

No. 69

MAY – AUGUST 2001



Tanzanian affairs

Issued by the
Britain - Tanzania
Society

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PRESIDENT MKAPA TIGHTENS HIS GRIP

THE JANUARY EVENTS

Following his overwhelming victory in the October 2000 elections President Mkapa and his ruling Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) party have made it clear that they are not prepared to tolerate any infringement of the law by members of an aggrieved political opposition unwilling to accept the results of the flawed election in Zanzibar last year (Tanzanian Affairs No. 68). After apparently authorising his security forces to use tough measures against opposition Civic United Front (CUF) supporters protesting against the results of the elections, several of these supporters were killed and some hundreds, eventually building up to more than 2,000, including 14 MP's, fled from Pemba to neighbouring Kenya as refugees. The result has been, as the President has himself admitted, considerable damage to Tanzania's long standing reputation as a haven of peace, tolerance and unity.

34 MP's OPPOSITION EXPELLED FROM PARLIAMENT

The trouble began with the October 29 elections in Zanzibar which many who witnessed them consider to have been rigged by the ruling CCM party. The elections were also accompanied by police violence against opposition supporters.

CUF refused to recognise the new Presidents of Tanzania and Zanzibar and boycotted the Zanzibar House of Representatives and the Tanzanian National Assembly. After they had boycotted three sessions, the Speakers of the two houses, using powers granted to them under the constitutions, expelled CUF's 15 MP's in the National Assembly and the 19 CUF members of the Zanzibar House of Representatives. This reduced the number of opposition MP's in the National Assembly to 15 compared with

238 for CCM (the opposition parties had gained 28% of the total vote in the 2,000 presidential elections).

Two days before the expulsions, the government had rushed through the National Assembly an amendment to the election law, under a certificate of urgency, which stated that where a seat in parliament became vacant for any reason, a by-election could not be held until two years later. The remaining non-CUF opposition MP's walked out of the Assembly in protest. The reason for the amendment was said to be the need for the government to have time to organise funding for the 34 by-elections – these would normally have taken place within 50 days of the vacancies being created. This meant that a major part of the Zanzibar electorate were effectively disfranchised for two years. An opposition leader has challenged the new amendment in court.

However, an indication that the dramatic events of the last three months may not have disturbed the tranquility of the mainland electorate in its choice of CCM to lead the country, came in five by-elections following the general election all of which were won by CCM.

ZANZIBAR ELECTIONS - THE AFTERMATH

The unhappy series of events had begun with the Zanzibar elections in October/November 2000.

The government's view that the elections had been free and fair was defended in the Dar es Salaam Guardian (January 25-26) by Prof. Ernest Njau of the University of Dar es Salaam. He argued that CUF's refusal to recognise the previous Zanzibar President had created tensions which called for the setting up of a strictly secure atmosphere before the elections; there was not enough time to implement an agreement signed between the parties and brokered by the Commonwealth; if there were some accidental excesses during the enforcement of security measures they should not be used as a basis for baptising the whole

exercise as a reign of terror and should be dealt with separately; no party had objected to the electoral roll or withdrawn from the elections; none had taken any legal action; the increase in the electoral roll from 349,000 in the 1995 elections to 455,000 in 2000 could only be faulted if the 1995 roll had itself been 100% correct but this was not certain; it was unfair to consider local headmen, who had been given responsibility to draw up the registers, unreliable, because they were appointed by CCM; crude statements allegedly made by CUF that (the new) President of Zanzibar was President Mkapa's 'Governor' of Zanzibar and that the islands were under military occupation showed the true character of the party; after the elections there had been a bombing campaign and threats by CUF to use violence; the truth of the matter was that the election had been a continuation of a historical conflict dating back to before the 1964 revolution between those who believed in democracy and those who didn't. The rest of the article summarised what it described as the long struggle of the people of Zanzibar against oppression since the arrival of the first Arab settlers in the year 950.

The opposition had strongly contested the conduct of and results of the elections as explained in Tanzanian Affairs No. 68.

THE SUBSEQUENT SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

OCTOBER 30. The day after the elections. Eighteen CUF leaders held in jail for three years on charges of treason were released. Three Tanzanian Appeal Court judges ruled that treason could not be committed against Zanzibar as it was not a sovereign state.

DECEMBER. The CUF opposition party called for peaceful rallies in Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar for 27th January to protest against the Zanzibar election results. The government banned the protests but the CUF leadership decided to continue with them.

EARLY JANUARY. Former CCM Prime Minister Judge Joseph Warioba, acting for the Nyerere Foundation, began a one-man initiative to forestall the development of a crisis in

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Zanzibar. But CCM Vice-Chairman John Malecela was quoted in the Guardian as wondering what the Judge was trying to mediate as 'there was no contention worth his attention'. He indicated that CCM would distance itself from the initiative.

Opening a new police station in Zanzibar on JANUARY 11 President Mkapa said that citizens should not fear more police stations because the stations were not meant to harass or victimise people; they were meant to protect them and their property so that they could take an active part in development. He castigated those who blamed the police for doing their duty. "This is not fair. We are discouraging our police. We should not blame the whole force because of one errant policeman. Actually we should congratulate and thank them" he said.

JANUARY 25. Ahead of the main rally, CUF organised a small meeting at Mbagala in Dar es Salaam. CUF stated its demands clearly - new elections in Zanzibar, the reform of both the mainland and Zanzibar Electoral Commissions and some changes to the constitutions. Police broke up the meeting with force declaring it to be illegal. CUF National Chairman, Prof. Ibrahim Lipumba, a CUF MP and several CUF supporters were arrested and several were roughed up.

JANUARY 26. The day before the serious disturbances. Prof Lipumba, whose right arm was bandaged, and 16 others were in court on a charge of taking part in an unlawful assembly.

Police shot dead two people and injured many others as they left a mosque amidst very tight security in Unguja, the main island of Zanzibar. Tanzanian Prime Minister Frederick Sumaye said that terrorist elements in the CUF ranks were bent on causing destruction of property and harming innocent Tanzanians for political expediency.

JANUARY 27. In Dar es Salaam riot police battled with demonstrators, gunshots were fired into the air and tear gas canisters were fired. Some 100 people were arrested.

Serious disturbances took place in the CUF stronghold of Pemba. That the police were responsible for killing many civilians on that day and that hundreds of refugees subsequently

fled to Kenya was accepted by all, but precisely what happened in Pemba, the centre of the disturbances, is a matter of dispute.

The government's statement on the events was as follows:

23 people had been killed including one policeman. CUF was responsible because it had disobeyed lawful government orders. Ten deaths had occurred when armed young people had invaded police stations in Micheweni and Wete intending to steal firearms. Police were forced to fire live ammunition in self-defence when they were cornered. The police only fired after tear gas and rubber bullets had failed to disperse people.

CUF claimed that some 60 people had been killed and that the police had used excessive violence against a peaceful series of protests.

The Tanzanian media quoted many angry reactions to the police violence: Examples: "Why do police carry on bludgeoning suspects/victims when they are lying passive and inert on the ground"; "The sickening terror and violence unleashed on unarmed demonstrators by the supposed guardians of the law reminded me of the dark days of apartheid".

JANUARY 29. 40 CUF members (out of 140 arrested) appeared in court in Dar es Salaam charged with forming an illegal procession.

JANUARY 30. President Mkapa promoted 14 senior police officers including the head of the Field Force in Dar es Salaam and the Zanzibar CID Director.

LATE JANUARY. The previously disparate main opposition parties started working closely together with CUF for the first time to 'draw up a strategy to create true democracy in the country'.

FEBRUARY 9. Tanzanians were surprised to learn that four prominent figures, all born in Tanzania, had been suddenly declared to be foreigners. They included former Tanzanian High Commissioner in Nigeria, Timothy Bandora and Sports Council head and former member of the CCM National Executive Committee, Jenerali Ulimwengu (he had presided over the TV programme on the earlier violence - see TA No 68 - which had shocked the people of Dar es Salaam by showing the extent of

the police's brutality in Zanzibar Town on October 30th). Both were said to be Rwandans.

FEBRUARY 16. The Guardian reported that unknown people had hacked to death the Chake Chake (Pemba) District Chairman of CCM.

MARCH 7. Zanzibar refugees at Shimoni on Kenya's coast started a hunger strike to protest against proposals to transfer them to a permanent refugee camp at Daadab in north eastern Kenya'. President Mkapa called upon the refugees to return to Pemba but, according to 'Africa Analysis' (MARCH 23) a UNHCR visiting team had left the country unable to agree with the government that it was yet safe for them to return.

APRIL 7. Tanzania's opposition party leaders led what 'The East African' estimated to be 50,000 people in a protest march in Dar es Salaam – it said it was one of the largest demonstrations in the history of Tanzania.

APRIL 11. The government said it would not yield to international and domestic pressure to investigate January's violent clashes in Zanzibar. The opposition had demanded an independent enquiry. "I do not see the need to hold an independent enquiry" Prime Minister Frederick Sumaye told a news conference. "If the government was disputing the event and saying nobody died, then we would investigate. But we agree there were clashes and 23 people died" he said.

According to *Majira*, MAY 6 was scheduled for the trial of Seif Sharif Hamad and 19 other CUF leaders who had been charged with assaulting a police officer and stealing a gun in April 2000.

