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FREE AND FAIR BY-ELECTIONS:

The Mainland – CCM WINS

Pemba – CUF WINS

OPPOSITION COALITION

INDIGENISATION (Uzawa)

TANZANIA IN THE INTERNATIONAL MEDIA

SETTING THE STAGE ON FIRE

CUF DOMINATES IN FREE AND FAIR BY-ELECTIONS IN PEMBA

CCM REMAINS DOMINANT ON THE MAINLAND

By-elections for 36 seats in the National Assembly and the Zanzibar House of Representatives on May 18 gave some very clear indications as to the present strength of the two main political parties in Tanzania and what might happen in the next general elections due in 2005.

By winning comfortably in four by-elections on the mainland the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) party indicated that it is still in command of the political scene. The opposition is still way behind in popular support. President Mkapa retains his popularity and many will be sorry to see him go when his second term ends in 2005. He cannot stand for a third term.

But in the Zanzibar island of Pemba the results were spectacular. Voters overwhelmingly demonstrated their support for Tanzania's main opposition party, the Civic United Front (CUF). The Commonwealth Observer team, whose predecessors in the general election in 2000 described that election as being 'in many places a shambles.... a colossal contempt for ordinary Zanzibar people and their aspirations for democracy' this time praised the elections as being credible in terms of transparency, electoral management and the overwhelming turnout of voters. 107,074 people registered to vote out of an estimated 140,000 eligible and in the elections themselves a remarkable 93% of those registered turned out to vote. The Commonwealth observers were full of praise for the newly reformed Zanzibar Electoral Commission and its conduct of the elections.

CUF won all 15 Zanzibar seats in the Union parliament and 11 out of the 17 seats in the House of Representatives. It should have won all of the latter as well. However, the CUF candidates were barred in six seats after the NCCR-Mageuzi, a relatively insignificant opposition party, cited a section of the Zanzibar constitution that bans any MP who has been dismissed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives (for failing to attend three consecutive sessions) from seeking re-election for three years. The six were among the 17 elected CUF MP's who boycotted the House to protest against the alleged rigging of the 2000 general election. Most of the electorate in the

six seats responded to the barring of the CUF candidates by spoiling their ballots rather than vote for CCM. In Chake Chake, for example, out of 5,910 votes cast, 4,385 were spoilt. NCCR got 183 votes. The six seats were however won by CCM but its best winner scored just 23% of the votes cast.

CUF Chairman Prof. Ibrahim Lipumba commented: "If we want any evidence that CCM stole the 2000 elections the result in the Mkanganyeni constituency is it" (a view contested by CCM). This was a seat won by CCM's Dr Ali Mohamed Shein in 2000, who later had to vacate the seat when he became Vice-President of Tanzania. This time the CUF candidate took the seat comfortably with 66% of the vote.

The elections marked an important development in the implementation of the "*Muafaka*", an agreement signed between CUF and the CCM, after post-election protests turned violent in 2001 and led to the death of some 40 CUF supporters at the hands of the police.

Following these by-elections it seems that in 2005 CCM can look forward again to success on the mainland. But for it to win in the Isles, if the election is free and fair, will be something of a struggle. CUF needs to win only a few seats on the sister Zanzibar island of Unguja to win control of the Zanzibar House of Assembly and probably the presidency of Zanzibar as well.

MAINLAND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

According to a Statehouse press statement on August 24, President Mkapa has been suffering from arthritis for the last few weeks and has been attending physiotherapy exercises. The President went to the airport to welcome only two of the 14 heads of states and Governments who arrived for the first SADC summit to be held in Tanzania on August 25 and 26. Vice President Ali Mohamed Shein, Prime Minister Sumaye and other senior ministers received the other foreign dignitaries – *Nipashe*.

OPPOSITION COALITION

The Guardian has reported that the major opposition parties reached an agreement on August 23 to harmonise their relations and reinforce unity as part of the preparations for the 2005 elections.

But then CHADEMA announced that it would field its own presidential candidate in 2005. In the 2000 elections CHADEMA supported CUF's candidate for president. Then a member of the East African Legislature from the NCCR-Mageuzi party, Mabere Marando, sprang a surprise on his fellow party members by praising the CHADEMA party and promising to help it by contributing funds. Thereupon NCCR National Executive Committee Member and Regional Secretary for Iringa, Eliud Mvella, told the press that Marando would be expelled and would lose his seat in the EA legislature.

OPPOSITION MAMES SHADOW CABINET

MP's in the newly expanded 34-member opposition camp in the National Assembly in Dodoma have joined together to appoint a shadow cabinet.

This followed the expulsion of two United Democratic Party (UDP) MP's following internal clashes. The two lost their seats when they were expelled after trying to dislodge the founder of the party John Cheyo. Another legislator, Zamda Bozeni, who had been suspended by CUF also returned to the fold after winning a case against the party in court.

Wilfred Lwakatare (Bukoba Urban - CUF), is the new leader of the opposition camp taking over from Dr Walid Kabourou (CHADEMA) who had been suspended by the Speaker of the Assembly. The Deputy leader is Isaac Cheyo (Bariadi West - UDP) and the Chief Whip is Thomas Ngawaiya (Moshi Rural - TLP). Philemon Ndesamburo (CHADEMA) represents Tourism and Natural Resources but almost all the other cabinet members come from the increased number of CUF MP's following the by-elections.

ELIMINATION OF SMALL PARTIES

It is understood that political parties that fail to get 3% of the national vote may be de-registered according to a Bill to be presented to parliament in October. Registrar of Political Parties John Tendwa said the aim was to 'minimize parties that are there in book form only but have failed to conduct even one political rally or meeting since they were registered ten years ago.'

SOME MP'S NOW WANT PRIVATE CANDIDATES

Some MP's are requesting the Government to consider the issue of introducing private candidates without party affiliations in local and general elections. Under existing rules private candidates are not allowed. Prominent

lawyer and CCM advisor Masumbuko Lamwai has said that the time has come for constitutional changes to accommodate private candidates. Responding, while presenting his ministry's expenditure estimates for 2003/2004, Justice and Constitutional Matters Minister Bakari Mwapachu said the Government had prepared proposals for constitutional changes and would hand them to parliament later for more scrutiny – *Majira*.

CUF PARLIAMENTARIAN ARRESTED

As this issue of TA went to the printers it was reported in *Majira* that Bukoba Urban CUF MP Wilfred Lwakatare was in police custody following disturbances caused by CUF members demonstrating in Bukoba town. Prior to the arrests police had used tear gas and live ammunition to disperse the CUF members. He said police permitted CUF to hold the rally but party followers became unruly and used stones to break windscreens of cars, including a police car.

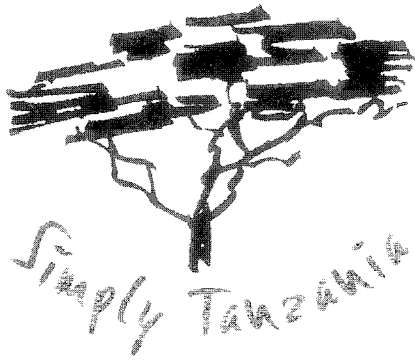
ZIMBABWE

The opposition Shadow Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation, Khalifa Suleiman Khalifa, has criticised the Tanzania Government's support of President Mugabe of Zimbabwe, saying it was not fair for Tanzania to identify itself with people who opposed 'the wind of democracy which was sweeping across Africa.' He attributed the Mugabe problem to the trend towards overstaying in power and called on other African leaders to take Zimbabwe as a warning. Khalifa commended Presidents Benjamin Mkapa and Joaquim Chissano (of Mozambique) for their unflinching decision to retire when their time was due.

OTHER DEVELOPMENTS IN ZANZIBAR

TWO NEW PARTIES

Two new political parties have been registered in Zanzibar bringing the total number of parties in Tanzania to 18. They are 'Solidarity of Force 3' (SOFT) and 'SAFINA'. The leaders of both parties originally belonged to CUF before



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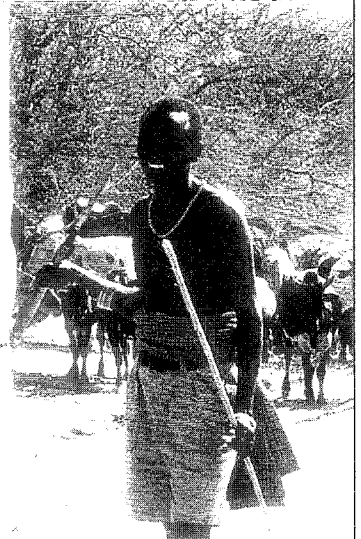
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defecting to CCM. Both parties have said that they want to guide Zanzibar to a 'new beginning' and that CCM is out of touch.

DIVISION WITHIN CCM?

On July 18 the Swahili press reported that prominent Zanzibar businessman Mohamed Raza, who was Sports Advisor to former CCM Zanzibar President Salmin Amour, had said that the ruling CCM party in the Isles was now split into two groups. He said that one group was currently in power while the other represented those who were previously in power during President Amour's time. He said the situation was becoming critical and that if elections were held in the islands today the opposition CUF would win. CCM leaders reacted by saying that Raza was ignorant in politics and also on the constitutions of the CCM and of Zanzibar. Deputy CCM Secretary General, Zanzibar, Saleh Ramadhani Feruzi said that Raza had always been an impatient person and denied his allegations that CCM Zanzibar was mistreating former President Amour and that the party was divided.

Some observers however began putting two and two together and coming to the conclusion that at least one of the two new parties referred to above might comprise dissident CCM members.

SPECIAL PARLIAMENTARY SEATS

There has been some controversy about the two special (nominated) Zanzibar House of Assembly seats, which, under the constitution, are granted by the Isles presidency, to the opposition. President Karume hesitated for some time before awarding one to CUF but seemed to hold out in the case of the second. Some of the very small parties in Zanzibar had been carrying out a vociferous campaign demanding that they should be awarded the other seat. A decision is awaited.

POLICE QUESTIONING

CUF National Chairman Professor Ibrahim Lipumba was questioned by police for three hours on July 25 as was the party's Deputy Secretary General, Juma Duni Haji. The questioning was said to be in connection with speeches made at a CUF rally. Duni was quoted as having admitted he received a letter from Senior Assistant Commissioner of Police Ramadhani Kinyogo calling on him to report at Police headquarters in Zanzibar. He said

reasons for the summons was not revealed but that he suspected it had something to do with the recent remarks made by Professor Lipumba at the Zanzibar rally. He admitted that remarks annoying to the Government were made at the meeting, adding that they would continue making them. Later the Police said it was satisfied by explanations and answers given by Professor Lipumba but added that should there be any eruption of violence they would take legal measures against him – *Mtanzania*.

SECURITY

Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation Jakaya Kikwete has that said Tanzania would continue the fight against terrorism in collaboration with the United Nations. Presenting his ministry's expenditure estimates for the 2003/2004 financial year to parliament he said that Tanzania would not support measures taken unilaterally outside the UN. He said Tanzania did not and would not support the US and British invasion of Iraq because they did not get a UN mandate. Kikwete complained that, although Tanzania was fully collaborating with Britain and the US in fighting terrorism, the two nations were issuing travel alerts about the danger of visiting the country. This was harming Tanzania's the economy in the process - *Nipashe*

Security was stepped up at the Dar Es Salaam International Airport after State Minister in the Vice President's Office (Poverty Eradication) Edgar Maokola-Majogo was found in New Delhi, India with a bullet in his bag. Maokola-Majogo had passed through the Dar airport without detection of the bullet by the electronic surveillance equipment installed there. A *Majira* reporter witnessed security agents at the airport inspecting everyone. Airport Director Ms Faraja Makasi said the incident was just a normal technical problem which could happen anywhere and that was why even Zurich airport security systems couldn't detect the bullet either. She said airport employees were undergoing further training on security matters.

