet ministers on their toes. If it had not been for the doubts surrounding the conduct and result of the elections in Zanzibar and for the chaos and confusion which occurred there and in Dar es Salaam requiring the latter elections to be cancelled and then held again, this would have been described as another impressive success story on the road to democracy in Africa following the successful elections in South Africa, Namibia, Malawi, Zambia and elsewhere.

As the 'Business Times' put it, 'Tanzanians showed exceptional political maturity even under the very trying circumstances many of them faced. Even the voters who were most frustrated in their desire to vote or most dissatisfied with the result made only a few derogatory remarks and eventually returned to their homes peacefully - a good sign of political tolerance. People did not overreact and kept their cool'.

*(I am grateful to many people in Tanzania and in Britain for help in obtaining information on which parts of this diary and the following election articles are based. Particular thanks are due to Joseph Masanilo, Cuthbert Kimambo and Jwani Mwaikusa - David Brewin).*

# WERE THE ELECTIONS FREE AND FAIR?

ZANZIBAR. Most responsible opinion recognises that the actual process on election day was free and fair. But something happened in the counting, either at the polling stations or at the Electoral Commission or both to cause most independent witnesses to have serious doubts as to whether the election results did reflect the true wishes of the people. The registration process had also been beset with problems and the rule under which only residents of five years standing could register was a disadvantage for CUF.

During the long-drawn out counting process, part of which was carried out in the dark, both parties declared in writing that the elections had not been free and fair.

On November 21 ten of the 17 main donors issued a statement which said that 'The figures announced by the Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC) do not always correspond with the figures recorded at the polling stations.....A reconciliation could alter the outcome of the presidential election....the ZEC was notified of the discrepancies prior to its final announcement of the results but went ahead with the announcements without rectification. Given the narrow margin between the presidential candidates the results of the presidential election declared by the ZEC may be inaccurate. ...Representatives of the donors made their concern known to the President of the Union on October 27. They suggested that corrective measures should be made to the figures when they called on him on October 29 but nothing was done. The International Observer Team attempted to reconcile the discrepancies and confirmed their existence in the final compilation of the figures. In other cases.....observers were denied access to the data by ZEC and other officials and they found the ballot boxes and records compromising'.

On November 23 Zanzibar Electoral Commission Director Aboud Talib Aboud said that the results were valid. "The ambassadors in their statement have an intention to cause controversy over the validity of the president....some Western countries had decided on their own president even before the elections had been held.....observers had been given the information they needed but some tried to direct election officials what to do" he said.

The CUF refuses to recognise the new government and is boycotting the Zanzibar House of Representatives although its MP's agreed to be sworn in. What is clear is that Zanzibar is divided almost exactly in half in its political allegiance. And Pemba does not wish to be ruled by the CCM as it failed to elect even a single ward councillor in the elections. But, as the tough re-elected President Amour correctly pointed out, in democracy, even if you win by one vote, you win.

THE MAINLAND. Most people believe that the results did broadly reflect the wishes of the people although the Commonwealth observer group spoke of 'unique irregularities and discrepancies' that had never been observed in Commonwealth countries before.

The ten OAU Observers praised the tremendous patience, maturity and tolerance of the people but said that the actual conduct of the elections failed to live up to expectations.

However, there was a consistent voting pattern. The main NCCR opposition was very strong in Moshi, from where its leader comes, and also showed strength in some urban areas with large numbers of young voters who tended to support the opposition. In rural areas by contrast, the CCM usually achieved big majorities which reflect the party's long established grass roots organisation.

It is perhaps significant that, at the end of the voter registration period earlier, only 25% of voters had registered. After an extension of two weeks the percentage went up to about 75%. Presumably it was the efficient CCM machine which ensured this. The ethnic support for John Cheyo (UDP) in the Shinyanga region and the success of three strong CHADEMA candidates in different parts of the country lend credibility to the exercise. Furthermore, the main opposition parties have accepted the presidential result even though well over a hundred losers in parliamentary elections are appealing to the High Court with long lists of alleged irregularities.

In Dar es Salaam there must be suspicion that middle level CCM cadres fighting very close constituency elections may have tried to do some rigging. The Electoral Commission said that the problem in Dar es Salaam had been that because of its proximity to the government stores, which held the ballot materials, Dar es Salaam was the last part of the country to receive its supplies - hence the delay in opening polling stations. It is unlikely that results from the second vote in Dar es Salaam fully reflected the wishes of the people there because the opposition had declared a protest boycott.

## THE RESULTS

### UNION PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Benjamin Mkapa (Chama cha Mapinduzi- CCM)	4.0 million	(61.8%)
Augustine Mrema (National Convention for Reconstruction and Reform - NCCR-Mageuzi)	1.8 million	(27.8%)
Ibrahim Lipumba (Civic United Front - CUF)	410,000	(6.4%)
John Cheyo (United Democratic Party - UDP)	250,000	(4.0%)

By Region CCM gained the following (rounded) percentages of the vote (before the Dar es Salaam results were available): Arusha 60%, Kilimanjaro 20% (NCCR got 78%), Tanga 75%, Singida (75%), Iringa (67%), Rukwa 62%, Kagera 56%, Shinyanga 52%, Morogoro 64%, Mbeya 57%, Ruvuma 78%, Mara 56%, Mtwara 89%,

Mwanza 58%, Tabora 58%, Unguja North 75%, Unguja South 82%,  
Unguja Urban 64%, Pemba North 12%, Pemba South 23%.

#### UNION PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION:

	ELECTED SEATS	NOMINATED SEATS (WOMEN)	TOTAL
CCM	186	28	214
CUF	24	4	28
NCCR	16	3	19
UDP	3	1	4
CHADEMA	3	1	4

CHADEMA = Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo

#### ZANZIBAR PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION:

Dr. Salmin Amour (53)	CCM	165,271
Mr Seif Shariff Hamad (52)	CUF	163,706
	Spoilt votes	4,922
	Majority	1,565

#### ZANZIBAR PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

CCM 26 seats (all in Unguja)  
CUF 24 seats (including all 21 seats in Pemba)  
Nominated women candidates: CCM 5; CUF 4.  
Nominated by President: 10; Regional Commissioners: 5.  
Attorney General: 1.

## WINNERS AND LOSERS

#### THE CCM

Over 40 former CCM MP's including Education Minister Dr. Philemon Sarungi and Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office and five Regional Commissioners failed at the first hurdle and were not selected as candidates for the election. Most former cabinet ministers and CCM leaders won their seats easily.

Former Prime Ministers John Malecela and Cleopa Msuya had no difficulty in winning their seats - Malecela at Mtera by 27,368 against CUF's 1,052 and Msuya at Mwanga, Kilimanjaro by 23,134 against NCCR's 3,352. Mr George Kahama head of the Investment Promotion Centre had no difficulty in winning in Karagwe, Bukoba by 24,290 to NCCR's 15,591 and UDP's 5,433 votes.

## NCCR-MAGEUZI

NCCR did very well in Moshi region and comfortably won seats in Moshi Urban and Rural, Vunjo, Hai and Siha; it also won in Iringa Urban, Arusha Urban, Rorya, Mbeya Urban, Muleba North, Urambo East, Musoma Rural and Bunda.

Mwalimu Nyerere's son Charles Makongoro Nyerere sprang a surprise by winning a closely fought battle in Arusha for NCCR; he got 27,977 votes against C M Felix, Deputy Attorney General (26,813) and a disappointing 9,085 for the respected one-time Finance Minister and CHADEMA leader Edwin Mtei. Makongoro's father, Mwalimu Nyerere had earlier joked "My household is really in the forefront of reform. I have CCM, CUF and NCCR followers". Daughter-in-law Leticia Nyerere is the daughter of CUF Chairman Musebi Magenii.

The lawyer Dr Masumbuko Lamwai who took the opposition case to annul the elections to the High Court three times without success and was reprimanded by the judges in the case for 'turning the court into a political circus,' won Ubungo in Dar es Salaam, after insisting on standing in spite of his party's boycott of the second Dar es Salaam election.

Former Justice and Constitutional Affairs Minister Samuel Sitta, who has been MP for the area for 20 years was narrowly beaten (10,788 to 9,497) in Urambo East by NCCR's Msina Jacob Abraham.

Mr Stephen Wassira, a former Deputy Minister of Agriculture defected to the NCCR after complaining that money changed hands during the CCM candidate selection process at Bunda (Mara). He then won the seat for NCCR with 18,815 votes against former Prime Minister Joseph Warioba's 17,527. Warioba has appealed to the High Court against the result.

Ndimara Tegamwage, Chairman of the 12-nation Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) won for NCCR in Muleba North.

One of the youngest MP's, if not the youngest, is Mr James Mbatia, the NCCR party's election director who swept in with a massive 54,724 votes against CCM's 6,468 at Vunjo, Moshi.

## CHADEMA

CHADEMA's P S Willbroad got 20,015 votes defeating the veteran politician P S Qorro CCM (16,781) in Karatu, Arusha. Dr. A W Kabourou, who appealed against his defeat in the Kigoma Town seat by-election last year and won his appeal, beat narrowly (15,478 to 15,205) the same opponent, CCM businessman A S Premji who is appealing against the new result. And former Minister Basil Mramba lost in Rombo, Moshi to CHADEMA's J A Salakana by 35,132 (CHADEMA), 23,610 (NCCR) and 11,388 (CCM).