PRESIDENT MKAPA INTERVIEWED

In early February President Mkapa admitted that the killings in Zanzibar had soiled Tanzania's good image. However, responding angrily to questions in a BBC interview, he attacked the media for exaggerating reports of the troubles, some foreign embassies for being biased in favour of the opposition CUF and foreign election observers for not having been in the country long enough to appreciate that the elections in Zanzibar had

been free and fair. He added that if foreign donors wished to withhold aid they could do so – it was their choice.

IN FURTHER DEFENCE OF THE GOVERNMENT

'Opposition parties in Tanzania need to realise the magnitude of their task in bringing about full democracy as their poor performance (in the elections) has been due to lack of vision, strategic programmes and poor mobilisation'. So said Professor Samwel Mushi of the University of Dar Salaam's Department of Political Science in an interview with the Guardian. He gave credit to Tanzania's previous single-party system arguing that CCM MP's who could then challenge the government were now forced to remain silent as they could not speak against their own party. One of the problems with Tanzanian political parties was that they relied on personalities.

A stout defence of CCM and condemnation of CUF was published by the Dar es Salaam Sunday Observer on January 21. Extracts: 'Those of us who know this country's politics have been extremely disenchanted by the readiness of the international community to be hoodwinked by the foul cries of parties in the opposition particularly CUF. Since the 1995 elections CUF refused to recognise the President of Zanzibar. Why was the international community hoodwinked by CUF. Intellectuals, particularly university academia everywhere, are



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opinion leaders. Historically, intellectuals and particularly dons at the University of Dar es Salaam have always been opposed to the ruling party. In Zanzibar our intellectuals had no choice but CUF. Aware of CUF Secretary General Seif Sharif Hamad's brief political history, having been raised from the dead by the late Mwalimu Nyerere, he has been a victim of self destruction through immeasurable greed and political ambition. It is no wonder that our most subjective social researcher supported Seif Sharif's claim that he had won Zanzibar's elections although he did not participate in vote-counting. The 1995 and 2000 elections had demonstrated the lowest level of objectivity amongst journalists. Subjectivity has pervaded some intellectuals and journalists in support of very weak parties and politicians in most cases unknown to the people and had persuaded the international community not to recognise the previous President Dr Amour Seif Sharif was a very clever fellow..... His drive for the acquisition and maintenance of power was unrivalled. Criticisms against CCM by intellectuals and misguided news media were often wild and subjective.... CCM stands to be blamed for ignoring the empty attacks by the opposition. CCM could have helped the international community by exposing the shortcomings of leaders of the opposition No time had been spent on appreciating CCM's strength, historical credibility, and organisational network of members, leaders and cadres which began at the 10-cell level, had leaders trained in party colleges, a credible record in governance and human rights. It was the only party capable of maintaining peace, security, national harmony and cohesion in a region torn apart by tribal/religious inspired wars....

DIVISIONS WITHIN THE PARTIES

Both main parties, CCM and CUF, have shown signs of division since the events of January.

CCM. President Mkapa said on March 13 that a number of different factions had emerged in the CCM party during the

elections. He said that they should be disbanded. 'Africa Analysis' in an examination of the circumstances under which President Mkapa had hardened his position in his dealings with Zanzibar, wrote that the President had only a weak power base within the CCM and was heavily reliant on his principal adviser and veteran politician Kingunge Ngombale-Mwiru and army and police chiefs. It also considered that there was a split within the CCM between the old guard led by the controversial former prime ministers John Malecela and Cleopa Msuya and younger self-styled 'reformers' including Foreign Minister Jakaya Kikwete and MP Edward Lowassa. Others were said to be coalescing around former Prime Minister Joseph Warioba who were disappointed by the President's actions in Zanzibar, his alleged lack of direction in fighting corruption and his zeal in paying off the country's debts. There was also a rift said to be arising from the way in which mainland CCM leaders had prevented former President Amour from standing for a third term in Zanzibar and replacing him as presidential candidate by Amani Karume. This had affected the latter's authority now that he had become President of Zanzibar. In an earlier article AFRICA ANALYSIS said that President Mkapa was now 'wobbly' within his CCM power base because of his 'inept handling' of the Zanzibar crisis. It spoke of his 'dictatorial tendencies'.

CUF. With tension still high in Zanzibar, the Secretaries General of CCM and CUF suddenly announced in March that they had signed an agreement designed to reduce the tension - see below. This caused considerable consternation amongst Seif Hamad's CUF supporters but Hamad explained that he was not calling off the boycott of parliament. A number of dissidents broke away to form a new party which they called the 'National Alliance Party'. On April 19 it was reported in *Mtanzania* that the dissident CUF members had started a party to be called 'Forum for the Restoration of Democracy'. Hamad accused the dissidents of being set up by CCM.

‘Africa Analysis’ explained the situation as follows: ‘Like any other party CUF is an alliance of different persuasions. The majority moderate centre group has been advocating peaceful change for five years but now warns that this has had no effect. CUF promised to share power with CCM if it won the 2000 elections but there is pressure from more extreme elements in the party, concentrated in Pemba, who would like to break up the union and restore the Sultanate which was overthrown in the 1964 revolution. There is even talk of the possible introduction of Sharia law... This faction will increase in influence unless there is some progress towards reform’.

LOCAL AND INTERNATIONAL CONCERN

The list of people and organisations expressing concern or shock at what happened around January 27th (as explained in the Guardian), included the EU, the Swedish, Danish, Norwegian and Japanese representatives in Dar es Salaam, the Secretary General of the OAU, Human Rights Watch, the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation, Amnesty International, the Human Rights Group Article 19, Professor Haroub Othman, Chairman of the Zanzibar Legal Services Centre who said that force was not the answer to the problems of Zanzibar, the Tanzania Law Society, which said that there should be a judicial commission of enquiry, the University of Dar es Salaam’s Academic Staff Assembly and Students Organisation and the Legal Aid Committee who called for an end to the ‘culture of violence’. The Commission for Human Rights and Justice, after visiting the refugees in Kenya spoke of the ‘eternal shame for Tanzania’ and the need to bring the violence to an end.

On March 2 the Minister of State in the Prime Ministers Office was quoted in ‘The East African’ as having accused ‘Amnesty International’ of sneaking into the country and issuing an exaggerated report on the political stalemate in Zanzibar. Amnesty had called for an independent enquiry into the troubles.

OTHER COMMENTS

Tanzania had a bad press internationally following the events in Zanzibar. Both parties in the dispute were criticised for their actions but the general conclusion was that the government had used excessive force following Zanzibar elections which most commentators had believed were rigged.

Reflecting on what it described as the 'Nyerere legacy', Africa Today' (March) wrote that the 37 year old union between the mainland and Zanzibar seemed to have run its course. Now that Zanzibar President Karume (who was assassinated in 1972) and Mwalimu Nyerere (who died last year), the authors of the Union, were no more, there was no glue to hold it together. The article (by Jackson Malulu) went on to say that therein lay one of the harshest commentaries on Mwalimu's legacy. After imposing a union on a reluctant nation, he failed to institutionalise it and failed to notice when the country had grown tired of it. Now the chickens were coming home to roost..... In the early 1980s when Tanzanians had been given the chance to debate the Tanzania they wanted, the Zanzibaris overwhelmingly went for a three-government (Tanganyika, Zanzibar and the Union) structure while mainlanders identified human rights abuses as the most fundamental issue. The same issues still divided the country down the middle. President Mkapa was caught between a rock and a hard place. He was a political orphan of Mwalimu and could not afford to be seen to be in a hurry to do away with his mentor's pet project. Yet objective conditions demanded that he did exactly that. Public opinion in the wake of the Zanzibar chaos was firmly for a national dialogue on Tanzania's future. This is what respected law scholar Issa Shivji had called the 'silver lining in the cloud' that had settled on Tanzania after 27th January.

The absence of parliamentarians from the opposition camp in the National Assembly and House of Representatives was a blow to democracy as the ruling CCM MPs could not freely criticise their governments in the two houses of parliament. The

former Minister for Home Affairs, Ali Ameer Mohamed, was quoted in the Guardian on April 9 as saying that opposition MPs were in a better position than CCM MPs to question and criticise the governments. He was commenting on the sacking of the 15 CUF MPs from the National Assembly and 19 CUF representatives from the House of Representatives for failing to attend three consecutive House sessions without giving acceptable reasons. Mohamed, former CCM Deputy Secretary General (Zanzibar) and a current member of the CCM National Executive Committee, criticised CUF decisions, arrived at because of poor advisers, which pushed democracy to the brink of an abyss. He said the expulsion of the 34 CUF legislators from the Houses was necessitated by their neglect to abide by the constitution and that they even failed to notify relevant authorities of their absence. A political party cannot just wake up and expect to come to power without having long-term plans to acquire political power, he said. Although one of the major demands of the opposition was for the reform of electoral institutions, they forgot that one of their roles in the House was to urge for a change of laws which they thought were undemocratic. However, Mohamed suggested a review of the legislation that made the CUF legislators lose their seats. This should be done to build democracy. He contended that CUF failed to be effective politically because its leaders yearned to go to the State House before they were due. CUF failed to come up with strategies which could enable the party to win the elections and occupy the State House legally instead of boycotting House sessions. "It is an open secret that CUF is a powerful party, but it fails to achieve its objective without preparing the means," he said.