Sokoine University of Agriculture (SUA) experts, in collaboration with Belgian scientists, are training rats for use in bomb disposals. The SUA

experts said that the rats had proved to be efficient and better than dogs. They could detect buried land mines – *Mwananchi*.

BUSINESS AND THE ECONOMY

Speaking about the present state of the economy recently President Mkapa said that the unanimous endorsement of this financial year's budget by Members of Parliament was a clear indication that the Government was determined to remove major problems that were an obstacle to economic growth. "Nuisance taxes, including development levy, which was really a kind of poll tax, have been removed to enable more Tanzanians to participate and contribute meaningfully to the country's development process," he said. On regional economic integration, the President challenged Tanzanians to be open minded and adopt positive attitudes towards the market economy, adding that highly skilled and experienced manpower as well as a strong capital base were a prerequisite for any country to enter into economic integration competitively..... "Some Tanzanians are still pre-occupied with the mind-set of a closed and controlled economic system" he said. "I would like to advise such people that that era is long gone and they should instead realise that regional economic integration is inevitable and we should be prepared to play an active role lest we be left behind while our neighbours progress."

The Government has been under sustained attack in parliament and elsewhere over the performance of the Parastatal Sector Reform Commission (PSRC). Some MPs demanded to see all the contracts that the PSRC had entered into for the sale of parastatals. Minister of State (President's Office) Planning and Privatisation, Dr Abdallah Kigoda, assured Parliament that the activities of the PSRC would be evaluated.

President Mkapa opened the new \$30 million 970-metre-long Rufiji Bridge on August 2nd. It was described in the Guardian as possibly the best and longest overpass in the East and Central African region. It is expected to greatly ease the chronic transport problems in the southern regions of Tanzania. CCM efforts to make the ceremony into a CCM occasion were frustrated by CUF supporters who pulled down CCM flags.

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Opposition has been growing to the continued heavy payments being made by the Government to Independent Power Tanzania Ltd (IPTL) – *see Tanzanian Affairs No 75*. Business News reported on July 25 that the Parliamentary Sectoral Committee on Investment and Trade had described the monthly bill of 2.5bn/-, which TANESCO pays to IPTL, as economic sabotage and had demanded disciplinary action against those involved in signing the contract. Opposition spokesman for the ministry, Issac Cheyo (Bariadi East - UDP) asked what disciplinary measures had been taken by the Government against the officials who signed the IPTL contract. On August 14 the Guardian reported that IPTL, the thermal power generation plant in Dar es Salaam, was to be converted into a gas firing plant. The government announced the setting up of a commission to study conversion of the plant which had begun commercial operation in January last year. IPTL sells electricity to TANESCO under the terms of a 20-year power purchase agreement. The Government said it had secured a credit from the International Development Association (IDA) and intended to apply part of the proceeds of the credit to finance the conversion study which is expected to start in December and last for one and a half months. The major source of Tanzania's electricity is from hydro power plants. However, because of incessant drought associated with power rationing, inviting the private sector to engage in power generation was seen as one way of getting rid of the problem.

TANESCO's tough new South African management took the drastic step of cutting off power to Zanzibar for three hours one day in July and vowed to continue cutting power to the islands if power bills were not settled. TANESCO Director General Rudy Huysen said power was restored after Tshs. 174 million was paid by the Zanzibar Fuel and Power Corporation (ZFPC) as part of its monthly bill of about Tsh. 419 million.

The construction of the Songo Songo natural gas pipeline, which is likely to greatly improve the power supply situation in Tanzania, is proceeding apace and is scheduled for completion in May next year. However, the media report that local job seekers, who were hoping to secure jobs with the company undertaking the project, have been expressing anger that the contractor had hired foreigners, mostly Indians, for menial jobs which could be done by locals.

Tanzania Breweries Limited (TBL) has said that the company is experiencing about 20 – 30 per cent decline in sales following Dar Es Salaam Regional Commissioner Yusufu Makamba's order for bars to close at 11.00pm. TBL Public Relations Manager Aggrey Marealle said that about 20,000 bar attendants had lost their jobs in the 4,000 bars and other alcohol outlets officially registered in Dar Es Salaam. He told the press that it was most likely the Government would suffer in revenue collections following the beer sales decline. He said that on average bar owners who were selling about 15 crates of beer a day were now selling about eight. He agreed that there was a 1968 law prohibiting drinking after 11.00pm but said that times had changed, which made the law redundant. The law was passed when the main economic activity was agriculture but today a variety of activities were performed in the urban areas. He said Dar Es Salaam alone accounted for 40% of all commercial activities and that any hitches in the way commerce was conducted in the city would have grave economic consequences – *Mwananchi*.

INDIGENISATION (*uzawa*)

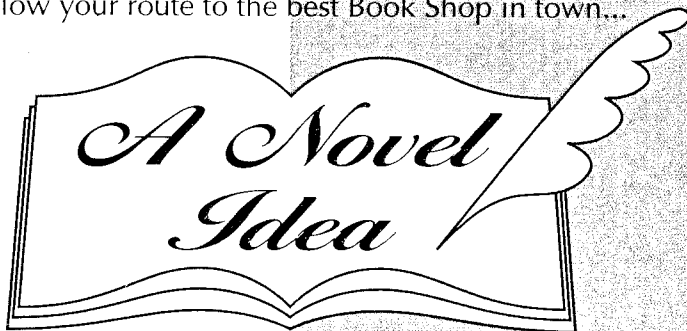
Ilala MP and former cabinet minister Iddi Simba (who also has a seat on the CCM National Executive Committee (NEC), has reignited the debate on the sensitive and delicate issue of indigenisation in Tanzania. He has published a book on the subject which has stirred up considerable controversy. He believes that indigenous Tanzanians, as distinct from Asian Tanzanians, should be favoured under government economic policies. He was immediately accused of racism. However, on page 16 of the book he writes: "The process of indigenisation of Tanzania, and whatever means which the Government and civil society may devise to empower the disadvantaged groups, will be borne from a sense of common logic and benevolence, not racism.... He said that during the colonial period indigenous populations were marginalized and were not on an equal footing with other races, a problem he is determined to solve.

THE BACKGROUND

Summarising the background, Evarist Kagaruki, writing in *The Express* (July 3) pointed out that the debate initially emerged in the early 1990s following the commencement of the process of privatisation in the country.

Extracts: 'In essence, the debate hinged on the modalities of divestiture of public corporations. It precipitated an impassioned plea for Tanzanians of African origin (the indigenous nationals, or "*Wazawa*" in Kiswahili) to be afforded first priority and to be financially enabled to acquire ownership of the enterprises being privatized. Coincidentally, privatisation began at the same time that the country was introducing multiparty politics. So, it was not surprising at all to see the issue of the indigenisation of the economy forming part of the political agenda of the main political parties. As we approached the first multiparty elections (in 1995) the debate on the issue of indigenisation became rather heated, frenzied and emotional, with some arguments reflecting strong feelings of racial hate and bias. At the centre was imbalance in wealth between African-Tanzanians and Tanzanians of Asian

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(Indian) origin, which indigenisation was 'supposed' to rectify.Simba has been one of the staunchest proponents of indigenization and has been consistent, forceful and candid in his views on the issue, and some of his arguments are intellectually persuasive. Whether one agrees with him or not, the fact remains that the man deserves credit for staying committed to his beliefs....However, Simba's crusade for the indigenisation of the economy may be a wild-goose chase. He is pursuing a concept which is not acceptable to the ruling party, CCM, of which he is a senior member, with a rare seat on the Central Committee. The party has dissociated itself from his postulations about indigenisation, saying very categorically that the concept had never been part of its political philosophy! Strong opponents of that concept, in and outside the CCM, think that the logic of looking at the problem of the economic disparities between the rich and poor in our society in terms of the divisions between the races was perverted and carries with it the poisonous seeds of racial hatred, social tensions, disharmony and national disintegration. The Father of our Nation, the late Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, was perhaps the most outspoken opponent of indigenisation. He called it a 'racial play' and never hid his indignation about it. He cautioned that "when you start to sell these parastatals to a few people that you call 'African-Tanzanians' and hail such Africanisation, you will soon discover that Africanisation is not monolithic, but rather also balkanised; it has in it Christians and Muslims; in Christians there are Lutherans, Catholics and Anglicans. And in Muslims there are Sunnis, Shia, and Khoja. You will promote social divisions which do not exist today". Certainly, Mwalimu Nyerere was right, and he is vindicated by history.'

CCM AND THE OPPOSITION

The ruling CCM party reacted quickly to Simba's book and issued a statement banning the use of the concept of *Uzawa* within the party on the grounds that it had racist connotations.

A number of academics and politicians from the opposition then strongly criticised the CCM statement. Opposition leader in parliament, Wilfred Lwakatare, said that by banning discussion CCM was running away from its own shadow. NCCR Chairman James Mbatia and CHADEMA Chairman Bob Makani supported the policy saying the large majority of Tanzanians

who were sidelined by colonial masters must be empowered in order to rectify the injustices done over the years.

President Mkapa reiterated CCM's stand on *uzawa* insisting that the ruling party's policy was geared towards empowerment of all Tanzanians economically regardless of race or origin. The *uzawa* attitude could fuel unnecessary hatred by segregating certain segments of the Tanzanian people.

Nipashe has reported a possible split in the CCM party between those who support the policy and those who are closer to the national leadership who oppose it. The paper said that those who oppose it mostly want to sideline former Commerce Minister Iddi Simba who is leading the struggle for *uzawa*.

SHIFTING THE EMPHASIS

On August 13 Iddi Simba said he still stood by his concept of indigenisation, but wanted to shift the emphasis to indigenous Tanzanian (*Watanzania asili*) rather than African Tanzanians (*wazawa*). A policy for protecting the economic interests of indigenous Tanzanians was yet to come out. He also said that Tanzania, being a member of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), would also fall under the proposed SADC customs union, but no preparations for protecting the economic rights of poor Tanzanians had been made. "Under the customs unions we will be talking about a free labour market meaning that our hawkers (*machinga*), food vendors (*mamalische*), clerks and other labourers will have to compete on an equal footing with foreigners looking for the same jobs," he said.

FORMER PRESIDENT IN SUPPORT

Former President Mwinyi, then entered the debate by reiterating his concept of *rukxa* (liberal thinking). Addressing young parliamentarians he was cheered when he urged them to spearhead the debates on youth participation in the development process. "I am saying you are free to grow. All youths are free to debate on this issue in whatever place in the country". The former President was followed at the meeting by Iddi Simba who said in 15 years to come he and former President Mwinyi would not be around to advise and, if they would be, then they wouldn't be strong enough to call the shots.

50- years ago

The following extracts are taken from the Tanganyika Standard in 1953:

11th July.

His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar has returned from his visit to the coronation of Queen Elizabeth in London. As his yacht drew alongside the harbour, a large crowd composed of members of all communities gave him a big welcome..... under his inspired leadership there is probably no more contented community than that to be found in Zanzibar. (*The Zanzibar revolution took place three years later - Ed*).

