

May - August 2004
No 78



Tanzanian affairs

Issued by the
Britain-Tanzania
Society

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COULD IT EVENTUALLY LEAD TO WAR ?

When Tanzania launched in February a \$85 million project to draw water from Lake Victoria (one of the sources of the 4,160 mile long River Nile) and to lay a 170-kilometre pipe to supply it to Kahama and Shinyanga (plus 54 villages on the route of the pipeline) it set in motion an international furore of considerable proportions. Strong protests came from Egypt, which (with Sudan) is almost totally dependent on the waters of the River Nile for its survival. Egypt accused Tanzania of contravening two treaties colonial Britain had signed with Egypt and Sudan in 1929 and 1959 which restricted riparian countries from initiating projects that would affect the volume of the Nile waters without the permission of Egypt.

Tanzania's reaction was firm. "Tanzania does not recognise the Nile Basin Agreements" said Minister for Water and Livestock Development, Edward Lowassa, in the National Assembly on March 13th quoted in *Nipashe*. He added however that Tanzania would continue attending meetings of the Nile basin countries with the intention of reaching an equitable quota of Lake Victoria waters for future use in irrigation. Under the agreements water for home use, as in the proposed project, does not need to be negotiated.

THE PROJECT

The water will be tapped from Misungwi village near Mwanza and transported to water tanks about 9 kms away, from which the main pipeline will be built. The first phase of the two-phase contract was awarded to the China Civil Engineering Construction Corporation, and the project is eventually expected to provide water to up to 940,000 Tanzanians.

THE THREAT

The London Times (*Thank you Betty Wells for sending this item - Editor*) quoted the 'Inter-Africa Group' a conflict prevention organisation, as saying that 'in the absence of an agreement on equitable allocation, there would be a considerable increase in the risk of conflict.' Since the signing of the two Nile agreements, Egypt and Sudan have used force or the threat of force to emphasise their rights. In June 1980, Egypt near-

ly went to war with Ethiopia after Addis Ababa threatened to obstruct the Blue Nile. This followed attempts by the late President Anwar Sadat to divert Nile waters into the Sinai Desert. Sadat had promised Israel that he would irrigate the desert after the historical peace agreement made in Camp David, USA.

According to the 'Al Jazeera Information Centre', when Kenya threatened similar action some months ago, the Egyptian Minister of Water Resources said that any threat to unilaterally revoke the 1929 treaty would be a 'declaration of war.'

A recent UNDP report quoted in the Africa Research Bulletin (February 12) said that 'water wars' were likely in the future where rivers and lakes were shared by more than one country.

A 'Nile Basin Initiative', backed by the World Bank, was created in 1999, in an attempt to head off what many regional analysts saw as a potential source of 'water wars'. "In 10 to 20 years all countries bordering the Nile river, particularly Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia will have much larger populations and face a greater demand for water" Milas Seifulaziz of the Inter - Africa Group said. "In the absence of an agreement on equitable allocation, there will be a considerable increase in the risk of conflict."

However, East Africa and the White Nile provide only about 10% of the Nile Waters. Most of the water (the Blue Nile) comes from Ethiopia.

There is a precedent for North African involvement in war in East Africa. Libya's Colonel Gaddafi sent 2,700 troops to Uganda to help Iddi Amin Dada in his war with Tanzania in 1979.

FLURRY OF DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY

The Tanzanian action seemed to concentrate minds. It was followed by a flurry of tense meetings between all the interested parties - Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and Congo - under the auspices of the Nile Basin Initiative (NBI), an intergovernmental UN body.

At acrimonious emergency talks held in Entebbe, Uganda which started on March 8 and lasted ten days, Egyptian Irrigation Minister Abdel Abu Zaid said that Egypt would reject any proposal to lower its quota

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of Nile water and said that the talks would have to focus on initiatives to prevent seepage. Any tampering with the 1929 agreement would be tantamount to an act of war.

This meeting ended without agreement.

RECONCILIATION?

The Ministers met again in Nairobi on March 20 but this time, and under great pressure from the other countries, Egypt modified its stand. It finally accepted that the Nile Agreement would have to be amended. Returning from the meeting, Tanzanian Minister Edward Lowassa advised Tanzanians that they could use Lake Victoria water for household supplies and small irrigation schemes, and declared that the dispute on who legitimately controlled the Nile River and its sources had been cleared up. He denounced the treaties but added: "Our colleagues from Egypt have shown a commitment to agreement and were not wishing to cling to 'those old treaties'." He said that even the British government, which had signed the treaties, was no longer in favour of them.

PRIME MINISTER ADDRESSES MP'S

As this issue of Tanzanian Affairs went to the printers, *Mwananchi* reported that Prime Minister Frederick Sumaye, officiating at a one-day seminar for MP's on the subject of the Nile Basin Waters, had called on them not to waste time discussing ineffective colonial pacts. He said that Arab countries should come forward and unite in demanding a new, more equitable treaty on the use of the Nile Waters. Most MP's were said to have spoken emotionally on the topic; others suggested that the country should be ready to go to war, just in case.

WHO WILL BE THE NEXT PRESIDENT ?

Hildebrand Shayo, who writes on social, economic and political issues in the UK, has sent us his views:

People in Tanzania are excited. Although President Mkapa has warned against political 'hooliganism', enthusiasm for the coming contest is rife everywhere. But, coming up to the 2005 general election there is increasing disagreement about who is likely to take over from President Mkapa. Tanzanians, both in urban and in rural areas, are frustrated and many are eager to know who will be the next President. The incompetent opposition camp is not likely to provide an alternative to the ruling *Chama cha Mapinduzi* (CCM) party. This implies that certainly CCM will win the 2005 elections with a landslide. Although many Tanzanians are anticipating a 'surprise' in the choice of candidate, names that have been mentioned are numerous. Although I may be proved incorrect, I don't agree with recent views, expressed by long-standing politicians, who continue to maintain that the time hasn't yet arrived to start discussing who will take over from President Mkapa.

The Tanzanian constitution stipulates that the President must hold a University degree. Does this decisive factor take some of the candidates who have been mentioned off the list? No. There are rumours that some mentioned names are working on their degrees and putting in place mechanisms that will help to oil their campaign machinery. One of the candidates being mentioned, **Prime Minister Frederick Sumaye**, was the biggest vote getter at the CCM National Executive Committee (NEC) candidate elections in Dodoma at the elections in 1995, outperforming even the influential veteran Marxist ideologue Kingunge Ngombale-Mwiru whose power in the CCM is well known.

My view is that we still don't know what will happen this time. Prime Minister Sumaye has remained an outsider, at least in the party machinery. He is a hard worker, he has knowledge about the running of the government, and is well intentioned; but, during the forthcoming campaign, he may be easily squashed by wise party heavyweights if the competition is intense. Time will tell whether some of these candidates can build the required skills and expertise in time to be fit to be candidates but many doubt it.

Zanzibar President Abeid Karume, (son of the first President of Zanzibar) is a laid back kind of a gentleman, almost an 'Uhuru Kenyatta' replica (the son of Jomo Kenyatta who tried but failed to become President of Kenya last year). He does not take politics too seriously as opposed to former Zanzibar President **Dr Salim Amour** and that has helped Zanzibar in the reconciliation process. Karume has offered tremendous concessions to CUF that would have been unthinkable during Amour's era (eight CUF members work alongside CCM counterparts in key and sensitive government positions in Zanzibar!). Karume could suit the position of Tanzanian Vice President, but that also won't happen, for he will want to remain the President of Zanzibar. He could have made a good Vice-President but lacks the 'gravitas' of former Prime Minister and Head of the OAU, **Dr Salim Ahmed Salim**, and he is not a great communicator. My sense is that he enjoys being the President of Zanzibar and will offer formidable opposition to the leading opposition candidate in the Isles.

The two 'young' men, Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation **Jakaya Kikwete** and Minister of Water and Livestock Development **Edward Lowassa**, had a terrible time in Chimwaga (CCM HQ) in Dodoma in 1995. They both got disappointing votes both in NEC and Central Committee contests and that is certainly unhelpful to their ambitions. You wonder what has gone wrong in the past eight years. That is the problem with operating with a sense of privilege ("my turn is coming"). However, despite losing that magic touch and mystique with the general public, they remain influential in the CCM party and what they do next will definitely have an impact on the party's future.

Dr John Malecela, Vice-Chairman of CCM, will definitely not win but we need him as the CCM party's wise man. However, who he chooses for an ally will be the key. Sumaye was to be the Party's Vice-Chairman in the last party election in 1995 but Malecela chose to keep the seat. Malecela is one of the very few people in CCM who is beyond the control of anybody. Known as a smart, behind-the-scenes operator he is likely to have in his mind the alliance he will need to back up his candidature. If things get out of hand, this could prove devastating for the CCM party. Such alliances, and a cluster of other factors known within

the party, may hasten the realisation of the late Dr Nyerere's prophesy that the only credible opposition will come from within the CCM.

Edward Lowassa is an extremely intelligent 'A type' personality; a hard working Maasai. He is a 'can do' type of gentleman. The problem is that he is assumed to be too much of a thriving entrepreneur. However, Lowassa would have been flourishing even if he had chosen to be a cattle herder. It appears that he hasn't recovered from the bruises of the 1995 campaign and the hugely symbolic action of President Mkapa in leaving him out of his first cabinet. Unless something huge happens, his presidential ambitions appear to be ruined. In the period running up to the 1995 elections, he was partly elevated because of the 'Mrema threat' (CCM feared that Augustine Mrema, the leading opposition candidate at that time could win but, as we all know, that threat no longer exists). In essence, CCM can afford to surprise us with a non-celebrity candidate.

Former Prime Minister **Judge Joseph Sinde Warioba** is one of those respectable and incorruptible fellows. He will only run if there are guarantees that he will win the nomination this time around. His recent judgeship appointment to the East African Community Court moved him away from the political scene during a very important 'jockeying period'. He will most likely quietly enjoy his judgeship and private practice in Dar es Salaam. However, if **Dr. Salim** runs and wins the nomination, he will accept none other than Warioba for a running mate. The two of them would be a 'super ticket' as they would bring with them the voters of the Isles and the vast Sukuma population of the Lake region, their respective birthplaces. So, Warioba could end up the Vice-President.

A quick analysis of the other possible candidates:

Former Minister of Commerce and Industry **Iddi Simba** - very influential; big CCM architect and a crucial link between CCM and the business community. His presidential ambitions, however, are not going anywhere. He is not so popular with the CCM rank and file for he appears very elitist. His demotion from the cabinet was also unhelpful. He will, however, come back after 2005 in a prominent position if Dr. Salim becomes the President for he is a good friend to Dr. Salim.

Minister of Agriculture **Charles Keenja** is mentioned but his chances are extremely slim. He is known for cleaning up Dar es Salaam (which he really didn't) but only when there was no bureaucratic democratic system (of councillors) to negotiate with. His political skills, thus, remain untested. He is a Sumaye buddy and that will feature in the equation. He also shares the same 'outsider' problem as Sumaye despite winning a position on the NEC. He however could be a surprise candidate. Many don't know enough about him to be able to judge whether he would be a good president but his 'electability' inside CCM is doubtful.

Minister for Works **John Pombe Magufuli** could be the big surprise. He is very articulate, hard working, a former school teacher, very well educated (Masters holder in Engineering). He has proved exceptional in performance in his very difficult ministry. He is fearless and has been Mkapa's asset in the cabinet. He is a smooth government operative and can also be a good politician. He was not very well known by Tanzanians. But, hey, we didn't know Mkapa that well in 1995. If he wins the nomination he will have been 'pushed' and emerge as a compromise candidate if the nomination process proves divisive and contentious, as it will likely be.

Minister for Telecommunications **Prof. Mark Mwandosya** was a rising star in Tanzania. At one point he was mentioned as a replacement for Sumaye for the Premiership. The past year hasn't been good to him and his star has waned. The railway disaster and the role he played in the privatisation of Tanzania Telecommunications has discredited him. His attempt to get the elders from Mbeya to speak for him was an amateurish political move.

Vice-President Shein's future hangs in the balance in all this. But, just as in the case of Magufuli, he could be a surprise candidate. The man is qualified to be President pure and simple. He is composed, well educated, incorruptible, not a political opportunist and, most importantly, he comes from Pemba. With his 'upole' however, we could have the kind of problem former President Mwinyi was faced with; i.e. controlling the economy. I must concede that I don't know enough about him to have a definitive opinion.

My pick for the nod is **Dr. Salim**. He was Defence, Foreign and Prime Minister. He is a NEC and CC (Central Committee) member. He is from Pemba. His lengthy time abroad shielded him from local scandals such as corruption and finally, he is a Mwalimu Nyerere candidate. He has gravitas, he is presidential, articulate and known and respected by almost everyone in Tanzania and outside. If he committed some blunders as OAU Secretary General, they are unknown back home. With Warioba as a running mate, that is a winning combination. Pembans, most of whom support the opposition, don't associate him too much with CCM (he has been abroad too long) and he would garner some votes for CCM there. His election would give another lifeline to the Union.

There are many more names to go through such as **Gertrude Mongela** who openly complained to CCM Secretary General Philip Mangula recently that CCM had never nominated a woman candidate for the highest post. There has been bewilderment on the presidential post since President Mkapa declared recently that the presidency of the United Republic of Tanzania does not need to alternate between the Mainland and the Isles.

All this is speculation. A week is a long time in politics.

ANOTHER VIEW

The publication 'Africa Analysis' (20th February) also wrote about what it described as 'the feverish speculation' as to who might emerge as the Union's presidential candidate. It said that candidates would have to contend with 'the powerful force that is 70-year-old **John Malecela**,' who was extremely popular within the party. He was said to be planning to pick former Zanzibar President **Salmin Amour** - 'an unpopular figure among the mainland elite' - as his running mate. Such a team would also be anathema to what was described as 'the System' - 'a cabal of senior security officers most of whom had been appointed by the late Julius Nyerere'. The article went on: 'During the CCM nominations for the last elections in 2000, 'the System' had been responsible for the debacle that saw **Amani Karume**, who garnered fewer votes than his rivals, emerge as the CCM candidate for the Isles presidential elections, which he won, albeit controversially.'

As regards the contest for the Zanzibar presidency, the article said that, if the elections were free and fair - 'a tall order considering the isles' last two electoral experiences' - the leader of the opposition Civic United Front (CUF) **Seif Shareef Hamad**, might well emerge as the next President of Zanzibar. CUF's eminence in Zanzibar had been further guaranteed when the up and coming opposition party SAFINA ('Ark') had been banned recently after it failed to fulfil registration requirements. SAFINA was described as the brain-child of the elder brother of Salmin Amour who was 'suspected of being the leader of a strong CCM faction in the isles opposed to the current Zanzibar President, Amani Karume'. However the brother had been expelled recently from the party on allegations of misconduct.

THE PROCEDURE

The 'Africa Analysis' article went on to explain how any CCM member aspiring to become a presidential candidate would first have to take the forms and then seek 250 sponsors in 10 regions including Zanzibar. The CCM Central Committee would then make five recommendations to the NEC which would choose three of them whose names would then be sent to the National Party Congress. This Congress would make the final choice. The process should end by April 30, 2005.

DAR ES SALAAM UNIVERSITY SHUT

As this issue goes to the press it is reported that Dar es Salaam university has suspended all undergraduate students following clashes with police on 20 April. The vice-chancellor of the university, Mathew Luhanga, ordered the students to leave the campus while an investigation into the incident is carried out.

The clashes came during a protest staged by the students a day after parliament passed legislation requiring them to apply for government loans to pay for their education.

The Government has threatened stern measures including termination of sponsorship for ringleaders.

POLITICAL NEWS HEADLINES

Kambetela wa Kamsopi of the Guardian (April 6) selected a number of newspaper headings which had appeared in the local press:

'Mrema crosses back to CCM; receives grand reception from Mangula (CCM Secretary General)'

'Tanzania debt cancelled up to 2000'

'Top Civic United Front (CUF) leader crosses over to CCM'

'David Beckham arrives in Dar es Salaam quietly'

But all these headings were published on the same day - April 1st!