In early April the London-based press freedom watchdog 'Article 19' published a detailed report entitled 'Freedom of Association and Assembly – Unions, NGO's and political freedom in sub Saharan Africa' in which Tanzania was one of the case studies. The report warned that there was not yet democracy in Africa. Ruling parties still had too much control. In Tanzania, it noted that under the Political Parties Act the

conditions imposed on the registration of new parties were cumbersome and that the Act effectively compelled all parties to support the policy of keeping the Union. In commenting on the report 'The East African' wrote that recent political manoeuvring by CCM pointed towards the country's backsliding towards a one-party state with only 15 opposition MP's left in parliament.

INDICATIONS OF RECONCILIATION

On March 9 CCM's Secretary General Philip Mangula and his CUF opposite number Seif Shariff Hamad had caused some surprise when they announced that they had signed an agreement which called upon the two parties to put past hatreds behind them and restore normal political life.

Between April 9 and 23 CCM and CUF technical committees continued to meet on reducing political tensions but reached agreement on only one of the four items on the agenda. Discussions were to continue.

As this issue of TA went to press the Swahili paper *Nipashe*, under the banner headline 'CUF compromises on refugees' wrote that Zanzibar refugees in Kenya might be prepared to return home following an assurance from Minister for Home Affairs Mohamed Seif Khatib, that all but four, who would be charged, could now return home without risk of prosecution.

However, on April 28 the Guardian wrote that 700 mostly young refugees had agreed to move to the UNHCR-supported camp at Daadab in Kenya and had said that they would not return to Pemba until the release of CUF members said to be held in police stations and there was an independent commission of enquiry.

CCM SUCCESS

CCM received a great boost and the opposition a severe blow in the by-election in Busega (Mwanza Region) when candidate Raphael Chegeni (CCM) obtained 22,512 votes against the

recent presidential candidate, former deputy leader of the opposition in the National Assembly and leader of the United Democratic party (UDP) John Cheyo, who got only 18,044. The loss was all the greater because, for the first time, all the opposition parties had stood together in support of Cheyo. These results and four other CCM by-election results indicated that there had been virtually no change in popular opinion in the country since the October general elections.

“TANZANIA WILL BE THIRD IN AFRICA NEXT YEAR”

Tanzania is set to become Africa's third largest gold producer (after South Africa and Ghana) next year, producing over one million ounces following the opening of a third modern large-scale gold mine later this year, says Tanzania Chamber of Mines Chairman Samuel Lwakatare, quoted in the Guardian. With two modern mines already in operation, revenues from gold production skyrocketed to 184 million dollars (about Shs 147,888m) last year compared with 3.3 million dollars in 1998. Canada's Barrick Gold is set to open the country's first underground gold mine in July in the northwestern Bulyanhulu, Kahama District, with annual production forecast at 400,000 ounces. The mine, sitting on gold reserves of 10 million ounces, will operate alongside Australian Resolute's Golden Pride Mine whose annual production is around 202,000 ounces, and the Geita gold mine - a joint venture between Ghana's Ashanti Goldfields and South Africa's AngloGold. The Geita mine which began official production last August is Africa's second largest gold mine with annual production estimated to total 500,000 ounces.

Lwakatare explained that Tanzania's mining development stalled after the country adopted socialism soon after independence in 1961. Production declined to an all time low of 84 ounces in 1975 against a peak of 100,000 ounces in 1938 under British rule. But a new mining act in 1998 opened the sector up to foreign

investment and that policy is now bearing fruit, with Tanzania attracting many investors. Some 300 licences have been issued to mining companies while investment in gold exploration since 1998 is estimated at \$870 million.

The government aims for mining to contribute 10% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) by 2025 compared with 2% in 1998. Another gold mine operated by Afrika Mashariki with annual production estimated at 140,000 ounces is expected to open in 2000 Lwakatare said.

"Other prospects in Geita, around the Lake Victoria greenstone belt are promising," he added. Lwakatare said an evaluation project for nickel, cobalt and copper deposits in northwestern Kabanga district by Barrick Gold had proved successful. "There's every possibility that if things remain correct, there's potential for a big base metal mine opening soon," he said, adding that exploration for copper and lead was also going on in the south near Lake Malawi.

EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY LAUNCHED - AFRICAN UNION TREATY RATIFIED

At a ceremony in Arusha attended by thousands of people on 16th January President's Mkapa, Daniel arap Moi of Kenya and Yoweri Museveni of Uganda formally inaugurated the East African Community (EAC) comprising 74 million people. President Mkapa said that he was optimistic that the EAC would bring together labour and natural resources and expand regional markets for a strong economy. He called on the new community to learn from other regional groupings such as SADC, ECOWAS and the European Union to see how best the community could be nursed. The Economist Michela Wrong was quoted in the Guardian as saying that if East African cooperation were to succeed no one would be able to claim more credit than President Mkapa who, immediately after the 1995 elections, had set out on a whirlwind tour of East Africa

and managed to bring together the Presidents of Uganda and Kenya who had many differences at the time.

Tanzania ratified on April 3 the Consultative Act of the African Union becoming the 34th OAU member state to do so. 36 members are required for the treaty to come into force. Among other things the Union will have a continental parliament and a court and has the power to intervene militarily where there is a fundamental breach of human rights

MISCELLANY

Amongst those given awards by the Queen recently are sister Maria Lia Schwarzmuller for services to leprosy relief (OBE) Catherine Joan Allen for services to education (MBE) and Dr Elizabeth Annie Hills for services to health care in Tanzania (MBE).

A modern Shs 13.6 billion office building to accommodate the British High Commission, the embassies of Germany and the Netherlands, the EC Delegation and Britain's Department for International Development, is being built at the corner of Mirambo and Garden Avenue in Dar es Salaam. According to the British High Commission's Ian Gleason, quoted in the Guardian, this would be the first time worldwide that the four partners had developed a shared building.

Certain US Scientists have come to the conclusion that the famous snows on top of Mount Kilimanjaro will completely vanish within two decades because of global warming, felling of trees, forest fires and overpopulation.

'Panic hit the streets of Tabora yesterday as the tall, menacing figure of Idi Amin was seen marching down the main drag... he was accompanied by an entourage of fully armed semi-naked Kakwa warriors....37 of his children brought up the rear...' - from the Guardian (April 1).

BUSINESSBUSINESSBUSINESSBUSINESS

IMF Deputy Director, African department, Anupam Basu, has commended the Tanzanian government for its remarkable macro- economic stability. It had managed to stabilise the inflation rate at five per cent, economic growth rate at four per cent and to have very strong foreign exchange reserves which had risen three times to over \$900 million. "By maintaining these fundamental economic indicators, unlike other countries, Tanzania's future stood to be very bright in a few years' time" he said.

The Swahili daily *Majira* reported that for the last ten years Britain has been the leader in the number and value of investment projects in Tanzania. The paper quoted a report by the Investment Centre (TIC) saying that between 1990 and 2000 there were 255 British projects followed by Kenya (92), India (60), USA (59), Canada (54), Germany (54), Italy (50), China (47) and the Netherlands (41).

'News Africa' (9th April) reported that one of the largest ever foreign investments in Tanzania had been finalised in the telecoms sector. A consortium of MSI Cellular and the German telecoms services company Detecom had finalised a strategic investment agreement worth US dollars 120 million with Tanzania Telecommunications Ltd (TTCL). The commitment was to improve the fixed network and expand the cellular network to at least 800,000 lines. MSI cellular had been licensed by 14 governments in Africa.

In what he described as a remarkable development, Tanzania Investment Centre Director Emmanuel Ole Naiko told the Guardian in January that, during the year 2000, parastatal divestitures had been finalised in the cases of the Container Terminal of the Tanzania Harbours Authority and the Dar es Salaam Airport Cargo Handling Company. Others which had reached advanced stages included the Tanzania

Telecommunications Company Ltd and the Dar es Salaam Water and Sewerage Authority. Other enterprises whose preparations for divestiture were well under way included the Tanzania Electric Supply Company, Air Tanzania Corporation, Tanzania Railways Corporation, the National Insurance Corporation and the National Microfinance Bank. He was concerned that investors had shown little interest in the energy sector even though Tanzania was facing an acute shortage of power. Manufacturing industry however had attracted 725 projects in recent years followed by tourism with 233 and agriculture with 117 projects. He said that strenuous efforts were being made to promote the information technology, human resources development and services sectors.

KLM Royal Dutch Airlines is introducing daily flights to Tanzania from Amsterdam from 28th May, making it the first international airline to do so. KLM's regional manager in Tanzania said that passengers had increased from 891 to 1,582 per week during the last year - East African.

Recent grants of AID to Tanzania have included: JAPAN - Shs 4.8 billion for food, debt relief and rehabilitation of the Makuyuni-Ngorongoro Road and THE BILL AND MELINDA GATES FOUNDATION through the AFRICAN YOUTH ALLIANCE – Shs 165 million for prevention of HIV amongst adolescents.