19th September.

The latest census of the non-native population gives the following figures - Europeans 10,648, Indians 44,248, Arabs 11,074, Goans 2,000 and others 2,184. Nearly all Europeans describe themselves as Christians except for 276 Jews, 'heathens' or 'not stated'. Of the total non-European population, Islam represented 23%, Hindus 24%, Shia Ismaili Khoja 22%, Roman Catholics 7.7% per cent, Anglicans 6%, Sikhs 2% and Greek Orthodox 1.7%.

31st October.

Tanganyika may introduce L-plates for learner drivers. At present learners are restricted to unfrequented roads but a Bill to be presented to the Legislative Council will change this.

26th December.

Hundreds of Tanganyika police joined in a large-scale operation at dawn on Wednesday in an effort to curb the growing Mau Mau movement among the 8,000 Kikuyu living in the Northern Province. This followed the surprise arrival in Arusha of the Governor, Sir Edward Twining. From positions taken up during the night outside Kikuyu settlements within a 100 mile radius of Arusha, the police arrived to arrest a carefully prepared blacklist of some 138 suspects. The Chagga Council in Moshi had earlier expressed its concern about the Mau Mau threat and the Waarusha Council has petitioned the Government on similar lines.

PREVENTION OF CORRUPTION

The Guardian reported on July 2 that the Prevention of Corruption Bureau (PCB) was investigating Prime Minister Frederick Sumaye to determine if he had been involved in corruption. This followed allegations of corruption leveled by Democratic Party (DP) chairman Reverend Christopher Mtikila. However, State Minister in the President's Office (Good Governance) Wilson Masilingi told parliament that allegations leveled against the Prime Minister were not sufficient to make him resign. He said that if such flimsy accusations were taken seriously then the whole cabinet could be asked to resign as Mtikila could keep on asking for resignations in order to give the investigating body freedom to work on any allegations he made. He asked the parliamentarians to use their constitutional right to impeach the Prime Minister if they thought they had sufficient evidence. Masilingi gave one example to prove Sumaye's innocence saying claims that he had shares in 'Africa One' airline had been proved untrue.

On August 7 *Rai* reported that the Government had ordered the PCB to stop investigating the PM. The paper quoted 'reliable reports' as saying that the order was from high up the leadership hierarchy on grounds that Mtikila's allegations were too political and lacked truth.

The Guardian reported that on August 6 President Mkapa had 'blasted corrupt academicians and researchers who produced half-cooked research findings to please the donors financing their work. In a speech to the 'Southern African Forum Against Corruption', the President said that like political corruption, intellectual corruption was more dangerous than other forms such as bureaucratic corruption. "We have academics and researchers who produce research findings or evaluation reports to the tune picked by the payer. And sometimes government decisions, in either donor or aid-receiving countries, are based on such research findings or evaluation reports.....Plagiarism in academic life, half-truths in the media, selective presentation and extrapolation of facts, are all in the broader realm of corruption. And what is worse is that they corrupt the mind," he said.

Meanwhile, the PCB has uncovered a tax evasion scam of 47.3bn/- committed by giant oil marketing companies between 1996 and 1997 who had avoided paying duties and plunged the government into a massive revenue loss amounting to about 83.3bn/-.

The PCB also revealed huge tax evasion amounting to billions of shillings involving dubious importation, mainly from Kenya, of *khanga & vitenge*, tyres, cooking oil, and dry cells (batteries). Through either non-declaration or using fake documents, the Government had lost some Shs 10 billion. The Tanzania revenue Authority (TRA) and the Kenya Revenue Authority were working together to curb tax evasion resulting from undeclared goods passing through their common borders - Guardian.

After the new managers of TANESCO on July 22, disconnected power supplies to the whole of Zanzibar - *see above* - a shadow opposition minister in the Zanzibar House of Assembly complained that Zanzibar was part of the Union and that TANESCO should not have taken the drastic step of disconnecting power and the Minister should apologise. "TANESCO should concede that they are wrong. They had many alternatives to remind Zanzibar to settle its dues. And Union leaders should have criticised the power authority for its hasty decision," she said. Minister Yona replied that the TANESCO management had the right to collect debts and nobody would be spared.

For 12 years Dar es Salaam businessman Devram Valambhia has been locked in a legal wrangle with the Bank of Tanzania over the payment of Shs 55 billion for 800 vehicles and military equipment he supplied to the Government. Finally on July 17 this year the High Court of Tanzania dismissed for lack of merit, an application filed by the Bank seeking leave to set aside a court order requiring the Bank to pay him. Judge Salum Massati also ordered the Bank's Governor to appear in court to show cause why he had not paid the money to Valambhia earlier. The Governor did not appear and later it was stated that the Government did not have the money to pay. Vallambhia's advocates recently told the court that they had secret documents showing communications between the then Finance Minister, the late Kighoma Malima, and the firm; Vallambhia had been arrested and detained for five months without bail. The High Court was told on August 12 that corruption might have played a role deterring some authorities in both the Government and the Bank of Tanzania (BoT) from paying the Shs 55bn/ debt to Valambhia. Counsel for Vallambhia, Moses Maira and Mabere

Marando, made the submission to the court in respect of an order of the court to the Governor of the BoT, to show cause why he should not go to jail for failure to appear when summoned. A decision of the court is due in October.

The Reverend Dr. Fidon Mwombeki from the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania (ECLT) has challenged the Government to name the people who signed the Independent Power Tanzania Limited (IPTL) agreement (*see above*) so that they can be investigated further for causing hardships to Tanzanians. He said the public would like to know their level of education and if the signatories understood what they were signing – *Majira*.

Ame Mpungwe, former Tanzania Ambassador to Pretoria, has denied accusations that he sold his country. He said he was neither the Parastatal Sector Reform Commission (PSRC) nor was he one of the PSRC commissioners. He said that any one having the post of ambassador was merely a glorified messenger. Mpungwe's defense came amid accusations that he might be the one who had helped many South African companies to acquire privatized Tanzanian enterprises - *Mtanzania*.

MUSLIMS AND CHRISTIANS

Former President Ali Hassan Mwinyi recently advised Muslims not to use the Koran as a pretext for causing trouble, which ended up endangering the country's peace and harmony. Closing a symposium for Muslim leaders on peace, unity and development he called on Muslim youth to learn the true meaning of the verses of the Koran which would help them avert misunderstandings between them and followers of other religions. Mwinyi attributed turmoil in Muslim populated areas to the preaching of violence by some Muslim leaders – *Nipashe*.

The Muslim organisation BAKWATA has complained about the rapidly mushrooming bars, alcohol selling outlets and brothels in Dar Es Salaam and has advised its leader, Chief Sheikh Mufti Issa Shaaban bin Simba, to ask the Government to deal with the situation. – *Mwananchi*.

Muslim activists staged a demonstration in Dar Es Salaam in late June and marched through the streets demanding that the US 'leaves Tanzania alone and not make it its colony'. The activists failed to breach security force barriers on their way to the US embassy. They were protesting against the detention by security agents of certain Muslim leaders and carried placards conveying messages such as 'Murder, robbery and deception is the American way', 'Afghanistan, Iraq and now Tanzania' 'Are terrorists Muslims only?' and 'The President of Tanzania is like Bush' – *Mwananchi*.

Muslims in Morogoro are showing signs of division. There are said to be two groups - a moderate group led by the Regional Bakwata Imam, Omar Bafadhil and a radical group led by the Morogoro District Imam, Sheikh Mohamed Kairo, who favours anti-Government preaching in mosques. Sheikh Bafadhil is reported to be irritated by a group of radicals turning the mosque into a political platform with radical imams from Dar Es Salaam preaching anti-Government sentiments and advocating violence against non-Moslems – *An Nuur*.

In Zanzibar the Government is said to be looking into the possibility of removing all alcohol selling centres and bars from residential areas – *An Nuur*.

Beauty contests are under fire again in Tanzanian religious circles. The Observer (August 10) interviewed several people: "The government, being the custodian of peace, tranquillity and integrity of the country, has a moral responsibility to safeguard the cultural and religious sentiments of her people, who mandated it to power, otherwise it is betraying them," said Abdulrahman Kungo, an outspoken Muslim. He pointed out that beauty contests destroyed the moral integrity of teenage boys and girls..... " Beauty contests are tantamount to rebuking God's creation. No human being can say a particular girl is better or more beautiful than another." Mary Kessy, of the Tanzania Women Lawyers Association (TAWLA), said that beauty contests should be stopped; the Government should first ban dresses worn nowadays by most teenage girls which exposed their bodies, contrary to the norms and traditions of the nation. Beauty contests exposed the behaviour, nakedness and body structure of a particular lady, which is a shameful act to all of us, she said. The Auxiliary Bishop of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Dar es Salaam, Methodius Kilaini, said that the Church was studying carefully the bad

effects of beauty contests and to what extent these activities were destroying the behaviour of teenagers in the country and going against religious ethics. In his response, the Executive Secretary of the National Arts Council, Eliewaha Challi, dissociated himself from beauty contest organisers for putting the profession into disrepute when they allowed prostitution to be committed by aspirants. He said “All beauty contests sanctioned by the National Arts Council are regulated and do not allow aspirants to show their nakedness; anybody found flouting these regulations is rebuked, and or suspended.”

Muslims in Dar Es Salaam erected a fence around the Karume cemetery in a bid to bar Ilala Municipal Council workers from digging up the graves and relocating them to Segerea, 15 kms from the city. The Muslims claimed that it was against their faith to dig up graves for unimportant reasons. A 100-man squad was then left guarding the cemetery to keep at bay any Ilala municipal workers who might wish to continue with the relocation of the graves. Speaking to journalists at the site, the Secretary of a Muslim Rights committee, Sheikh Ponda Issa Ponda, who was quoted in *Mtanzania* said the Ilala Municipality was not certain on what exactly was to be built at the other area which made the move a farce. He said there were many areas in the city that could be used to erect whatever the municipality wanted to build instead of disturbing eternally resting Muslims. On August 15 Ilala District Commissioner Captain Seif Mpembenwe said that Muslim activists camped at Karume cemetery would be removed by force because they had failed to heed a court order by the Ilala District court requiring them to do so. In a related story the activists warned against anyone setting foot on the cemetery saying stern measures would be taken against them. In yet another related story Dar Es Salaam residents of Manyema decent from Kigoma and the Congo have come forward to claim the cemetery as theirs and criticised the Government for acting without consulting them.

Fears of a split in the Catholic Church in Tanzania have grown amid reports that a fundamentalist group preaching contrary to the beliefs of many has defied Cardinal Polycarp Pengo's orders to stop such preaching. The rebellious group calling itself *Karismatiki* is said to preach contrary to the beliefs of the Catholic Church that Mary is the Mother of God and that the Holy Ghost really exists. Cardinal Pengo repeated his orders for the group to stop the unholy preaching that turned it into fundamentalism – *Majira*.