Among political developments revealed on dates other than April 1st were the following:

Major changes in electoral system being considered

The Government is considering the possibility of introducing a number of changes to the electoral system. In order to try and establish a viable opposition by increasing the number of opposition MP's, a system of proportional representation might be introduced. Another proposal is to increase the number of MP's from 295 to 350. The number of women MP's might also be increased from 25% to 30%. And, in an important change in policy, it appears that CCM has agreed, or is about to agree, to the participation of private candidates in Tanzanian politics.

Opposition presidential candidates

The opposition remains divided (and will therefore not rule) as parties hasten to choose their candidates for the next presidential election.

The main opposition party on the mainland, the *Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo* (CHADEMA) has said it will field a presidential candidate in 2005 for the first time since it was established in 1992. The party said that this time around CHADEMA had earmarked an energetic member to contest the presidency. The Party Chairman, Bob Makani, has resigned and said he did not intend to seek re-election at his party's

AGM; he wanted young blood to lead the party. Makani also said that if his party came to power it would allow the formation of three governments. The grant of permission for Zanzibar to fly its own flag was proof of the need for a government of Tanganyika and another for Zanzibar - *Nipashe*.

It is assumed that Professor Ibrahim Lipumba will again be the Civic United Front (CUF) presidential candidate for Tanzania in 2005 and Seif Shareef Hamad will be again the CUF presidential candidate in Zanzibar.

The Tanzania Labour Party (TLP) has declared its chairman, Augustine Mrema, to be its presidential candidate in 2005. In fear of removal from his post, he persuaded the party to change its constitution at its last meeting; the Executive Committee lost its right to remove a serving chairman from his post. The party also expelled ten of its leaders, including its former chairman, vice-chairman and treasurer who had been opposing Mrema. "A major purge in the top ranks of the party was necessary to prevent the ruling CCM party from annihilating TLP," Mrema said, referring to a trend in which top officials of his party have been defecting to other parties - *Mwananchi* and other papers.

Makongoro Nyerere appointed special seats MP

President Mkapa has appointed Makongoro Nyerere, the son of Father of the Nation the late Julius Nyerere, as tenth and last 'special seats' MP to be appointed by him. Makongoro is a former opposition MP from NCCR-Mageuzi. He lost his parliamentary seat after he lost an election petition against him. He rejoined CCM before the death of his father in 1999.

Other nominees of the President in Parliament are former High Commissioner in London Dr Abdulkader Shareef, Kingunge Ngombale-Mwiru, Omar Ramadhani Mapuri, Brigadier General (retired) Hassan Ngwilizi, Chief Abdallah Said Fundikira, Anne Kione Malecela, Dr Masumbuko Lamwai, Mwanaidi Hassan Makame - all CCM members - plus Hamad Rashid Mohamed from CUF.

Chosen for AU parliament

MP's have chosen the colleagues who will represent Tanzania in the newly created African Union Parliament. They are Ambassador Gertrude Mongella, from the women's group, Dr. William Shija and Athumani Janguo from the mainlanders group, Dr. Aman Kabourou (CHADEMA) from the opposition group and Remidius Kisasi from the Zanzibar group of MPs - *Majira*.

STATE HOUSE IN FLAMES

President Mkapa's residential quarters and office in State House were set on fire in the early morning of April 14. The combined efforts of the police and the fire brigade eventually brought the fire under control. The fire was reported to have destroyed many official documents and the President's private library. State House was undergoing a TShs 3 billion refurbishment at the time. An investigation into the cause of the fire was started.

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ZANZIBAR

Reconciliation. In a gesture of reconciliation, a multitude of CUF members led by Secretary General Seif Shariff Hamad, joined CCM party members (for the first time since CUF was formed in 1992) in celebrations that marked the 40th anniversary of the revolution that toppled the Sultan of Zanzibar in 1964. The celebrations, at Amaan stadium, were also attended by Presidents Benjamin Mkapa and Mwai Kibaki (of Kenya) and Ugandan Prime Minister Professor Apollo Nsibambi. CUF members waved party flags and carried placards urging implementation of the *Muafaka* accord, while CCM members carried placards proclaiming that the revolution was there for ever - *Mwananchi* and other newspapers.

Registration of voters. Just before it was due to start, it was announced in Zanzibar that voter registration by the Electoral Commission had been postponed indefinitely because of the unavailability of donor funds. It was also reported, however, that a British company would be appointed to help supervise the registration exercise.

On April 15, however, it was announced that the Zanzibar Government would take charge of voter registration. Zanzibar Chief Minister Shamsi Vuai Nahodha told the House of Representatives that the Government was concerned with an alleged misappropriation of funds (some TShs 217 million) by the Commission appointed to implement the *Muafaka* and promised that investigations would be conducted and the culprits charged. The Government would look for funds and ensure that the registration process would proceed on time. He said the Government wanted the 2005 elections to be held in a free and fair atmosphere to help islanders forget all the confusion arising from past experiences - *Guardian*.

ZEC Secretariat. The Zanzibar Electoral Commission's new secretariat is expected to be fully established by June 2004 as agreed in the *Muafaka* under a new structure drawn up by Canadian and Tanzanian experts.

Party struck off. Zanzibar's new SAFINA party was struck off the register of political parties in February but party leaders said they would ignore the decision because the move had been made to favour CCM and they would file a case in the courts. The party was struck off after

its leaders had failed to produce a list of 200 founding members from 10 regions on the Mainland and Zanzibar, so as to be granted permanent registration, as provided for in the law. It was alleged that there had also been endless squabbles in the party and a struggle for power so that it was impossible to determine who exactly the party's trustees were - *Guardian*.

Six bombs and other incidents. There were six bombing incidents in Zanzibar in March and April. Before the first of these bomb blasts, on March 6, and apparently not connected with the other bombings, the Zanzibar Electricity Company suffered a loss amounting to TShs 26m after people, described as hooligans, used petrol bombs to blow up three electricity transformers. Unguja town has 500 transformers, which make it difficult for the company to organize adequate security.

The incident came three days after the police tried to quash an unlicensed public demonstration that had been organized by the 'Association for the Revival and Propagation of the Islamic Faith.' Chaos reigned in various streets of Zanzibar town as angry Muslims threw stones at the riot police and burnt tyres. The demonstrators carried placards reading *Mbona Maaskofu hamuwakatazi?* (why don't you ban demonstrations organised by Christian bishops), *Mnatuonea Waislam* (You're harassing us Moslems) and *Haki Sawa kwa Wote, Karume lazima ang'oke*" (Equal rights for all, Karume must go). The police responded with tear gas canisters and arrested 32 people - *Guardian*.

The property that was damaged or destroyed by the six bombs included a house belonging to the Zanzibar Minister of Transport and Communications, another belonging to a ten-cell village leader (or *Sheha*), a police vehicle, a school bus belonging to St Francis Primary School, and the house of the Mufti of Zanzibar.

A senior official of the British Embassy in Rwanda and a number of tourists escaped unhurt after a hand grenade was thrown at the Mercury Restaurant in Forodhani (named after the famous singer Freddie Mercury, who was born in Zanzibar). The grenade fell on the table occupied by the British official and her company. According to the *Guardian* it rolled down and caused a stampede but no one was hurt in the incident (this also applied to the other incidents). Tanzanian army

specialists diffused the bomb and there followed a loud explosion that shook the whole of Forodhani Street.

On March 26 the Tanzanian Government ordered all defence and security organs, including the Tanzania Peoples' Defence Forces (TPDF) and the Intelligence Department to use all their powers to hunt down the people involved. The order was issued by Deputy Minister for Home Affairs, Capt John Chiligati who said "The Union government will ensure that peace and security prevail on the isles." He said that the bomb blasts had been aimed at creating fear and anxiety during the visit to Zanzibar of the German President Dr Johannes Rau.

Mkapa warns Zanzibar's troublemakers. On April 5 President Mkapa vowed to deal with those alleged to be behind the spate of bombings. Addressing a public rally in Shinyanga he said: "We can't allow political parties that think they can spread the 'viruses of religious, tribal, zonal and gender bias'", and indicated that the Government believed that the bombings in Zanzibar were probably sponsored by some political party he wouldn't name.

Following another statement, this time by the Deputy Minister for Home Affairs, that the attacks were politically motivated and aimed at ruining efforts to build the economy, CUF immediately asked him which political party he was referring to. The party said that international experts should be called upon to uncover the plotters. The party's Acting Secretary-General, Wilfred Rwakatare, told the press on April 2 that reputable international experts, would undertake free and fair investigations, with no mercy even if the implicated people were state officials. He noted that there was a lot of speculation as to why these explosions were happening at the time when people were preparing for voter registration.

Arrests. Some 39 suspects were arrested shortly after the bombings and twelve of them were charged. Lack of modern equipment had stalled the investigations by the police, Zanzibar Attorney General Idd Pandu Hassan was quoted as saying.

"Zanzibar bombings government sponsored" The leader of the *Uamsho* group of Moslems in Zanzibar, Sheikh Farid Hadi Ahmed, said

on April 3 that the Government was behind the bombings. Its aim was to get a pretext for arresting and detaining some leading figures in Zanzibar. Speaking at Mtambani Mosque in Dar es Salaam, Sheikh Farid said his group would soon call for a demonstration in Dar es Salaam to pressurize the Government into repealing some oppressive laws including the Prevention of Terrorism Act which, he said, targeted Muslims - *Mtanzania*.

Uamsho leader in court. Sheikh Azan Khalid Hamdan the second in command in the *Uamsho* group of Moslems has been arraigned in court charged with incitement against the Government. According to the charge sheet Sheikh Azad incited Moslems gathered at Malindi grounds in Zanzibar on 3rd March 2004 against sections of the Newspaper Act No. 5 of 1988. He was released on bail until April 27, 2004. In another case Khamis Haji Khamis (29) was charged with being in possession of seditious leaflets containing the message: 'The Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar is conducting bombings in the Isles so that it can get the pretext to arrest *Uamsho* leaders and detain them'. He was also released on bail until April 9, 2004 - *Mtanzania*.



Tourism continues. The Dar es Salaam Financial Times reported that, in spite of the spate of bombs and arson, tourism in Tanzania had not been adversely affected. Bookings to Zanzibar from traditional markets had not been cancelled. Skylink Travels and Tours Managing Director Moustapha Khataw was quoted as saying that he remained confident that the tourism business in Zanzibar would remain robust. Tourists regarded the various 'scuffles' as minor issues which posed no serious threat to their lives. So far, none of the countries belonging to Tanzania's traditional tourist markets had issued any new travel advisories to its citizens.

However, Minister for Finance Basil Mramba condemned the bomb attacks on the Isles and described the incidents as very bad for the economy and for the image of the country. The 2001 terrorist attacks on the US embassy in Dar es Salaam three years before had led to cancellation of about 40% of tourist bookings. Tourism in Tanzania accounts for about 16% of the GDP and nearly 25% of total export earnings.

Compensation for property loss. The Commonwealth Secretariat has been accused of back-peddalling on compensating Zanzibaris whose properties were destroyed during the political conflicts in 2001 between the ruling CCM and CUF. According to the East African the cash pledge was made to the Zanzibar government by the Commonwealth, when the latter brokered the peace accord of October 2001, referred to as *Muafaka*. Many of the houses demolished in Zanzibar's main island of Unguja, which is predominantly a CCM stronghold, and properties destroyed during the political turmoil of 2001, were those of CUF supporters. CUF has a strong base on the twin island of Pemba. A senior official in the joint CCM/CUF reconciliation committee overseeing the implementation of the *Muafaka* told The East African that 90% of the accord has been achieved, and only the compensation issue remained.

But Prof Ibrahim Lipumba, the chairman of CUF, said that this was not correct because key areas including reforming the judiciary, introduction of a permanent voters' register, and reforming public media, setting up a joint parties secretariat to monitor peace in the isles, appointment of CUF members to the House of Representatives, and a number of other issues, were still pending.


Compensation for imprisonment. The Zanzibar Government has refused to give compensation to 18 members of CUF, who were charged with treason in 1997 and confined in prison for three years before being acquitted. They had demanded Shs15 billion. The Government pegged its offer at 20m/- for each of them. Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of State in the President's Office responsible for Justice and Constitutional Affairs, Omar Makungu, criticised the former inmates, saying they were too rigid and demanding. They claimed that they had suffered psychological and economic loss while in prison. The court granted a request by the Zanzibar Government to settle the case out of court. But the complainants stuck to their guns and refused to reduce the size of the amount demanded. Among the complainants are the CUF Vice-Chairman, the Deputy Secretary-General, a nominated CUF MP, the CUF Director of Planning and Elections, a commissioner on the Zanzibar Electoral Commission, a former Minister of Agriculture, and a CUF woman party activist, Zulekha Ahmed. - *Guardian*

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ASYLUM AND REFUGEES

BRITAIN AND TANZANIA TALK

Britain and Tanzania have been in discussions about Britain's asylum and refugee problems. Liberal Democrat party leader Charles Kennedy brought the matter into the public domain on February 25 when he asked the Prime Minister what was going on and expressed the fear that the proposal could lead to 'an international trade in displaced people'. Tony Blair then explained that the idea was for asylum claims to be processed nearer to the country of origin. It would be a pilot scheme to explore how Britain could help process asylum applications which arose in Tanzania. "We have been talking to the Tanzanian Government about various immigration issues, including East Africans falsely claiming to be Somalis in the hope of securing British residency" he said.

In Dar es Salaam, the Government immediately confirmed that consultations over Britain's request to set up a camp in Tanzania for screening Somali asylum seekers were going on. Home Affairs Minister Ramadhani Mapuri quoted in the East African said: "The government wishes to acknowledge a request made by the Government of the United Kingdom to settle Somali refugees in Tanzania. Internal consultations among stakeholders within the Government of Tanzania are in progress but the Government is yet to give its response." He added, "Any response must take full consideration of the magnitude, multitude and the entire range of socio-political implications for Tanzania including the fact that Tanzanians are already overwhelmed by the burden of refugees".

According to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), Tanzania is host to more than 600,000 refugees mainly from Burundi, Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Somalia. 470,000 of these are in camps, and another 170,000 are living independently in the Tabora and Rukwa regions.

Mr Mapuri added: "It was brought to the Tanzanian Government's attention that there are some alleged Tanzanian nationals in the UK who pose and continue to live in the UK as Somali refugees....Tanzania believes that, should any Tanzanian nationals posing as Somali refugees in the UK be identified, they should not be expelled, but returned to Tanzania under normal procedures that respect human dignity."

The 'East African' said that Tanzania was one of the major transit points for asylum seekers from the Great Lakes region trying to get into Europe due to its lax immigration scrutiny. Once they arrived in the UK, most of them identified themselves as Somalis seeking asylum due to the current turmoil in Somalia. People from the Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, Rwanda and Somalia itself were trying to enter Britain through Tanzania. Britain has said that it is prepared to help Tanzania with cash support for its growing refugee problem.

Somalis made up the largest number of refugee applicants to Britain last year but the numbers are still tiny (around 6,000 in 2003) compared with the number of refugees Tanzania has to host.

Peter Kallaghe, Director of Communications for Tanzanian President Mkapa, told the Guardian that there had been discussions between the two governments over the issue but that it was sensitive. "Any decision would not be taken very easily," he said. The Guardian report said that a camp in Tanzania could offer a processing point for Somalis seeking asylum as well as a home for failed asylum seekers.

Tanzanian Affairs has been told that the British Home Office is planning to send a 'scoping' visit to Tanzania in the near future to take the discussions further.

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Praise for Tanzania from the IMF

Sebastian Paschal writing in Dar es Salaam's Financial Times (March 24) gave a detailed account of the IMF's first review of Tanzania's \$29.3 million Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility (PRGF) arrangement. This is the IMF's 'concessional facility' for low-income countries. PRGF loans carry an annual interest rate of 0.5% and are repayable over 10 years. The review, which contained much praise for the way in which the Government had been handling the economy, has enabled the release of a further \$4.2 million, which will bring the total amount drawn under the arrangement to about \$8.3 million.