## UDP

UDP won Bariadi West, Bariadi East and Kisesa all in Shinyanga region.

## SMALLER PARTIES

There were 13 parties in the election but the eight smaller parties did badly.

What the opposition parties did do was to wreck the chances of NCCR-Mageuzi gaining a number of seats where the combined opposition vote was greater than that of CCM. Examples of this were Morogoro Town, Buyungu, Bukoba town, Kigoma South, Kigoma North, Ukerewe (where speaker of the House Pius Msekwa stood) and Nzega; in Tabora South TADEA's C Tumbo would have won if the other opposition candidates had made way for him.

## ASIAN CANDIDATES

Tanzania's continuing racial tolerance was illustrated by the success of a number of Asian CCM candidates: businessman Abbas Gulamali Mohamedali won in Kilombero; M M Mudhikur in Mchinga, Lindi, R Aziz in Igunga, Tabora and Bohoran leader, Adamjee Zainuddin Tayabali at Kawe in Dar es Salaam.

# WHY DIDN'T THE OPPOSITION DO BETTER?

Firstly, there was a return of some ethnic feeling as the NCCR came to be regarded more and more as a Chagga party. Secondly, there were fears - many will consider them irrational - about how far the unpredictable populist Augustine Mrema might go if he became president. Could he become another Idi Amin? Would Tanzania become another Rwanda? Was he prepared to accept advice or would he rule alone? Thirdly (Mr. Mrema considered this to be the main cause of his defeat) there was the powerful intervention of Mwalimu Nyerere who was indefatigable in making his point (which was broadcast on national radio) that Mkapa was the only person fit to be president and Mrema was particularly unfit. Fourthly, the opposition was fragmented. The NCCR-Mageuzi insisted on putting up candidates in every seat and Mrema's failure to establish an alliance with CUF, as a result of his abortive attempt to appoint veteran politician A M Babu as his Vice-presidential running mate, damaged his chances further. Fifthly, the CCM gained a substantial advantage from the decision to pay subsidies to all candidates standing in the election thus encouraging small parties to stay in the race even where they had no hope of winning. Sixthly, the opposition failed to concentrate on registering its supporters at the crucial time. Many of those in the vast throngs who attended Mrema rallies around the country could not vote for him when the time came. Finally, Mrema's performance in the TV and Radio debate compared poorly with that of other presidential candidates.

# THE NEW GOVERNMENTS

President Mkapa has made drastic changes in the upper ranks of the Union government by introducing 18 new faces and retaining only five of President Mwinyi's cabinet. Nowhere to be seen are the strong men of the old CCM regime - former Prime Ministers John Malecela, Cleopa Msuya and Joseph Warioba, former Lands Minister Edward Lowassa, Party Secretary General Horace Kolimba, and Party ideologist Kingunge Ngombale-Mwiru. The work of the former Ministry of Information and Broadcasting will in future be undertaken by the Prime Minister's Office. The Civil Service and Manpower Development Ministry has been abolished. The former Ministry of Works, Transport and Communications has been divided into two. The new 23-person cabinet is as follows:

PRESIDENT'S OFFICE: Planning - Daniel Yona

Without Portfolio - Matheo Quaresi

VICE-PRESIDENT - Dr. Omar Ali Juma. Formerly Chief Minister of Zanzibar.

VICE-PRESIDENT'S OFFICE: Mohammed Seif Khatib. New

PRIME MINISTER - Frederick Sumaye. New. Until recently Minister of Agriculture. Formerly Junior Minister and before that an engineer in agricultural machinery testing unit. .

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE: MINISTERS OF STATE - Bakari Mbonde  
- Mussa Nkangaa

FINANCE - Prof. Simon Mbilinyi. New. Respected academic. Presidential adviser with much international experience. Just recently appointed Chairman of the new, largely indigenous 'Akiba Commercial Bank'.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS - Lt. Col. Jakaya Kikwete, until recently Minister of Finance who was given the task of dealing with the fallout from the tax evasion scandal of last year. He won the first round in the selection process for CCM presidential candidates but lost to Mr Mkapa in the second round.

HOME AFFAIRS - Ali Ameir Mohamed. New. Formerly Deputy Secretary-General of the CCM in Zanzibar.

DEFENCE AND NATIONAL SERVICE - Edgar Maokola-Majogo. Former Junior Minister.

WORKS - Anna Abdallah. Until recently Minister of State, Prime Ministers Office.

JUSTICE AND CONSTITUTIONAL AFFAIRS- Harith Bakari Mwapachu. New. Has held many managerial positions in parastatal organisations including Air Tanzania.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, WOMEN AND CHILDREN - Mary Nagu. New

SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND HIGHER EDUCATION - Jackson Makwetta. Until recently Minister of Water, Energy and Minerals.

HEALTH - Mrs Zakia Meghji. The only Asian minister and the only person to retain her previous position.

ENERGY AND MINERALS - Dr William Shija. A former Minister of Information and Tourism.

WATER AND LIVESTOCK DEVELOPMENT - Dr. Pius N'gwandu.

AGRICULTURE AND COOPERATIVES - Paul Kimiti. Former Regional Commissioner. Has held other posts.  
TOURISM AND NATURAL RESOURCES - Dr Juma Ngasongwa. New. Former Head of Department of Development Studies, Sokoine University. Until recently Economic Adviser to President Mwinyi.  
LANDS, HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT - Gideon Cheyo. New. Respected holder of many senior civil service appointments.  
LABOUR AND YOUTH DEVELOPMENT - Sebastian Kinyondo. New.  
TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS - William Kusila. New.  
EDUCATION AND CULTURE - Prof. Juma Kapuya. New. Scientist at the University of Dar es Salaam  
INDUSTRIES AND TRADE - Dr. Abdallah Kigoda. New

#### DEPUTY MINISTERS:

PRESIDENT'S OFFICE. MINISTER OF STATE: William Lukuvi Diria  
FINANCE: Kilonsi Mporogomyi and Abdi Salim Issa  
HOME AFFAIRS - Emmanuel Mwambulukutu  
LABOUR AND YOUTH DEVELOPMENT - Njelu Kasaka  
EDUCATION AND CULTURE - Ms Gladness Mziray  
INDUSTRIES AND TRADE - Ms Shamim Khan  
TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS - Dr. Maua Daftari  
ENERGY AND MINERALS - Nassoro Malocho  
WORKS - John Magufuri

#### ZANZIBAR GOVERNMENT

For the first time the President and Chief Minister both come from Unguja. There is only one minister from Pemba.

CHIEF MINISTER - Dr. Mohamed Bilal (50). Nominated member. Until recently Benjamin Mkapa's Permanent Secretary in the Union Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education.  
DEPUTY CHIEF MINISTER AND MINISTER OF EDUCATION - Omari Ramadhani Mapuri.  
FINANCE - Ms Amina Salim Ali. No change.  
JUSTICE AND CONSTITUTIONAL AFFAIRS - Idd Pandu Hassan  
WATER, WORKS, ENERGY, AND ENVIRONMENT - Kamali Basha Pandu  
MINISTER FOR REGIONAL ADMINISTRATION AND DEFENCE - Ali Haji Ali  
AGRICULTURE, LIVESTOCK AND NATURAL RESOURCES - Brig. General Adam Mwanjuki.  
HEALTH - Said Bakari Jesha  
COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORT - Aman Abeid Karume  
INFORMATION, CULTURE, TOURISM AND YOUTH - Issa Mohamed Issa  
TRADE, COMMERCE AND MARKETING - Taimur Saleh Juma  
MINISTERS WITHOUT PORTFOLIO - Mohamed Abdallah Khamis and Burham Sadat.  
MINISTER OF STATE FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN - Ms Asha Bakari Makame, the only minister from Pemba.

*(Thank you Strato Mosha, Cuthbert Kimambo and Simon Mlay for sending the above information just in time for inclusion in this issue - Editor.)*

# PRESIDENT MKAPA DECLARES WAR ON CORRUPTION

The new president's first action on taking up office was to declare his assets. He owns two houses - one in Dar es Salaam and one in his home town Masasi - an undeveloped farm, and four cars.

As he entered the new National Assembly for its first meeting, opposition MP's joined in the applause. In his first message to parliament he warned that stern measures were in the offing for tax defaulters and irresponsible tax collectors. He was willing to enlist the support of the opposition in supervision of his government to ensure that it stuck to the CCM manifesto on which its election campaign had been based.

On tax evasion he said that anybody in arrears should pay immediately and action would be taken against those who did not. The government would also not entertain irresponsibility amongst tax collectors. With immediate effect all ministries and departments would have to spend only within their allocations. Undisciplined government accounting officers would be fired.

The name of anyone taking a bribe would be made public and such persons would be fired. Properties of persons proved to have taken bribes would be confiscated.

## PRIVATISATION

President Mkapa said that the privatisation programme started by the Mwinyi administration would be continued. Small time miners, farmers, fishermen and herdsmen would be assisted through the provision of modern equipment.

## NOT 'MTUKUFU'

The President has also made it known that he does not wish to be addressed as 'Mtukufu' which could be taken as implying that he was divine. He said he would rather be called 'Ndugu' (Brother) or 'Mheshimiwa' (Honourable) as these were the titles he was qualified for.