MARRIAGE BREAKDOWNS

Mwananchi reported that in mid July there was 'bitter bickering' concerning accusations and counter accusations among members of parliament as to who is behind marriage breakdowns. Participating in a seminar on education development, Vunjo MP Thomas Ngawaiya (TLP) accused the Government of favouring women in everything. He alleged that when women became successful they ran away from their husbands. He reminded participants that the same problem happened in England years ago when men were forced to form groups to fight back after the women became successful, neglecting their marriages in the process. He said that when women became MPs they were most likely to cause their marriages to break down.... The MP was uniformly cheered by the menfolk in the house and jeered by the women MPs. Special seats MP Rhoda Kahatano (CCM) then caused uproar when she alleged that when men became MPs they also abandoned their spouses and ran away with other women.....'

TANZANIA IN THE INTERNATIONAL MEDIA

(In order to make this part of Tanzanian Affairs 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).

Under the heading 'Hurrah for African Solutions' Herold Tagama in the August issue of NEW AFRICAN praised the well-conducted and peaceful by-elections in Zanzibar and said that they represented a lesson for all Africa. It showed that African politicians could put their country's interests first instead of personal aggrandisement. Back in October 2001 cynics had said

that the agreement between the Government and opposition parties would not succeed. But three years on it was holding fine – election laws that discriminated against the opposition had been repealed, CUF supporters persecuted during the days of political hostility had been compensated, CUF sympathisers who had been sacked had been reinstated and compensated and former 'enemies' now greeted each other as friends. Registrar of Political Parties John Tendwa was quoted as saying that a sense of political maturity was easily felt in Zanzibar.

The NCCR - Mageuzi party was reported (THE EAST AFRICAN, May 12) to want CUF Zanzibar leader Seif Shariff Hamad to be barred from running in the Zanzibar presidential elections in 2005 on the grounds that he was once detained. Article 69 of the Zanzibar constitution forbids any person who has been detained from entering any presidential contest. However CUF insists that Hamad was not detained but 'put in remand prison' - on a charge which was subsequently abandoned by the prosecution.

'One of the success stories of Tanzania's emerging private sector.' This is how Vitalis Omondi in THE EAST AFRICAN (May 12) described the success of the Tanzanian founder of Precisionair, Michael Shirima, who had recently become the strategic partner of Kenya Air, which has acquired a 49% stake in his company. The agreement was said to have the potential of spawning Precisionair's access to global markets through Kenya Airways' comprehensive route network with its strategic partners, KLM and North-West Airlines. When he founded 'Flight Africa Ltd', the pre-cursor of Precisionair in 1987, Shirima had just two aeroplanes which he used as aerial sprayers serving large coffee and wheat farms. As his airline grew he went to the African Project Development Facility (APDF) which helped secure \$333,000 in equity financing from the Tanzania Venture Capital Fund. He bought six new Cessna planes and started providing charter services to tourists. Later he borrowed \$400,000 from the East African Development Bank and expanded his fleet. Today, the Arusha-based airline carries more than 76,000 passengers a year.

Michael Okema wrote in THE EAST AFRICAN (July 14) about what he described as 'the heated debate which took place at the Zanzibar Dhow Festival recently.' Participants were at each other's throats over such issues as whether Swahili culture originated on the East African coast and whether the Kiswahili language had a Bantu base. The article went on: 'Politicisation of history may help people build confidence in themselves. But it can prove

harmful to the development of such things as a science of language.... African nationalism is behind this debate. There are people who feel uncomfortable acknowledging the Arab influence on Kiswahili given the historical Arab participation in the slave trade. There is a limit to which history can be rewritten. Today Africans are proud to differentiate themselves on the basis of their respective colonisers. A Ghanaian feels closer to a Tanzanian (because both are Anglophone) than to an Ivorian who is his next door neighbour. So, in spite of its negative motives, colonialism had some positive aspects. In short, there are two sides to a coin. This should apply equally to the Arab. There should be no difficulty in acknowledging Arab influence on Swahili culture.....

Under the heading 'Sleaze without end' Lawi Joel writing in NEWSAFRICA (31st July) said that President Mkapa seems to be fighting a losing battle against graft and fraud, an evil he vowed to conquer when he took office for the second time in 2000. The article went on: 'His Prime Minister seems to be the richest premier since independence, and the acquittal of former Minister for Works, Transport and Communications, Nalaila Kiula, has shown just how hard it is for Mkapa to crush corruption....In a recent National Assembly sitting four MPs were suspended for falsifying Parliamentary Public Accounts. Many companies such as Independent Power Tanzania Ltd (IPTL) were being criticized. But many people were asking why only the small fry are taken to task while the big shots get away with it.....

However, not all big fish escape Mkapa's net. A prominent businessmen was jailed for five years in December for bribery together with six officials of the Ministry of Lands.....'

'They left in dhows and came back on a plane. But the journey back took over 700 years.' So began an illustrated article in THE EAST AFRICAN (July 28) describing the Zanzibar festival reported above. The article went on: 'Along the way, they lost their language, their culture and knowledge of their native land. But they retained their music and dance. They are the African Sufis of Gujarat, whose musical group, the *Sidi Goma* (first 'discovered by the late Rajiv Gandhi) made a historic visit to their ancestral land of Africa last month. Their history is rooted in the slave trade of the 13th century and beyond, when many Africans arrived in India as slaves to the Maharajas and Nawabs of the day. They have remained racially intact choosing to marry only among themselves.....

They received a warm welcome in Zanzibar. At the Bombay International Airport however the immigration officer was baffled to see people looking like Africans but with Indian passports and speaking Gujarati. In Zanzibar one shopkeeper told the group he could not let them pay for anything because they had "finally come home after 700 years."

AFRICAN MINING reported in June that Williamson Diamonds Ltd has installed a \$2.3 million jig plant at its Mwadui mine, the first of its kind to be installed in a diamond recovery project in Africa. It is scheduled to re-treat 20 tonnes of tailings that were deposited in the mine in the 1960's and 70's.

THE INDEPENDENT (19th May) in a half-page article on the animal survival crusader Jane Goodall explained how she first went to Gombe on Lake Tanganyika at the age of 26 in 1960 at the instigation of her then employer, Louis Leakey, the famous palaeontologist. The most remarkable finding came to her that October as she caught sight of a chimpanzee squatting on the ground and inserting a stick, stripped of its leaves, into a termite mound and bringing out the termites as a tasty snack. Until then it was thought that only man made use of tools. It was one of the definitions of our specialness as a species. "I telegraphed what I had seen to Leakey" she remembers. "He telegraphed back that we would now have to redefine man, redefine tool, or accept chimpanzees as humans." Jane Goodall still spends 300 days a year on the road raising money and co-ordinating the work of her charity - the Jane Goodall Institute - which, *inter alia*, is fighting the battle to preserve the few remaining chimpanzees in Africa - *Thank you Liz Fennell for this item - Editor.*

The FUNDAY TIMES, the junior section of the well known paper, has been featuring for the last few weeks a cartoon series headed 'Wacky races in Trekking to Tanzania' in which 'Peter Perfect', already in bandages, battles against killer bees and other hazards in pursuing 'Dick Dastardly'. The series continues.

It can be expensive climbing Kilimanjaro. The Australian SUNDAY TIMES featured on July 27 a £7,000 'Africa adrenalin safari' which also includes Victoria Falls, bungee-jumping, whitewater rafting and game viewing. But those purchasing tickets still have to find their own way from Australia to Johannesburg to join the tour - *Thank you Douglas Gledhill for this item - Editor*

THE ECONOMIST reported on July 26 that since 2000 Mafia island has been a testing ground for a joint effort by the government, WHO and a pair of drug companies to eradicate the limb deformity known as elephantiasis. Extracts: 'An annual dose of two cheap drugs can clear away the parasites causing the disease..... The main trouble is persuading poorly educated farmers that the drugs are safe and useful. Women fear a government plot to lower their fertility. Men worry about their libidos.... If the project succeeds however 12 million Tanzanians who live in infected areas could eventually be covered - and one of the country's scourges might be on the way to being eliminated.

'Land and who gets it is becoming a hot potato in Tanzania according to NEW AFRICAN (June). The Government's attempt to change landlords in favour of foreign investors is arousing passions in the country.... The World Bank wants Tanzania to change its land laws to attract investors in agriculture and fight poverty. President Mkapa, once a strident supporter of Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe's land reform policy, was reported to be yielding to persuasion.... 'He has become a disciple of World Bank President James Wolfensohn' but Tanzanians were said to be suspicious. Land grabbing by influential politicians, business tycoons, bureaucrats and foreigners was said to be wanton, with poor villagers evicted right under the nose of the authorities.

David Leishman has sent us a remarkable article by Nick Gordon published in the South African BUSINESS DAY recently under the sub-heading 'When cash-flush Gulf businessmen baled them out, marginalised Tanzanian Muslims did not ask questions.' (*Thank you for sending this - Editor*)

Brief extracts: "The extraordinary sequence of events that unfolded in Iringa holds deep resonance for the developing world and the West. The town was quietly subverted by incomers from the Gulf.... In the 1990s, and more than a century after slavery had been abolished, Iringa - which had been an Arab slave trading centre - had a Muslim population who were feeling isolated. The town's mosques were decrepit and lacked funds; the congregations in those mosques were dispirited. Muslim schools were decaying..... But for another set of proselytizers, Iringa was fertile ground. When Al-Qaeda - or, as they were known locally 'the men from the Gulf' - arrived, they offered local Muslim businessmen loans under the informal *hawala* system. The loans came in cash in hard currency..... What was the quid pro quo?

Businessmen who 'signed up' soon prospered as did the Muslim community in general, the mosques, the religious schools. Within a year preachers were arriving in Iringa and other towns.... As these proselytisers gained ground and confidence they began to use far less subtle techniques to seduce the population. Some families were being offered about \$130 to convert to Islam..... Meanwhile, messages from the newly invigorated mosques were becoming more militant... After the bombing of the US embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam the trail of subversion led back to Iringa. A welding workshop in the town was pinpointed by the FBI investigators as the place where the pipes that contained the explosives used to devastate the Dar embassy had been manufactured. The owner claimed that he had no idea they would be stuffed with plastique. He was never charged. Fears of further infiltration were triggered by the discovery of containers of black market uranium which were being offered for sale in Dar Salaam....'

'These weapons were not made of radioactive materials or armed with killer bacteria' the writer went on. 'They are far more resilient and damaging. The raw material they are manufactured from is easy to come by: poverty, dirt, despair, social and political exclusion. And the subsequent explosion, when it inevitably happens, goes off inside people's heads, not merely in Iringa, but on any continent, anywhere'.

REPORTERS SANS FRONTIERES has reported that the first worldwide index of press freedom had some surprises. The USA came lower in the scale of press freedom than Costa Rica. The countries with least press freedom were North Korea, China, and Burma. Finland, Iceland, Norway and the Netherlands were top in Europe but Britain and Italy came lower in the scale than Benin. No Arab country was among the top 50. Eritrea and Zimbabwe (18 journalists were in prison there at the time of the survey) were found to be the most repressive countries of sub-Saharan Africa and Benin came out top in the 21st place out of 139 countries. Tanzania is in the middle of the table in 67th place ahead of most other African countries.