Extracts from the article/review: 'The Tanzanian authorities deserve credit for maintaining macroeconomic stability and making substantial progress with structural reforms, which have paved the way for a steady but modest increase in real per capita income combined with low inflation' - IMF.

Reflecting its good track record in the implementation of its reform program, Tanzania has received steady financial support and technical assistance from the donor community. In particular, debt relief under the enhanced HIPC Initiative has helped Tanzania to undertake higher social sector spending and maintain debt sustainability. At a recent meeting between the IMF and the Government, the latter revealed its plan to achieve a comprehensive reform of tax policy and tax administration. This would include the forthcoming adoption of a new Income Tax Bill and the Tanzania Revenue Authority's implementation of a new three-year corporate plan, which the IMF said was a good move. The IMF commended Tanzania's position on the income tax Bill.

The fund observed also that the rationalisation of the tax regime for mining companies, imposing strict controls on tax exemptions, would be important steps to contain revenue leakages. It added that maintaining a sound fiscal position and debt sustainability would also require firm control over non-priority expenditure and prudent debt management policies. According to the IMF, the newly passed amendments to the Land Act would facilitate bank lending by permitting the use of

land as collateral. The IMF also supported the privatisation of the National Microfinance Bank (NMB) saying it would help to broaden access to financial services.

It appears also, however, that during the recent meeting with the Government doubts were expressed on the seriousness of the rising fiscal pressures emanating from growing subsidies for the energy sector. The IMF proposed action including formulation of a short-term plan and a medium-term reform strategy, which would aim at providing a reliable power supply, while reducing the electricity utility's dependence on fiscal subsidies.

During the discussions, the Government underlined its commitment to the full implementation of its updated national anti-corruption strategy and action plan for 2003-2005, which the IMF say would be a crucial step for strengthening governance and boosting business confidence.

Despite Tanzania's achievements in macroeconomic stability, however, the IMF noted that poverty remained widespread, especially in rural areas, and economic development had been uneven across the country.

Natural Gas

Electricity produced by the Songosongo gas project (SONGAS) will be connected to the National Power Grid on June 17, this year, the Managing Director of TANESCO, Rudy Huysen, announced on April 2. SONGAS would add 75 megawatts to the national grid.

Artumas Ltd of Canada will be investing \$32 million to develop a new gas field at Mnazi Bay in Mtwara region. The project will generate 12.5 megawatts of electricity and provide cheap power for the southern regions of Mtwara, Lindi and Ruvuma. - *Mwananchi*.

Savings locally and abroad

According to the East African, quoting Central Bank Governor Daudi Ballali (15th December), Tanzanians have 'stashed away' \$2.5 billion abroad compared with the \$1.7 billion they have placed in local savings banks. However, he said that an even larger sum was held as foreign savings a decade ago. Some of this money had returned to the country as a result of the move away from a command to a private-sector-driven market economy and the reduction of the inflation rate from 35% to 4.5%.

Foreign exchange capacity and inflation

Tanzania's economy has the foreign exchange capacity to finance imports for eight months and two weeks instead of the six months recorded last year, according to the Bank of Tanzania (BoT). Gross international reserves had increased from \$1.5 billion to over \$2 billion. As regards inflation, the BoT report said that, despite adverse drought condition coupled with food insecurity, inflation had been contained at 4.6% for three consecutive months since October 2003.

Cut flower exports

The BoT has also reported that Tanzania earned TShs 1.1bn from the export of cut flowers in the last quarter of the year. The cut flower was said to be becoming an important non-traditional export. Most of the flowers are exported to European countries, especially Germany and Switzerland. Roses are the major element - *East African*

TANZANIA IN THE INTERNATIONAL MEDIA

(In order to make this section 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 in or travel outside the UK, please send us the relevant item, together with the name and date of the publication to the address on the back page. If you do not wish your name to be published please say so - Editor).

US General Charles Wald, Deputy Commander of the US European Command based in Germany, (which also has responsibility for 93 countries, including all of the sub-Saharan region apart from the Horn), recently responded to a journalist's question about a report that Tanzania was not co-operating fully with the US on terrorism. He was quoted in the **WASHINGTON TIMES** as saying that US military forces were working with the Tanzanian government to counter a terrorism threat. Unnamed Bush administration officials had apparently said that Tanzanian officials had only haltingly co-operated with American efforts to root out terrorists. The paper quoted an anonymous Western diplomat as saying: "The Tanzanians see terrorism as an international

issue, not a domestic one, because most terrorists are imported. The problem with that argument is that Tanzania is a permissive environment." The newspaper article went on: 'US Treasury Department officials charged in January that the Tanzanian branch of a Saudi Arabian charity had engaged in terrorist activities and plotted attacks last year against tourist hotels on Zanzibar.....The scheduled attacks did not take place due to increased security by local authorities, but planning for the attacks remained active.' Some Tanzanians were said to view the high level of American concern as exaggerated. They pointed out that the Tanzanian mainland had not suffered an attack for five-and-a-half years.

In a detailed report published on February 2 **THE EAST AFRICAN** took to task what it called the 'errant lawyers of Tanzania' and the 23 cases pending against them. There was said to be growing concern over falling standards, pilferage of clients' money and unethical conduct. The report was based on a paper obtained from the Tanganyika Law Association (TLS). A common complaint was the lack of an effective legal mechanism to crack down on errant lawyers. "Complaints against advocates have increased, although the society has taken steps against lawyers who abuse their profession", TLS acting executive secretary Anitha Moshi said. Despite the growing list of complaints, not a single lawyer had lost his licence to practice in Tanzania. But Ms Moshi insisted that the TLS was taking action and had forced some advocates to return clients' money. Asked about cases of magistrates dismissed by the Government and then readily admitted to the Bar, she said the practicing certificate is issued by the Chief Justice after he verifies an applicant's records. Surprisingly, many former magistrates, who were sacked over corruption or other unprofessional conduct, have crossed over to the Bar as advocates. The regional ethics committees of TLS said they were satisfied with the conduct of advocates in Tanga, Arusha, Mbeya and Kilimanjaro regions, where no complaints had been filed. Mwanza had received one complaint but cases against lawyers in Dar es Salaam included receiving legal fees but failing to appear in court, withdrawing from arbitration proceedings after being paid and refusing to refund clients' money.

The **AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN** (December 2) announced that Stella Artois beer, a brand popular during Tanzania's beer shortages in the early 1990's, had made a comeback and was to be brewed by a locally owned brewery under licence from Belgium's 'Interbrew', the world's third largest beer producer. This would represent competition for Tanzania Breweries which controlled 98% of Tanzania's beer market. Minister for Trade and Industry Dr Juma Ngasongwa said that producing Stella Artois locally would ensure that more Tanzanians were employed and that government revenue would increase.

The World Bank's publication **FINDINGS** (April) described, in four succinctly-written pages, recent development in Tanzania's coffee industry by the Senior Economist John Baffes. The paper recorded that during the 1960s the cooperatives and the Coffee Board became involved in most aspects of marketing and trade in coffee. This involvement culminated in the nationalisation of most Arabic coffee estates in northern Tanzania in 1973. Since then the coffee sector had been subject to a shifting of power between the cooperatives and the Coffee Board with the needs of the sector itself never seriously addressed.

The performance of the sector deteriorated and reforms became necessary. The first steps were taken in 1990 when the Coffee Board began to make more timely payments to cooperatives. The Board became a marketing agent rather than a marketer. In March 1992 input markets were opened to private traders and a few months later exporters were allowed to retain 10% of their export earnings in foreign currency and, soon thereafter, 100%. More reforms came in 1993 allowing private sector participation in marketing and processing.

While these reforms brought about some improvement there were still many problems. Although the processing capacity for coffee had increased enormously - since 1988 twelve new factories had been built - many of these were operating at only a quarter of installed capacity. Uncertainties in the coffee sector were exacerbated by the 'one-licence regulation' issued by the Coffee Board just three days before the official start of the 2002/03 coffee buying season in the Western coffee zone. The regulation limited applicants for private coffee buying, coffee processing or coffee export licences to just one of these licences so as to help the

cooperatives increase their market share at the expense of private traders.

The paper made a number of recommendations: taxes should be substantially reduced; the Coffee Board's licensing procedures should be re-examined; the coffee auction should be voluntary; the Board should take greater responsibility for statistics; and, its powers and those of the ministries should be substantially reduced. The regulatory framework should facilitate the transfer of nationalised estates to private individuals so that their full potential could be realised.

The paper also includes an account of the numerous significant changes made since 1920 in the coffee estate sector.

Why has the Tanzania shilling dropped so heavily against the US dollar in recent weeks? The latest **AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN** suggested that it was because of severe food shortages in late 2003 and the action of the Government in trying to ease the situation by waiving some taxes paid by food importers. The result had been massive food shipments in January paid for in dollars at the same time as a recent drop in exports of coffee and cashew nuts caused by low rainfall.

AFRICA ANALYSIS (March 5) expressed concern about the possible threat to tourism in Zanzibar following what it described as a brutal attack by machete-wielding robbers who boarded a yacht with 15 tourists on board off Pemba on 21st February. None of the holidaymakers were hurt but the robbers escaped with money, passports, jewellery and computers.

Schoolboys fidget and mess about in class, while girls sit still and concentrate - all because of biological sex differences that evolved millions of years ago. A team from the University of Minnesota, quoted in the **DAILY TELEGRAPH** (April 15) and based on an article in **NATURE**, had conducted a four-year study of young chimpanzees in the Gombe National Park in Tanzania. They noted how young chimps learnt to fish for termites using a stick. Although both sexes received the same attention, on average, the females picked up enough skill to extract their own termites by the age of 31 months while males took 58 months. Males spent more time playing and in physical activity. The fact that

young chimps followed the same sex specific roles as humans was said to indicate that such behaviour had deep-rooted biological origins, probably dating back more than 6 million years.

AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL (19th December) revealed what it described as 'a bad-tempered discussion on Zimbabwe' at the Commonwealth Summit Meeting in Nigeria from 5th to 8th December. Commonwealth Secretary General Don McKinnon had applied for an extension of his term of office but this was opposed by some African countries because he was supporting continued sanctions against Zimbabwe. According to Africa Confidential, in September last year, Tanzania's High Commissioner in London had approached his Sri Lankan counterpart with a plan to put up an Asian candidate against McKinnon. The person eventually selected to do this was former Sri Lankan Foreign Minister Lakshman Kardirgamar. Discussions continued some weeks later in Romania and Switzerland which involved, amongst others, former OAU Secretary General Salim Ahmed Salim from Tanzania. Efforts to mobilise a large African vote against McKinnon did not succeed however and McKinnon was eventually re-elected by 41 votes to 11. Only South Africa, Namibia, Malawi, Mozambique, and Zambia amongst African countries allowed themselves to be publicly identified with support for the Sri Lankan candidate. (*TA has been told that Tanzania voted for McKinnon as did Uganda and Kenya - Editor*).

HABARI, the journal of the Sweden-Tanzania Society, is written in Swedish. However, in its first issue of 2004, it contained three articles in English on languages spoken in Tanzania and included a comprehensive language map of the country. The first article, by Malin Petzell was on a socio-linguistic study on the position of the Kagulu language which is spoken by 200,000 to 300,000 people in Kilosa district. It was said that it still held a strong position in society but was in the 'endangered' category particularly in urban areas. The second paper, written by Jennifer Palmgren, had the title 'Kiswahili language, nation-building and identity'. There was also a half-page on basic English-Kisukuma greetings.

Under the heading 'Drawing on ancient remedies' the South African **MAIL AND GUARDIAN** (27th February) described how traditional and modern medicine is being fused in the fight against AIDS in Tanga by an 'Aids Working Group'. It is estimated that the region has a ratio of one doctor to 33,000 people but there is one traditional healer to every 156 people. An elderly healer, Mohamed Kasomo, is actually working with doctors in a modern hospital and is using all kinds of herbs for a variety of AIDS-related complaints including loss of appetite, fever, skin infections, abdominal discomfort and oral and vaginal fungus. The herbs are packaged in powder form and every two weeks about 700 patients go to the hospital to collect their packages. They then take them home where they boil them into tea. Although the traditional healers are not curing AIDS they are making marked improvements in people's standards of living, the article said. (*Thank you David Leishman for sending this item - Editor*).

'It may look like dung and smell like dung, but it's a life-saver for the deaf of Africa'. **THE THIRD SECTOR** quoted in **THE TIMES** (January 13) reported that Christmas cards made from elephant droppings have raised £1,000 for deaf children in Tanzania. Some cards were sold in game parks and one of these parks also requested 1,000 elephant dung folders to package its annual report. A hotel was said to have ordered 'Dumbo-dung' lampshades - (*Thank you Liz Fennell for sending this item - Editor*).

'Juma Twaha had gone blind but his life in the atmosphere of torpor and decay in Temeke, Dar es Salaam, was causing him some torment. Not having the sureness of foot of those blind from birth, he would often stumble into the treacherous potholes. This would immediately prompt mirth and jeers from an entourage of small children who would collapse on the ground in a theatrical mimicry of Juma's clumsiness. Last August his luck changed. A 35-person team from Orbis, the global sight-saving charity, came to Tanzania to train ophthalmologists in cataract surgery. Mr Twaha became the first person in a Tanzanian public hospital to receive small incision surgery on his cataracts. His sight was restored.' Seeing himself in the mirror for the first time for years, he exclaimed "Actually I'm pretty good looking. I should now be able

to find a wife!" (Thank you Donald Wright for sending this item from the *SUNDAY TELEGRAPH* (December 14) - Editor).

AFRICAN BUSINESS (March) presented its first annual review of Africa's top companies listed on a sub-regional basis. In East Africa, it quoted 'Market Capitalisation' as placing Tanzania Breweries top of the list and Tanzania Cigarettes fifth. Out of the first ten companies all except two were Kenyan. Tanzania's stock exchange, which generated a loss of 8% compared badly with that of Uganda which had a 140% return - one of the highest in the world. Zimbabwe (in US dollar terms) was said to be the worst performing market in the world. Tanzania's exchange lists only six companies compared to Kenya's fifty.

THE EAST AFRICAN has published a report on the mining industry in Tanzania which stated that an international mineral auditing firm, Alex Stewart of the US, had been engaged by the Government to verify the amount of gold mined and revenue earned. This happened after the Government had finally persuaded the large scale mining companies to provide it with details of their operations. Brief extracts from the report, by Faustine Rwambali and Joseph Mwamunyange: 'Unlike in the past when the sector was dominated by artisanal miners, which made monitoring of production and actual sales figures difficult, the entrance of large-scale mining companies has made it easier to monitor mining activities. Tanzanians have for long debated whether the Government has been earning all the revenue due to it from the country's precious metals.... There are five giant gold mining companies in Tanzania - Afrika Mashariki Gold Mines Ltd (North Mara Gold Project); Resolute (Tanzania) Ltd (Golden Pride Project); Kahama Mining Corporation Ltd (Bulyanhulu Mine); Meremeta Ltd (Buhemba Gold Mine); and Geita Gold Mining Ltd (Geita Gold Mine). Tulakawa Mine, owned by Pangea Mining Ltd., was opened recently. The five companies jointly produce an estimated 1.45 million troy ounces of gold annually. According to Tanzania's investment law, mining firms pay only 3 per cent of their earnings in royalties. Amendments to the mining law that were effected in the late 1990s, created an enabling environment to attract large scale mining investors.

The **ECONOMIST** published yet another of its frequent highly critical articles about the early years of independent Tanzania in its January 3 issue. It began: 'Julius Nyerere, the socialist who founded and nearly destroyed Tanzania, must be grumbling in his grave. His protégé, President Mkapa, who cannot seem to look at a state enterprise without trying to privatise it, is bringing market discipline even to the health sector. Compounding his betrayal, his government last month appointed a Briton, David Tregoning, to overhaul the state hospital in Dar Salaam..... The revered Nyerere was not fond of business - minded Westerners: in the early 1960s, he kicked them off their farms and nationalised multinationals' Tanzanian subsidiaries..... Nowadays, though the Government hates to admit it, Tanzania does what foreign donors say. It was at their insistence that Dr Tregoning was hired..... donors will be paying for the hospital's face-lift and demanded some control over how their money is spent.....