## BRIBERY CASES

Coinciding with the President's words two bribery cases were concluded. Police Officer Juma Nassoro was sentenced to ten years in jail after having solicited Shs 5,000 in exchange for not taking a man to court for an alleged crime.

A Customs Officer was found guilty of soliciting a Shs 50,000 bribe as a pre-condition for reducing tax of Shs 140,000 on imported video equipment. Both received ten year jail sentences at a court in Mtwara.

# A FISHY STORY. THIRTY YEARS ON AT NYUMBA YA MUNGU RESERVOIR

With the closure in December 1965 of an impressive rock-fill dam on the upper Pangani River some 50 km south of Moshi, the filling of Nyumba ya Mungu (NYM) reservoir began. As part of the Pangani Basin Development Plan, its primary purpose was to provide hydro electric power, store water and, at the same time, opportunity for irrigation and fisheries development. Taking about two and a half years to fill and with an area of 180km<sup>2</sup> at top water level, in the late 1960's NYM was East Africa's largest man-made river lake. Notwithstanding the significant role it has played in other areas, it was the fisheries function for which the reservoir was to become internationally renowned. NYM became a spectacularly good example of the positive fishery potential presented by a new tropical river lake.

Initially very fertile and with high inputs of solar energy, NYM exhibited a prolific production of microscopic life offering rich supplies of primary foods for any fishes able to take advantage of them, and the extensive shallows of the new lake environment. Now, whereas the Pangani basin has a rather restricted fish fauna overall, it contains four types of endemic tilapias and NYM was fortunate in harbouring at least one and probably two of them since its inception. Essentially small particle feeders, tilapia's graze on algae, bacteria and fine detritus. In rivers tilapias spawn in sheltered backwaters before releasing swarms of young to grow on floodplain shallows. They are thus well suited to habitats offered by river lakes and, and, as familiar and widely accepted food fishes, can provide an ideal fishery resource. By the end of the 1960s a flourishing Tilapia fishery was established at NYM. News of profitable fishing spread rapidly, and fishermen were drawn to the lake from many parts of East Africa, bringing their skills, gear and boats. At its peak an estimated 3,500 fishermen were active on the reservoir amongst a population of 25,000 who settled in 26 'fish-rush' villages around its perimeter. Computed yields for 1970 reached an incredible 28,500 tonnes, about 1,900 kg/ha, an order of magnitude elsewhere to be expected only from managed fish ponds. Gill nets were the primary gear since drowned scrub and woodland prevented a widespread use of beach seines. Catches of large fish were sold either to outside traders in fresh and iced fish or to locals who processed them before resale to fishmongers.

During a detailed study at NYM in 1974, it was clear to me that the boom was over. In part this was due to a natural ecological phenomenon, namely the exhaustion of sequential

production peaks amongst the biological components of the sunny-side or grazing pathways of energy flow, which are initiated when a river is converted to a lake and accompanied by nutrient releases from hitherto unflooded land. At the same time there were other contributory factors - the extraordinarily high fishing pressure exerted by man and the birds roosting among emergent branches of drowned trees; a massive encroachment of the shallow end by bulrush swamp; and fully-operational drawdowns superimposed on the seasonal drydowns, to produce an overall drop in lake levels. Tilapias are resilient fishes however which, when confronted by environmental pressures, respond by breeding earlier in life and at smaller sizes, thereby maintaining population numbers. In 1974, although large tilapias up to 2kg and 50cm were still caught, 64 per cent of fishermen's landings were less than 20cm in length. Interestingly two non-indigenous tilapias, a legacy of previous stocking in the Pangani basin, had also made an appearance. The commonest, originally from Lake Victoria, inhabits open water, feeding on plankton, a life style complimentary to that of the inshore dwelling endemic species which browse the algal films on the submerged surfaces of grasses, drowned scrub and trees.

Between 1974 and 1983 annual yields of 2,000 to 5,000 tonnes had been estimated, and during field work at NYM in 1984 Dr. L Nhwani of the Tanzanian Fisheries Research Institute confirmed the remarkable observation that the catch had been dominated by the 'Victoria' species. This remained the situation when I visited the reservoir in late 1994. Both experimental and fishermen's catches comprised mostly very small fish. 10-14cm long, many sexually mature; 80 per cent belonged to the 'lake' species. This switch from 'Pangani' to the 'Victoria' tilapia is difficult to account for, although I had noticed similar events much earlier, in small Tanzanian dams. At NYM it could be that, as drowned woodland rotted and stumps were removed, protected feeding grounds for the endemic tilapia were removed. Moreover, with the obstructions cleared, seines had become a major fishing gear since they could now be shot way out in open water and then pulled safely ashore.

The latest statistics indicate that up to 1,000 fishermen remove about 3,000 tonnes per year, more than twice the pre-impoundment prediction I made in 1965; this may be an underestimate, judged by the baskets of fish seen daily in Moshi Market. Larger surviving riparian villages now have a permanent air - with schools, dispensaries, shops, bars, netball pitches. Water birds abound and crocodiles are rare.

The endemic tilapias of Lake Victoria, as a result of over-fishing and the spread of Nile-perch, are now rare. Earlier consignments of at least one of them were established in Government ponds at Malya, Iringa and Korogwe and introduced into reservoirs during the 1950s and 60s. It occurs to me that if or when the Nile-perch population and fishery eventual crashes, a 'many-generations-on' reservoir stock could provide the source for re-introduction into the Great Lake.

Roland Bailey

# POPOBAWA IS DEAD!

APRIL 4, 1995

This morning, when I arrived at the Ministry of Health, here in Zanzibar where I work, I saw hundreds of people on the road outside the hospital. There were also policemen from the field force unit with weapons and loudspeakers. When I asked Fatma, my secretary, what was going on, she said "Popobawa is dead". The crowd was gathered around the mortuary; everybody wanted to see the body of Popobawa, the cause of public hysteria for the past couple of weeks.

Popobawa formed part of a group of allegedly seven 'persons', who for several weeks have been terrorizing the islands and giving everybody sleepless nights. 'A Popobawa' wanders around at night, practically naked, with a cow's tail and a jar containing magic medicine. The approach of one of them is always preceded by an intolerable stench. With the tail covered with magic medicine, Popobawa can split walls and doors open in such a way that it can not be noticed afterwards. Men and women inside their houses are raped from behind while they sleep. It seems that in the act, Popobawa's sexual organ enlarges enormously, and the next morning when the victim awakes, the pain is unbearable. If you wake up at night, you can not see Popobawa, because he is not human. Whole neighbourhoods are shaken in terror; most people do not dare to sleep in their houses any more. Instead, they stay outside, sitting in groups around fires for security. Among them there are usually people acquainted with witchcraft and able to communicate with devils. Whenever a Popobawa comes near, the people with special powers start screaming loudly. The whole group then chases the Popobawa, until he disappears.

If you have been the victim of Popobawa you should talk about it with other people. If you don't, he will attack you again. One man, living on the island of Pemba, did not say anything to others, and so was repeatedly taken by Popobawa. Finally, his aggressor asked him why he kept quiet. The victim relied that he liked it and usually had to pay for it; now he could get it for free!

Last night, on the street corner, Popobawa undressed himself. One of the men with magic powers saw the Popobawa, covered with stinking medicine. The man chased him, and in a struggle, took away Popobawa's jar and cow's tail. At that moment Popobawa turned into a human. A raging mob with pangas and sticks plunged upon Popobawa.

The body of the man the mob had attacked was taken to the mortuary. By the morning, the story of the death of Popobawa had spread throughout the town, drawing the large crowd I saw when I arrived at work. My secretary, who was in the crowd this morning, told me that "he looked like a normal man".

APRIL 5 1995 POPOBAWA - THE STORY OF A MENTAL PATIENT

AND OTHER POOR DEVILS

Last night, on the Day that the whole of Zanzibar was under the spell of the recently murdered Popobawa, a long programme on Popobawa was shown on local television. There were eyewitness accounts of the murder, shots of the crowd at the hospital, and of the corpse in the mortuary. The body of a young man was lying face down on the autopsy table. He was naked, except for a piece of rope around his waste. His back and head were covered in gashes, and stained with blood. The people interviewed in the crowd were relieved and happy that Popobawa was dead.

Yet this morning at the office, the word 'Popobawa' was buzzing again. My colleague, Habiba, was moody because she had been awake the whole night. Her neighbourhood had been visited by Popobawa that night. She also upset, as it had just been announced that the man who had been killed last night was not Popobawa, but was a mental patient, originating from the mainland, who had come to Zanzibar for treatment.

Suleiman, a colleague and a respectable old man, had been visited by Popobawa that night. In the office, he told the story again and again. He was at home and heard his wife yelling in the next room, "Toka, toka" ("Go away, go away"). He rushed to help her, and saw a strong and handsome young man, almost naked, squatting next to the bicycle that was parked in the room. Suleiman also started shouting, "Toka, Toka". All the neighbours came running but by the time they arrived, Popobawa had gone up onto the roof and had disappeared.

One day after 'the death of Popobawa', nothing has changed; the mass-hysteria continues.

MAY 4 1995 POPOBAWA - THE ELECTION GENIE?

A couple of days after the first Popobawa-murder, I was driving to work, when I saw that the whole primary school around the corner from where I live, was turned out onto the street. There were children everywhere, in their blue and white uniforms and, for the girls, white headscarfs. Somebody waved at me. It was Seif, the cook of friends of ours. I slowed down and stopped next to him.