TANZANIA IN THE INTERNATIONAL MEDIA

AFRICAN TIGER

OPPORTUNITY AFRICA (first quarter 2001) wrote that Tanzania had the potential to become one of the most dynamic economies in Africa. Since the mid-1990s, strong pursuit of economic reform had enhanced Dar es Salaam's status in the

international financial community. Much of the credit for competent financial governance and the liberalisation of key economic sectors went to the Bank of Tanzania which acted as an adviser to the Government. The bank was one of the few independent central banks in Africa. Its main goals were preserving currency stability and low inflation. It had pursued a tight monetary policy which had underpinned positive real interest rates and thus provided incentives for savings. Prudent policies had also contributed to subdued inflation - this year it was projected at below six per cent compared to 37 per cent in 1994.

'UNTIL DEATH DO US PART'

Under this heading TIME MAGAZINE (February 12th) told the story of the white woman in Botswana (Mariette Bosch) who was recently hanged for murder. It went on to state that there

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was another blonde white woman sitting in a cell in Arusha prison who, if convicted, could also be hanged. Kerstin Cameron, a 40 year-old German national had been charged with the murder of her estranged husband Cliff. She was initially told that she had no legal case to answer. On July 4th, 1998 her husband left an Arusha hotel where he had been staying and in which he had been drinking heavily and went to visit her and the children at their home. A few hours later, he was dead in the bedroom, a bullet in his head. The Tanzanian police twice investigated and twice concluded that Cameron, a 42-year old bush pilot, had committed suicide. But later, pressure from his husband's New Zealand relatives had dramatically altered things and she had been arrested in May last year. The inquiry was said to be now bogged down in the Tanzanian legal system as a result of undue pressure from New Zealand politicians plus bureaucratic inefficiency, post-colonial sensitivities and murky suspicions. German officials were demanding a quick and fair resolution of the case *(Thank you to several readers who sent this item and a similar story in the SUNDAY TELEGRAPH (February 24) under the heading 'White mischief on an African night' - Editor)*

MOBILE PHONE REVOLUTION

NEW AFRICAN (April 2001) devoted a page to what it described as Tanzania's 'mobile phone revolution'. This was said to be highly significant for a country where just five years ago a mobile phone was something that dreams were made of; now, Tanzania had as many mobile phone lines as fixed lines. Mobitel had 60% of the market and attributed its success to maximising consumer choice in the form of affordable handsets, extensive geographic coverage, pre-paid systems and flexible pricing structures.

CLOVE HONEY

The TROPICAL AGRICULTURE ASSOCIATION'S NEWSLETTER in December contained an article by Antony Ellman on clove honey production in Pemba. He explained how he had been recruited to undertake, with staff of the Evergreen Trust (a small NGO established in Pemba in 1995), a survey of agricultural production and marketing opportunities suitable for small scale producers. Prime emphasis was to be placed on beekeeping. He went on to explain that clove honey was one of the few commodities produced on Pemba for which demand exceeded supply (it had a high reputation in the Gulf) and that steps to raise the quantity and quality of clove honey production could not only generate increased rural incomes with relatively little investment but also gave farmers an incentive to improve neglected clove plantations by adding value to the products. He described the various types of hive, colony management and honey and wax processing and marketing.

The GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT NEWSLETTER FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA (March) reported that Tanzania had lifted members' spirits by increasing its legislated quota of women MP's from 15 to 20 (in addition to those elected) with the result that the number of women in parliament had increased from 16% to 21%; the percentage of women in cabinet had increased from 13% to 15% (*Thank you Joan Wicken for sending this item – Editor*).

The EAST AFRICAN (12th February) devoted a page to the leading Tanzania Kiswahili scholar Professor Said Ahmed Mohammed from Bayreuth University in Germany. He was born in Zanzibar in 1947 and later studied and worked at the University of Dar es Salaam. He has authored or co-authored 16 titles in the linguistics and literature areas of Kiswahili. The article said that a critical look at his novels, plays and poems

showed clearly that he was out to educate and expose the ills in society. He wondered why Kiswahili was not given the kind of status in East Africa that it had in the wider world. "Out there" he said, "Kiswahili is regarded highly; foreign students like studying it and speaking it grammatically". In all foreign universities where he had taught he found Kiswahili extremely popular.

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DECLINING SCHOOL ENROLLMENT

Tanzania is suffering a sharp decline in primary-school enrolment as a result of the 'Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Debt Relief Programme (HIPC) sponsored by the World Bank/IMF which compels poor parents to contribute to the cost of

their children's education' according to NEW AFRICAN (February). The article went on to explain how Tanzania, having adopted the third stage of the HIPC programme, was granted 'nominal' relief from its stifling debts. Part of the deal was the introduction of cost sharing in primary schools which meant that poor parents had to pay part of their children's education; this immediately triggered a decline in school attendance. Tanzania expects to enjoy debt relief of a \$100 million when it 'fully' qualifies this year by moving to the 'completion' stage of the programme. The journal quoted debt campaigners as saying that in a real terms the HIPC 'completion stage' or 'full qualification' only meant that qualifying countries would 'cough more funds' from their dried-up treasuries for debt service. Tanzania's annual debt service would be \$167.5 million between 2002 and 2009 and would rise to \$258 million between 2010 and 2018. At the moment, Tanzania spent 26 per cent of its total export earnings on debt servicing.

'ELUSIVE, MAGICAL PARADISE BUT NOT GAY'

'Zanzibar. It really is a place, not a cafe, bar, club or any other of the many other businesses that have used its name. No marketing firm could come up with a better word to evoke an elusive magical paradise. What is it about the word? If you were to blend the decayed grandeur of Lisbon, the commerce and religion of Morocco and the exotic spiciness of southern India and set it all on an island with Bounty-advert beaches, you might just get Zanzibar. It's a zany place'. So wrote Paul Miles in GAY NEWS (February) whose visit to Zanzibar was arranged by the travel firm 'Simply Tanzania'. The writer went on to say that if his readers were looking for a 'happening gay scene' Zanzibar was not the place. Homosexuality, as in all of Tanzania, was technically illegal. No-one in Zanzibar seemed to be working on anything connected with gay rights. Although there was a dearth of people willing to identify themselves as

gay, everyone he spoke to seemed to think that it was not an issue. There was even a well known gay-run hotel in Stonetown.

NATIONAL PARKS

AFRICA TRAVEL (Spring 2001) devoted 46 pages of lavishly illustrated text to the national parks of Africa. The articles on Tanzania concentrated on walking around Loliondo with a Maasai guide ('the kopjes - islands of tall granite rock and lush green foliage strung like an archipeligo across the plains;) mountain cycling in the Tarangire National Park ('the lodges are Tarzan and Jane style') and diving in Mafia Island's Marine Park ('clouds of glassfish, groups of lionfish and violin sharks - we are illuminated within by what we see of Mafia's beautiful, secret underworld').

Another article in the same issue featured Fundu Lagoon on Pemba island. The article said that unlike its better-known neighbour, Pemba lacked the developed tourist infrastructure of Zanzibar which gave it a refreshing sense of naivety and a feeling of blissful isolation and tranquillity. The waters around Pemba were now regarded as one of the top diving locations in the world. Fundu Lagoon was the home of a fully qualified watersports centre. Prices were \$275 per person per day which included snorkelling, discovery trips, mangrove canoe safaris, dhow sunset cruises and boat transfers.

ORGANIC COTTON WOOL

A brand new line in organic products, based on Tanzanian grown cotton and called 'Simply Gentle Organic' is being test-marketed through more than 1000 British Waitrose supermarkets by the manufacturer Macdonald and Taylor. Approximately 5% of the pack purchase price will be used to help Tanzanian farmers in development projects. The new organic range will include make-up removal pads, balls and

loose packs. It is estimated that current cotton cultivation (non-organic) results in 25% of worldwide insecticide use. Helped by environmental experts, organic cotton farmers in Tanzania attract beneficial insects to their cotton. The organic control methods include using trap plants (sunflower and pigeon pea), ox-driven weeding, crop rotation and the use of animal manure. Research has shown that organic cotton plots bordered by sunflowers have 10 times more beneficial ants which eat the eggs and larvae of the harmful cotton bollworm. *(Thank you John Leonhardt for this item - Editor.)*

COMING UP TOO FAST

"I am 23 ft under water and my heart is racing. I'm desperately trying to concentrate on my breathing, but everything feels unnatural. My mask has water in it and as I try to clear it, I keep moving my fins. Suddenly, I realise that I've reached the surface and start to panic. One of the things that I have learnt on this diving course is that coming up too fast could be fatal. I'm afraid that my lungs are expanding and that I am about to die in the middle of the Indian Ocean.....Back in the boat I sit there shaking, wondering what on earth I'm doing here.... I decided to learn to dive when I became hooked on snorkelling a couple of years ago. It seemed like the logical next step. The words of the diving manuals should have rung warning bells. 'If you live life on the edge or find pleasure in pure adrenaline, you should be a diver'. I'm no adrenaline junkie. Yet here I was at the diving school at Fundu Lagoon in Pemba. The Pemba Channel is reputed to be one of the best diving sites in the world and the resort was outstanding - pristine beaches dotted with mangroves and fabulous views of the blue, blue sea from every room - Clare Thomson writing in the SUNDAY TELEGRAPH on January 7th. The same paper (March 10) reported even more glowingly about diving in MAFIA - 'Two giant groupers, each at least 6 ft. long, pairs of huge spotted sweetlips, angelfish at least 3 ft. long and endless varieties of jumbo-sized butterfly

fish, the largest black sting-ray I have ever encountered, a good 4ft.across...the diving site was Kinasi Pass (*Thank you Donald Wright for this – Editor*).