The article went on: 'The hospital's history mirrors Tanzania's. The state-of-the-art facility, when it was built in 1960, just before independence, decayed under Mr Nyerere's unaccountable socialist regime. Donated equipment festered in storerooms; underpaid medical staff pinched drugs; patients lay unattended and underfed in overcrowded, filthy wards..... This should soon change with \$2 million a year from the African Development Bank and the Illinois-based Abbott Laboratories Fund. Dr Tregoning will oversee the renovation of laboratories, the introduction of new training techniques, the establishment of an HIV Management Programme and the upgrading of technology across the hospital.....'

The article also included some praise for Tanzania: 'Tanzania's recent overall record has been good. There has been an impressive growth in agriculture under Mr Mkapa. He has imposed fiscal discipline; inflation has fallen, Tanzanians are less likely to find cockroaches in their beer now that the state brewery has been sold off; the national telecoms firm and airline are also largely in private hands and foreign companies now manage the water and electricity utilities. Some economists now predict that the economy might even become the biggest in East Africa in a few years time by overtaking Kenya's (Thank you Jill Bowden for sending this item - Editor).

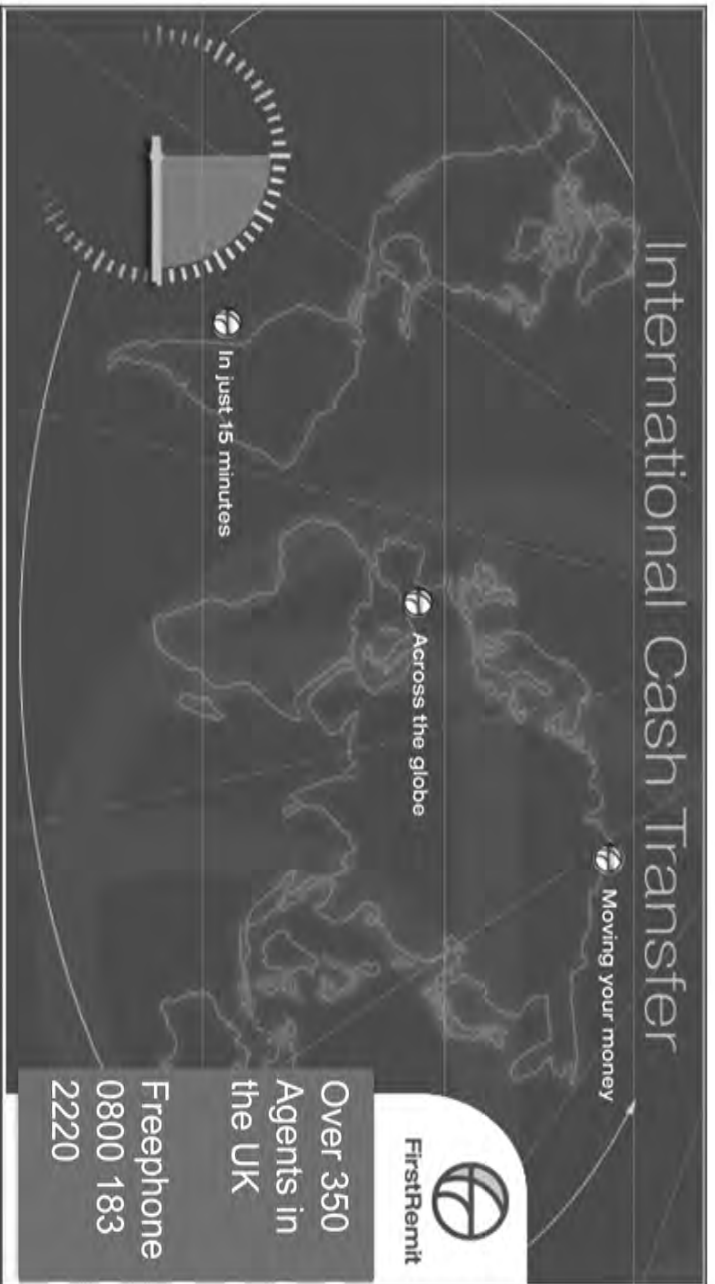
CUSTOMS UNION SIGNED

The Dar es Salaam Financial Times reported on March 2 that the three East African Heads of State had finally signed in Arusha the 40-page protocol establishing the 'East African Community Customs Union' amidst a series of unresolved issues. The signing had taken four years of negotiations and finally had to be considerably watered down to accommodate deep-seated differences between the member states. One of the critical issues is what tax to charge on goods from outside the EAC, known as the 'Common External Tariff' (CET). Uganda has unilaterally decided to apply a 20% rate for finished goods, while Kenya and Tanzania have stuck to the more protectionist 25%. Uganda and Tanzania have been allowed to place a surcharge on specified lists of products from Kenya due to the latter's generally more advanced industrial base.

ISLAMIC SECTS COME TOGETHER

On January 31 believers from different sects of the Muslim religion celebrated *Idd el-Haj* together peacefully. This was described in the Guardian as a rare landmark occasion in the Muslim experience in Tanzania.

In his remarks on the occasion of *Idd* prayers held at the Mnazi Mmoja grounds in Dar es Salaam, Sheikh Mussa Kileo, of the Union of Muslim Councils in Tanzania, said he hoped that Muslim believers would continue to celebrate the big day together. There was no reason to bring in differences. A popular Muslim cleric, Sheikh Issa Ponda, said that one *Idd* for all Muslims was a milestone for every believer in the country. "We are glad that our fellow believers in the National Muslim Council of Tanzania (BAKWATA) have decided to re-join the Muslim world". Speaking later at the *Idd Baraza* organised by BAKWATA, Acting Chief Sheikh for the Dar es Salaam Region, Ali Ngeruka, appealed to the Government to endorse the establishment of the Chief Kadhi's Office in the country. Sheikh Ngeruka made the appeal before the Vice President, Dr Ali Mohamed Shein, who was the guest of honour. He said that Muslims in the country urgently needed the Office to help them solve their social problems.



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REFUGEES – THE POSITIVE & NEGATIVE

The UN publication IRIN has reported on a recent study on refugees in western Tanzania.

Extracts: In its findings, the 'Centre for the Study of Forced Migration' at the University of Dar es Salaam said that, although assertions as to the impact of the refugees on the environment, security, infrastructure, administration and development were partially true, many were exaggerated and outdated. On the other hand, the Centre said that international aid for security, local governance and administration was inadequate and should be increased to help the country contain the burden of hosting the refugees.

At a subsequent meeting on the report Mark Waite, the country representative of Oxfam-UK said: "Because of the divergence of views and the difficulty for the media to report in western Tanzania, there is a need to hold discussions and establish a degree of objectivity on the matter". The most senior government representative at the meeting, Kigoma Regional Commissioner Elmon Mahawa, described the Centre's report as 'very fair', saying that it was everyone's responsibility to reduce the negative impact of the refugee presence.

The Centre found that internal peace and security in Kigoma and Kagera regions, where the refugees lived, had been 'devastated' by crimes, but this could not, it said, be 'mainly attributed to refugees'. Statistics on the numbers of people in prisons in the two regions suggested that, as percentages, the number of refugees and Tanzanians involved were very similar.

Concern about environmental degradation, which has often been cited as the most obvious negative impact of the refugee influx, was justifiable, the Centre said. However, most of the 'dramatic stories' in this context (in Ngara District, Kagera Region, for example, 47,000 ha of forest reserves had been felled for firewood and construction) related to the period between 1993 and 1996 when 'the influx was large and the levels of awareness very low.' Similarly, in terms of damage to infrastructure, health services and education, the Centre said that the initial burden on these services had been occasioned by the massive influx of refugees, primarily in 1994. It went on to say, however, that after the setting up of humanitarian operations, roads were built and maintained,

education levels rose in Tanzanian schools, and health services improved. For example, in Ngara District, 26% of the population lived more than 5 kms from a health centre, as opposed to the national average of 30% percent. Maternal mortality in Ngara stood at 114 per 100,000 live births, while the national average was over 200. The benefits of the presence of refugees to the health sector far outweighed its negative impact.

In economic terms, the Centre said the lack of internal security may have contributed to the lack of productivity in agriculture. But, the arrival of humanitarian agencies had also led to an upsurge in business due to increased disposable income and the UN World Food Programme's local purchases serving to support producers and suppliers. Also, the presence of refugees provided Tanzanian farmers with cheap - albeit illegal - labour, thereby expanding agricultural capacity in the area.

Moreover, central and local tax collections had increased significantly, with income tax in Kigoma Region from humanitarian agencies amounting to TShs 620 million (\$620,000) annually. 'So critical is the contribution of humanitarian agencies that whenever they scale down [their] presence, an immediate and dramatic drop in revenue is experienced by [the] Tanzania Revenue Authority.'

Although the Centre said that much of the anecdotal accounts about the impact of the refugees on the already overstretched judiciary might be exaggerated, it was very critical of the lack of support extended to the Tanzanian authorities for local governance and administration. Regional and district officials complain about the amount of time they have to devote to refugee work when they should be working on their own national responsibilities. And, despite the \$1 million annual funding from the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees for the policing of the refugee camps, the aid to Tanzania to cope with the insecurity in areas in which there are refugees is described by the report as 'woefully inadequate'.

OBITUARIES

Former Inspector General of Police **HAMZA AZIZ** (73), who died after a short illness, fought in the Second World War and was the second indigenous Tanzanian to hold the position of Inspector General since independence in 1961. He served the country in several other capacities locally and abroad. He was buried with full military honours.

When **W A (BILL) DODD CMG** (81), who died on February 5th, first went out to Tanganyika in 1952, he was posted to the Teacher Training College at Butimba in Mwanza. From there he went as District Education Officer to Bukoba, then Mtwara, Songea, Moshi and Dar es Salaam. He was finally elevated to the post of Senior Education Officer (Training) in the Ministry of Education until he left Tanzania in 1965. His many books include 'A Map Book of Exploration' in English and Swahili, 'Primary School Inspection in New Countries', 'Education for Self-Reliance in Tanzania' and, with John Cameron, 'Society, Schools and Progress in Tanzania.' (*Thank you David Connelly and Peter Hill for contributing to this item - Editor*).

JOHN CAMERON OBE (89), who died in December, served in the education department in Tanganyika/Tanzania from 1948 until 1964. Following involvement in teacher training, he became Principal of the Government teacher training colleges in Butimba and Mpwapwa. From 1960 onwards he was Assistant Director of Education in which capacity he supervised the amalgamation of the hitherto separate systems of education - the African and the "non native". (*Bill Dodd sent this item on December 12 not long before, sadly, he himself passed away - Editor*).

BERNARD GILCHRIST spent 20 years of his life helping to preserve the forests of Tanganyika. He established a large escarpment forest reserve at Mufindi, prepared a vegetation map for much of southern Tanganyika and helped to create Engurdoto Crater National Park. Most of the forest reserves he worked in had large numbers of elephant, rhino and buffalo and he was attacked by elephants on several occasions. While on these foot safaris he enjoyed collecting botanical specimens and photographing plants with his ancient Leica. He subsequently became Deputy Chief Conservator of Forests in Tanzania - (*Thank you Jill Bowden for sending this item - Editor*).

JUDGE JOSEPH MWAKIBETE, who died of heart problems on January 17, was born in the early 1930s at Mabonde, Tukuyu. He worked as an administrative officer in various districts in the country, later joining the University of Dar es Salaam for a law degree. He joined the Judiciary and worked in different positions until his appointment as Judge of the High Court in 1972.

Former chief of the Tanzania People's Defence Forces **GENERAL ABDULLAH TWALIPO** who died at the end of 2003, spent 41 years of his life from 1947 to 1972 in military service and then served as Minister of State in the President's Office in 1984 - Sunday Observer.

HUKWE ZAWOSE (65), who died on December 30, was a Tanzanian singer with an astonishing range; he eventually became a star of world music. As a boy he sang as he herded the cattle across the plains of Ugogo and then, as his voice dropped, he retained a high sweetness of tone and was eventually able to boast a five octave range. He was also a remarkable instrumentalist, learning and researching the traditional instruments of the Wagogo people. Later he wrote songs celebrating the late Julius Nyerere and the independence struggle and helped to establish the 'National Musical Ensemble' of Tanzania. In 2002, with his nephew Charles, he went on a sell-out tour to some of the biggest stadiums in America and Europe. He reputedly fathered 15 children by four wives. (*Thank you Liz Fennell and Debbie Simmons for sending the obituary from the Times of 12th January on which this note is based - Editor*).

MISCELLANY

British Prime Minister Tony Blair has asked President Mkapa to serve as one of the 15 commissioners in the recently established 'UK Commission for Africa.' The Commission seeks to analyse prospects for Africa's development and make policy recommendations aimed at generating increased international support for the 'G8 Africa Action Plan' and the 'New Partnership for Africa Development' (NEPAD). President Mkapa applauded the British PM's efforts in giving priority to Africa's issues and expressed his readiness to support the project - *Sunday Observer*.

Tanzania's renowned diplomat, Ambassador Gertrude Mongella, has been elected President of the Pan-African Parliament. Reports from Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, where the 53-member African Union (AU) launched its Assembly on March 18, indicated that Ambassador Mongella was unopposed after other contestants for the post withdrew their names following the reading by a representative from Nigeria of Ambassador Mongella's impressive profile. The AU wants the Pan-African assembly, modeled on the European Union parliament, to give Africans a bigger voice in how they are governed - *Guardian*.

University of Dar es Salaam Professor Issa Shivji has created some controversy by publishing 'Reflections on (local) NGO's in Tanzania'. He said that they tended to focus more on enriching themselves from donor funds but had failed in their principal objective of helping the people. "NGO's are top-down organisations led by a few elite and only urban based" he said, "Most NGO wallahs do not have any grand vision of society" - *Daily Times*

Only 8.4% (2,905 out of 34,740) of the pupils who sat for the standard seven examinations in Dar es Salaam region last year were selected to join government secondary schools.

Inspector General of Police (IGP) Omar Mahita has stopped importation of AK 47 rifles ordered by the Kahama Mining Company Limited (KMCL) for use by Nepalese Gurkhas who are in the country specifically to offer protection to KMCL employees and property. Company

spokesman Deo Mwanyika said that, in his refusal, IGP Mahita had said that AK 47's were used by the military only. He said the Gurkhas were given two-month business visas on arrival but had since been given work permits - *Rai*.

Zanzibar's House of Representatives has passed a Bill that outlaws homosexuality and lesbianism and imposes stiff penalties, which include up to 25 years imprisonment, for those in gay relationships. The Attorney-General said they were determined to prevent Zanzibari culture from being corrupted - *Guardian*.

The restructured Muhimbili National Hospital under its new management has come under fire for imposing new rates of Tshs. 10,000 for outpatients, Tshs 20,000 for inpatients and Tshs 50,000 for surgical cases. The Government said the new rates and regulations would minimize the chances of corruption.

On January 30 the Tanzania People's Defence Force (TPDF) destroyed a total of 4,338 anti-personnel mines (APMs) at the Monduli Military Training Camp in Arusha Region in accordance with the 1997 Ottawa Convention.

UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, has appointed the former Tanzania Ambassador to the UN, Daudi Mwakawago, to represent the UN in Sierra Leone.

Majira reported on April 17 that Police in Dar Es Salaam had seized military weapons including eight light machine guns, eight sub-machine guns and magazines. The consignment arrived in Dar three years ago and was stored at shed nos. 7 and 8. Apparently, good-hearted thieves broke into the sheds with intent to steal valuables only to find the weapons there. They then reported the matter to Temeke police without revealing their names!