"What's going on?"

"Popobawa was in the school. An old woman saw him and ran after him. They say she caught him."

Fifty metres down the road, I could see a crowd gathered at the police station.

"They say the woman was taken there", Seif told me. It was unclear whether she was with or without the Popobawa she was supposed to have captured. Later some people said that the woman herself was the Popobawa! The accusations get more ridiculous.

Is the hysteria purposely created and now feeding on itself? Who started all the chaos and why? Some point towards important people in the Government, eager to distract attention from mounting political uncertainties in the run-up to the impending multi-party elections, planned for October of this year. How could it otherwise be explained that the Government was not taking any action?

In the nineteen sixties, shortly after the revolution there was another Popobawa affair, on the Island of Pemba. Zanzibar's first president Sheikh Abeid A. Karume, challenged Popobawa: "Don't harass these people any longer. Come to me if you dare". Popobawa dared not, peace returned, and Karume took the credit.

The English language newspaper of Tanzania remains remarkably silent on this subject, except for one letter to the editor, in which the writer states that 'a respectable newspaper should not pay any attention to this Popobawa nonsense!' On the other hand, I heard that BBC radio recently broadcast an item on the Popobawa scare in Zanzibar, in which Popobawa was referred to as 'the election genie'; another clue towards a possible political connection. But nobody knows for sure, and the phantom leads his own life, supported by a culture in which a world full of spirits and magic cuts right across our 'sober reality'.

Now, one month after the first murder, in the town, the Popobawa scare has calmed down somewhat. Popobawa has moved to the shamba (rural areas). Though it may seem quieter, the day before yesterday, yet another unfortunate person was in the wrong place at the wrong time, and a second Popobawa was murdered.

Henriette Jansen

## TANZANIA AND THE DONORS

In 'Habari' the journal of our Society's sister organisation in Sweden (No.3 of 1995) there is an article entitled "Nordens adoptivland går kräftgång" (Scandinavia's adopted country goes backwards). The article notes that Tanzania has received 16 milliard dollars of aid during the past thirty years, but that nevertheless it appears to be as far away as ever from becoming economically self-supporting.

The special relationship with the countries of Scandinavia began when Julius Nyerere and Olof Palme together hammered out a programme of growth towards a goal of self-reliance. All the Scandinavian countries contributed generously to this end and there are many evidences of their open-handed treatment of the needs of Tanzania, one of the poorest countries in Africa. In the sixties and seventies, in spite of setbacks, the donor community continued its support, having in mind not only the external nature of many of the adverse influences that had dogged the Tanzanian economy- the two oil price rises, the break-up of the East African Community and the war with Idi Amin - but also the severe drought of the middle seventies and

the adverse terms of trade in some of Tanzania's traditional exports.

During the first twenty years of independence there were certain aspects of the economic situation that at the time were not clearly understood. First, in spite of strenuous efforts to extend the educational system, a shortage of manpower trained and experienced in certain fields persisted and became more acute as development projects multiplied. Secondly, the critical importance of the maintenance of equipment and infrastructure went largely unrecognised. Thirdly, economic planning often failed to take account of the recurrent cost consequences of investment. The result in many cases was a rapid deterioration of plant and communications, poor economic performance and, in an economy characterised by state enterprise, growing burdens on the budget. The notion that the pace of development depended on the rate at which human and financial resources could be made available did not appear to enter into the calculations of the Government, or, for that matter, of the donors, who tended at that time to compete with one another for scarce resources.

The consequences of planning failure can be seen in the educational system itself. In the Five Year Plan for 1969-74 it was envisaged that primary education would be expanded year by year, reaching the goal of Universal Primary Education (UPE) in 1989. The target date was set in accordance with estimates of the rate of growth of the economy, in other words, what could be afforded. In 1975, however, it was decided, in response to the policy of villagisation, apparently without the benefit of cost calculations, to bring forward the date of UPE from 1989 to 1977. The result was an attempted leap forward for which neither adequate funds, nor the necessary trained teachers, could be made available.

External shocks, the growing rigidity of the economy and rising inflation put economic growth into reverse in the late seventies. Donors took the view that widespread structural adjustment was needed and sought compliance with a programme of reform mapped out by the International Monetary Fund. The rigid conditionality associated with IMF funding, however, proved unrealistic in a number of countries, sometimes provoking riots, and for a while the proposals of the IMF were resisted. In 1985 amid conditions of continuing economic decline and some softening of the IMF's requirements, the Tanzanian Government agreed to follow the prescriptions of the Fund. There followed a resurgence of donor support and growing coordination between donors.

The Government's structural adjustment programme has brought a number of benefits, notably a resumption of economic growth. But in 1994 it became evident that revenues were flagging and that a growing budget deficit financed by borrowing from the Bank was causing inflation to rise. Serious concern about this trend among the donor community was compounded by the announcement by President Mwinyi on 9th. November 1994 that Shs 70 billion of revenues from import taxes has been lost on account of tax evasion and corruption. Tanzania had earlier been widely regarded hitherto as a

country mercifully free from corruption and in President Nyerere's day strenuous measures were taken against corrupt practices. It was therefore with alarm and shock that the donor countries learned of the extent of corrupt dealings. The consequence has been a suspension of significant parts of the donor programme.

Donor import support was allowed to expire without renewal, creating a critical shortage of foreign exchange. But the most serious consequence lay in shortfall in counterpart funds offered by traders in payment for foreign exchange. For this shortfall has led to a widening of the budget deficit, increased resort to Bank lending and in consequence a rise in inflation. Sweden, once the most generous of the aid donors, was also coming to realise that much project aid had been misdirected, for example for example, in the case of the Mufindi Paper Mill and the imaginative but unsuccessful sister industry programme. Something was going wrong and the Swedish government to put in hand a detailed review of the aid programme. Similar studies were instituted by the Netherlands and Finland.

The Scandinavian reaction reflected not only concern about corruption, but also a recognition that the conditions making for successful aid were most complex. What one writer has called the 'aid bombardment' could have negative effects by weakening local effort and encouraging the growth of a dependency culture. It can be argued that Tanzania's sovereignty has already been impaired by aid amounting to almost half of the GNP and financing and financing a substantial part of the budget deficit and the import bill. Nobody was suggesting that aid should be abolished overnight, but greater care was needed to ensure that the effect was to promote self reliance and, in the long run to publish the necessity for aid. It is unlikely that the donors will resume exactly where they left off.

The approach of elections in October, inevitably led to a pause in new economic initiatives, but it was greatly hoped in donor circles that a strong government, armed with a renewed mandate would reactivate the reform programme. Recent events had set back progress towards a more self-sustaining and balanced economy, which only last February had seemed possible. Inflation, one of the most potent causes of poverty, remained at unacceptably high levels and must be brought under control as a matter of urgency.

With the reform programme again on track, donor aid, including that of the UK, is likely to follow, though not perhaps on the scale reached in recent years. For the donors, a commitment to the reform programme and to resolute measures to contain and wherever possible eradicate corruption will decisively influence their support. The donors for their part will need to understand the severe practical difficulties faced by the Tanzanian authorities - the shortage of trained personnel, the effects of population growth, the complexity of necessary changes, such as those in the banking system, and the political repercussions of civil service reform, not to mention the extreme sensitivity of a small economy to external

influences and the vagaries of climate. It is also necessary to remember that corruption feeds on inflation and that the control of corruption is likely to be frustrated unless inflation is brought under control.

Above all the situation calls for a renewal of mutual confidence, which has been damaged by recent events. At the time of writing the signs were encouraging. The Netherlands renewed its contribution to import support in November and it is likely that other donors will do likewise following the election of the new President and evidence of a stern and consistent stand against corruption. Import tax evasion has been investigated by the Controller and Auditor General on the instructions of the former President Mwinyi. Prosecutions and dismissals have followed, many of the bonded warehouses have been closed and substantial unpaid taxes have been recovered. In February it was calculated that aid in the sum of \$1.13 million would be needed for the remainder of 1994-95 and the financial year 1995-96. It no remains to be seen whether the new administration in Dar es Salaam can justify a renewal of support of this order.

Roger Carter



The following extracts from the 'Tanganyika Standard' appeared between January and April 1946.

"WE INTEND TO CONTINUE" (January 19)

These words were used by Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin in his speech to the UN General Assembly in London, when he said that Britain would soon start negotiating to place Tanganyika, Cameroon and Togoland under the Trusteeship system.

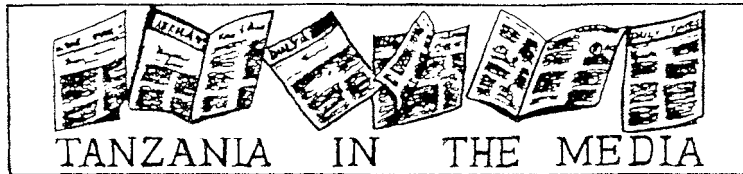
"These territories have been administered by us for over 25 years. We have fulfilled our obligations under the covenant of the League of Nations and to the best of our ability administered and developed them in the interests of their inhabitants".

THREE TON VERMIN (February 9)

A Rufiji inhabitant's prospective food for the year can be destroyed overnight by a single rampaging hippo, so they have been appropriately termed three ton vermin. But the vermin can easily turn miscreant.