AN AFRICAN SUCCESS STORY

Under this heading the American CHRONICLE OF EDUCATION (6th April) published an article by Burton Bollag which included some very good news about the University of Dar es Salaam. Brief extracts: ‘The university's air-conditioned internet cafe is usually packed with students checking their e-mail, or searching the Web for scholarship information. Across the hilly, green campus, the law school is busy putting its course outlines and reading materials online. The university library is getting a new wing, and new buildings are going up to provide more classrooms and a faculty office. Dar is one of a handful of African universities winning praise -- and increased financial support from the West -- for their efforts to transform themselves.....When four major foundations based in the United States announced a five-year, \$100-million aid package for African higher education last year, they singled out three institutions (Mozambique, Makerere and Dar) whose own efforts made it likely that they would be able to benefit from assistance in strategic planning, curriculum development, and increasing financial autonomy. Dar es Salaam is also one of the first institutions receiving support through the program. The Carnegie Corporation of New York, one of the four foundations, has awarded the university a three-year, \$3.5-million grant for new technology, for library improvements, and to study the effectiveness of the reforms adopted there....Dar has scored a number of significant successes since embarking on its Institutional Transformation Program, in the early 1990's. It has begun creating new degree programs in response to Tanzania's rapidly changing needs -- for example, in public health, computer hardware and software, and transportation engineering. It has become probably the best-wired sub-Saharan

university outside South Africa, with most campus buildings connected to the Internet via high-speed, fiber-optic cables. The university has cut costs by sharply reducing its non-academic staff, farming out such services as operating cafeterias and cleaning dormitories to private companies. It has generated new sources of income by offering evening degree programs in business administration for fee-paying students (all students theoretically pay tuition, but for many undergraduates that remains theory, not practice) providing consulting and training to companies and government agencies, and selling computer services and software. And on a continent with a glaring gender imbalance in higher education, Dar has instituted an affirmative-action policy that has increased the enrolment of female students from 16 percent of the student body seven years ago to 29 percent today....Courses in "African Socialism" have been eliminated, and research on such topics has been discouraged.....*(Thank you Peg Snyder for sending this article – Editor)*

OLIVE BABOONS AND BLACK RHINOS

BBC WILDLIFE (December) reported that wild-caught olive baboons awaiting export from Tanzania for use in international biomedical research were being kept in the 'worst conditions ever seen' according to an undercover investigation carried out by the British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection (BUAV). Investigators had infiltrated two businesses in Arusha where baboons were often held for some weeks before being shipped to the USA. At one holding station, the Tanzanian Wildlife Corporation, they found an entire baboon family in one cage with the adult male desperately trying to protect his family despite the confines of his captivity. BUAV is calling on the Tanzanian authorities to place an embargo on the export of baboons.

In January the same magazine reported that the black rhino, once the most successful member of its family, was now listed

as critically endangered; there were thought to be only 60 to 70 left in Tanzania compared with the estimated 10,000 30 years ago. 70% of those remaining were believed to live in the Selous Game Reserve; those which were left constituted about six per cent of the world population. They had survived mainly due to their inaccessibility and remoteness. The article went on to describe the work of the Selous Rhino Project. Tanzania's Wildlife Division had assigned six scouts to the project in January 1996 but their task was difficult because, unlike their larger, less fierce 'white' rhino cousins, which were happy to eat grass in wide open spaces, black rhinos favoured very thick bush and could not be seen easily from the air. The Scouts had to walk until they found them and averaged 1000 kms for every rhino sighted. Protecting rhinos was reported to be an expensive business - some \$32 per km with one ranger covering perhaps 150 kms. Future plans included the development of DNA fingerprinting from samples of dung. This non-invasive method used micro-satellite markers enabling the detection of genetic variability within the small, fragmented rhino groups. (Those wishing to support this project should contact 'Save the Rhino International at 020 7357 7474. *(Thank you Christine Lawrence for sending these two items -Editor).*

THE WORK OF SIXTY ARTISTS

THE EAST AFRICAN (15th January) featured the 'Art in Tanzania 2000' exhibition which was held in Dar es Salaam in December. It was described as more successful than the previous exhibitions with about half the displayed works being sold. It featured works by almost 60 artists living in Tanzania and comprised sculptures, paintings, cartoons and photographs. Prices ranged between \$187 and \$500. More than 1,000 art lovers attended the exhibition over the three weeks that it was on. Probably the most striking work was said to have come from Damian Msagula from Mtwara. His paintings were said to have a touch of Ethiopian art while retaining a strong individuality

that set them apart from the swarm of *tingatinga* paintings on display. Msagula has had his work exhibited in Belgium, Finland, Ethiopia, South Africa and Germany.

GENETIC FINGERPRINTS OF ELEPHANTS

Tanzanian, Kenyan and US scientists have been collecting samples from across the African continent to establish whether there are sufficient variations in elephant DNA to identify a piece of ivory from a particular region. Mapping the genetic fingerprints of elephants (each elephant has a unique fingerprint) could provide conservation authorities with sufficient scientific evidence to secure court convictions against traffickers after seizure of illegal shipments of Ivory – The TIMES – February 24. *(Thank you Simon Hardwick for sending this – Editor).*

OBITUARIES

BRIAN ECCLES (72) died at Nice on 23rd January. After some years as a district officer in Zanzibar and private secretary to the Sultan he became private secretary to Tanganyika governors Sir Edward Twining (1957 - 58) and Sir Richard Turnbull (1958 - 59). He was later seconded to the Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation (1960-61) and then returned to Zanzibar as information officer in the British High Commission from 1962 to 1964. He helped to rescue British citizens during the revolution in January 1964. *(Thank you Randal Sadleir for letting us know - Editor)*

BISHOP ELEIWAHA MSHANA (75) the first bishop of the Pare Diocese and first local principal of the Makumira Theological College at Usa River, Arusha died on New Year's Eve. Dr Mshana was awarded his doctorate *Honoris Causa* by the University of Wisconsin in 1991 on account of his extensive contributions to clarification of theological issues and pastoral

practice in an African setting. He had also helped to put together a team involved in the translation of the Old Testament into Kipare - the Guardian.

Former Communications and Transport Minister ERNEST NYANDA (59) died in Johannesburg on 17th January. He had earlier held positions in the State Trading Corporation and been a member of parliament since 1985. From 1994 to '95 he was Minister for Home Affairs. Several cabinet ministers attended the funeral close to his Busega, Mwanza constituency.

REVIEWS

MANAGING UNIVERSITY CRISES. Eds: T.S.A. Mbwette and A.G.M. Ishumi. DUP (1996) Ltd, University of Dar es Salaam, 2000. 247pp.

The cover photo - of a young Julius Nyerere robed as Chancellor of the University of East Africa on an unidentified formal occasion early in the life of the University College, Dar es Salaam (probably the first graduation ceremony, which marked the opening of the new campus at Ubungu) - recalls the optimism of the period, which belied the difficulties which lay ahead. Why were universities in Africa, with such great potential to contribute positively to national development, to endure so many crises? Why was academic freedom to prove such an insecure legacy? Was it because the 1960s, the decade of independence when so many universities were founded or expanded, was also the decade of student unrest in the older universities of Europe and America? Was it rather because new African governments saw universities as yet another source of potential opposition which, like traditional chiefs, trade unions and the media, should be closely controlled?

Successive crises at the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM)

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OYSTER BAY HOTEL DAR ES SALAAM - TANZANIA

BEHO BEHO - MIKUMI - TANZANIA

The Oyster Bay Hotel in Dar es Salaam is a very individual property sited close to the ocean in the Embassy and residential district at Oyster Bay. Surrounded by coral stone walls and lush tropical gardens the 40 rooms and suites provide an ideal refuge from city life enjoyed by businessmen, long stay guests and tourists alike. Beho Beho in the Selous Game Reserve is an oasis of private hospitality in this 55,000 sq kms wildlife reserve. Kikoboga provides up-market safari accommodation within easy driving distance of Dar es Salaam in Mikumi National Park.

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(as it became in 1970) over more than three decades are considered from different perspectives in the fifteen papers collected in this volume; despite the broad title, there are few, brief references to other universities. The papers were presented at a workshop held by UDSM in 1996, largely funded by the European Union. The book offers a diversity of viewpoints, but almost entirely from within UDSM: university teachers and administrators at a senior level predominate, although the voices of students and a lone parent are also heard. How were the events perceived at a senior political level, or by the general public? We can only guess.