REVIEWS

URBAN LIFE AND STREET CHILDREN'S HEALTH: Children's Accounts of Urban Hardships and Violence in Tanzania. Joe L.P. Lugalla and Colleta G. Kibassa. Lit Verlag Munster, 2003, ISBN 3-8258-6690-4. 158 pages.

This is not a feel-good read. It is a serious research effort. The authors have five objectives: 1) identify the factors which generate and perpetuate the increasing number of street children; 2) understand the socio-economic background of these children; 3) explore basic daily needs and how they are met; 4) identify problems confronted and how the children surmount them; and, 5) assess how street life impacts the children's behavior and health, and how they vary by gender. There are 10 Chapters.

The authors point out that the problem has been rife in other parts of the world for decades and ask why it only appeared in Tanzania in the '80's. The conclusion given later that the problem can "only be understood within the context of Tanzania's political economy", a result of the SAPs (Structural Adjustment Programs) designed to get the economy on track (from 1986), was trashed by their later statement that "this is happening in a country with a serious HIV/AIDS epidemic", which results in orphans. This is mentioned now because it is an important point that was not convincingly addressed. There have always been poverty, famines, cruel step-parents, and hardships. Why, from the mid-80's, did this result in children leaving their homes and relatives and living on the street? As pointed out by the authors themselves, officials see the children as hooligans, vagabonds, and criminals. Policies deal with symptoms rather than causes because the government is ignorant about the nature of the problem. "There have been *no* (italics authors) attempts to establish in-depth and systematic studies aimed at understanding these children...". In other words, there simply isn't enough researched information on which to make a useful policy to help them.

This book is a good start. However, its funding from a private source (Guggenheim) points out another problem facing those dealing with street children/orphans (once mentioned, orphans were inseparable from the problem): chronic underfunding for day-to-day problems of food, let alone esoteric research for future alleviation.

Who will pay? Chapter Nine, The Civil Society and the Welfare of Street Children suggests everyone will, if this generation continues to be marginalised and criminalised. And buried. There is a term for prostitution: Survival

Sex, but the authors called it "Death Sex", because of the almost certain result of HIV/AIDS infection. In one street child's own words, "We are not living! We are dead already." The NGO's helping are doing a commendable job on a shoestring, securing life (read food, medication, education) for the children they deal with. But they are chronically understaffed, undertrained, underfunded, and inexperienced. And again, they deal with symptoms. Not one has designed an appropriate strategy for alleviation of poverty at the community level. Most started as drop-in shelters, and grew into "rescue centers", but that proved to cause even more problems, as the children become institutionalised, and caretakers see a chance to avoid doing what they can. There are simply too many children in difficult circumstances today. (This is where the HIV/AIDS question comes into big play.) Reunification requires an enormous amount of backup. (Refer to "chronically understaffed...") Help within the community, advocacy and campaigning for children's rights, makes the communities aware of the effect of abuse and harassment experienced by children. The authors say the NGO's do a commendable job taking into account that the government has been silent in so far as helping street children is concerned. Also, NGO's are too few to absorb the children in difficult circumstances. It was suggested NGO's need to coordinate their efforts, and obtain sustainable and consistent funding. They also need to look into ways of promoting social development, alleviating poverty, and stopping social inequality.

There are several valuable tables and figures, including ones about age and sex, sources of income, narcotic drug use (a very dangerous new addition to the lives of street children), and a very interesting one on Distribution of Poverty by Education Level of the Household Head. That one alone justifies every effort to educate our children.

Chapter Five, Ethnographic Narratives of Urban Hardships and Violence, is a must read. You hear the voice of the children talking of their lives and their stark realities, the nightmare of every parent or guardian.

Chapter 10 has serious recommendations for long-term policies and poverty alleviation. Education and health infrastructure must be strengthened to bear the weight of these children. Community awareness and responsibility must be encouraged, as well as promotion of children's rights through legislation.

The last conclusion offered by the authors states political will and commitment of the government, accompanied by people's willingness and commitment will resolve the problem if all of us play our part.

Nancy Macha

TUTAFIKA: IMAGINING OUR FUTURE - TANZANIA.

Society for International Development, Tanzania Chapter, P.O. Box 79540, Dar-es-Salaam. Foreword by Juma V. Mwapachu. Pp.40.

This booklet describes itself as a wake up call. Wake up for what? Reflecting on the past and forecasting the future is a natural thing to do for any thinking person; this is applied to three scenarios of the short and medium term future of Tanzania. These are termed in Kiswahili:

Yale: As it was (Central Government as it stands now)

Mibaka Uchumi: Those who grab the wealth (rapid privatisation with wealth and decision-making in a few hands)

Amka Kumekucha: Wake up, it's dawn (formation of a Federal Republic)

In recent years rapid changes in Tanzania have included:

- * Liberalisation of the economy.
- * The multi-party system
- * Privatisation of state owned corporations
- * Rapid foreign investment alongside decrease in donor support, especially to Government
- * Urban economic growth with widening income distribution

Since 1963, Tanzania has emphasised the unity between the mainland and the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. This has been of great significance for continued peace, but in recent years it has been the source of political tension as recent positions taken by the CUF which is anti-Christian and anti-West indicate. If this party gets the dominant vote in Zanzibar in the 2005 elections, under the present constitution, it is likely to fill the office of presidency of Zanzibar, which will lead to also the mainland presidency.

This booklet must be read in this context. The CCM party has led the nation to this present time. But it has been slowly losing its majority especially in Zanzibar where the influence of Islam and the Arab states is perceived to threaten Tanzanian unity. Zanzibar has been under pressure from the Arab world to break away from this union. Similar advice is also growing in the mainland especially in the coastal regions.

There is also rivalry between those who distinguish non-ethnic from ethnic Tanzanians (*Wazawa*) and want to exclude the former from various privileges such as bidding in the new privatisation programme. On the other hand there

are those, such as the contributors to this booklet, who are against any form of discrimination. They would like to see a multi-ethnic Tanzania including the Zanzibari; they, therefore, are against separation of the mainland from Zanzibar.

The cover picture of the book illustrates the heart of the matter i.e. election and democracy. As the economy continues to move more towards favouring the few who control the wealth (**mibaka uchumi**), electioneering continues to be based less on policies and democracy, but rather on who controls money and influence. This makes the country increasingly unstable during the election period. This causes people to wonder where the nation is going (**Yale yale**) i.e. continuing with its past, where those who held political and economic power were foreigners, prompting the questions: Who are we? Where are we going? (P.12).

Alternatively, there is the possibility of radical change - **Amka Kumekucha**. This says that the country cannot remain as it is, and we cannot go back to the past, but we ought to move on. Specifically, the suggestion is to form a federal government, which will join all the present regions into five provinces. The idea is to strengthen regional unity, in order to hold Zanzibar into the framework at this level.

Amka Kumekucha's main objective is to uphold the national unity between the mainland and Zanzibar. Zanzibar continues to fall under the CUF, supported and funded by the Muslim world with an option of breaking the Union. Amka Kumekucha is trying to prevent this by increasing support for a Federation Government. The elections to provincial government will be held at regional level, while representation in parliament will be determined at provincial level. This will help to keep Zanzibar in the Federation because it will be politically and economically directly administered and linked to other regions in its province. With fewer people supporting CUF on the mainland regions of eastern province, it will help drop its threatening majority in the Island as it stands now.

The danger may come if there is disunity within the federal government or if one province becomes too strong (especially those next to the country's borders), and seeks to move out of the Federation. It is very unlikely that the details of a new constitution will consider this before hand. It would be less dangerous if provinces were given limited autonomy e.g. with provincial executive councils rather than elected bodies. The experience of decentralisation in

the period 1972-82 also supports this, as the semi-autonomous RIDEPS (regional programmes) had the effect of arbitrarily widening growth rates between the regions. Overall, the provincial scheme proposed in the third section of the booklet needs more careful assessment, if the major political and economic risks are to be minimised. Similarly, little attention seems to have been given towards the role of civil society especially faith based organisations such as churches and mosques, considering the reduction of state involvement in providing livelihood and welfare generating activities.

John Madinda and Deryke Belshaw

SWAHILI FOR THE BROKEN-HEARTED.

Peter Moore. Bantam Books. ISBN 0553814524 - £6.99.

Peter Moore follows the fabled Cape Town to Cairo route by any means possible, and this is an account of his adventures. We follow Peter's hilarious travels through South Africa, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Tanzania which he enters through Mbeya. He then catches the train to Dar es Salaam. His descriptions of the landscape are superb and he encounters a lot of characters on the way. Peter takes us around Dar which is a place he likes, and visits some familiar landmarks and some not so familiar - like the T&M beauty salon & internet cafe! After a detour to Zanzibar, he heads north to climb Kilimanjaro. Wearing a pink fleece and using the route from Marangu our intrepid traveller sets out to conquer the highest mountain in Africa, but after an eventful climb told in his inimitable style, he fails - along with 80% of those who attempt it. He then continues north and finishes his journey in Cairo with lots more incidents on the way. Peter's dry wit and observation make this a very enjoyable book.

David Holton

DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION IN TANZANIA. THE VOICES OF WORKERS' REPRESENTATIVES.

Samuel E. Chambua 2002 Dar es Salaam, DUP. ISBN 9976603630.

Distributed in U.K. by African Books Collective, 27 Park End Street, Oxford.

This book is the product of a five year research project - African Workers' Participation Development Programme - executed by the Institute of Development Studies (University of Dar es Salaam). The research project was based in a series of survey questionnaires, delivered to workers' representatives

at various levels of the Organisation of Tanzanian Trade Unions. As a result, the book is very rich in empirical survey information: no less than 59 Tables and Boxes in less than 200 pages.

Chambua covers a great deal of ground. The book begins with a discussion of labour politics in comparative perspective. The argument here is that workers' participation is a key property of developed capitalist societies, and is therefore not merely to be associated with 'socialism'. The point drawn from this argument is that the appropriate participation of labour can improve the developmental or economic effects of structural adjustment. Thus, a scene is set in which Chambua aims to understand participation in order to make it work more effectively for Tanzania's neoliberal programme. The second chapter gives an interesting history of labour organisation in Tanzania, largely following a series of legislative changes. Chambua emphasises the cloying corporatism of the single party period, although he does identify a limited space for autonomous worker politics in the Workers Committees until 1975 when they were banned.

Chapter three provides a case study of Morogoro Canvas Mills (MCM) which raises some interesting issues concerning the performance of this foreign-managed factory and the workers' participation in decision-making. In keeping with the Presidential Circular (1970), at MCM, workers' participation was largely conceived as a way to make firms more productive. As a result, participation was a means to an end, not an end in itself, which set limits to the quality and extent of participation: at best participation as good labour relations and at worst, as 'lip service' (page 55).

By and large, this tension is not investigated in subsequent chapters. 'Participation' as a concept works to externalise a wider variety of issues pertaining to labour politics in preference to a liberal model of labour relations in which astute labour management can make workers feel 'valued' and more productive. As a result, Chapters four to seven are largely 'problem solving' in their tone: how to make participation work better and in everyone's interests. These chapters give a wealth of statistical detail concerning labour representatives' views on information management, social provision, wage levels, training and other specifics. These all feed into a case study of the general strike in the turbulent year of 1994.

Not a great deal has been written about formal labour politics in Tanzania. As a result, Chambua's book is valuable to those interested in the institutional

dynamics of labour union politics. But, the book has such a wealth of questionnaire results to relate that it stops short of a fully political analysis. There are no passages in which one can get a sense of workers' voices: the 'moral economy' of the workplace; the constructions of worker collectivity/identity and employers as 'bosses' or 'managers'; the strategies that workers employ to bend jobs to their own preferences - 'weapons of the weak', are not considered. This is most apparent in the chapter on women in decision-making. The analysis is rather bloodless in that no women's voices are heard, no application of concepts of gender analysis are brought in, and the principal conclusion is that women need to be 'more confident' which, intuitively to this reader, sounds rather like blaming the victim. The point that women lack confidence, even if related by a general survey, should be a place to start a critical analysis, not the place to conclude.

The book concludes with a sensible statement concerning the way forward for labour unions with a view to enhanced participation. Here, it appears that Chambua's analysis fits well with the reformulation of structural adjustment as a Comprehensive Development Framework, Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper and so on. Chambua ends with an entreaty to ensure that foreign large-scale capital does not prevail in Tanzania and that labour constitutes a keystone of Tanzanian civil society in the face of predatory globalisation.

Graham Harrison

LEADERSHIP, CIVIL SOCIETY AND DEMOCRATISATION IN

AFRICA: Case Studies from Eastern Africa.

Abdalla Bujra and Said Adejumobi, editors. Development Policy Management Forum, UNECA, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 2002. Distributed by African Books Collective.

This edited volume contains four case studies of the role of civil society organisations in the democratisation processes in Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania and Zimbabwe, each of which is concerned with the organisation's location, history, size and structure, mission, and relationship with the state. Its special focus on civil society is designed to emphasize the capacity of the organisation to act as an independent center of power, and consequently effectively participate in the political process.

Chachage Seithy analysis of "Leadership in the Civil Society in Tanzania" is exceptionally interesting reading because the author develops a careful context that includes an historical overview of the concept as it evolved during the colonial and post-colonial periods with a focus on economic aspects which seemed to characterise both eras. NGOs gradually emerged in the post-socialist era as responses to societal needs which the government failed to meet; they tended to be non-political, rather than either liberal or conservative.

This chapter includes two case studies. The first analyzes - dissects is probably a better description - the Association of Journalists and Media Workers (AJM) when independent newspapers began to emerge in the late 1980s. Given the media's opportunities to take issue with the newly evolved non-socialist government it failed to take issue with various political policies, not so much because it feared government retaliation but rather because it feared loss of readership and profits. Rather than take a proactive approach to government policies the media tended to be reactive and indirectly pro-government.

The second case study focuses on the Tanzania Gender Networking Program (TGNP) whose "vision and mission ... stood for the interests of the less privileged and marginalized ..." (p.164) Organized in 1992 it gradually became an 'umbrella' organization for various groups dealing with women's needs, extending from education, training, and advocacy to awareness raising, and evolving as a pressure group exerting a positive influence on the government. In effect, it has become a social movement, promoting positive and beneficial policies for women at local, regional, and national levels.

The contrast between the two types of NGOs could not be more telling. A recent journal article - Jyotika Ramagrasad, *The Private and Government Sides of Tanzanian Journalists*, Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics, 8, 1, Winter 2003, 8-26 - notes that the private media's recent approach has been to exercise its freedom in a "sensationalistic and unethical manner", which suggests that journalists have not yet utilized their independence in a manner comparable to the TGNP's constructive approach to society's needs.

Marion Doro

TELLING OUR OWN STORIES: LOCAL HISTORIES FROM SOUTH MARA, Tanzania. Shelter, Jan Bender. Brill, 2003. 334p bibl index (African sources for African history, 4) ISBN 9-00-412625-2 pbk, \$31.00.

The Mara region of Tanzania, known mainly for its Serengeti National Park, is squarely placed in the center of the human cultural landscape by this book on the area's precolonial history and social structure. The authors of the individual texts comprising this volume are the local residents themselves, usually male elders, who dictated their historical knowledge in one of the local languages to a now literate younger generation, who then transcribed the accounts into Swahili. (All participants are identified by name and photograph.) These texts in turn are faithfully translated into English by Shelter (Goshen College), who also provides an informative social and historical context for these indigenous accounts of the past, demonstrating that these peoples had both greater local identities and regional similarities than admitted to by the colonial regime, which transformed them into a series of manageable "tribes" for administrative purposes. This exquisite cultural portrait of the area and its peoples was clearly an intensive intellectual labor of love for all concerned. The result belongs in every library of higher education.

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THE UNIQUE FOREST BIRDS OF THE USAMBARAS.

Lecture given by Dr William Newmark of the Utah Museum of Natural History at the Royal Geographic Society in November 2003.