Recently local fishermen, chest high in water, were beating about to drive river fish into traps. Suddenly there was a mighty upheaval, and the feet of one of the fisherman were pushed from under him. The next second a hippo emerged and savaged the poor man to death.

Three days later Mr A K Barker of Muhoro was called by local elders, and he shot the animal.



(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 ELECTIONS

Tanzania's elections did not have a good press internationally. 'Tanzania Polls in Chaos' trumpeted the London TIMES (October 31). 'An organised botch', 'a complete farce' were amongst the words used by AFRICA ANALYSIS (November 3) which stated that the UN observers suffered from an impossible mandate. They had been told by the UN in New York that 'no statements should be made by any staff in the name of the United Nations'.

The German newspaper ZEIT (November 3) described the Zanzibar election as a bizarre prelude to the mainland elections....Mrema did not have a chance against criminal manipulations...Africa had looked with high expectations towards Tanzania....everyone hoped for a victory for democracy (but) those in power knew how to prevent this. Once again'.

Under the heading 'Chaos Spreads in Tanzania's First Election' the FINANCIAL TIMES (October 31) wrote 'Tanzania's first attempt at multi-party democracy teetered on the verge of collapse yesterday undermined by administrative incompetence and the logistics of organising a poll in East Africa's largest country....the latest confusion has added to a growing mood of cynicism in Dar es Salaam'.

The DAILY TELEGRAPH headline read 'Tanzania Poll Ends in Chaos Amid Rigging Claims'.

The WASHINGTON POST (November 4) wrote that 'Disorganisation and confusion appeared to taint Sunday's election early on as polling stations around the country opened several hours late. Professor Ibrahim Lipumba was quoted as saying that the elections were a national shame.

WEST AFRICA (November 3-19) under the heading 'Democratic Stalemate' quoted observers as wondering whether Tanzania would go the same way as other states in Africa and be a case of endless political instability.

In a more detailed analysis The FINANCIAL TIMES quoted

Professor Mukandala, head of a local monitoring group as saying that "in a close contest the CCM will not relinquish power....I don't think there is anybody out there who believes these elections were free and fair". The article went on 'If CCM was ready to bend the rules, international observers ...did little to thwart it. They prematurely ruled the Zanzibar stage free and fair and failed adequately to monitor the count....most observers overran their budget and had to leave, work unfinished. And as what many diplomats privately called a debacle emerged, the UN first kept silent and then issued a bland statement recommending the authorities to correct anomalies'.

#### AN IRONY OF HISTORY

On a related matter AFRICAN BUSINESS (October) pointed out an extraordinary irony of history. The veteran politician and writer Abdulrahman Babu was originally chosen by Augustine Mrema as his Vice-Presidential running mate in the recent elections but resigned when his candidature was questioned by the National Electoral Commission (NEC). His replacement was Sultan Ahmed Sultan whose grandfather, Sultan Ahmed al Mugheiry, was stabbed to death in the 1950's for collaborating with the British colonial administration. His assassin, Mohammed Humud, was sentenced to life imprisonment but was released immediately after the Zanzibar revolution on January 12 1964. But later that year he was detained without trial and executed by the then Zanzibar President Karume.

On April 7, 1972 Karume was assassinated by Lt. Humud Mohammed Humud, a son of Mohammed Humud. Although it was obviously a case of revenge, the authorities said that it was part of a plot, led by Babu, to oust Karume's government. Babu was subsequently detained on the mainland in solitary confinement for six years and was also tried in Zanzibar, *in absentia*, for treason. It was this that led the NEC to say that he was not qualified to run for high office!

*(Thank you Oliver Stegen, Andrew Gaisford, Paul Marchant, Jim Read and others for the above items - Editor).*

#### IN DEFENCE OF THE WATER HYACINTH

Anne Outwater defended the much-maligned Water Hyacinth (*Eichhornia crassipes*) which is spreading alarmingly in Lake Victoria in an article in the EAST AFRICAN (November 13). 'Who is cleaning the outflow from Lake cities such as Mwanza and Bukoba she asked. Who removed the stench after all those bodies floated down from the Kagera River last year after the Rwanda genocide? Water hyacinths are very good at sucking up nutrients from water. They are strongest when the water has been dirtied with organic waste. After the hyacinths have done their work water runs clear and clean. It would be difficult to find a cheaper way of cleaning up the sewage going into the Lake.....

## O J SIMPSON

NEW AFRICAN (December) asked people around the world for their comments on the O J Simpson murder trial verdict. From Tanzania, Finnegan Sibeye was quoted as saying that it was a 'white planned legal trap'. Faranji Dumila said that White Americans are resentful about the rise of blacks...it is all about economic disparities....' Gregory Macha said 'There is a growing tendency to criminalise the blacks especially those who excel in arts, sports or music....'

## BEIJING

Tanzania's former High Commissioner in India, Gertrude Mongella, who was the Secretary-General of the 12-day UN Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, has received praise for her efficient management of the conference in many organs of the press. The TIMES (September 5) quoted her as declaring, amidst wild applause and ululation that women were no longer "guests on this planet. This planet belongs to them too. A revolution has begun - there is no going back".

## FLYING FOR LIFE

Under this heading the November issue of MAF (MISSION AVIATION FELLOWSHIP NEWS) described how 735 kgs of bibles, enough to fill three Landrovers, were flown recently by the only aircraft available to take the load (after removal of seats) - their Cessna 402 from Dodoma to Tabora for refuelling and then to Mpanda. From there the bibles were taken to be distributed by bible society workers to Burundi and Rwanda refugees in camps in the area. The bibles are expected to make life more tolerable for many refugees who had fled and lost their bibles in the dash for freedom. (*Thank you Christine Lawrence for these two items of news - Editor*).

## GARDEN OF EDEN

Describing Tanzania as a Garden of Eden Father Peter Smith in the August-September issue of WHITE FATHERS - WHITE SISTERS wrote about Julius Nyerere as follows: 'For inspiration he drew on the fellowship of the Acts of the Apostles, the brotherhood of the Qur'anic umma as well as the kibbutz of Israel and the communes of China. He provided a vision for Tanzanians and Africans rooted in their culture (so that they could) hold their heads as high as anyone in the family of mankind'.

He recalled that The Holy Ghost fathers came to the coast in 1868 and the White Fathers came ten years later. 99% of the White Fathers have passed through the 130-year old Atiman House (named after a Malian Doctor-Catechist), one of the first six permanent buildings in Dar es Salaam and, in the beginning, the mainland 'seraglio' of the Sultan of Zanzibar.

One of a number of tables accompanying the article gives

the religious adherence of Tanzanians:

Catholics	3,959,000
Total Christians	7,943,000
Muslims	5,866,900
Other faiths	4,178,000

#### ZANZIBAR BOOM

Michela Wrong writing in the FINANCIAL TIMES (October 20) said that after decades of grinding poverty, prosperity once again beckons for the legendary spice islands...that prospect, as much as the resentment generated by years of suppressed national identity, threatens to sabotage the 31-year Union. Undermining the debate is the islands' extraordinary transformation since Tanzania turned its back on Julius Nyerere's disastrous economic policies. ...Encouraged by tax incentives, Italian, South African and other investors have poured into the tourism sector, which has now replaced the clove industry as the main source of foreign exchange. Decaying Arab palaces are being turned into five-star lodgings to steal trade from the dreary Soviet-style government hotels. Chic galleries selling designer wear now compete with T-shirt shops for backpackers. Tourist numbers, hardly 30,000 five years ago should touch 100,000 this year. In 1990 economic growth was minus 3%, now it is 4.5%.....

#### MIGRATION FROM TANZANIA

The corncrake, Britain's only globally-endangered bird species, is being rescued by a Scottish bird preservation society. A spokesman for the society told the BBC's RADIO 4 that the corncrake was once fairly common throughout Britain but in recent decades has existed only in declining numbers in Scotland. The bird migrates annually from Tanzania. The society is spending £300,000 annually to persuade Scottish farmers to adapt their methods of silage production so as to encourage the corncrake's breeding habits (*Thank you David Somers for this item - Editor*)

#### 83-YEAR OLD CLIMBS KILIMANJARO

"Something happened to me on Kilimanjaro. Something great, something sublime. Something different to anything I had experienced on other high mountains. I stopped 1,000m before the peak, 5,500m above sea level. Should I have tried to press on? The hardships can be overcome. But there are many: altitude sickness, fatigue, nausea, severe headache, diarrhoea, breathlessness, palpitations, vomiting, loss of appetite, severe cold, frostbite and even hallucinations..... (On the mountain) I was quite exhilarated; it seemed as though there were no problems for the old man...many others in the group had given up and descended...and then, near the top I began to feel uncomfortable; it was far too hot...and then it

dawned on me what was wrong. I had too little water. The person who had kindly offered to carry the rest of my supply had gone far ahead. I dared not proceed. I was not going to be carried off the mountain. Never. But still I was overpowered. I experienced that wonderful rare feeling of joy..." - Schalk Theron writing in the JOHANNESBURG STAR INTERNATIONAL (August 24-30).,

#### CROWD CONTROL

Tanzania is to limit the number of visitors to its national parks for the first time to reduce pressure on the animals and their ecosystems. According to the SUNDAY TELEGRAPH (October 21) officials are worried that the country's 12 parks and other conservation areas could become as crowded as those in Kenya.