One weakness of the book is the lack of any factual account of successive crises; indeed, the various contributors do not fully agree in identifying the crises for consideration. Writing originally for each other, workshop participants assumed a shared recollection of basic events which not all readers of the book will have. Most writers seem to accept a list of the main 'crises': the mass expulsion by government in 1966, after a student demo against government policies, especially national service; the 'Akivaga,' crisis of 1971, when students, ultimately supported by academic and administrative staff, confronted the university administration after electing a Kenyan as student leader, against government wishes; expulsions of staff and students in 1977; expulsions and the banning of the students' organisation in 1978 after a demo against new terms of service for politicians, and the imposition of a state-controlled student body in 1979; the closure of UDSM for eight months in 1990 in the face of various student demands. However, no systematic account is given of these episodes, two of which (1971 and 1990) were the subjects of formal inquiries, although the respective Mungai and Mroso Committee Reports are only briefly mentioned. Some writers refer to other incidents. Yared Kihore, writing as Chairman of the Academic Staff Assembly, notes that crises at UDSM have been the mildest of any African university, never involving such violence as to warrant police or military action. Moreover, he might have added, closures at Dar have been fewer, and shorter, than at many other African

universities.

In a thoughtful introductory chapter, one of the few with albeit brief references to other countries, Paschal Mihyo, a law teacher, discerns three stages of university conflicts: 'Ivory Tower struggles', when students confront the state for control of the university; welfare struggles, aggravated by diminishing resources; most recently, students' efforts to reconstruct their identity as social movements for wider political mobilisation. Juma Mwapachu, Vice-Chairman of UDSM Council and President of Convocation, identifies two stages distinguished by national ideologies: under socialism (1967-85) a weak university administration lost legitimacy with academic staff as well as students, who reacted against management failures, while under subsequent market-led policies and the subjection of the university 'to the wrath of the budget butcher's knife', which by 1995 had brought UDSM to 'the edge of the precipice', the underlying causes of crises were of a welfare or monetary kind.

Evidently, aside from obvious upheavals, the contributors might not agree on what constitutes a university crisis. The real, continuing crisis at Dar, as at other African universities, is identified by Costa Mahalu, writing as Director of Higher Education (on secondment from his university chair): 'Our universities are in constant crises.' He persuasively sees the real crisis as one of resources, of underfunding due to the university's dependence upon government. He expected the



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workshop to propose reforms, which he promised government would welcome as long as they aimed at reducing government expenditure! A joint paper recalls (at p 171) the decline in spending on higher education in Tanzania - from 13.32% of the budget in 1980 (when it exceeded the 9.17% allocated to defence) to 8.28% in 1985 (just over half of the defence share at 15.78%) and 4% or less in 1996. Yet since the workshop UDSM has been under increasing financial pressure, with a substantial increase in student numbers without a corresponding rise in state funding.

The juxtaposition of papers can be illuminating, e.g. when the former Vice-Chancellor criticised for high-handedness (pp 180-81) immediately presents his own defence in his blow-by-blow account of the 1977-78 events (pp 189-93). The 1970 Act which established UDSM is criticised for its undemocratic provisions and for giving the government too much power over academic life. Kihore notes that it 'took years of hard fight,' to achieve amendments allowing the election of deans and heads of departments. One of the most telling reports is by S.L. Lwakatare, father of a student whose 'totally unjustified' expulsion in 1990, first notified by a radio announcement, proved to have been a decision taken (and later reversed) by the President himself, as Chancellor. The cause, ultimately disclosed through the parent's patient inquiry, was a scrap of paper found in rubbish in the student's room, probably mischievously planted by another student.

The main weakness of the book is the absence of any report of the deliberations at the workshop and, especially, of any conclusions reached. The Annex reports the largely predictable speeches of dignitaries at the opening of the workshop and its closing, the latter referring to the Recommendations made - of which, however, there is no trace. The book also has a slightly dated air: the papers have not been up-dated since 1996, when the Vice-Chancellor's Foreword was also written. There is no index and much closer editing was needed to reduce the numerous misprints and grammatical errors.

Jim Read

GENDER AND EDUCATION IN TANZANIAN

SCHOOLS. Eds: S J Bendera and M W Mboya. Dar es Salaam University Press. 1998.

This book covers a wide field from girls' participation in science to streaming, from violence in schools to poverty issues, all written to answer the question in Chapter 1 'Does a gender problem exist in education in Tanzania?' Stella Bendera's research clearly demonstrates the issues and sets out to offer ways forward. One of her major concerns is a lack of dialogue between the education system and the parents and she offers practical suggestions to ensure more understanding through dialogue. Other problems identified are as a result of poverty at all levels in Tanzanian society and it is less easy to see resolution here though Bendera has words of commendation for all the efforts by outside agencies to the Ministry of Education.

Chapter two gives us a fascinating insight into the impact of a western education system on the community's traditional education of young people especially girls. Conflict arises for many families because the girls are away at school at the time of puberty and unable to join traditional ceremonies. Bendera recognises the importance of traditional initiation ceremonies and counsels collaboration with elders to draw out what they feel should be imparted to pupils so that they learn to function in society. She wants to couple this with clear education about sexuality and in a society affected by HIV/Aids, messages on safe sex. She speaks eloquently of empowering girls with knowledge and skills to help them break through cultural and traditional attitudes which keep them from participating fully in the development process.

She acknowledges the conflict and quotes the example of a Tunduru parent who was jailed for six months for withdrawing his daughter from school for two months to be initiated. "I will never forget the experience in prison and I curse the headteacher for having reported my case, which I still see as no issue at all. These children have to be initiated in order to be accepted as true members of our society anyway."

It would be good to have had further illustration in the book of such incidents and to know whether more contact between this headteacher and the Tunduru parent could have led to a less dramatic consequence.

At the end of the book we are still left with a sense of two different value systems in conflict. Bendera is hopeful that if everyone keeps talking about these issues and girls and women participate in discussions, the best of both systems can help Tanzanian women move forward. In Stella Bendera they have a powerful and eloquent champion.

Judith Holland

ZANZIBAR, SLAVERY AND THE ROYAL NAVY. Kevin Patience. Zanzibar publications (suburi@hotmail.com). 108 pages.

Despite its title this latest book by Kevin Patience is only partly concerned with the suppression of the slave trade in the last quarter of the 19th century. It gives equal, if not more space, to the Royal Navy's mini expeditions into what later became Kenya Colony in support of the British East Africa Company. It also tells the familiar story of the bombardment of Zanzibar on 27th August, 1896, known as the "shortest war in history". In describing these classic examples of gunboat diplomacy, the author gives us a wealth of graphic detail with many fascinating photographs from the Zanzibar archive.

For good measure the book includes a description of the various medals awarded by the British and Zanzibar governments for these actions as well as potted biographies of the leading British dramatis personae, such as the redoubtable Sir Lloyd Matthews (Lieutenant RN at the age of 27, Brigadier General Commanding the Sultan's army at a 31). My only regret was that the author did not name the nearly 100 sailors who died in action or by illness and are buried on Grave Island but instead listed the British warships in which they served. A

recommended read for all who are interested in Zanzibar and its chequered history.

John Sankey

BAREFOOT IN THE SERENGETI. The Travel Book Club. 1984. 208 pages with 8 pages of illustrations. £8.99. plus p&p: £1.25.

BEATING ABOUT THE BUSH. Published in 2000. 291 pp. £10.99. Plus p&p: £1.25.

THE WATERS OF SANJAN. 1982. 212 pp including illustrations. Price: £8.99. Plus p & p: £1.25. P&p for two books £1.50. P&p for three books: £1.75.

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David Read, farmer, cattle dealer, and hunter, is unquestionably a leading authority on the Maasai and related tribes of East Africa, speaking fluent Maasai and several other East African dialects. He spent his formative years with the Maasai mainly on the Serengeti Plains, and has been associated with them ever since. David Read was born in Kenya at the start of the 1920s. His mother had been left on her own and eventually moved to Loliondo, an outpost on the Northern borders of the Serengeti plains, where she ran a small hotel. She later married Otto Fischer, a Czech, who ran a nearby trading store, and life improved for the family.

Here, David spent the next seven years of his boyhood, a period during which he became almost a Maasai, but for the colour of his skin. His only playmates were Maasai children. Maasai became his first language and he ran wild, unfettered by European conventions, free to roam the wide-open spaces of the Serengeti steeped in African tradition and the Maasai way of life and associating with nature and wildlife in the process. At the age of seven, his family moved to the Lupa Goldfield in the Southern Highlands, as searching for gold seemed the only way to recoup the family's finances at a time of financial depression

in the early thirties. This period of his life is covered in his first book 'Barefoot in the Serengeti'. During David's time on the Lupa, and to remedy his lack of a proper education, he was sent as a boarder to a school in Arusha. His previous lack of education and association with European youths of his own age at first proved a great handicap, but within three years he drew level with them all. During his school holidays he was able to explore the local bush life, shooting crocodiles with his elder brother on Lake Rukwa, and helping his stepfather to prospect for gold.

On leaving school, he completed his education by correspondence course, and then obtained an appointment as an apprentice metallurgist with the Geological Survey in Dodoma. This proved quite a cultural shock for him, as some of his superiors tended to take a stern view of the somewhat unorthodox style of his upbringing.

At the outbreak of World War 2 he enlisted in the Army and was posted firstly to the Kenya Regiment and then transferred to the Royal Air Force, where he underwent pilot training in Rhodesia. He then transferred back into the Army and was posted to a Tanganyika Battalion of the KAR, with whom he saw active service in Abyssinia and Madagascar. After this period of active service, he was commissioned and posted to a Uganda Battalion of The KAR. His Battalion was posted to India and Burma for further active service. At the conclusion of hostilities and on promotion, he was selected to lead the Uganda KAR detachment on The Victory Parade. Like his soldiers, he had never been to Europe before.