Across the globe there are twenty five 'Tropical Bio Hotspots'. Within these hotspots are the vast majority of the Earth's threatened species. One such Hotspot is situated within the East Usambara Mountains, at an altitude of 1000 - 2500 metres. For the past sixteen years this area has been under close examination by Bill, who has built up a well organised system to monitor and analyse the delicate ecosystem.

His research, primarily focused on birds, has revealed this area of Tanzania, which covers 6/10ths of 1% of its land surface, is home to unique species of Sun Birds, Fly Catchers, Waxbills and Broadbills to name just a few! What's all the more interesting is through netting and tracking the birds, Bill has found that 80% of them don't venture more than 400 meters from where they were netted. This shows their strong dependence on their local forest area, and helps

explain why small disturbances in the forest have a big impact on this rare bird population.

The current threat to this sensitive ecosystem is gold mining, which brings with it people and the demand for fuel wood. Bill's simple message: to prevent further damage "Don't fragment the forest!" In fact he has gone one stage better and agreed with the Government to reconnect large blocks of the forest and create a Wildlife Corridor, which will start taking shape when sufficient funds are achieved.

Bill uses both local villagers and volunteers in his research. The volunteers are arranged through Earthwatch. If you are interested in volunteering you can contact it at: www.earthwatch.org/europe or info@earthwatch.org.uk. Main Phone: +44 (0)1865 318838

Peter Leonhardt

RECENT JOURNAL ARTICLES

As Plato duly warned: music politics and social change in East Africa. K M Askew. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 76 (4), 2003.

Poverty and wealth at the rural-urban interface: an actor-centred perspective from northern Tanzania. J Baker and H Wallevik, *Environment and Urbanisation*, 15 (2), 2003. Pps 8.

'Brothers by Day': Colonial policing in Dar es Salaam under British rule, 1919 - 61. A Burton. *Urban History*, 30 (1), 2003. Pps 28.

Reconsidering Witchcraft: post-colonial Africa and analytic uncertainties, Ihanzu, Tanzania. T Sanders. *American Anthropologist*, 105 (2), 2003. 14 pages

Cultural interpretations of an emerging problem: blood pressure in Dar es Salaam. H Strahl. *Anthropology and Medicine*, 10 (2), 2003. 24 pages

Urban health in daily practice: livelihood, vulnerability and resilience in Dar es Salaam. *Anthropology and Medicine*, 10 (3).

LETTERS

THANK YOU

This is just to say, once again, many thanks for forwarding Tanzanian Affairs to me regularly. The last issue No 77 for January-April 2004 arrived safely in my office and I read almost everything during my trip by BA, via old London to Helsinki, where I went both as a co-chair of the Helsinki Process and as a speaker at its first Helsinki Group meeting. I want to thank you and the BTS 'mob', my friends, for keeping Tanzania's affairs alive in the UK. I equally want to thank all the contributors to Tanzanian Affairs.

Dr. Abdul Shareef. MP
Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs and
International Cooperation

DUAL CITIZENSHIP

Tanzania is losing and has lost a lot of its nationals going to other countries for a better life and earnings. The country should retain its nationals who have roots in Tanzania and the government should convince these people to come back and contribute to the country's economy and development. Many of them who left the country are now very successful businessmen, doctors, engineers, IT professionals, computer engineers, programmers and if they decide to invest back home the country would benefit a lot. The best way for Tanzania to retain its nationals is by introducing dual citizenship whereby a person is not forced to renounce his/her Tanzanian citizenship upon attaining citizenship of another country. This will enable Tanzanians to visit their motherland very often without going through the hassle of applying for a visa and to spend foreign currency while in Tanzania thus boosting the economy. Presently, Tanzanians abroad do contribute to its economy by remitting finances to relatives and friends or visits. They are Tanzania's ambassadors abroad. They could also decide to retire in Tanzania with their pension money being diverted to Tanzania thus generating foreign exchange. Also it would benefit Tanzanians who marry foreign nationals as it would allow the foreign spouse to retain his/her original nationality without renouncing on attaining Tanzanian citizenship. The children of these parents with two different nationalities would not be forced to choose the nationality of either parent but would be free to choose and keep both nationalities.

This is freedom and democracy. The benefits of dual citizenship can be judged by taking examples of many countries that have allowed dual citizenship like

Nigeria, Ghana, South Africa, Rwanda, Pakistan, Ireland, Australia, UK, USA, Korea, The Netherlands, Finland, Mexico, Philippines and on December 22nd last year India too passed a Bill in parliament to allow its nationals to hold dual citizenship. Over 100 countries have accepted dual citizenship. Kenya and Uganda too, in its proposed new constitution, has a clause to allow its nationals to hold dual citizenship. Tanzania, being a member of East African Community, should do the same. The current law is not in the interest of the Tanzanian economy and freedom of association.

In addition, as the world economies get increasingly linked and inter dependent, and as human rights become globalised so that one can be charged with human abuse outside his/her own country, national citizenship will take a back stage. New legislation should be passed.

Dr H.E.Shayo

TANZANIAN AFFAIRS (ISSN 0952-2948)

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Marion Doro is Professor emerita of Government at Connecticut College, New London USA. She was Professor of Political Science at the University of Dar es Salaam in 1995.

David Holton is the son of a tea planter, Alan, who worked in the Usambaras and Tukuyu. David was educated at Lushoto Prep School before returning to school in England and is presently General Manager of Bookland in Chester and a regular book reviewer for BBC local radio.

Graham Harrison lectures in Politics at the University of Sheffield. He has recently completed a book on the World Bank and Tanzania and Uganda.

Peter Leonhardt has family links with Masasi and takes an interest in Tanzanian development. He is a friend of Rondo Junior seminary, which he visited earlier this year.

Nancy S. Macha is Advisor for the Outreach Programme to the Board of the Tuamoyo Family Children Center at Kigamboni, in Dar es Salaam. She is a long-term resident of Tanzania. 31 of 33 years of marriage to Dr. Augustine M. Macha, retired Director General of TALIRO, have been spent in Mpwapwa, Uyole, and Dar es Salaam, with frequent visits to the Macha home in Mori, Moshi.

John Madinda is an MA Mission and Development Studies student at the Oxford Centre for Mission Studies and an ordained minister of the Anglican Church of Tanzania.

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The views of contributors given in this issue are their own and do not necessarily represent the views of the Editor or the Britain-Tanzania Society

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

Three issues per annum:

UK: £7.50

Elsewhere: £ 12.00 or US\$ 25.00 or Euros 25.00.

Back Numbers: £2.50 each (plus p&p if overseas)

Exchange Rates: £1 = TShs 1,970
\$1 = TShs 1,100

Praise for Tanzania from the IMF

Sebastian Paschal writing in Dar es Salaam's Financial Times (March 24) gave a detailed account of the IMF's first review of Tanzania's \$29.3 million Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility (PRGF) arrangement. This is the IMF's 'concessional facility' for low-income countries. PRGF loans carry an annual interest rate of 0.5% and are repayable over 10 years. The review, which contained much praise for the way in which the Government had been handling the economy, has enabled the release of a further \$4.2 million, which will bring the total amount drawn under the arrangement to about \$8.3 million.

Extracts from the article/review: 'The Tanzanian authorities deserve credit for maintaining macroeconomic stability and making substantial progress with structural reforms, which have paved the way for a steady but modest increase in real per capita income combined with low inflation' - IMF.

Reflecting its good track record in the implementation of its reform program, Tanzania has received steady financial support and technical assistance from the donor community. In particular, debt relief under the enhanced HIPC Initiative has helped Tanzania to undertake higher social sector spending and maintain debt sustainability. At a recent meeting between the IMF and the Government, the latter revealed its plan to achieve a comprehensive reform of tax policy and tax administration. This would include the forthcoming adoption of a new Income Tax Bill and the Tanzania Revenue Authority's implementation of a new three-year corporate plan, which the IMF said was a good move. The IMF commended Tanzania's position on the income tax Bill.

The fund observed also that the rationalisation of the tax regime for mining companies, imposing strict controls on tax exemptions, would be important steps to contain revenue leakages. It added that maintaining a sound fiscal position and debt sustainability would also require firm control over non-priority expenditure and prudent debt management policies. According to the IMF, the newly passed amendments to the Land Act would facilitate bank lending by permitting the use of

land as collateral. The IMF also supported the privatisation of the National Microfinance Bank (NMB) saying it would help to broaden access to financial services.

It appears also, however, that during the recent meeting with the Government doubts were expressed on the seriousness of the rising fiscal pressures emanating from growing subsidies for the energy sector. The IMF proposed action including formulation of a short-term plan and a medium-term reform strategy, which would aim at providing a reliable power supply, while reducing the electricity utility's dependence on fiscal subsidies.

During the discussions, the Government underlined its commitment to the full implementation of its updated national anti-corruption strategy and action plan for 2003-2005, which the IMF say would be a crucial step for strengthening governance and boosting business confidence.

Despite Tanzania's achievements in macroeconomic stability, however, the IMF noted that poverty remained widespread, especially in rural areas, and economic development had been uneven across the country.

Natural Gas

Electricity produced by the Songosongo gas project (SONGAS) will be connected to the National Power Grid on June 17, this year, the Managing Director of TANESCO, Rudy Huysen, announced on April 2. SONGAS would add 75 megawatts to the national grid.

Artumas Ltd of Canada will be investing \$32 million to develop a new gas field at Mnazi Bay in Mtwara region. The project will generate 12.5 megawatts of electricity and provide cheap power for the southern regions of Mtwara, Lindi and Ruvuma. - *Mwananchi*.

Savings locally and abroad

According to the East African, quoting Central Bank Governor Daudi Ballali (15th December), Tanzanians have 'stashed away' \$2.5 billion abroad compared with the \$1.7 billion they have placed in local savings banks. However, he said that an even larger sum was held as foreign savings a decade ago. Some of this money had returned to the country as a result of the move away from a command to a private-sector-driven market economy and the reduction of the inflation rate from 35% to 4.5%.

Foreign exchange capacity and inflation

Tanzania's economy has the foreign exchange capacity to finance imports for eight months and two weeks instead of the six months recorded last year, according to the Bank of Tanzania (BoT). Gross international reserves had increased from \$1.5 billion to over \$2 billion. As regards inflation, the BoT report said that, despite adverse drought condition coupled with food insecurity, inflation had been contained at 4.6% for three consecutive months since October 2003.

Cut flower exports

The BoT has also reported that Tanzania earned TShs 1.1bn from the export of cut flowers in the last quarter of the year. The cut flower was said to be becoming an important non-traditional export. Most of the flowers are exported to European countries, especially Germany and Switzerland. Roses are the major element - *East African*

TANZANIA IN THE INTERNATIONAL MEDIA

(In order to make this section 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 in or travel outside the UK, please send us the relevant item, together with the name and date of the publication to the address on the back page. If you do not wish your name to be published please say so - Editor).

US General Charles Wald, Deputy Commander of the US European Command based in Germany, (which also has responsibility for 93 countries, including all of the sub-Saharan region apart from the Horn), recently responded to a journalist's question about a report that Tanzania was not co-operating fully with the US on terrorism. He was quoted in the **WASHINGTON TIMES** as saying that US military forces were working with the Tanzanian government to counter a terrorism threat. Unnamed Bush administration officials had apparently said that Tanzanian officials had only haltingly co-operated with American efforts to root out terrorists. The paper quoted an anonymous Western diplomat as saying: "The Tanzanians see terrorism as an international

issue, not a domestic one, because most terrorists are imported. The problem with that argument is that Tanzania is a permissive environment." The newspaper article went on: 'US Treasury Department officials charged in January that the Tanzanian branch of a Saudi Arabian charity had engaged in terrorist activities and plotted attacks last year against tourist hotels on Zanzibar.....The scheduled attacks did not take place due to increased security by local authorities, but planning for the attacks remained active.' Some Tanzanians were said to view the high level of American concern as exaggerated. They pointed out that the Tanzanian mainland had not suffered an attack for five-and-a-half years.

In a detailed report published on February 2 **THE EAST AFRICAN** took to task what it called the 'errant lawyers of Tanzania' and the 23 cases pending against them. There was said to be growing concern over falling standards, pilferage of clients' money and unethical conduct. The report was based on a paper obtained from the Tanganyika Law Association (TLS). A common complaint was the lack of an effective legal mechanism to crack down on errant lawyers. "Complaints against advocates have increased, although the society has taken steps against lawyers who abuse their profession", TLS acting executive secretary Anitha Moshi said. Despite the growing list of complaints, not a single lawyer had lost his licence to practice in Tanzania. But Ms Moshi insisted that the TLS was taking action and had forced some advocates to return clients' money. Asked about cases of magistrates dismissed by the Government and then readily admitted to the Bar, she said the practicing certificate is issued by the Chief Justice after he verifies an applicant's records. Surprisingly, many former magistrates, who were sacked over corruption or other unprofessional conduct, have crossed over to the Bar as advocates. The regional ethics committees of TLS said they were satisfied with the conduct of advocates in Tanga, Arusha, Mbeya and Kilimanjaro regions, where no complaints had been filed. Mwanza had received one complaint but cases against lawyers in Dar es Salaam included receiving legal fees but failing to appear in court, withdrawing from arbitration proceedings after being paid and refusing to refund clients' money.

The **AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN** (December 2) announced that Stella Artois beer, a brand popular during Tanzania's beer shortages in the early 1990's, had made a comeback and was to be brewed by a locally owned brewery under licence from Belgium's 'Interbrew', the world's third largest beer producer. This would represent competition for Tanzania Breweries which controlled 98% of Tanzania's beer market. Minister for Trade and Industry Dr Juma Ngasongwa said that producing Stella Artois locally would ensure that more Tanzanians were employed and that government revenue would increase.

The World Bank's publication **FINDINGS** (April) described, in four succinctly-written pages, recent development in Tanzania's coffee industry by the Senior Economist John Baffes. The paper recorded that during the 1960s the cooperatives and the Coffee Board became involved in most aspects of marketing and trade in coffee. This involvement culminated in the nationalisation of most Arabic coffee estates in northern Tanzania in 1973. Since then the coffee sector had been subject to a shifting of power between the cooperatives and the Coffee Board with the needs of the sector itself never seriously addressed.

The performance of the sector deteriorated and reforms became necessary. The first steps were taken in 1990 when the Coffee Board began to make more timely payments to cooperatives. The Board became a marketing agent rather than a marketer. In March 1992 input markets were opened to private traders and a few months later exporters were allowed to retain 10% of their export earnings in foreign currency and, soon thereafter, 100%. More reforms came in 1993 allowing private sector participation in marketing and processing.

While these reforms brought about some improvement there were still many problems. Although the processing capacity for coffee had increased enormously - since 1988 twelve new factories had been built - many of these were operating at only a quarter of installed capacity. Uncertainties in the coffee sector were exacerbated by the 'one-licence regulation' issued by the Coffee Board just three days before the official start of the 2002/03 coffee buying season in the Western coffee zone. The regulation limited applicants for private coffee buying, coffee processing or coffee export licences to just one of these licences so as to help the

cooperatives increase their market share at the expense of private traders.

The paper made a number of recommendations: taxes should be substantially reduced; the Coffee Board's licensing procedures should be re-examined; the coffee auction should be voluntary; the Board should take greater responsibility for statistics; and, its powers and those of the ministries should be substantially reduced. The regulatory framework should facilitate the transfer of nationalised estates to private individuals so that their full potential could be realised.

The paper also includes an account of the numerous significant changes made since 1920 in the coffee estate sector.

Why has the Tanzania shilling dropped so heavily against the US dollar in recent weeks? The latest **AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN** suggested that it was because of severe food shortages in late 2003 and the action of the Government in trying to ease the situation by waiving some taxes paid by food importers. The result had been massive food shipments in January paid for in dollars at the same time as a recent drop in exports of coffee and cashew nuts caused by low rainfall.

AFRICA ANALYSIS (March 5) expressed concern about the possible threat to tourism in Zanzibar following what it described as a brutal attack by machete-wielding robbers who boarded a yacht with 15 tourists on board off Pemba on 21st February. None of the holidaymakers were hurt but the robbers escaped with money, passports, jewellery and computers.