The CATHOLIC HERALD (13th June) added to other obituaries published on the death of the late Dr Leader Stirling (*see Tanzanian Affairs No. 75*). Extracts: 'He had a lifelong interest in the scouting movement and was the Chief Scout of Tanzania for many years. His interest in the movement was with him to his death and it was appropriate that his coffin should be carried by a party of Tanzanian scouts. He was dressed in his Scout uniform and the coffin was draped with the Scout Flag.... His commitment to Tanganyika and

then Tanzania was immense and it was his Christian faith that gave him this commitment..... Stirling's involvement was with Africans and with the Catholic Church.... He married at a mature age a nurse but she was to die, sadly childless. Later he married a widow with six children and proved an admirable stepfather.... *Thank you John Sankey for this item - Editor.*

Mary Soderstrom who is working on a novel called 'The Violets of Usambara' filled two pages in a recent issue of the NEW YORK TIMES on her search for the source of these small, famous, blue- violet flowers.

Extracts: 'For years I've struggled to keep at least one African violet in bloom through Montreal winters, but it wasn't until I started working on a novel about a Canadian politician and his wife who was passionate about African violets that I began to wonder about the origins of the pretty little flowers. In French, one of its names is la violette d'Usambara.....Their story intrigued me, and when I got a chance to go to Africa last October I decided to check them out.....the mountain's known as the East Usambaras, which were recently named as one of the world's biodiversity 'hotspots', were densely forested until the beginning of the 20th century when Tanganyika became the centrepiece of German colonial aspirations in Africa..... the scientific name of African violets - Saint Paulia - reflects this German colonial past. Baron Walter von Saint Paul found the plants in 1892 when he was Commissioner of Tanga province. He sent seeds back to his father, an amateur botanist in Germany, and within 10 years African violets had become a horticultural sensation throughout Europe.Recently, Saint Paulia have played a key role in safeguarding what is left of the East Usambaras' natural splendours. Most of them grow in damp, shady places and when the forest is cut down, they vanish. Commercial logging continued into the 1980's but some 250,000 acres of the mountain forests have now been declared a 'UN Man and Biosphere Reserve.'

The writer went on to explain that the nature reserve is a bargain. Open year round, its rustic wood-panelled lodge sleeps 20, with simply furnished single, double and triple rooms and shared bathrooms. Full-board - 3 generous meals - and lodging is about \$10 a night. *(Thank you Elsbeth Court for sending this item - Ed.)*

'He is one of Scotland's forgotten heroes: the man whose maps of Africa made David Livingstone one of the most famous explorers of the age. But unlike Livingstone, who was buried in Westminster Abbey, the remains of Keith Johnston still lie where he succumbed to dysentery and was buried on

28th June 1879 in a shallow grave somewhere near the village of Behobeho in deepest Tanzania. Now, 124 years later, a team led by cartographer Mike Shand of Glasgow University is planning to retrace the route that Johnston took in an attempt to find his grave.... In October, using satellite technology, he plans to locate the site and turn it into a fitting memorial. For Shand, Hon. Secretary of the Society of Cartographers, the search is a labour of love. "Johnston was a mapping genius" he said. "He was one of the first to map the continent and probably the most important to do so." In 2000, Johnston's dusty calfskin-covered diary was discovered at the Royal Geographical Society in Glasgow. Amid the minute spidery writing, the extraordinary story of his last expedition was revealed. In July, Jim McCarthy, a former Forestry Officer in Tanganyika will publish a book on Johnstone's final trip entitled "Journey into Africa" – This is an extract from an article in the Scottish SUNDAY HERALD (May 11). *(Thank you Jim McCarthy for this item. Please ensure that our Reviews Editor receives a review copy when your book is published - Editor).*

'The old man is drinking coffee in Stone Town. He sits on his *baraza*, a traditional place for sitting and chatting that can be found outside many Zanzibari homes. Like a lot of home-grown culture in Zanzibar, the *baraza* is fast becoming an endangered species. "This building used to be a dispensary and that house was once a stationery shop. Now everybody's selling souvenirs. Tourism is cutting into the fabric of our close-knit society.' So began an article in the VSO magazine ORBIT (June) which delved into the pros and especially the cons of tourism in Zanzibar. The article went on: 'The tourists bring money, which the wood carvers and trinket sellers are only too grateful for, but along with it - much to the annoyance of some devotees...there are also the uninvited forays into the mosques and the sight of skimpy clothes and over exposed flesh, which are all too often interpreted as an affront to the strict Islamic beliefs prevalent on the island.... traditional livelihoods like fishing are no longer as attractive as they used to be. Social problems such as drugs and prostitution also go hand-in-hand with the tourist trade.... Some, like Mohammed Haji, 23, have chosen to add to their earnings by selling sex to female visitors. Hadji is known locally as a *papasi*, just one of the many gigolos who now patrol the beaches for business. "They (the tourists) stay with us and we make money. No one cares about cultural erosion," he says.....

In response to criticism, the Tourism Commission has now issued a seven-point code of conduct aimed at potential visitors to Zanzibar. This focuses on

nudity, consuming alcohol in public, kissing and fondling in public, photographing locals without their permission, entering mosques as well as eating, drinking and smoking in public during the holy month of Ramadan.....

SETTING THE STAGE ON FIRE

Reporting on the 2003 Zanzibar International Film Festival, Miguel Suleyman wrote in *The Express* on July 3 that, with their music reminiscent of the Kilwa era, *Sidi Goma*, the African Sufis of Gujarat, India, set the stage on fire at the opening of the Festival. ‘The group’s performance of ritual music and dance captioned *qawali*, *dhamal* and *baithi*, was clearly a reflection of the African root of call and response, improvisational talking drums and common Bantu phraseology. *Sidis* are African Sufis of Gujarat, India; they were brought in as slaves to Maharajas and Nawab families of the time. Yunus Babu Sidi, the group leader, told ‘*The Express*’ that there were many Kiswahili words in their songs, but none of them understood their meaning. “We have preserved the culture and dances of our ancestors for more than seven centuries.....however, we think people of this region understand them better than we do and we rely on them to help us connect to our past.... We have preserved a lot from our ancestors, the word *Goma* (refers to *Ngoma* in Bantu language) represents dance to us. But we think our visit to our people here will bring some productive changes in our life” he said. *Sidi Goma* performs in a group of twelve, four lead musicians (drums/singers) and eight dancers. The performance centres around a dance *zikr* (remembrance), consisting of joyful, satirical praise dances to their Saint Bava or Bava Gor, who is attributed with giving them the joy they express in their dances. Intoxicating drum patterns that speak the *zikr* prayers in rhythm, support the dancers who perform virtuoso feats of agility and strength. They gradually reach an ecstatic climax which ended with a coconut being thrown high in the air and, when it landed on the head of Nazir Gulamhusein, broke into tens of pieces splashing its juice on the excited audience. The acts of *Sidi Goma* featured solos on *malunga*, an instrument resembling the Brazilian *Berimbau* or East African *Zeze*, while the circle dance, with people coming to the centre platform, was more exhibitionist dancing, indicative of the slave dances of Zanzibar. Juma Khamis Pandu, a resident of Zanzibar, told ‘*The Express*’ that the faces of the *Sidi Goma* group members resembled

the *Tumbatu* people of Pemba, or those from the Tanga coastal line, mainly Pangani. The features of the musicians - thick lips, height between 5.4 and 5.6 feet and the general facial appearance - suggests that *Sidi Goma* are the descendants of the Kilwa empire, which ended in the 15th century when the Portuguese interrupted its trading activities.

MISCELLANY

The Swahili press seemed to be in agreement on June 19 in describing the marriage of former Vice-President, and former Prime Minister (and also former High Commissioner in London) John Malecela as 'the best wedding ceremony ever in the country'. He married Anne Kilango, a CCM special seats MP. Former Prime Minister Cleopa Msuya oversaw the betrothal proceedings which were attended by 'all the strong and mighty in Tanzanian politics including President Mkapa.'

Beginning on June 15 Dar es Salaam residents are being required to participate in vigilante groups, commonly known as *Sungusungu*, that will patrol their areas as a way of fighting crime. The decision was reached at a meeting of Dar es Salaam regional leaders chaired by Regional Commissioner Yusufu Makamba. Other measures to be taken include an order for all city bars to close at 11 pm and a house to house manhunt of foreigners in the city. 'From now onwards any theft or robbery event will attract explanations from the particular local leader of the area. Also non-participants in the patrols will be required to donate items like torches and batteries' - *Nipashe*.

The Director General of the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), Dr Jacques Diouf, has appointed two Tanzanians to hold senior posts in the UN agency: Dr John Monyo, became the Deputy Director General for rural participatory development planning and Dr Geoffrey Mrema became Director General for agricultural development in FAO's department of agriculture. Dr Monyo was the Head of Department of Crop Science and Production at the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) and Dr Mrema was the Executive Secretary of the common market for agricultural research of the defunct East African Community in the 1970s and later a Professor in the Faculty of Agriculture at the University of Botswana.

The £9,300 Caine (Sir Michael) Prize for African writing has been awarded to Yvonne Owuor's story 'The weight of whispers' which tells the tragedy of a dislocated rich family on the run in Kenya. Ms Owuor lives in Zanzibar where she is Executive Director of the Zanzibar Film Festival - The Times.

British Airways has won the Tanzanian Tourist Board's airline of the year award for 2003.

The South African Reality TV programme 'African Big Brother' is attracting a 30 million continent-wide audience of viewers and has contestants from 12 African countries competing for the \$100,000 prize money. Tanzania's entrant was Mwisho Mwampamba (22) whose hobbies include swimming, mountain climbing, basketball, and other sports. He was allowed to take with him to the isolated house a striped Kikoyi, a Bao boardgame, two books, and twin drums.

A venereal disease is threatening to extinguish some 100 of the baboon population in Lake Manyara National Park. Scientists tackling the problem are puzzled as to why the disease targets the reproductive organs of the primate. The reproductive organs of affected male baboons simply rot away but it is believed that the elimination of sick baboons will not seriously affect the total population.

The Minister for Education and Culture announced on July 8 that students joining Advanced Level secondary education will, in future, start classes at the beginning of the year instead of July. Form Four students who sit for national examinations in November this year will start Form Five in February next year. Currently, Form Six leavers wait for 16 months before joining higher learning institutions. The Minister was also quoted in the Guardian as saying that there was a need to improve the education pyramid from the current 88% for primary school, 7% for ordinary secondary education, 1.8% for A level and below 1% for higher education to 100%, 50%, 25% and 12.5% respectively.

The University of Dar Es Salaam Governing Council at its 154th meeting held on June 20, lowered fees of courses offered by the university. According to a press statement, much sought after courses would attract more fees than less sought after courses. All Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences courses except Economics, Education, Engineering (except Computer Engineering, and Information) and Nursing will attract fees of up to Tsh. 600,000 for first

and second-degree programmes. All Faculty of Science courses (except Computer Sciences, Electronic Sciences and Information Sciences), Environmental Sciences, Dentistry, Commerce and Economics will attract Tsh. 800,000 for the first and second-degree programmes. In the same category are courses offered by the University College of Lands and Architectural Sciences (UCLAS). In the third category, attracting fees of Tsh. 1 million, are first year courses in Law, Pharmacy, Information Science, Computer Science, Information Technology and Information Engineering. Second-year programmes in this category will require a Shs 1.2 million fee – *Majira*.