On his return to Tanganyika he took up a fresh appointment with the Veterinary Department, initially in Dodoma as a Livestock Marketing Officer. This proved an ideal occupation for him as, combined with an additional job as an Honorary Game Warden, he was able to not only to supervise the movement and marketing of cattle, he was free to indulge in his love of the open bush and wildlife. He also had ample opportunity to meet up with his old Maasai friends. Eventually he acquired a farm of his own on the Western slopes of

Kilimanjaro and became a leading figure in the local farming community. After Independence in 1961, his farming interests were gradually eroded and for a short time he was involved in agriculture in a consultative capacity, but he eventually returned to East Africa, where he still lives. This on-going account of his life is told in his second book: BEATING ABOUT THE BUSH. His third book is THE WATERS OF SANJAN - an historical novel of the Maasai. This novel is based around the life of a known Maasai warrior who lived at the turn of the century. The events portrayed were not unusual in the life of a warrior in those times, though some may shudder at the more violent sections. The customs and traditions mentioned are accurate and the places where events took place are real places and to date still go by the same names.

Geoffrey Cotterell

THE BOOK OF SECRETS. M. G. Vassanji. Picador, 1996. 339pp. £ 6.99.

This is a many-layered and absorbing story, set in Tanzania (and the Voi-Taveta area of Kenya) over the period from 1913 to the present day, and written by an author who was born in the Kenya Asian community but brought up in Tanzania. It shows remarkable insight and sympathy for its characters who stem from a wide range of cultures: the early British colonial administrator, the Indian merchant family, and people of the African majority with whom this long history is shared. The novel is both a family chronicle and a detective story, and Vassanji writes with conviction about human relations and the experience of exile; he is a Swahili speaker, which adds to his attraction from a British/Tanzanian point of view.

Philip Mawhood

ENGLISH SWAHILI DICTIONARY. W A Kirkeby (a Norwegian former teacher in Iringa). Kakepela Publishing Company, Dar es Salaam and Kirkeby Forlag AS, Eikekroken 30, 2020 Skedsmokoret, Norway. 1,069 pages. Prices vary from £47 in UK to Shs 30,000 in Tanzania. *(Thank you Peter White for letting us know about this - Editor).*

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

THE BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT IN TANZANIA AFTER SOCIALISM – CHALLENGES OF REFORMING BANKS, PARASTATALS, TAXATION AND THE CIVIL SERVICE. A E Temu and Jean M Due (University of Illinois). *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 38, 4 (2000) pp 683-712. Cambridge University Press.

This comprehensive and conscientious study of the development of privatisation in Tanzania indicates that although the overall impact of economic liberalism has been positive, "significant weaknesses remain", especially in the regulatory frameworks required "to prevent abuses by private enterprises". It claims that the "trickle down" of welfare to poorer sections of society has been inadequate as has the extension of financial services to smaller busines " and rural areas. The overall conclusion is that "further public investment is required, especially in health, education and infrastructure."

The argument is based largely on the failure to deliver of 'Tanzanian socialism', with public enterprises performing badly. After 1986 the government undertook broad-ranging formal economic reforms with the support of the IMF and the World Bank, by dismantling the system of state control and promoting private sector expansion, so that a more market-driven financial system began to emerge. Multi-national firms bought shares in the large and relatively profitable firms, such as brewery and cigarette companies, but most firms were running below capacity and plants were badly dilapidated and only

international capital could afford to remedy the situation.

Stressing the importance of the utilities in this transformation, the authors decided that regulation of the private sector did not receive adequate consideration. Privatised manufacturing and processing plants often "violated fair trade principles."

The inevitable result of liberisation has been the rapid increase in private sector participation in the economy, with a growth in advertising, an increase in the number of restaurants, cafes and hotels, increased competition and a broader range of alternate sources of almost every consumable. The number of private TV stations, dependent on private sector advertisements, rose from none in 1993 to seven in 1998. Over ten new daily and weekly independent newspapers were established.

Reforms in the public service succeeded in reducing the workforce, but "not much was achieved in changing the work habits and hence the efficiency of employees."

The study concludes: "Reform prescriptions by the World Bank and the IMF, though in principle inevitable for Tanzania, need not be followed blindly. But for the changes to bear fruit, institutional development both in the form of organisations and rules and by-laws needed to be established. Otherwise excesses in the private sector could easily replace inefficiencies in the public sector, especially in the case of utilities".

The study adds: "The major failure of reform to date lies in the apparent lack of tangible benefits for many of the poorer sections of society. Rectifying the failure calls for increased revenue earnings to be translated into investments in public services that will improve people's well-being, mostly in health, education and infrastructure. While the inadequacies of Tanzania's former socialist economy has been very clearly demonstrated by the achievements of the reform process, the management of an equitable and effective market economy still requires a key role for the state."

John Budge

COORDINATING HEALTH RESEARCH TO PROMOTE ACTION: THE TANZANIAN EXPERIENCE. Andrew Y Kitua, Yohana J S Mashalla, Joseph K Shija. *British Medical Journal*. 321 (7264). September 2000. 3pp.

THE PARADOX OF THE COST AND AFFORDABILITY OF TRADITIONAL AND GOVERNMENT HEALTH SERVICES IN TANZANIA. Susanna H Muela, Adiel K Mushi and Joan M Ribera. *Health Policy and Planning*. 15 (3) 7pp.

Coordination of health research activities is one of the important aims of the Tanzanian Health Research Forum launched by the Minister of Health in February 1999. The Forum has been set up with laudable aims to use research resources effectively. It not only promotes and coordinates research but also enhances the use of health research results for planning policy and decision making.

The Forum includes 20 member institutions from research, the ministries of health, education and community development, women's affairs and children. Encouraging progress has been made developing partnership between institutions and for the first time national health research priorities have been drawn up and national health and social problems identified.

Two disease eradication programmes are compared in the first of these two papers to illustrate the value of coordinating their implementation at a national level. The onchocerciasis and malaria programmes were both given global, regional and national commitment with political backing and financial and technical resources. The onchocerciasis programme has been a success but the malaria programme has had difficulties with some countries failing to coordinate the resources effectively. The essential elements for putting research into action are being developed by the Tanzanian Health Research Forum. It is working with the scientific community, the Population Services International Social Marketing Group and other partners in the production and distribution of bed nets and the promotion of

their use, in the prevention of malaria. At the international summit on Malaria in the year 2000 over 50 African heads of state signed a pledge to halve Africa's malaria deaths by the year 2010 and the main focus of the control programme is the use of bed nets that have been treated with insecticide. Research demonstrates their value but the implementation of their production and use requires the essential coordinating role of the Tanzanian Health Research Forum.

An understanding of the dynamics of cross cultural health care is considered in the second article to throw light on the ability or the willingness of people to pay for biomedical health care or traditional medicine. It is the type of illness that often defines the sector of health care the individual uses. Also the social network for financial help with the payment for treatment varies depending on whether biomedical health care or traditional medicine is chosen.

The article is based on a study of field observations of lay people's perspectives of malaria and its treatment and a second study (Munjinja et al 1997) on the impact of a cost sharing system done at St Francis Designated District Hospital in Ifakara.

It was found that people define two types of illness. 'Normal illness' is the one group and includes such conditions as malaria, schistosomiasis and diarrhoeal diseases. The other is 'out of the order' illness and includes afflictions such as barrenness, impotence, mental and chronic disorders. People believe that 'normal' illness is best treated by biomedical methods whereas 'out of order' diseases are the domain of traditional healers who have the skills to enter into contact with the invisible world.

Treatment for normal illnesses is usually paid for by the individual or by the immediate family circle. Hospital care is paid for before treatment is started in cash and the fees are fixed. Treatment for 'out of order' illnesses leads to a much broader social involvement. The traditional healer will involve an extended kin group who will be urged by the elders to participate in the treatment process and to assist financially.

Payment will be during treatment or after recovery and will be negotiable according to wealth status. Also the payment may be in kind, in cash or on a credit basis.

Affordability studies need to consider the social networks contributing to a patients care and who ultimately pays for the treatment whether biomedical or traditional. Social and financial support within the community varies significantly depending on the type of health care chosen by the individual.

Peter Christie

COST EFFECTIVENESS OF VOLUNTARY HIV1 COUNSELLING AND TESTING IN REDUCING SEXUAL TRANSMISSION OF HIV1 IN KENYA AND TANZANIA.

Michael Sweat and seven others. *The Lancet*. Volume 356. July 2000. 8 pages.

The authors of this impressive paper estimated cost effectiveness for a hypothetical cohort of 10,000 people seeking counselling in urban East Africa and concluded that HIV1 voluntary counselling was highly cost-effective in urban East African settings but slightly less so than interventions such as improvement of sexually transmitted disease services and universal provision of nevirapine to pregnant women in high prevalence settings.

ZANZIBAR: DEMOCRACY ON SHAKY FOUNDATIONS.

Article 19. 49 pp. 2000. £5.99.
This is a report on restrictions on freedom of expression and other fundamental freedoms in Zanzibar and the impact of these on the credibility of the October 2000 elections.

COMPLEMENTARY WATER SYSTEMS IN DAR ES SALAAM: the case of water vending.