Schoolboys fidget and mess about in class, while girls sit still and concentrate - all because of biological sex differences that evolved millions of years ago. A team from the University of Minnesota, quoted in the **DAILY TELEGRAPH** (April 15) and based on an article in **NATURE**, had conducted a four-year study of young chimpanzees in the Gombe National Park in Tanzania. They noted how young chimps learnt to fish for termites using a stick. Although both sexes received the same attention, on average, the females picked up enough skill to extract their own termites by the age of 31 months while males took 58 months. Males spent more time playing and in physical activity. The fact that

young chimps followed the same sex specific roles as humans was said to indicate that such behaviour had deep-rooted biological origins, probably dating back more than 6 million years.

AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL (19th December) revealed what it described as 'a bad-tempered discussion on Zimbabwe' at the Commonwealth Summit Meeting in Nigeria from 5th to 8th December. Commonwealth Secretary General Don McKinnon had applied for an extension of his term of office but this was opposed by some African countries because he was supporting continued sanctions against Zimbabwe. According to Africa Confidential, in September last year, Tanzania's High Commissioner in London had approached his Sri Lankan counterpart with a plan to put up an Asian candidate against McKinnon. The person eventually selected to do this was former Sri Lankan Foreign Minister Lakshman Kardirgamar. Discussions continued some weeks later in Romania and Switzerland which involved, amongst others, former OAU Secretary General Salim Ahmed Salim from Tanzania. Efforts to mobilise a large African vote against McKinnon did not succeed however and McKinnon was eventually re-elected by 41 votes to 11. Only South Africa, Namibia, Malawi, Mozambique, and Zambia amongst African countries allowed themselves to be publicly identified with support for the Sri Lankan candidate. (*TA has been told that Tanzania voted for McKinnon as did Uganda and Kenya - Editor*).

HABARI, the journal of the Sweden-Tanzania Society, is written in Swedish. However, in its first issue of 2004, it contained three articles in English on languages spoken in Tanzania and included a comprehensive language map of the country. The first article, by Malin Petzell was on a socio-linguistic study on the position of the Kagulu language which is spoken by 200,000 to 300,000 people in Kilosa district. It was said that it still held a strong position in society but was in the 'endangered' category particularly in urban areas. The second paper, written by Jennifer Palmgren, had the title 'Kiswahili language, nation-building and identity'. There was also a half-page on basic English-Kisukuma greetings.

Under the heading 'Drawing on ancient remedies' the South African **MAIL AND GUARDIAN** (27th February) described how traditional and modern medicine is being fused in the fight against AIDS in Tanga by an 'Aids Working Group'. It is estimated that the region has a ratio of one doctor to 33,000 people but there is one traditional healer to every 156 people. An elderly healer, Mohamed Kasomo, is actually working with doctors in a modern hospital and is using all kinds of herbs for a variety of AIDS-related complaints including loss of appetite, fever, skin infections, abdominal discomfort and oral and vaginal fungus. The herbs are packaged in powder form and every two weeks about 700 patients go to the hospital to collect their packages. They then take them home where they boil them into tea. Although the traditional healers are not curing AIDS they are making marked improvements in people's standards of living, the article said. (*Thank you David Leishman for sending this item - Editor*).

'It may look like dung and smell like dung, but it's a life-saver for the deaf of Africa'. **THE THIRD SECTOR** quoted in **THE TIMES** (January 13) reported that Christmas cards made from elephant droppings have raised £1,000 for deaf children in Tanzania. Some cards were sold in game parks and one of these parks also requested 1,000 elephant dung folders to package its annual report. A hotel was said to have ordered 'Dumbo-dung' lampshades - (*Thank you Liz Fennell for sending this item - Editor*).

'Juma Twaha had gone blind but his life in the atmosphere of torpor and decay in Temeke, Dar es Salaam, was causing him some torment. Not having the sureness of foot of those blind from birth, he would often stumble into the treacherous potholes. This would immediately prompt mirth and jeers from an entourage of small children who would collapse on the ground in a theatrical mimicry of Juma's clumsiness. Last August his luck changed. A 35-person team from Orbis, the global sight-saving charity, came to Tanzania to train ophthalmologists in cataract surgery. Mr Twaha became the first person in a Tanzanian public hospital to receive small incision surgery on his cataracts. His sight was restored.' Seeing himself in the mirror for the first time for years, he exclaimed "Actually I'm pretty good looking. I should now be able

to find a wife!" (Thank you Donald Wright for sending this item from the *SUNDAY TELEGRAPH* (December 14) - Editor).

AFRICAN BUSINESS (March) presented its first annual review of Africa's top companies listed on a sub-regional basis. In East Africa, it quoted 'Market Capitalisation' as placing Tanzania Breweries top of the list and Tanzania Cigarettes fifth. Out of the first ten companies all except two were Kenyan. Tanzania's stock exchange, which generated a loss of 8% compared badly with that of Uganda which had a 140% return - one of the highest in the world. Zimbabwe (in US dollar terms) was said to be the worst performing market in the world. Tanzania's exchange lists only six companies compared to Kenya's fifty.

THE EAST AFRICAN has published a report on the mining industry in Tanzania which stated that an international mineral auditing firm, Alex Stewart of the US, had been engaged by the Government to verify the amount of gold mined and revenue earned. This happened after the Government had finally persuaded the large scale mining companies to provide it with details of their operations. Brief extracts from the report, by Faustine Rwambali and Joseph Mwamunyange: 'Unlike in the past when the sector was dominated by artisanal miners, which made monitoring of production and actual sales figures difficult, the entrance of large-scale mining companies has made it easier to monitor mining activities. Tanzanians have for long debated whether the Government has been earning all the revenue due to it from the country's precious metals.... There are five giant gold mining companies in Tanzania - Afrika Mashariki Gold Mines Ltd (North Mara Gold Project); Resolute (Tanzania) Ltd (Golden Pride Project); Kahama Mining Corporation Ltd (Bulyanhulu Mine); Meremeta Ltd (Buhemba Gold Mine); and Geita Gold Mining Ltd (Geita Gold Mine). Tulakawa Mine, owned by Pangea Mining Ltd., was opened recently. The five companies jointly produce an estimated 1.45 million troy ounces of gold annually. According to Tanzania's investment law, mining firms pay only 3 per cent of their earnings in royalties. Amendments to the mining law that were effected in the late 1990s, created an enabling environment to attract large scale mining investors.

The **ECONOMIST** published yet another of its frequent highly critical articles about the early years of independent Tanzania in its January 3 issue. It began: 'Julius Nyerere, the socialist who founded and nearly destroyed Tanzania, must be grumbling in his grave. His protégé, President Mkapa, who cannot seem to look at a state enterprise without trying to privatise it, is bringing market discipline even to the health sector. Compounding his betrayal, his government last month appointed a Briton, David Tregoning, to overhaul the state hospital in Dar Salaam..... The revered Nyerere was not fond of business - minded Westerners: in the early 1960s, he kicked them off their farms and nationalised multinationals' Tanzanian subsidiaries..... Nowadays, though the Government hates to admit it, Tanzania does what foreign donors say. It was at their insistence that Dr Tregoning was hired..... donors will be paying for the hospital's face-lift and demanded some control over how their money is spent.....

The article went on: 'The hospital's history mirrors Tanzania's. The state-of-the-art facility, when it was built in 1960, just before independence, decayed under Mr Nyerere's unaccountable socialist regime. Donated equipment festered in storerooms; underpaid medical staff pinched drugs; patients lay unattended and underfed in overcrowded, filthy wards..... This should soon change with \$2 million a year from the African Development Bank and the Illinois-based Abbott Laboratories Fund. Dr Tregoning will oversee the renovation of laboratories, the introduction of new training techniques, the establishment of an HIV Management Programme and the upgrading of technology across the hospital.....'

The article also included some praise for Tanzania: 'Tanzania's recent overall record has been good. There has been an impressive growth in agriculture under Mr Mkapa. He has imposed fiscal discipline; inflation has fallen, Tanzanians are less likely to find cockroaches in their beer now that the state brewery has been sold off; the national telecoms firm and airline are also largely in private hands and foreign companies now manage the water and electricity utilities. Some economists now predict that the economy might even become the biggest in East Africa in a few years time by overtaking Kenya's (Thank you Jill Bowden for sending this item - Editor).

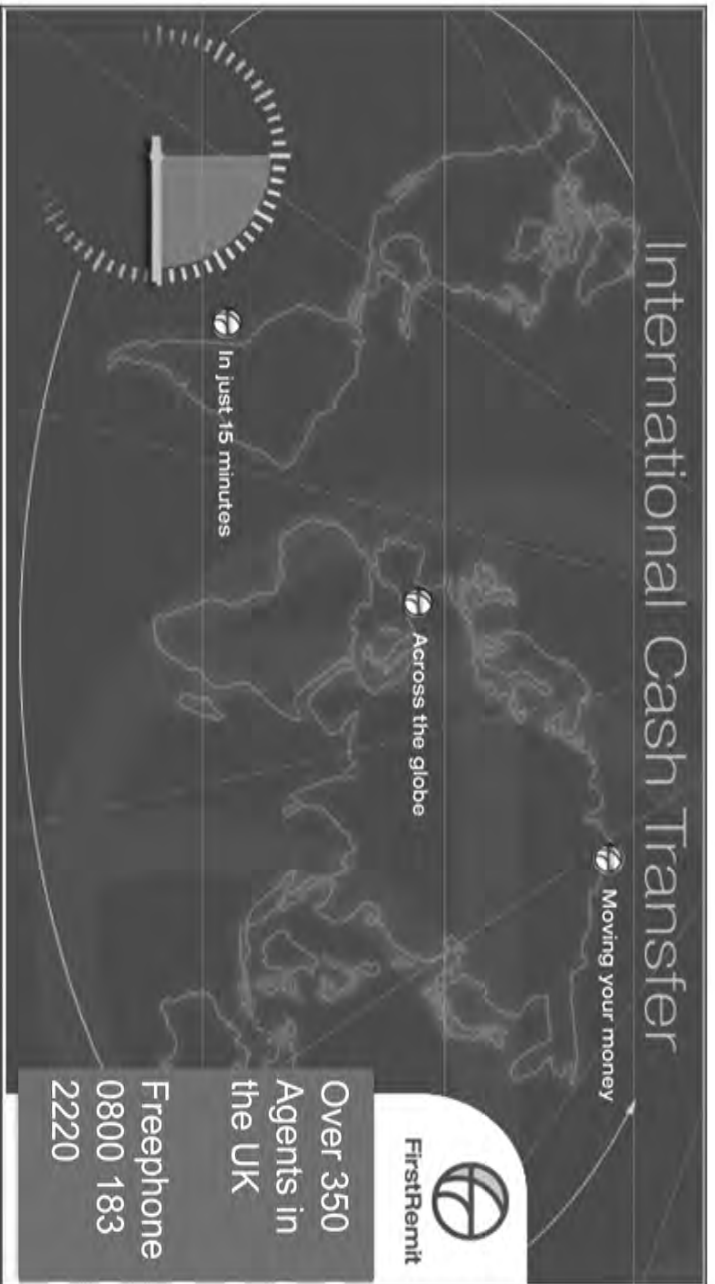
CUSTOMS UNION SIGNED

The Dar es Salaam Financial Times reported on March 2 that the three East African Heads of State had finally signed in Arusha the 40-page protocol establishing the 'East African Community Customs Union' amidst a series of unresolved issues. The signing had taken four years of negotiations and finally had to be considerably watered down to accommodate deep-seated differences between the member states. One of the critical issues is what tax to charge on goods from outside the EAC, known as the 'Common External Tariff' (CET). Uganda has unilaterally decided to apply a 20% rate for finished goods, while Kenya and Tanzania have stuck to the more protectionist 25%. Uganda and Tanzania have been allowed to place a surcharge on specified lists of products from Kenya due to the latter's generally more advanced industrial base.

ISLAMIC SECTS COME TOGETHER

On January 31 believers from different sects of the Muslim religion celebrated *Idd el-Haj* together peacefully. This was described in the Guardian as a rare landmark occasion in the Muslim experience in Tanzania.

In his remarks on the occasion of *Idd* prayers held at the Mnazi Mmoja grounds in Dar es Salaam, Sheikh Mussa Kileo, of the Union of Muslim Councils in Tanzania, said he hoped that Muslim believers would continue to celebrate the big day together. There was no reason to bring in differences. A popular Muslim cleric, Sheikh Issa Ponda, said that one *Idd* for all Muslims was a milestone for every believer in the country. "We are glad that our fellow believers in the National Muslim Council of Tanzania (BAKWATA) have decided to re-join the Muslim world". Speaking later at the *Idd Baraza* organised by BAKWATA, Acting Chief Sheikh for the Dar es Salaam Region, Ali Ngeruka, appealed to the Government to endorse the establishment of the Chief Kadhi's Office in the country. Sheikh Ngeruka made the appeal before the Vice President, Dr Ali Mohamed Shein, who was the guest of honour. He said that Muslims in the country urgently needed the Office to help them solve their social problems.



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REFUGEES – THE POSITIVE & NEGATIVE

The UN publication IRIN has reported on a recent study on refugees in western Tanzania.

Extracts: In its findings, the 'Centre for the Study of Forced Migration' at the University of Dar es Salaam said that, although assertions as to the impact of the refugees on the environment, security, infrastructure, administration and development were partially true, many were exaggerated and outdated. On the other hand, the Centre said that international aid for security, local governance and administration was inadequate and should be increased to help the country contain the burden of hosting the refugees.

At a subsequent meeting on the report Mark Waite, the country representative of Oxfam-UK said: "Because of the divergence of views and the difficulty for the media to report in western Tanzania, there is a need to hold discussions and establish a degree of objectivity on the matter". The most senior government representative at the meeting, Kigoma Regional Commissioner Elmon Mahawa, described the Centre's report as 'very fair', saying that it was everyone's responsibility to reduce the negative impact of the refugee presence.

The Centre found that internal peace and security in Kigoma and Kagera regions, where the refugees lived, had been 'devastated' by crimes, but this could not, it said, be 'mainly attributed to refugees'. Statistics on the numbers of people in prisons in the two regions suggested that, as percentages, the number of refugees and Tanzanians involved were very similar.

Concern about environmental degradation, which has often been cited as the most obvious negative impact of the refugee influx, was justifiable, the Centre said. However, most of the 'dramatic stories' in this context (in Ngara District, Kagera Region, for example, 47,000 ha of forest reserves had been felled for firewood and construction) related to the period between 1993 and 1996 when 'the influx was large and the levels of awareness very low.' Similarly, in terms of damage to infrastructure, health services and education, the Centre said that the initial burden on these services had been occasioned by the massive influx of refugees, primarily in 1994. It went on to say, however, that after the setting up of humanitarian operations, roads were built and maintained,

education levels rose in Tanzanian schools, and health services improved. For example, in Ngara District, 26% of the population lived more than 5 kms from a health centre, as opposed to the national average of 30% percent. Maternal mortality in Ngara stood at 114 per 100,000 live births, while the national average was over 200. The benefits of the presence of refugees to the health sector far outweighed its negative impact.

In economic terms, the Centre said the lack of internal security may have contributed to the lack of productivity in agriculture. But, the arrival of humanitarian agencies had also led to an upsurge in business due to increased disposable income and the UN World Food Programme's local purchases serving to support producers and suppliers. Also, the presence of refugees provided Tanzanian farmers with cheap - albeit illegal - labour, thereby expanding agricultural capacity in the area.

Moreover, central and local tax collections had increased significantly, with income tax in Kigoma Region from humanitarian agencies amounting to TShs 620 million (\$620,000) annually. 'So critical is the contribution of humanitarian agencies that whenever they scale down [their] presence, an immediate and dramatic drop in revenue is experienced by [the] Tanzania Revenue Authority.'