So far three parks have declared new limits on the number of tourist beds and vehicles allowed. Serengeti will not exceed the 1,200 beds it has now and will allow in only two vehicles for each pride of lions in the park. The smaller Tarangire National Park has a maximum of 287 'fixed' beds and one vehicle per two kilometres of road. In the Ngorongoro Conservation area the limit has been set at five lodges offering 422 beds.

Prices are rising too. Foreigners are now charged £12.50 to enter any of the national parks and £12.50 per 24 hours thereafter. Vehicles are charged £6.25 a day. Campers pay £12-£25 a night and rooms in lodges cost £30-£90 (*Thank you Donald Wright for this item - Editor*).

#### THE CHARGE

'We had met the beast before. An old bull elephant, the rims of his ears ragged and torn; his left tusk broken off. He trotted towards us, stopped and glared and then charged. It was a massive piece of body language. But, still some distance away, he came to a halt and trumpeted defiantly. He decided that he had made his point. So began an article by Sean Hignett in the WEEKEND TELEGRAPH (August 19) describing a visit to the Serengeti National Park.

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#### TRADE

#### TOURISM AND TRAVEL

#### INVESTMENT

For information on opportunities in Tanzania please contact:

The Director  
Tanzania Trade Centre  
80 Borough High Street  
London SE1 1LL

Tel: 0171 407 0566 Tlx: 885767 Fax: 0171 403 2003

# THE NEW PARLIAMENT - FIRST ACTIONS

New Prime Minister Frederick Sumaye was chosen by President Mkapa but then had to obtain the approval of Parliament. He did so by 232 votes to 34.

The opposition first had to qualify for official status as an opposition by having at least 30 members. This was rapidly achieved when the four UDP members united with the 28 CUF MP's (the parties share an ideology which could be described as to the right of the other parties) to form the official opposition. They elected Mrs Fatima Magimbi, a self-made woman from Zanzibar, who rose from Secretary at the University of Dar es Salaam to full lecturer status through diligent part-time study, as leader. She lost no time in telling the Prime Minister that his first priority was to correct the 'irregularities' in Zanzibar and ensure that Mr Seif Shariff Hamad could take up 'his rightful place as President'.

Mr Mabere Marando MP whose self-sacrifice in giving up his position as leader of the NCCR-Mageuzi party early this year to Augustine Mrema, which enabled the latter to invigorate the opposition and give the CCM a real challenge, also lost no time in making his presence felt in parliament. He challenged the Attorney General on the issue of the form of the oath of allegiance of MP's and, not only won his case, but also caused three MP's to go through the process of swearing in a second time in order to regularise the situation.

## CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT

The 'Business Times' has described the profile of Tanzania's new government. It has 23 new faces and comprises 23 Ministers and 10 Deputy Ministers. Twenty-eight have university degrees including two Professors, six with PhD's, seven Masters degrees and 14 have first degrees. There are six agriculturalists (including the Prime Minister) and eight economists.

There are 13 Muslims and 20 Christians who have been drawn from a total of 18 regions. Thirty were elected and three were nominated.

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## COLONIAL ZANZIBAR

Were you living and working in Zanzibar in the early 1950's? If so, Neill Soley, a British writer currently living and working in Zanzibar, would very much like to hear from you. He is researching and writing a novel set in Zanzibar of the time. Please contact Neill via P.O. Box 3975, Zanzibar, Tanzania.

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# CULTURE SHOCK

Leaving was harder than arriving. Stripped of my maps and pictures, the house was home no longer. My presence had been packed into bags and boxes, along with saucepans and souvenirs. I had lived in the house for nine months while working as a teacher at Kibohehe School. Emptied of my things it reminded me of the day I had arrived.

Saying fond farewells, those first few weeks in Africa seemed part of another lifetime. Looking back, there were times when a Tanzanian sense of humour would have been an invaluable asset.

"Oh My God! Come and have a look at this, Al."

Alastair, a towering Scot from the Borders and my fellow teacher, hurried into my cell. (The school called it a bedroom. Admittedly, it did have a bed). I pointed into the wardrobe, the only other item of furniture. His grin dissolved into horror.

"Get some deodorant!"

I passed him a can. He struck a match, held it up to the nozzle and sprayed. Flames billowed into the recesses, triggering an exodus of inhabitants.

Fifteen minutes frantic stamping and a few more blasts from Alastair's flame thrower solved the problem, leaving the cement floor littered with crushed cockroaches. Our first day and we had struck a blow against a plague of biblical proportions. Lizards, bats, a resident praying mantis and an inquisitive scorpion were to be our constant companions. But as I stressed in letters to friends, it was the 'real Africa'.

A week passed and food became a problem. Our biscuit tin was almost empty. Ramadan fasting began shortly after our arrival, so the bottom fell out of the chapati market and all local production ceased. My culinary ability was toast, and Alastair always asked me to boil water, in case he burnt it. It was not long before the grim truth dawned on us - we would have to cook.

Getting to market was the first challenge. Directed by the Headmaster, we took a path that lead through a coffee plantation, and soon reached a tyre-rutted track. Half an hour passed. Nothing stirred in the surrounding patchwork of arid shambas and thorny woodland, so we decided to walk. By the time we reached the scruffy little collection of one room shops and homes the sun had reached its zenith, and my enthusiasm its nadir. A metal Coca-Cola sign was nailed above the door of one house, so we stumbled in. Revived by a soda, my eyes swam back into focus.

The market was a kaleidoscope: vivid, rainbow hues swathed the women, the cool greens of leafy vegetables clashed with the angry red of tomatoes, lemon-yellow maize roasted over ash-white charcoal. Mesmerised by the shifting colours I wondered if I'd got a touch of the sun.

Stepping into this surreal chaos, we were accosted from

every direction. Octogenarian women sqawked 'Karibu', younger women grinned and thrust baskets of fruit at us. Everywhere we passed, conversation stopped and laughter erupted at these two European males trespassing in a citadel of African womanhood. Yet the ribaldry was good natured and we were welcomed, as much as bewildered.

Cooking began half an hour later, after a quick pick-up ride home. Carrots and onion sizzled, rice bubbled reassuringly. Before long we were tucking into raw vegetables and Polyfilla. Neither of us spoke during the meal. I winced as I imagined my mother's disdain were she to be confronted with such a culinary atrocity. Suffice to say, after nine months, our stir-fry was a delicacy.

In comparison to teaching, cooking is easy. Only Alastair and I would suffer the consequences of too much chilli or singed carrots. Having left school only six months earlier, I was well aware of the pain a bad teacher can inflict on a captive class. Knuckles white as I clutched my chalk and duster, I stepped into the classroom for the first time, and across the threshold from student to teacher.

My first feeling was of *deja-vu*. The pockmarked walls and cratered floor were strangely familiar. Where had I seen this place before? The answer was newsreels of war-torn Beirut. Forty pairs of eyes followed me across the room.

"Good morning class. My name is Matthew, and I'm from Britain".

I wrote my name, and then asked them for theirs. I told them to spell them, partly because I had no idea how to spell the unfamiliar Muslim names and, partly because even Christian names can be difficult to make out when pronounced in a thick Swahili accent.

After a short talk about myself I threw down the gauntlet and asked them for questions.

"No". I haven't met the Queen recently".

"It rains a lot and is very cold in winter".

"How old do you think I am?"

The final question gleaned answers from 16 to 35.

"Actually I'm nineteen and I don't have any children"

After an hour of such bombardment I felt a sudden empathy for parents whose children have just started to ask "Why?" about everything.

But despite my exhaustion I was jubilant, infected by the students' enthusiasm. I left the classroom to the delightful sound of good natured laughter.

Matthew Green

#### ALL AFRICA GAMES

Tanzania's 15-person team won two medals at the '6th All Africa Games' in Harare in September. Boxer Haji Matumla won a gold medal and policeman Simon Mrashani got a bronze medal in the marathon - Daily News.

**BUSINESS NEWS BUSINESS NEWS BUSIN**

Exchange rates (November 24):

$$\text{\$1} = \text{Shs } 610 - 635$$
$$£1 = \text{Shs } 920 - 1,020$$

The National Bank of Commerce increased its INTEREST on lending from 32% to 40% on August 1. The discount rate at which it borrows from the Central Bank is 50.3% - Business Times.

In a major step towards the RE-INTEGRATION OF EAST AFRICA the governors of the central banks of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda have agreed to make their currencies freely convertible from December 31 1995 - The East African.

The British Council has launched a SERVICE CENTRE in Dar es Salaam containing rooms fitted with business software and communication facilities to assist development project specialists and consultants - Daily News.

The Shs 2.7 billion NATIONAL SHIPPING AGENCIES COMPANY (NASACO) building, which was opened in February 1993 and which also accommodated the offices of a department of the Commission of Customs and Sales Tax, was gutted by fire on August 17 - Daily News.

The European Union has committed Shs 93 billion under LOME IV for Tanzanian projects in AIDS control, water supplies in Mwanza and Iringa, environmental protection, road rehabilitation and coffee research in the Ruvuma and Mbeya regions, plus general import support - Business Times.