Marianne Kjellen. *Water Resources Development*, Vol.16, No.1 (2000), pp.143-54
Whilst water vending may to the casual observer be considered a somewhat marginal occupation, it is actually an activity which

is central to the daily life of a large proportion of Dar es Salaam's population; it is also one of the oldest means of generating an income in the town. In the course of this short article Marianne Kjellen, a human geographer based at Stockholm University, insight is gained not only into the (hard) lives of the vendors (and to a lesser extent their customers), but also some of the strains arising from rapid urbanisation in developing countries. The inability of public utilities to provide secure water provision to Dar es Salaam households (in 1991 it was estimated that 45% of the urban population had no access to running water) leads to economic opportunities for resourceful urbanites. Amongst those fortunate enough to have connections to the water mains (whether legal [30%] or illegal [29%]), some use it as a handy source of additional income by re-selling mains water to vendors. For the vendors themselves, however, generating an income is far less easy. Whilst periods of water shortage (which of course periodically occur in Dar es Salaam) can lead to increased profits; more usually estimated average monthly earnings work out at a penurious Shs.24,000, Shs.6,000 less than the official minimum wage. When taking into account job insecurity (demand for water is variable), along with the dangers associated with the work (vendors are often involved in road accidents), and its physically demanding nature, this is indeed a pittance. In order to earn even this modest amount vendors have to charge consumers ten to twenty times the price for which the water is bought. This means that their customers – often amongst the poorest town-dwellers – pay on average around Shs 5 per litre. By contrast, those connected to the mains – who tend to live in the more affluent, better serviced areas – pay just Shs 0.3 per litre. Kjellen concludes that, as long as the extension of piped water services to all urban communities remains beyond the capacity and resources of the public utility, then improved access for vendors should be prioritised, as a result of which consumer costs would be reduced and the valuable service the vendors provide to the urban poor facilitated.

This accessible, well researched and written article deserves a wider readership than its publication in a specialist journal suggest it may attract. However, a longer Swahili version (with photographs) is available in booklet form, entitled *Uuzaji wa maji katika jiji la Dar es Salaam* (pub. date February 2000, ISSN 1404-6784), from the Environmental and Development Studies Unit, Stockholm University.

Andrew Burton

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FINANCIAL DEEPENING AND ECONOMIC GROWTH IN TANZANIA. O A Akinboade, University of South Africa. *Journal of International Development*. Vol. 12. 2000. 11 pages.

The ratio of bank deposit liability to nominal gross national product was used in this study as a measure of financial deepening and modelled for relationship with real per capita income. The results suggested that financial deepening and economic growth were independent in Tanzania.

THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION IN TANZANIA. Eds: J C J Galabawa, F E M K Senkoro and AFL Lwaitiama. Faculty of Education, University of Dar es Salaam. This book gives the results of a conference in Arusha in March 1997.

REFLECTIONS ON LEADERSHIP IN AFRICA FORTY YEAR AFTER INDEPENDENCE. ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF MWALIMU NYERERE ON THE OCCASION OF HIS 75TH BIRTHDAY. Ed: Haroub Othman. VUB University Press (Belgium) and Institute of Development Studies, University of Dar es Salaam. September 2000. This book has 13 papers, six of them by Tanzanians.

'PEPO' AS AN INNER HEALING FORCE. PRACTICES OF A FEMALE SPIRITUAL HEALER IN TANZANIA.
Jessica Erdstsieck. Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam and University Press, Tanzania.

John Mbonde, reviewed this book in the Dar es Salaam Sunday Observer on 22nd October 2000 and explained how there were five main chapters: 'Nambela, the healer' (based on the author's own account of her illnesses); diagnostic sessions in her healing practice by means of divination (including Nambela's attitude to the client); singing sessions (group therapy through daily rhythmic singing); plants and the aetiology of disease; and, the issue of spiritual forces (the exposure of 'pepo' both in illness and therapy). The author of the book observes that in modern Tanzania people's pursuit of health and healing usually takes place at the interface between cosmopolitan clinical medicine and a variety of alternatives - self-medication, intra-family treatment and the services of such African specialists as midwives, diviners, herbalists, priest-healers and ritualists. The component of spiritual healing plays an important role in traditional medicine. She says that, although socially and politically cosmopolitan medicine is widely accepted in Africa, and it dominates the conventional healthcare system, cognitively, indigenous medicine still has the upper hand. She believes that chronic diseases, psychosomatic and psychiatric disorders, which usually last a long time and require personal attention, have remained predominantly the field of traditional healers.

LETTERS

BIBI TITI

I was saddened to read of the death of Bibi Titi Mohamed (Tanzanian Affairs No 68). I recall a visit she made to Mbeya in 1958 or '59. Several thousand Wasafwa/Wanyakusa greeted her

ecstatically with the ritual roar : "*Bibi Titi, Mwenye Kiti; Bibi Titi Mwenye Kiti ...*" while she hoisted her imposing figure on to the platform. Dressed in what seemed to be a large, black tent, she acknowledged the acclamation. Then she went into her act, her vocal chords big as her stomach, she had no need of loud hailers. "The white Queenie over the seas" she proclaimed, "robs us through her underlings here, arse-lickers who send our money back to the Queenie. Who are these mobsters ?" she asked; then answered her question by pointing a podgy finger straight at me, the solitary Mzungu standing on the edge of the crowd "He's one of them". Several thousand black heads turned to focus on me. Whereupon Bibi Titi's indictment seemed so absurd that the great throng, Bibi Titi and myself as well, fell about laughing and dancing. A formidable lady indeed.

Tim Hardy

SCHOOL FEES

I much enjoyed the recent issue of *Tanzanian Affairs*, one of the best I remember. It was good to get your first-hand comments on the elections, specially relevant in the light of the recent unrest. Could I please be sent an extra copy of this issue for my son in Zanzibar? I was also heartened to read the pages about the 'economic miracle' - initially at least, until continuing contacts with Tanzanians made me ask again the question I asked on my visit last summer: 'What is there for ordinary Tanzanians in this economic revival?'

One of those ordinary Tanzanians, an old friend of ours now living in Morogoro, tells me her son has just gained entry to Secondary School in Mbeya. The first term fees are Shs. 120,000 plus uniform and various other items amounting to a further Shs 50,000. She tells me she is going back to her home area (Ugogo) to grow groundnuts and sell them at the roadside. She knows how crucial her son's education is for the family's

future. So we were glad to help - but it is still not enough. He needs a further Shs 53,500 for textbooks plus Shs 110,400 for more clothing, a mattress and bus fares. The total is about £300 for just the first term. My friend can manage it through us, but there are thousands that can't. How relevant in the context of real life are the 'internet cafes... surfers learning about the outside world, chatting with relatives in Europe or hawking curios to Hong Kong' (Economist)? Frankly, I'd rather have the Economist's old criticisms than its new praises for amenities which make sense only in terms of Western lifestyles. It has still never recognised the enormous achievements of literacy, Universal Primary Education and free education at secondary and tertiary level. To assess Tanzania by Western criteria always was a futile exercise. There are a number of questions that come to mind:

- We know Jubilee 2000's magnificent campaign has reduced Tanzania's debt burden somewhat, but these funds are supposed to be spent on health and education for the poor. Can we expect IMF and World Bank to demand free education, as Mwalimu did on principle, for those who are too poor to take advantage of their academic success? I fear that at worst they will just want to foster trade and at best will just pay school teachers more (fully deserved but of little help to poor families).

- What long-term future can Tanzania have if the creation of educational opportunities for all is not a top priority? The present level of school fees is suicidal for the nation, not just for poor families. What are the prospects of reverting to Mwalimu's vision for education?

- Building up hopes for those who work hard and then frustrating them is a sure recipe for future unrest (hitherto absent from Tanzania) and will open the door to graft and corruption. I am told by other Tanzanians that my friend's plight is normal today. Could you please give some publicity to this reality and to the facts of education in your next issue, so that readers

realise that these glowing international assessments (which initially make us Tanzaniophiles so proud) relate more to cloud cuckoo land than to the lives of typical Tanzanians?

Roger Bowen

SOIL AND WATER CONSERVATION

Thank you for the latest issue of *Tanzanian Affairs*.... I have a distant Tanzania connection. I was two years at the Kongwa School; my sisters were at Mbeya and Iringa schools while I was at school in England. My parents worked in Tanganyika/Tanzania from 1951 to 1960. I would be interested in appealing to your readers for accounts of work in soil or water conservation in the country focusing on techniques used, successes, failures and reasons.

Fiona Armstrong (*Please send responses to the Editor*)

Dr Andrew Burton, Assistant Director of the British Institute in Eastern Africa has written to say that he has noted with horror that in his review of the book on Peri-Urban Development in Dar es Salaam (TA No. 67) he had referred to the authors of the book as Davis and Mwamfupe (instead of Biggs and Mwamfupe). Apologies – Editor.

In response to the letter from Catherine Lee (TA No 67) Peter White has sent us a list he has compiled of some 120 organisations (with addresses in the UK or Ireland) which are involved in Tanzania. He says that he would welcome information about omissions or correction. Copies are available (please enclose a 50p stamp) from him at 25, Lombardy Drive, Maidstone ME 14 5TA - Editor.