Neil Baird-watson, 77, a Scottish businessman, has donated £15,000 to save the home of Dr David Livingstone in Mikindani. It will become a museum and gift shop - THE TIMES - July 17. (*Thank you John Rollinson for this item - Editor.*)

The Government has decided to go ahead with the purchase of a modern Shs 40 billion presidential jet plane. The opposition in parliament agreed to the purchase but warned that such a plane should reflect the economic reality of the country. However, President Mkapa may not use it; it lands in the country shortly before his tenure in office expires – *Mtanzania*

Mwananchi and Majira reported that some of their journalists were briefly detained and their equipment seized by Loliondo police in July. They were denied access to a United Arab Republic (UAE) royal family hunting camp (7 kms from the Serengeti Game reserve) and the opportunity to interview the more than 200 workers at the site. The police are usually stationed in Loliondo during the hunting season to secure the area. The media teams had gone there to investigate reports of *Maasai* morans invading Loliondo to stop ‘Ortello Business Company’ planes from landing there. According to reports reaching the media the local *Maasai* are furious that the UAE Royal Family, who have been given hunting rights in the whole of Loliondo Game Controlled Area, are not hiring the unskilled services of locals. A son of the UAE royal family, Mohamed bin Rashid al Mahtoum, who is also the UAE Defense Minister, owns the camp. The papers reported that there were persistent allegations of immoral activities, smuggling and environmental degradation at the camp.

OBITUARIES

The forester BERNARD GILCHRIST (83), who died recently, was appointed to the Colonial Service in 1943. On his first journey to Tanganyika his ship ran into a ferocious storm during which all the lifeboats, decking and railings were washed away. Later, in South African waters, the ship was torpedoed. In 1946 he moved to Mufindi to establish a large escarpment forest reserve and in 1948 to Morogoro where he was responsible for the management of the mangrove forest of the Rufiji delta. During his service he prepared a vegetation map for much of southern Tanganyika, determined the sustainable rate of yield from the West Usambara forest reserve and helped draw up a management plan for the Ngorongoro crater. In the 1960's he became Deputy Chief Conservatory of Forests, drew up a pulp and paper production scheme and wrote a five year plan for forest development - *Thank you John Ainley for sending this obituary from the Daily Telegraph - Editor.*

Veteran politician JOSEPH KASELA BANTU (81) died on 29th April. He was among the 17 founder members of TANU in 1954 and later became a founder member of the opposition United Democratic Party (UDP) - Guardian.

The Swahili press has reported that the University of Dar es Salaam historian PROFESSOR ISRAEL KATOKE has been killed by thugs at his home in Karagwe. His body was found bound and gagged and he had been strangled with a necktie. Some workers on his farm have been arrested as suspects. Prof Katoke was also a Consultant to UNESCO and, in his retirement, was working on developing a new university in Bukoba.

MRS JOSEPHINE ROLLINSON (75), wife of the late former Commissioner for Town Planning in Tanganyika, Robert Rollinson, who has died of cancer, directed or took part in more than 39 of the productions of the Dar es Salaam players at the Little Theatre. Her proudest moment was when, in 1964, President Nyerere attended a production of 'Twelfth Night' which she directed. She was also sometime President of the Women's Service League.

The London Guardian (22nd May) published an obituary on the influential World Bank development economist BEVAN WAIDE who has died at the age of 66. In 1969 he was seconded as Chief Adviser to the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Development Planning in Tanzania. He advised on Tanzania's second five-year plan during the turbulent years when Julius Nyerere was consolidating his country's socialist stance in development and the World Bank was less concerned than today about nationalisation and substantial state expenditure. While in Tanzania he also obtained a pilot's licence and flew frequently to remote areas in the course of his work - *Thank you Peter Yeo for sending this obituary - Editor.*

LETTERS

I DISAGREE

I read the last issue of Tanzanian Affairs with great interest - as usual. And, also as usual, I found many comments with which I disagreed - e.g. Mr Musiba saying that he had never seen development arising from aid. Where has he been all his life?.... where was he educated, and how, and would he have had the same opportunities if at that time aid had been scorned while we waited for private investment?..... I don't claim too much for the first 25 years of independence but some of our greatest achievements - e.g. almost universal literacy and the system of basic education and health spreading almost everywhere and without religious or racial discrimination - would have not been possible without aid.....

But eventually I read my obituary of Judge Mustafa..... I am now embarrassed by what I am sure is the kind of error which can easily be made when you have deadlines to meet. I wrote: 'Judge Mustafa was dependent upon thrice-weekly dialysis for his last years, but continued to enjoy life with his wife Sophie. You wrote:dialysis for his last years but continued to endure life with his wife Sophie..... Could some short acknowledgement of the error be published in the next issue?

Joan Wicken

I am even more embarrassed. I can only blame too much use of modern technology especially dictation to the computer. Many apologies - Editor.

THE SERVING CLASS

I read with interest Professor Pat Caplan's criticism of my review of "Serving Class" published in issue number 74 of *Tanzanian Affairs*. I feel that her response was overly protective of the book and its author Janet Bujra, and lacked any substantive point.

Professor Caplan asserts that the book is an academic study by a well-known development sociologist whose work on both Tanzania and Kenya is widely respected both in those countries and internationally. This surely does not render the work impervious to criticism. Are well known and respected people in the world always right? Cannot they be criticised? That is surely unacceptable in the academic field. If all authors are not to be criticised, how are they going to improve their work?

In response to my argument that the author Bujra had borrowed western ideas to fit into her research, Professor Caplan notes that the author pays tribute to Issa Shivji, who has written on class struggle in Tanzania. Professor Caplan goes on to make the general point that the author has taken great care to be historically, socially and culturally specific. Professor Caplan suggests that my review didn't take these aspects into account. I do not dispute that Bujra mentions social, cultural and historical aspects in her work. What I vehemently argue is that Bujra has not commented on the significance of these aspects on the emergence of domestic services in Tanzania. Merely stating that domestic servants were working for missionaries and colonialists or foreigners in general, does not link up the sources of domestic services in Tanzania with traditional, religious, slavery and colonial practices.

Similarly I do not dispute that Bujra mentions women who are sexually abused by their employers, and that child servants are not neglected in the book. My point is not that the author does not mention these subjects, but that no critical challenge is made of common practices like parading child domestic servants along roads to sell ice cream, bread or cake for the household they work in. Nor is there any analysis of the reactions of parents whose children were made victims of child labour and abuse. Professor Caplan is incorrect to say that Bujra's page 2 has answered my arguments. Page two only notes the existence of sexual and class exploitation as well as nomenclature of dominance.

Moreover, I stand by my criticism of Bujra for dropping some details from the English version, which appear in Swahili, thus losing certain areas of meaning in the process. I also feel that it is regrettable that there is no translated version into Swahili to give a chance for people who were involved in the study to read this work, compare the correctness of the findings and eventually gauge their reactions in the light of the past and current status of domestic services in Tanzania.

Finally, I am very surprised that the learned Professor Caplan wants to know what I have done before she hears about my criticisms. Nobody was born a writer, a university lecturer or famous person. Everything has a beginning and then develops. I don't think it is appropriate to try to frustrate, intimidate and bully young writers so that they become afraid to review work of high profile people simply because their qualifications,

celebrity and experience do not match. Other readers who can analyse text and write must be encouraged to do so in forthcoming issues regardless of their level of education, experience or fame in the Society. Please read the book and exercise your right to criticise or support it.

Frederick Longino

ARE WE CRAZY?

That's what our friends and family said when we told them we had committed ourselves to climbing Mount Kilimanjaro. For some reason they seemed to find it amusing that we would swap hairdryers for mountain blizzards, vodka bottles for water bottles, kitten heeled mules for blistering walking boots and the famous Indian curry for re-hydrated mash. Perhaps we are crazy, but when you discover why we're doing it you will understand. We have committed ourselves to raising £2,800 each to help VSO with its work in Tanzania. There are currently 74 VSO volunteers working in Tanzania representing 12 different nationalities and they are concentrating on four key areas: education and health care, income security through sustainable livelihoods and employment and promoting the use of natural resources. If any of your readers can contribute to this challenge could they please call us: Ben Langdon on 020 8780 7218 or e-mail us on ben.langdon@vso.or.uk

Emily McEweb and Kate Backler

THE GROUNDNUT SCHEME

I refer to TA No. 74 and have to report that I received a response from one of your readers, Mr John Pike who was mainly employed in the southern province in the 1900's and could be of help to Mr David Morgan of Alcester but I regret not to me. I am sure readers must be around who have photographs of Kongwa from 1946 to 1951. I do wish you could try again. I find explaining the Groundnut Scheme verbally is very hard going.

S G Carrington-Buck,
3 Glassenbury Drive, Bexhill-on-Sea, TN 40 2NY. Tel: 01424 - 218311

REVIEWS

REVOLUTION IN ZANZIBAR: AN AMERICAN'S COLD WAR TALE. Don Petterson. Westview Press. ISBN 0-8133-3949-9. £19.99

This memoir will instantly become required reading for every student of the Revolution. It is an incredible and fascinating first hand account of the Revolution in Zanzibar, a unique perspective on a unique period of history. Strangely though, the teller of the tale does not seem to appreciate its drama. For those who know some of the history and debates surrounding the Revolution it will be hard to see this book as anything other than a classic and brilliant revisionist history. It is for this reason that the style disappoints, since without a sense of the context and the controversy that the book will undoubtedly provoke, the material is flat. The role of the Americans and the British in the foggy days of early 1964 has been the source of much speculation, even recrimination on the part of Babu and other leading opposition figures in the years since. Petterson's detailed descriptions of his meetings with all the key players at the time provide a wealth of insights into the sequence of events and how the Great Powers at the time viewed this 'Cuba of East Africa'. This is explosive history at its best, yet diplomatic showdowns and violent massacres are described in the same pedestrian style as trips to the beach.

In a sense, Petterson's dispassionate style is the hallmark of classic diplomacy. Reportage allows the author to remain un-implicated in the story he is telling (not me guv, I'm just the messenger). The problem though, is that this is an illusion. At many points the story would benefit from a strong dose of opinion. Petterson is at his best when he is unafraid to contradict other sources. For example, in his telling of the formation of the Union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar, Babu's claim that the US engineered the Union and the British assertion that their influence on Nyerere prevailed are both shown to be false as he provides convincing eye-witness testimony of the cunning strategy of Kambona, Nyerere and Karume in doing it quietly themselves.

Similarly, the inside account of Nyerere's expulsion of American diplomats from Zanzibar and Tanzania in 1965 is gripping historic stuff. Misinterpretation of a mundane US embassy telephone conversation, tapped

by the Chinese and supplied to the Zanzibar government gave rise to the (now popular) fable that the US was planning a coup in Zanzibar a year after the Revolution. Nyerere mishandled the affair by going to the press before the mistake had been corrected, the consul was expelled and a myth was born. Nyerere appears an inexperienced and emotional figure and the early politics of the Union to have been especially fragile.

Petterson is literally rewriting history, but does not seem to be aware that he is doing so. Nevertheless, in the long run, and for anyone interested in the history of Zanzibar the facts should speak for themselves. Tales of Petterson's family life at the time give a flavour of the social context of the diplomatic corps at the end of the colonial era and his loving descriptions of Zanzibar and its geography will surely strike chords with many.

Ben Rawlence

CONFLICTING MISSIONS: HAVANA, WASHINGTON AND AFRICA, 1959 - 1976. Piero Gleijeses. University of North Carolina Press. 2002. \$34.95, cloth.