Tanzania should have a STOCK EXCHANGE by June 1996 the Director of the new Capital Markets and Securities Authority (CMSA) Dr. Fratern Mboya said recently. It would be able to enhance the liquidity of state-owned firms now being privatised, and would be established with the help of the government but be placed in private hands within three years - Daily News.

A new MINERAL INFORMATION CENTRE has been set up in Dar es Salaam which has computerised most of the geological data collected in the country in the last 100 years, for the benefit of potential investors. It was launched through a World Bank loan and has already been used by over 100 foreign companies - Guardian.

Administrative costs have been slashed at AIR TANZANIA CORPORATION by cutting board members from 10 to 5 - Business Times.

The newly established TANZANIA REVENUE AUTHORITY began work on September 2. It has been designed to stem what was described

by an official as the 'pathetic' tax administration of the country. The Chairman is Prof. Benno Nduliu who was a director of the Nairobi-based Africa Research Consortium.

A NEW BANK - the Eurafrica Bank - began operations in September, the seventh bank to be established in Tanzania since 1991. Under the chairmanship of Professor Simon Mbilinyi the bank is 30% owned by Banque Belgoise of Brussels, 20% by the World Bank affiliate the International Finance Corporation and 9% by the Tanzania Development Finance Corporation. It has a staff of 53 Tanzanians and 3 expatriates - The East African.

Another bank - THE AKIBA COMMERCIAL BANK - is in the process of formation. It aims to finance Small and Medium Scale Enterprises (SME's) and has so far raised capital as follows: Shs 400 million from individual Tanzanians, Shs 275 million from Tanzanian public institutions and Shs 330 from overseas financial institutions. A large Netherlands bank - Rabobank - which has a triple 'AAA' rating will manage the Akiba bank in its early stages - Business Times.

Tanzania's NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE is undergoing major restructuring by closing 34 of its 179 branches and trimming its 6,000-man workforce by 46%. The bank hopes to start operating profitably within 18 months after. - Daily News.

Sales from Zanzibar's highly successful SEAWEED INDUSTRY totalled Shs 492 million last year which compares with only Shs 289 million from tourism. But the employment needs of the seaweed industry are beginning to affect school attendance in the areas where the crop is harvested - Business Times.

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#### OBITUARIES

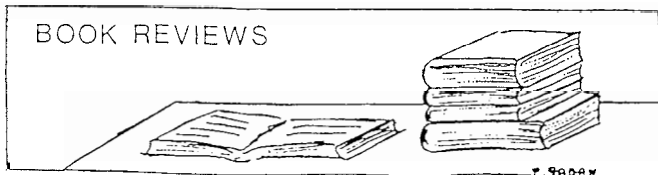
The recently retired Managing Director of the Tanzania Investment Bank (TIB) Mr GIBBONS MWAIKAMBO (57) died on September 4 after a car he was driving overturned. He was appointed General Manager of TIB in 1972 - the first African General Manager of an insurance corporation in Africa. In 1981 he was elected as a National Member of Parliament. Among many messages of condolence sent to his wife, Professor Dr. Esther Mwaikambo, was one from the Britain-Tanzania Society. She was the Hon. Secretary of its Tanzanian Chapter until recently.

The broadcaster THOMAS CHALMERS (82) died in Cambridge on August 30. He was the person who, in April 1945, announced on the BBC the news of Hitler's death. He was in Tanganyika from 1958 until 1952, setting up the Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation.

ISOBEL BUIST was, between 1945 and 1960, one of that formidable team of Women Education Officers who established and developed the education of girls in Tanganyika (*Thank you Bill Dodd for this item*).

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## BOOK REVIEWS



THE HISTORY AND CONSERVATION OF ZANZIBAR TOWN. Ed: Abdul Sheriff. James Currey. 1995. 164 pages. £35 cloth; £12.95 paperback. ((Special offer to readers of 'Tanzanian Affairs' - paperback copy - £10).

The papers presented in this volume formed part of an international conference on the history and culture of the islands, convened in Zanzibar in December 1992 by the Department of Archives, museums and Antiquities of the Zanzibar government. Five papers deal with the history of the Stone Town; seven discuss its current and future status.

In addition to a general introduction to the volume, Sheriff contributes a paper giving an outline history of the Stone Town, and another dealing with the socioeconomic implications of mosque building.

Sheriff begins by tracing the growth of the town since the 19th century. He argues against attributing the success of Zanzibar solely to the plantation economy. If that was the true explanation, Zanzibar would have been a larger version of Kenya's 19th century Malindi. Sheriff believes that the immense cultural richness and cosmopolitan dynamism of Zanzibar town was due as much to its vibrant commercial port, and an emerging hinterland of huge economic potential.

Sheriff's second paper (published in a journal elsewhere) explores the connection between the building of mosques and the economic growth of the town, especially of its merchant community. Thus one sees an unfolding demography of the various religious communities through the endowments of their wealthy benefactors among whom were several property-owning women.

A facet of the cultural richness to which Sheriff refers is portrayed in Garth Andrew Myers' article 'The Other Side' of the Stone Town, *Ng'ambo*, an area which has traditionally been considered a dwelling place of the poor. Myers does away with the notion that *Ng'ambo* was a dirty and chaotic area, and shows the development of its settlement to have been clean and orderly, possessing a 'fascinating variety of house types and .... a gradually emerging solidarity of its peoples'.

The remaining two history papers can be taken together as their themes are similar, and in many ways they complement Sheriff's article on mosques. These are Amina Ameir Issa's contribution on the burial of the elite in the 19th century Stone Town, and Jean-Claude Penrad's 'The Social Fallout of Individual Death: Graves and Cemeteries in Zanzibar'.

Issa deals with the burial locations of Omani and Hadhrama Arabs respectively, and also those of Comorians, Indians, and 'others', a category which includes Africans, Europeans, Americans, slaves and members of other ethnic communities. Issa mentions the measures taken by the government to control and govern the allocation and upkeep of

the burial sites. But such 'ethnic' burial was abandoned in 1969 by the Wakf Department in order 'to end racialism'. Instead all people were required to bury their dead at Wanakwerekwe, four miles from the town. It is this social aspect of death, symbolised by the graves, tombs and their locations, which Penrad discusses in his article. The burial sites represent symbolic perceptions by the various communities about themselves and their beliefs.

The first of the seven papers on the conservation of the Stone Town is historically orientated, as it describes in detail the project to restore the 'Old Dispensary' a building with which the family of this reviewer has had some connection in the past. Steve Battle's paper outlines the background and purpose of its original construction, and the current attempt to revive it as a functioning building.

The historical thread continues in Andriananjirana-Ruphin's paper which surveys the development of the Stone Town between 1890 and 1939. Of interest here is the story of the creation of the Municipal of Zanzibar in 1909, and its efforts during the years under consideration to undertake town planning and provide services for a growing municipality. A-Ruphin shows that its success was limited by 'problems of land control, lack of financial means, shortage of staff, administrative slowness, conflict among the decision-making authorities, and absence of a clear policy of town planning.'

Remarkably similar ingredients to the ones listed above underlie the concerns expressed in the remaining papers in relation to the current and future condition of the Stone Town. The papers by Erich Meffert ('Will the Zanzibar Stone Town Survive') and Saad Yahya ('Zanzibar Stone Town: Fossil or Foetus?') pose the same question in different ways. Both emphasise the need for proper planning and for immediate action. Meffert is blunt and urgent in his plea: 'One thing is certain: nobody will come to Zanzibar, or will look at the Stone Town...if the prime attraction of the historic landscape has been destroyed by more and more insensitive developers'. Yahya lists characteristics common to coastal towns, including Zanzibar, and suggests that this be utilised in developing not only the town itself but the islands as well. He lists some ideas for doing so.

The theme of planning is taken up in the last three papers by Archie Walls, Emin Balcioglu and Francesco Siravo. Walls' plea is that the revitalisation of the town must make use of traditional methods of building; otherwise (as he has observed elsewhere) there is a risk of permanent damage. Balcioglu and Siravo discuss the work of the Aga Khan Trust for Culture and, in particular, its 'Historic Cities Support Programme'. It is throughout the latter that the AKTC has initiated a planning project manned by AKTC appointees and Zanzibari officials to work out a realistic plan for the conservation and utilisation of the Stone Town.

The book is invaluable as a source of the history of the Stone Town, made all the more so by the inclusion of maps, drawings, and photographs of an era that has now disappeared.

James Currey is to be congratulated for its production and for the insertion of the postscript which appears on page 142!

Farouk Topan

WITCHCRAFT IN CONTEMPORARY TANZANIA. Ray Abrahams. African Studies Centre, Cambridge University.

This is an interesting book on a complex subject which demonstrates the link between traditional cultures and contemporary society. Witchcraft has been defined as *the inherent power to harm others by supernatural (mystical) means*. It is a phenomenon which many Tanzanians, both rural and urban, regard as an ugly reality, that can undermine the harmony of village society, but whose eradication can also lead to victimisation and violence.

Four case studies describe the incidence of witchcraft in the Bena, Sukuma and Pogoro tribes and how societies deal with suspects and false accusers.

According to Mesaki, Ministry of Home Affairs statistics, from 1970 to 1984, reported the death of over 3,600 people - 240 a year - in witchcraft related incidents in 13 regions of mainland Tanzania. A direct link with witchcraft has not been conclusively demonstrated in all these cases. Over 60% of the cases occurred in Mwanza and Shinyanga (Sukumaland). The majority of victims were women.