This weighty volume of 550 pages uses CIA documents, diplomatic cables and other archival research (the notes on this stretch over 50 pages) much of which has not been seen before, to explain what Cuba was up to in its clandestine activities in Africa in the 1960's and 70's. It was Cold War time and anything to do with it was of intense interest to the USA. Cuba became involved in Algeria, Guinea Bissau and later, Angola, to which it sent 30,000 of its troops. All is described here. For readers of 'Tanzanian Affairs' however it is the chapters on Zanzibar and Zaire which will be of most interest. In order to reach Zaire the Cubans had to travel through Tanzania by road and then cross Lake Tanganyika by boat.

The author describes the panic which arose in Washington when Zanzibar exploded in the revolution of January 12, 1964. The US was worried that non-communist leaders of the new Zanzibar government would be manipulated by 'subversive Communist elements.' US President Lyndon Johnson urged the British to send troops to Zanzibar because Britain had the 'primary responsibility for handling the problem.' To the dismay of the Americans the British refused. In any case, the crisis subsided when President Nyerere and President Karume signed an agreement setting up the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar and called it Tanzania.

By June 1964 however the situation in the Congo (later Zaire) was attracting the attention of the Cold War adversaries. Midst much turmoil 'rebels' calling themselves the Simbas (lions) armed with vaguely Marxist jargon and led by the man who became, many years later President Kabila of Zaire, had started causing considerable worry. They had taken over a major part of the country and Fidel Castro saw in them the possible beginnings of an African revolution, Cuban style. He decided to send volunteers, under the leadership of the famous guerrilla leader Che Guevara, to help the Simbas. President Nyerere, who was then at loggerheads with the Congo government of President Tshombe, agreed to allow Tanzania to be used as a conduit and staging area for this Cuban intervention.

As the civil war in the Congo had escalated, the CIA had created a naval patrol on Lake Tanganyika consisting of eight heavily armed boats which were assembled piece by piece on the shores of the lake by CIA agents. The Simbas also had several motorboats supplied by the Soviet Union, but the author says that they did not know how to maintain them. When the boats arrived the Cubans helped them in this. The author claims that America was determined to crush the Simbas but did not want to do so itself and called upon Britain and other countries to send in troops. This call was rejected but, meanwhile, foreign mercenaries, mostly from South Africa, came to help government forces attack the Simbas.

Men from Cuba in groups of three to six on scheduled commercial flights, claiming to be athletes, agronomists, engineers and musicians, arrived in Dar es Salaam and were whisked quickly from the airport to a small farm on the outskirts of the city that the Cuban embassy had bought. The volunteers were almost all black because this was what the Simbas had requested. In order to explain the presence of two whites it was said that one was a doctor and the other an interpreter. Che decided that it would not be appropriate for him to inform Nyerere of his presence before he told Simba leader Kabila who was at a conference in Cairo. The Cubans were disappointed at the very cool reception they received in the Congo. The local Simba leaders seemed surprised to see them and did not know what to do with them. A message was sent to Kabila who was apparently stunned to learn that Che was in the Congo.

On 29th June 160 Simbas and 40 Cubans attacked the town of Bendera but, according to the book, the Simbas fled in panic and left the Cubans to face the enemy alone. Four Cubans and 20 Simbas lost their lives. It was their bodies that finally alerted the CIA to the presence of the Cubans in the

Congo. Eventually, under intense pressure from the ruthless and increasingly numerous mercenaries, the Simbas began falling apart on the battlefield. Nyerere, pre-occupied with other parts of the African liberation struggle, in particular in trying to persuade the British Prime Minister Harold Wilson to send troops to prevent UDI in Rhodesia, began restricting the flow of weapons, medicine and other supplies to the Cubans. The Simbas soon wanted to abandon the struggle altogether and resented the Cubans for urging them to keep on fighting. On November 21st two boats arrived to take the Cubans back to Tanzania after seven months of hardship and frustration. Che wrote to Castro "I believe more than ever in guerrilla warfare, but we have failed." He returned to Dar wanting only to write. He lived in a small apartment in the embassy in Dar Salaam for more than three months but, because of his security concerns, he never went out. However, he was full of praise for the Tanzanians. They had been very helpful; everything was well organised and well structured. When Nyerere withdrew Tanzania from the war he had done so with dignity. Surprisingly the Cuban embassy only informed Nyerere about Che's presence after he had left Tanzania in early 1966. It was explained that the silence had been due to security considerations. According to the author the Tanzanians were angry, but relations remained friendly.

The Washington Post has described this book as 'rich and provocative and downright entertaining.' The Los Angeles Times wrote: 'The author brilliantly describes deceptions, disguises with all the accompanying blood and guts and glory. Over the 10 years it took him to research this book the author tracked down every lead, every participant, every document on all sides of the conflicts. This is a fascinating account of Cuban involvement in Africa.' This reviewer fully supports these comments.

David Brewin.

EAST AFRICAN DOCTORS: A HISTORY OF THE MODERN PROFESSION. John Illiffe. ISBN 9970023039. 350pp. Fountain Publishers. £20.95. Available from African Books Collective Ltd, The Jam Factory, 27 Park End Street, Oxford OX1 1HU.


The book has 246 pages of text and 92 pages of Notes referring to each page of the text, 17 pages of bibliography and an index. The need to refer

constantly to the notes for clarification made for laborious and difficult reading.

The purpose for writing the book was not made clear other than a note on page two stating "the idea for this book came partly from reading David K. Leonard's "African successes: four public managers of Kenyan rural development", (Berkeley 1991). The author states that the book is a collective biography of East African doctors, dealing only with black Africans. The title of the book is therefore confusing and will disappoint the many European, Asian and doctors of other nations who served in East Africa in a tradition which started from the late nineteenth century, in Government service, in specialised fields including research, in the missions, and in private practice.

In the first sentence of the book the author opines that "not since the origins of Mankind has East Africa been so important to the world as it is to-day. This special importance comes from the AIDS epidemic". But surely the opening up of central Africa in the second half of the nineteenth century, culminating in the building of the Mombasa-Lake Victoria railway, had a greater impact on the development of medical care and the growth of the medical team in East Africa than the outbreak of AIDS in the early 1980's?

The text gives scant recognition to the amazing basic research work carried out in several centres in the territories on the major tropical diseases, nor to the leadership of W.H.O. in the worldwide Smallpox Eradication Programme in the 1970's, the Global Immunisation Programme in the 1980's and 90's and later again in the 1990's in collaborative programmes for research and control of AIDS. Nor is the disparity between Zanzibar and other East African territories in the role played by African doctors noted. By 1961 the posts of radiologist, ophthalmologist, the specialists in T.B. and dentistry, and the two M.O.H. posts for the two islands were all filled by local



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nationals who had been trained and taken post-graduate qualifications overseas.

To sum up in the words of the author, the book “is not a contemporary sociology of the East African Medical Profession, but a collective biography of East African Doctors dealing only with black Africans”. It would be impossible to include biographies of all the black African doctors, but the names of many who contributed greatly to the successful delivery of medical care and the development of the profession generally, are missing.

William Barton

PRIESTS, WITCHES AND POWER – POPULAR CHRISTIANITY AFTER MISSION IN SOUTHERN TANZANIA. Maia Green. Cambridge University Press, 2003. Pp.xiii/180, maps, index. ISBN 0521 62189 5 (hardback). £40.00

Many in the secularized north imagine that global Christianity is dying and leaving the field open to Islam. The reality is different. Christianity in the south is enjoying a boom. Much of Africa, during the past century for example, became quietly and massively Christian. Northerners who are aware of this new Christianity may not like what they see. Instead of being democratic, liberal, activist or liberationist, it is an authoritarian, morally conservative Church which is concerned with personal salvation and is absorbing the habits and thoughts of cultures very different from the European. Maia Green’s book gives us a fascinating specimen, the Catholic Church among the Pogoro people of Tanzania. In spite of the persistence of missionary Church structures, of continued economic support from Europe, of a clerical élite locally engaged in controversial financial operations, the Pogoro of Ulanga District, though poor and unempowered, are predominantly, even fervently, Catholic. Moreover, they have developed a popular, post-mission Christianity with its own theological nuances. Green sees both tension and ambiguity in this situation, and believes the gap between formal Christianity and popular practice is growing. On the other hand, the Pogoro have a deep sense of being Christian. Green describes a fluid situation in which authority and practice are changing.

German Benedictine monks before World War I and Swiss Capuchin friars afterwards established what was to become the Diocese of Mahenge. Both German colonial rule and the Catholic mission were challenged in 1905 by

German colonial rule and the Catholic mission were challenged in 1905 by the *maji maji* rebellion which engulfed half the ethnic groups of Tanzania, including the Pogoro. German retaliation took the form of a scorched earth policy which resulted in sidelining Ulanga District in the development process. The Church moved into the vacuum, developing a system of patronage and synergy with government that continued under the British and beyond political independence in 1961. With the contraction of the Tanzanian state, Church influence has grown even greater.

Christianity is a religion of the book and, to ensure enduring conversions, evangelization was linked, as elsewhere, to education and literacy. The adult catechumenate, prevalent in other parts of Tanzania, does not feature in Green's account. However, she sees the community-based Christianity led by village catechists as a counterweight to the clerical structures of diocese and parish. Green is silent about the extent to which the Catholic pastoral policy of *jumuiya ndogondogo* (small Christian communities) has been implemented in Mahenge.

Popular Christianity sees priests as a source of blessing and power, but women also engender power through the management of fertility in puberty rituals (*unyago*) and the removal of death pollution at burials. These roles inspire a female religiosity, which is focused on Mary, the bereaved and compassionate mother of Jesus. One wonders to what extent Pogoro priests are aware of this popular theology, especially in view of Vatican II's interest in initiation rituals, and the proposals for *unyago wa kikristu* (Christian initiation) in Tanzania. Women also feature prominently in the witchcraft cleansing movements, which Green credibly associates with political rivalry and the critique of clerical power.

Anthropological fieldwork in Africa has traditionally been conducted by the lone foreigner, whose valid criticisms may be resented by the local élite. The latter can only be co-opted by means of a self-study. Moreover, condensed, technical language, while it suits the professional anthropologist, runs the risk of being misunderstood by the ordinary reader in Africa.

Aylward Shorter

ONCE INTREPID WARRIORS: GENDER, ETHNICITY AND THE CULTURAL POLITICS OF MAASAI DEVELOPMENT. Hodgson, Dorothy L. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2001. - from a review for *Africa Today*, by Peg Snyder.

Dorothy Hodgson explores “continuities and changes between the ideas and experiences of development in the colonial period and those of the post colonial period” in the lives of the Maasai of Arusha Region, the “once intrepid warriors”, as they were called by Harry Johnston in 1886. She shows how both being a Maasai, and being a Maasai man or woman changed over time. Delightful “Maasai Portraits” appear between the chapters.

Finding that failure of planned development projects only served to inspire another try at a similar model, the author judged that it was the ways of “seeing Maasai” rather than “being Maasai” that underlay failures, so she observes development efforts through the lenses of gender, ethnicity and cultural politics, and associations between development and state power.

During the British colonial period, projects were directed to men, leaving women marginalized; “taxation classified women as property to be paid for by men”. By the eve of independence, after a half century of water development projects, the Maasai experienced a drought whose effects were exacerbated by loss of most of their dry-season pastures and water points that government had closed off or ceded to settlers. The colonial government shifted blame for their condition onto the Maasai.

After independence, government representatives in Arusha Region had no better image of the Maasai, and soon sought to impose a “modern” dress code on them. Women got angry, cursed their elites whom they thought were complicit in the campaign, and were preparing to travel en masse to Dar es Salaam to express their views to the President when Government dropped the campaign.

The follies of the famous, failed groundnut scheme pale in comparison to the multi-million dollar, USAID sponsored Masai Livestock Development and Range Management Project of 1969. Like the Masai Development Plan of the colonial 1950s, its evaluations were consistently negative and the Masai were blamed for the failure of something they neither chose nor designed. Hodgson describes the whole fiasco scathingly, pointing out the “marvellous ambiguities” of the term development, as when “in the mid-1970s, USAID discovered that people were part of development”.

Donors and NGOs were expected to accept women's lessened status as "tradition"; elite men were the authentic and indigenous representatives of the Maasai. Young women confronted change in gender relations through spirit possession (*orpeko*) then converted to Christianity to remove the curse and achieve moral superiority over men.

This excellent book reveals how the legacies of development projects are far, far broader than their technical goals. The author cautions that "neither the Maasai of the present nor the Maasai of the past bear much resemblance to the stereotypical images of them that pervade, and have always pervaded, Western and African media."

INTO AFRICA – THE DRAMATIC RETELLING OF THE STANLEY-LIVINGSTONE STORY. Martin Dugard. Transworld Publishers/Bantam Press. 2003. 339 pages. £18.99.

Not another book about Livingstone surely! And about Stanley too! Yes, but this one, as is claimed in the title, is different. It will be found exceptionally entertaining by both those who already know the story and those who do not.

The author describes himself as an adventurer – one of his earlier books traced the 'rise and fall' of Captain James Cook – and the layout of the drama, as he narrates it, with alternating chapters on the two main characters, obliges the reader to keep on reading to see what happens next.

The author's racy writing style may not be to everyone's taste and is probably best described as evocative. Dugard describes Stanley's writing as 'purple and intimate; the sentences meandering, sparsely punctuated, sometimes lazily crafted – yet always evocative.' Livingstone is described as possessing 'a very human mixture of hope, dreams, longing, depression, spirituality, sexuality and regret.'

In contrast to some other books on the same subject this one gives quite detailed character sketches of the other key participators in the saga. These include the explorers Speke and Burton, Royal Geographical Society Presidents Sir Roderick Murchison and Sir Henry Rawlinson, the ex-slave Sidi Mubarak Bombay, British Vice-Consul in Zanzibar John Kirk and his adversary, American Consul Francis Webb, Royal Navy Gunnery Officer E. D. Young, the celebrated African Chief Mirambo who vanquished the Arab military leader in Tabora, Khamis bin Abdullah, the New York Herald's James Gordon Bennett Jr, Prime Minister William Gladstone, Sir Samuel White Baker, and others.

The final chapters, with their moving description of the famous meeting, bring the book to an abrupt end. The remarkable loyalty of Livingstone's servants Chuma and Susi and events subsequent to Livingstone's death are dealt with all too briefly. The reader is left wanting more.

Readers of 'Tanzanian Affairs' will be glad to know that the major part of the book describes events which took place in what is now Tanzania 135 years ago.

David Brewin

'MR. MYOMBEKERE AND HIS WIFE BUGONOKA, THEIR SON NTULANALWO AND DAUGHTER BULIHWALI: the Story of an Ancient African Community' by Aniceti Kitereza. Translated from Kikerewe by Gabriel Ruhumbika. Published 2002 by Mkuki na Nyota 687pp. available from African Books Collective, Oxford. £29.95.

This 700-page novel makes a compulsive read. I found myself reading it simultaneously on two levels: first, on the level of narrative plot, and second, as a piece of closely documented social history.

The novel was written during the early 1940s. The author, born in 1896, had been a lifelong writer - involved with early Kikerewe translations of the Bible and a Kikerewe dictionary, as well as being a prolific reteller of local stories. This, however, was the climax of his life's writing. The work was written with the explicit aim of preserving the Kikerewe way of life, which the author saw as increasingly threatened by change; although multilingual in a range of possible lingua francas (in Latin and Greek, German, Kiswahili and English), the natural choice of language for this intimately personal work was Kikerewe. The fate of the manuscript reflects the complexity of the 'language map' of Tanzania: initially archived overseas in Montreal by the White Fathers, the novel reached a wider public only in 1980 when the author's Kiswahili translation was published in Tanzania. While the original Kikerewe manuscript remains unpublished, the work has now at last found an international audience, translated in this full-length English version by the author's nephew Gabriel Ruhumbika, now at the University of Georgia.

Set in pre-colonial Ukerewe, the main narrative plot is tellingly simple, depicting the lives of a husband and wife whose misfortune it was to find themselves childless. While on the narrative level the unhurried pace sustains the reader's interest in the unfolding events of the story, the reader is

at the same time drawn into understandings of the rich and complex world of pre-colonial Ukerewe. The author's declared intention to provide a record of all aspects of pre-colonial Kikerewe life, 'from birth to death', is clearly evident and might well in other hands have become clumsily obtrusive. In fact, the descriptive matter is skilfully integrated to complement and amplify the plot, and the two levels work together to provide a richly rewarding text - albeit a long one, which demands time, attention, and a deliberately leisurely reading.

The volume contains an excellent Introduction by the translator. Particularly intriguing is the account of the way in which this 'novel', in written prose form, relates to the conventions of epic oral literature. The Introduction also contains revealing comment on translation issues. A genealogical table is supplied (a map of Ukerewe would have usefully supplemented this), and a glossary of names and their meanings. A further glossary of Kikerewe words would have been useful as meanings are back-referenced in the chapter notes to their first occurrence: an editorial irritation. The translation may occasionally jar ('gatecrash', for example, for an unexpected arrival, or 'barbecue' as equivalent for traditional cooking over an open fire). There are a number of typos. An invaluable resource, which will be of interest to all social historians, are the chapter notes supplied by the translator, who - in the spirit of his Uncle's original intentions - has added a wealth of explanatory matter drawn from written sources and from recent personal field-study among the elders of Ukerewe.

Ann Brumfit

“ALMOST AN OXFAM IN ITSELF”: OXFAM, UJAMAA AND DEVELOPMENT IN TANZANIA, by Michael Jennings. *Journal of the Royal African Society, African Affairs* vol 101, 509-530. 2002.

This article by Michael Jennings, currently Research Officer at the Wellcome Unit for the History of Medicine, Oxford, is based on work undertaken for his PhD at the University of London, 1998. It traces the rise and fall of the 'Ujamaa' policy of the Tanzania Government in the 1960s and early 1970s. Jennings shows how Oxfam thinking, at least in its Tanzania programme, became committed to the policy - in particular its emphasis on voluntarism, self help and grass roots democracy - and continued to support it, and even to advocate it as a strategy for other developing countries, for several years after the Tanzania Government had effectively abandoned it, in its actions if

not its words, and had shifted to a more conventionally individualistic programme of social and economic development.

Jennings describes in some detail the growth of the Ruvuma Development Association, established in Songea Region in the early 1960s under the leadership of the charismatic local secretary of the Tanu Youth League, John Ntimbanjayo Millinga. The RDA linked the first and perhaps 'purist' of Tanzania's ujamaa villages, and supplied much of the practical experience on which Julius Nyerere based his early thinking and writing on ujamaa. Jimmy Betts, Oxfam's first Field Director for Tanzania, was understandably impressed by the achievements of the RDA, as were most visitors to the RDA villages in the 1960s, including myself: Betts described it as 'a physical manifestation of what Oxfam wished to promote on a larger scale'.

Yet by 1969, following a visit to Ruvuma by TANU's Central Committee, the Government had declared the RDA an illegal organisation and had forced its disbandment. Jennings is not explicit on the reasons underlying this action – he explains it as an indication of 'regional fears combined with political factions at the centre'. But banning the RDA was surely the predictable response of an insecure political bureaucracy to a peasant movement which tried to take its future into its own hands. The very name RDA is provocative, suggesting that the Association, rather than the Government, was the driving force responsible for the development of Ruvuma Region! With Oxfam's historic commitment to equality and grass roots democracy, it is not surprising that Betts and his successors were reluctant to recognise the shift in Tanzania Government policy in the late 1960s and early 1970s - from voluntary towards compulsory villagisation, and from collective towards individual action and decision-making - and the widening gulf between the rhetoric and the reality of what was happening on the ground. This was surely a classic if understandable case of wishful thinking writ large.

As an objective academic observer of political developments Jennings is careful not to pass judgement on the rights or wrongs of Tanzania's early dalliance with socialist development, nor on Oxfam's extended backing of the ujamaa policy. Many observers at the time, and since, have, however, compared Nyerere's "utopian idealism", usually unfavourably, with the more pragmatic individualistic development strategies adopted in neighbouring countries such as Kenya, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Congo. In the light of the political and economic chaos now reigning in most of those countries, compared to the relative political stability and steady (albeit socially

divisive) economic growth experienced in Tanzania in recent years, one might be excused for questioning whether the roots of Tanzania's recent success may not lie in the democratic and communitarian foundation which Nyerere strove to lay down in Tanzanian society in the 1960s. One might even wonder whether, had the Tanzania Government, as well as Oxfam, maintained its faith in such policies for a little longer, this foundation might have become even more solid.

Antony Ellman

FROM RACE TO CITIZENSHIP: THE INDIGENIZATION DEBATE IN POST-SOCIALIST TANZANIA, Ronald Aminzade, *Studies in Comparative International Development* Vol. 38, No. 1. 2003. Pp43-63.

Aminzade's study seems to serve several purposes. First, he focuses on how anti-Asian sentiment during Tanzania's post-socialist era was politicized as an indigenization factor rather than the stealth racist issue it represented. And, second, he offers it as a tool to explain electoral behavior of political parties as they attempt to create as well as mediate policy differences, conflicts and competition with the major party. He outlines the colonial and socio-economic factors establishing the Asian community's separate identity as both envied and resented and thus susceptible to political exploitation in Tanzania's new era of capitalism. Tracing indigenous identities as a means of distinguishing between citizens and foreigners, Aminzade outlines the evolution of this policy when anti-Asian sentiment was used as a political weapon, mainly by Chama Cha Mapinduzi's opposition, to seek electoral support especially after 1992 when multiparty competition was institutionalized. Political parties across the political spectrum utilized anti-Asian sentiment as a political weapon after Reverend Christopher Mtikila, leader of an unregistered party and a candidate in another opposition party, opportunistically raised the "indigenization" issue, and thus not only unleashed widespread violence against Asians, especially shopkeepers, but also legitimized usage of the issue for other opposition politicians. As the liberalization and privatization process evolved in the 1990s, Government responses to these political demands included various economic policies limiting activities of "non-indigenous" investors that aided the emergence of an influential black, and sometimes corrupt, African bourgeoisie which often sent its profits abroad rather than re-invest in the local economy. Aminzade fails

o note that while the government excluded non-indigenous peoples from trade it also permitted them to engage in banking, finance, and technology, and the Asians used this to their advantage. Government policies led to an increase in foreign investments, especially from South Africa, and the “dumping” of foreign goods sold at cheaper prices than local goods. The historically authenticated anti-Asian sentiment became a convenient weapon for opposition groups reluctant to make charges of corruption against the major political party. The more things change the more they remain the same.

Much of the evidence is based on sources published during the 1990s, and it is worth noting that the author draws on material published in six issues of *Tanzanian Affairs*.

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