Various ways of dealing with suspected witches are described - starting with warnings by the traditional village head, imposition of fines, moving on to driving the suspects out of the village, and finally the extreme case of killing the alleged witch, as in the clandestine operation of vigilante (*Sungusungu*) among the Sukuma. The Pogoro seem to have a benign way of dealing with suspected witches through a ritual shaving ceremony, *kunyolewa*. Green's paper describes this effective social sanction.

Both Mesaki and Mombeshora give good assessments of the significance of legislation. It is doubtful if the formal legal process was ever very effective in rooting out witchcraft or in dealing with malicious accusations, which can be as destructive of a stable society as witchcraft itself. Post-independence governments, while deploring its existence, have had difficulty in dealing with witchcraft in the courts and have preferred to regard it as a civil dispute to be settled in the village. Bugurura, in his study of the Kahama district, describes how the village party leaders assess accusations of witchcraft even while they assert that it has no place in modern society.

Several of the authors, picking up a theory anthropologists have addressed in other African societies, allude to a possible link between the increase in witchcraft and the confining effect of villagization. Social strains in an enclosed society certainly increase as pressure on resources builds up. Young people's unwillingness to conform to ancient lineage rituals can also lead to allegations that their elders are practising witchcraft.

The monograph is an exploration of a difficult topic in one country, rather than definitive statement of the place of witchcraft in African society. Nevertheless it does forcefully demonstrate the destabilising effects of maleficent beliefs and false accusations. As Professor Abrahams emphasises in his introduction, we are reminded that evil and harm in witchcraft in Tanzania have parallels in recent European experience with sectarian violence, ethnic cleansing and allegations of child abuse.

R Fennell

AFRICA. THE ART OF A CONTINENT. The Royal Academy of Arts. 4/10/95 to 21/1/96.

This is a large and ambitious exhibition displaying many artefacts from all over the continent dating from pre-history to the beginning of the 20th century. The very first item on display is a simple hand axe from Olduvai, Tanzania. Over one and a half million years old it is two million years later than the Laetoli footprints, but it is the earliest hand tool known. Other items from Tanzania are all from the 19th or early 20th centuries. Among the most interesting are a Nyamwezi chief's chair; a Makonde man/beast mask; and, a very beautiful Iraqw leather skirt embroidered with beads and bells. Makonde ebony carvings are notably absent, presumably because they are of a more modern age.

Christine Lawrence

#### OTHER PUBLICATIONS

ESTIMATING THE SECOND ECONOMY IN TANZANIA. M Bagachwa and A Naho. World Development. 23 (8). August 1995. 12 pages.

THE IMPACT OF STRUCTURAL POLICIES ON WOMEN'S AND CHILDREN'S HEALTH IN TANZANIA. Joe L P Lugalla. Review of African Political Economy. No 63. 10 pages

THE INFORMAL SECTOR AND STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT: STRENGTHENING COLLECTIVE COPING MECHANISMS IN TANZANIA. M Schulz. Small Enterprise Development. 6 (1). March 1995. 10 pages.

FOREST-DEPENDENT LIVELIHOODS: LINKS BETWEEN FORESTRY AND FOOD SECURITY. S Dembner. Unasylva 182.Vol 46 1995. 6 pages. Includes brief case studies on Bolivia, Thailand, Vietnam and Tanzania - in two villages in Mtwara Region.

AID AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN TANZANIA. Thorvald Gran. Dar es Salaam University Press. 1994. 154 pages. £8.95. An evaluation of NORAD aid to Tanzania.

SOCIAL CAPITAL AND DEVELOPMENT CAPACITY: THE EXAMPLE OF RURAL TANZANIA. L Putterman. Development Policy Review. 13 (1). March 1995.

SUMMARIES OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON DEVELOPMENT CHALLENGES AND STRATEGIES FOR TANZANIA: AN AGENDA FOR THE 21ST CENTURY. L Msambichaka and H Moshi. Dar es Salaam University Press. 1994. 95 pages. £7.50. Contains 23 papers on this 1993 conference.

CONSUMPTION AND POVERTY IN TANZANIA IN 1976 AND 1991: A COMPARISON USING SURVEY DATA. A Sarris and P Tinios. World Development. 23 (8). August 1995. 18 pages.

COMPARING EARNINGS PROFILES IN URBAN AREAS OF AN LDC: RURAL TO URBAN MIGRANTS VS NATIVE WORKERS. W P M Vijverberg and L A Zeager. Journal of Development Economics. 45 (2) 1994. 22 pages. A comparative study of labour productivity in Tanzania.

TEA ESTATE REHABILITATION IN TANZANIA. M Faber. World Development 23 (8). August 1995. 12 pages.

IMPORT SUPPORT AID. EXPERIENCES FROM TANZANIA AND ZAMBIA. H White. Development Policy Review. 13 (1) March 1995. 22 pages.

ECONOMIC REFORM AND SMALLHOLDER AGRICULTURE IN TANZANIA: A DISCUSSION OF RECENT MARKET LIBERALIZATION, ROAD REHABILITATION AND TECHNOLOGY DISSEMINATION EFFORTS. L Putterman. World Development. 23 (2). February 1995. 15 pages.

LIBERALIZATION AND POLITICS. THE 1990 ELECTION IN TANZANIA. Ed: R S Mukandala and H Othman. Dar es Salaam University Press. 1995. 319 pages. £16.75. Includes case studies on elections in Zanzibar, Chilonwa, Bunda and Mtwara.

TERTIARY TRAINING CAPACITY IN TANZANIA. ESAURP. Tanzania Publishing House. 1994. 234 pages. £14.95. A research report prepared for the Eastern and Southern African Universities Research Programme.

THE FUNCTIONAL DIMENSION OF THE DEMOCRATISATION PROCESS. M Mmuya. 1994. 148 pages. £9.95. Papers from a conference on the democratic process in Tanzania and Kenya.

CHAGGA. Leeman and Biddulph. 40 pages. £20. A course in the Vunjo dialect of the Kichagga language with two accompanying cassettes.

POVERTY ALLEVIATION IN TANZANIA. RECENT RESEARCH ISSUES. Ed: M S G Bagachwa. Dar es Salaam University Press. 270 pages. £26.50. Seven papers from a 1994 workshop and a proposal for a long term research project.

# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

In response to the letter in Tanzanian Affairs in May 1995 concerning the preservation of the 3.6 million years old Laetoli footprints, the Getty Conservation Institute in California wrote to me on 15/9/95 as follows:

'Considerable thought has been given to the matter of reburying the footprints. Both the Antiquities Unit of Tanzania and the Getty Conservation Institute support the opinion that leaving the trackway open for visitation is impossible in the present situation. This is due to logistical difficulties and restricted accessibility as well as the limited financial capability of the Antiquities Unit. We consider reburial the most viable long-term preservation measure for the trackway, and have designed it to be easily reversible should the decision be taken one day to present the site to the public.

The possibility of removing the 30 meter long track and displaying it in the National Museum in Dar es Salaam was also considered but there were serious practical objections. It would also be against the conservation ethic which seeks to preserve sites in their original context. The prints were impressed in volcanic ash from the Sadiman volcano, 20kms away. They were buried under 30 metres of ash until, in the course of time, they became briefly exposed and were discovered by Mary Leakey in 1978. It is intriguing to speculate what our ancestors (a man, woman and child possibly) were doing as they walked in a hurry through the raining ash'. I am reassured that the Getty Conservation Institute and the Tanzanian Government have made the right decision for the time being.

Christine Lawrence

## PROOF READER NEEDED

I have received recently the latest issue of 'Tanzanian Affairs'. Included in the obituary notices is one referring to my late husband, Robert Paterson, in which his Tanzanian service is listed as being from 1974-60 (sic). Perhaps you need a proof reader! The surname Paterson is incorrectly spelt, and has one 'T' only. His term of service extended from 1947 to 1962. It included periods as DC Biharamulo, DC Ukerewe (during which time, if I remember rightly, you yourself served in Musoma), and included two terms at the Secretariat as well as being DC Kisarawe in between these two terms. I feel sure that you will wish to correct your notice at some future date.

(Mrs) C.O. Paterson

*(I was very sorry to learn of your husband's death, and apologise for the errors to which you draw my attention. You are correct in saying that I need a proof reader. A volunteer would be more than welcome - Editor).*

## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

DR. R G BAILEY is Senior Lecturer in Aquatic Resource Management at Kings College, London University. He was formerly a Fisheries Research and Training Officer in Tanzania

MR J ROGER CARTER is Vice-President of the Britain-Tanzania Society.

MR RONALD FENNELL was the World Bank Resident Representative in Tanzania from 1983 to 1987. He and his wife were active in voluntary work which included the distribution of 20,000 books donated by World Bank staff and their spouses to Tanzanian schools and hospitals.

MR MATTHEW GREEN returned recently from teaching in Kilimanjaro Region for 'Schools Partnership Worldwide' and is now studying at Balliol College, Oxford.

MRS HENRIETTE JANSEN has been working as an Epidemiologist in the Ministry of Health in Zanzibar since 1991, seconded from the Dutch Government.

MISS CHRISTINE LAWRENCE worked as Bursar of the Mahiwa Farm School in Tanzania from 1965 to 1971.

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