Although the Centre said that much of the anecdotal accounts about the impact of the refugees on the already overstretched judiciary might be exaggerated, it was very critical of the lack of support extended to the Tanzanian authorities for local governance and administration. Regional and district officials complain about the amount of time they have to devote to refugee work when they should be working on their own national responsibilities. And, despite the \$1 million annual funding from the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees for the policing of the refugee camps, the aid to Tanzania to cope with the insecurity in areas in which there are refugees is described by the report as 'woefully inadequate'.

OBITUARIES

Former Inspector General of Police **HAMZA AZIZ** (73), who died after a short illness, fought in the Second World War and was the second indigenous Tanzanian to hold the position of Inspector General since independence in 1961. He served the country in several other capacities locally and abroad. He was buried with full military honours.

When **W A (BILL) DODD CMG** (81), who died on February 5th, first went out to Tanganyika in 1952, he was posted to the Teacher Training College at Butimba in Mwanza. From there he went as District Education Officer to Bukoba, then Mtwara, Songea, Moshi and Dar es Salaam. He was finally elevated to the post of Senior Education Officer (Training) in the Ministry of Education until he left Tanzania in 1965. His many books include 'A Map Book of Exploration' in English and Swahili, 'Primary School Inspection in New Countries', 'Education for Self-Reliance in Tanzania' and, with John Cameron, 'Society, Schools and Progress in Tanzania.' (*Thank you David Connelly and Peter Hill for contributing to this item - Editor*).

JOHN CAMERON OBE (89), who died in December, served in the education department in Tanganyika/Tanzania from 1948 until 1964. Following involvement in teacher training, he became Principal of the Government teacher training colleges in Butimba and Mpwapwa. From 1960 onwards he was Assistant Director of Education in which capacity he supervised the amalgamation of the hitherto separate systems of education - the African and the "non native". (*Bill Dodd sent this item on December 12 not long before, sadly, he himself passed away - Editor*).

BERNARD GILCHRIST spent 20 years of his life helping to preserve the forests of Tanganyika. He established a large escarpment forest reserve at Mufindi, prepared a vegetation map for much of southern Tanganyika and helped to create Engurdoto Crater National Park. Most of the forest reserves he worked in had large numbers of elephant, rhino and buffalo and he was attacked by elephants on several occasions. While on these foot safaris he enjoyed collecting botanical specimens and photographing plants with his ancient Leica. He subsequently became Deputy Chief Conservator of Forests in Tanzania - (*Thank you Jill Bowden for sending this item - Editor*).

JUDGE JOSEPH MWAKIBETE, who died of heart problems on January 17, was born in the early 1930s at Mabonde, Tukuyu. He worked as an administrative officer in various districts in the country, later joining the University of Dar es Salaam for a law degree. He joined the Judiciary and worked in different positions until his appointment as Judge of the High Court in 1972.

Former chief of the Tanzania People's Defence Forces **GENERAL ABDULLAH TWALIPO** who died at the end of 2003, spent 41 years of his life from 1947 to 1972 in military service and then served as Minister of State in the President's Office in 1984 - Sunday Observer.

HUKWE ZAWOSE (65), who died on December 30, was a Tanzanian singer with an astonishing range; he eventually became a star of world music. As a boy he sang as he herded the cattle across the plains of Ugogo and then, as his voice dropped, he retained a high sweetness of tone and was eventually able to boast a five octave range. He was also a remarkable instrumentalist, learning and researching the traditional instruments of the Wagogo people. Later he wrote songs celebrating the late Julius Nyerere and the independence struggle and helped to establish the 'National Musical Ensemble' of Tanzania. In 2002, with his nephew Charles, he went on a sell-out tour to some of the biggest stadiums in America and Europe. He reputedly fathered 15 children by four wives. (*Thank you Liz Fennell and Debbie Simmons for sending the obituary from the Times of 12th January on which this note is based - Editor*).

MISCELLANY

British Prime Minister Tony Blair has asked President Mkapa to serve as one of the 15 commissioners in the recently established 'UK Commission for Africa.' The Commission seeks to analyse prospects for Africa's development and make policy recommendations aimed at generating increased international support for the 'G8 Africa Action Plan' and the 'New Partnership for Africa Development' (NEPAD). President Mkapa applauded the British PM's efforts in giving priority to Africa's issues and expressed his readiness to support the project - *Sunday Observer*.

Tanzania's renowned diplomat, Ambassador Gertrude Mongella, has been elected President of the Pan-African Parliament. Reports from Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, where the 53-member African Union (AU) launched its Assembly on March 18, indicated that Ambassador Mongella was unopposed after other contestants for the post withdrew their names following the reading by a representative from Nigeria of Ambassador Mongella's impressive profile. The AU wants the Pan-African assembly, modeled on the European Union parliament, to give Africans a bigger voice in how they are governed - *Guardian*.

University of Dar es Salaam Professor Issa Shivji has created some controversy by publishing 'Reflections on (local) NGO's in Tanzania'. He said that they tended to focus more on enriching themselves from donor funds but had failed in their principal objective of helping the people. "NGO's are top-down organisations led by a few elite and only urban based" he said, "Most NGO wallahs do not have any grand vision of society" - *Daily Times*

Only 8.4% (2,905 out of 34,740) of the pupils who sat for the standard seven examinations in Dar es Salaam region last year were selected to join government secondary schools.

Inspector General of Police (IGP) Omar Mahita has stopped importation of AK 47 rifles ordered by the Kahama Mining Company Limited (KMCL) for use by Nepalese Gurkhas who are in the country specifically to offer protection to KMCL employees and property. Company

spokesman Deo Mwanyika said that, in his refusal, IGP Mahita had said that AK 47's were used by the military only. He said the Gurkhas were given two-month business visas on arrival but had since been given work permits - *Rai*.

Zanzibar's House of Representatives has passed a Bill that outlaws homosexuality and lesbianism and imposes stiff penalties, which include up to 25 years imprisonment, for those in gay relationships. The Attorney-General said they were determined to prevent Zanzibari culture from being corrupted - *Guardian*.

The restructured Muhimbili National Hospital under its new management has come under fire for imposing new rates of Tshs. 10,000 for outpatients, Tshs 20,000 for inpatients and Tshs 50,000 for surgical cases. The Government said the new rates and regulations would minimize the chances of corruption.

On January 30 the Tanzania People's Defence Force (TPDF) destroyed a total of 4,338 anti-personnel mines (APMs) at the Monduli Military Training Camp in Arusha Region in accordance with the 1997 Ottawa Convention.

UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, has appointed the former Tanzania Ambassador to the UN, Daudi Mwakawago, to represent the UN in Sierra Leone.

Majira reported on April 17 that Police in Dar Es Salaam had seized military weapons including eight light machine guns, eight sub-machine guns and magazines. The consignment arrived in Dar three years ago and was stored at shed nos. 7 and 8. Apparently, good-hearted thieves broke into the sheds with intent to steal valuables only to find the weapons there. They then reported the matter to Temeke police without revealing their names!

REVIEWS

URBAN LIFE AND STREET CHILDREN'S HEALTH: Children's Accounts of Urban Hardships and Violence in Tanzania. Joe L.P. Lugalla and Colleta G. Kibassa. Lit Verlag Munster, 2003, ISBN 3-8258-6690-4. 158 pages.

This is not a feel-good read. It is a serious research effort. The authors have five objectives: 1) identify the factors which generate and perpetuate the increasing number of street children; 2) understand the socio-economic background of these children; 3) explore basic daily needs and how they are met; 4) identify problems confronted and how the children surmount them; and, 5) assess how street life impacts the children's behavior and health, and how they vary by gender. There are 10 Chapters.

The authors point out that the problem has been rife in other parts of the world for decades and ask why it only appeared in Tanzania in the '80's. The conclusion given later that the problem can "only be understood within the context of Tanzania's political economy", a result of the SAPs (Structural Adjustment Programs) designed to get the economy on track (from 1986), was trashed by their later statement that "this is happening in a country with a serious HIV/AIDS epidemic", which results in orphans. This is mentioned now because it is an important point that was not convincingly addressed. There have always been poverty, famines, cruel step-parents, and hardships. Why, from the mid-80's, did this result in children leaving their homes and relatives and living on the street? As pointed out by the authors themselves, officials see the children as hooligans, vagabonds, and criminals. Policies deal with symptoms rather than causes because the government is ignorant about the nature of the problem. "There have been *no* (italics authors) attempts to establish in-depth and systematic studies aimed at understanding these children...". In other words, there simply isn't enough researched information on which to make a useful policy to help them.

This book is a good start. However, its funding from a private source (Guggenheim) points out another problem facing those dealing with street children/orphans (once mentioned, orphans were inseparable from the problem): chronic underfunding for day-to-day problems of food, let alone esoteric research for future alleviation.

Who will pay? Chapter Nine, The Civil Society and the Welfare of Street Children suggests everyone will, if this generation continues to be marginalised and criminalised. And buried. There is a term for prostitution: Survival

Sex, but the authors called it "Death Sex", because of the almost certain result of HIV/AIDS infection. In one street child's own words, "We are not living! We are dead already." The NGO's helping are doing a commendable job on a shoestring, securing life (read food, medication, education) for the children they deal with. But they are chronically understaffed, undertrained, underfunded, and inexperienced. And again, they deal with symptoms. Not one has designed an appropriate strategy for alleviation of poverty at the community level. Most started as drop-in shelters, and grew into "rescue centers", but that proved to cause even more problems, as the children become institutionalised, and caretakers see a chance to avoid doing what they can. There are simply too many children in difficult circumstances today. (This is where the HIV/AIDS question comes into big play.) Reunification requires an enormous amount of backup. (Refer to "chronically understaffed...") Help within the community, advocacy and campaigning for children's rights, makes the communities aware of the effect of abuse and harassment experienced by children. The authors say the NGO's do a commendable job taking into account that the government has been silent in so far as helping street children is concerned. Also, NGO's are too few to absorb the children in difficult circumstances. It was suggested NGO's need to coordinate their efforts, and obtain sustainable and consistent funding. They also need to look into ways of promoting social development, alleviating poverty, and stopping social inequality.

There are several valuable tables and figures, including ones about age and sex, sources of income, narcotic drug use (a very dangerous new addition to the lives of street children), and a very interesting one on Distribution of Poverty by Education Level of the Household Head. That one alone justifies every effort to educate our children.

Chapter Five, Ethnographic Narratives of Urban Hardships and Violence, is a must read. You hear the voice of the children talking of their lives and their stark realities, the nightmare of every parent or guardian.

Chapter 10 has serious recommendations for long-term policies and poverty alleviation. Education and health infrastructure must be strengthened to bear the weight of these children. Community awareness and responsibility must be encouraged, as well as promotion of children's rights through legislation.

The last conclusion offered by the authors states political will and commitment of the government, accompanied by people's willingness and commitment will resolve the problem if all of us play our part.

Nancy Macha

TUTAFIKA: IMAGINING OUR FUTURE - TANZANIA.

Society for International Development, Tanzania Chapter, P.O. Box 79540, Dar-es-Salaam. Foreword by Juma V. Mwapachu. Pp.40.

This booklet describes itself as a wake up call. Wake up for what? Reflecting on the past and forecasting the future is a natural thing to do for any thinking person; this is applied to three scenarios of the short and medium term future of Tanzania. These are termed in Kiswahili:

Yale: As it was (Central Government as it stands now)

Mibaka Uchumi: Those who grab the wealth (rapid privatisation with wealth and decision-making in a few hands)

Amka Kumekucha: Wake up, it's dawn (formation of a Federal Republic)

In recent years rapid changes in Tanzania have included:

- * Liberalisation of the economy.
- * The multi-party system
- * Privatisation of state owned corporations
- * Rapid foreign investment alongside decrease in donor support, especially to Government
- * Urban economic growth with widening income distribution

Since 1963, Tanzania has emphasised the unity between the mainland and the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. This has been of great significance for continued peace, but in recent years it has been the source of political tension as recent positions taken by the CUF which is anti-Christian and anti-West indicate. If this party gets the dominant vote in Zanzibar in the 2005 elections, under the present constitution, it is likely to fill the office of presidency of Zanzibar, which will lead to also the mainland presidency.

This booklet must be read in this context. The CCM party has led the nation to this present time. But it has been slowly losing its majority especially in Zanzibar where the influence of Islam and the Arab states is perceived to threaten Tanzanian unity. Zanzibar has been under pressure from the Arab world to break away from this union. Similar advice is also growing in the mainland especially in the coastal regions.

There is also rivalry between those who distinguish non-ethnic from ethnic Tanzanians (*Wazawa*) and want to exclude the former from various privileges such as bidding in the new privatisation programme. On the other hand there

are those, such as the contributors to this booklet, who are against any form of discrimination. They would like to see a multi-ethnic Tanzania including the Zanzibari; they, therefore, are against separation of the mainland from Zanzibar.

The cover picture of the book illustrates the heart of the matter i.e. election and democracy. As the economy continues to move more towards favouring the few who control the wealth (**mibaka uchumi**), electioneering continues to be based less on policies and democracy, but rather on who controls money and influence. This makes the country increasingly unstable during the election period. This causes people to wonder where the nation is going (**Yale yale**) i.e. continuing with its past, where those who held political and economic power were foreigners, prompting the questions: Who are we? Where are we going? (P.12).

Alternatively, there is the possibility of radical change - **Amka Kumekucha**. This says that the country cannot remain as it is, and we cannot go back to the past, but we ought to move on. Specifically, the suggestion is to form a federal government, which will join all the present regions into five provinces. The idea is to strengthen regional unity, in order to hold Zanzibar into the framework at this level.

Amka Kumekucha's main objective is to uphold the national unity between the mainland and Zanzibar. Zanzibar continues to fall under the CUF, supported and funded by the Muslim world with an option of breaking the Union. Amka Kumekucha is trying to prevent this by increasing support for a Federation Government. The elections to provincial government will be held at regional level, while representation in parliament will be determined at provincial level. This will help to keep Zanzibar in the Federation because it will be politically and economically directly administered and linked to other regions in its province. With fewer people supporting CUF on the mainland regions of eastern province, it will help drop its threatening majority in the Island as it stands now.

The danger may come if there is disunity within the federal government or if one province becomes too strong (especially those next to the country's borders), and seeks to move out of the Federation. It is very unlikely that the details of a new constitution will consider this before hand. It would be less dangerous if provinces were given limited autonomy e.g. with provincial executive councils rather than elected bodies. The experience of decentralisation in

the period 1972-82 also supports this, as the semi-autonomous RIDEPS (regional programmes) had the effect of arbitrarily widening growth rates between the regions. Overall, the provincial scheme proposed in the third section of the booklet needs more careful assessment, if the major political and economic risks are to be minimised. Similarly, little attention seems to have been given towards the role of civil society especially faith based organisations such as churches and mosques, considering the reduction of state involvement in providing livelihood and welfare generating activities.

John Madinda and Deryke Belshaw

SWAHILI FOR THE BROKEN-HEARTED.

Peter Moore. Bantam Books. ISBN 0553814524 - £6.99.

Peter Moore follows the fabled Cape Town to Cairo route by any means possible, and this is an account of his adventures. We follow Peter's hilarious travels through South Africa, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Tanzania which he enters through Mbeya. He then catches the train to Dar es Salaam. His descriptions of the landscape are superb and he encounters a lot of characters on the way. Peter takes us around Dar which is a place he likes, and visits some familiar landmarks and some not so familiar - like the T&M beauty salon & internet cafe! After a detour to Zanzibar, he heads north to climb Kilimanjaro. Wearing a pink fleece and using the route from Marangu our intrepid traveller sets out to conquer the highest mountain in Africa, but after an eventful climb told in his inimitable style, he fails - along with 80% of those who attempt it. He then continues north and finishes his journey in Cairo with lots more incidents on the way. Peter's dry wit and observation make this a very enjoyable book.

David Holton

DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION IN TANZANIA. THE VOICES OF WORKERS' REPRESENTATIVES.

Samuel E. Chambua 2002 Dar es Salaam, DUP. ISBN 9976603630.

Distributed in U.K. by African Books Collective, 27 Park End Street, Oxford.

This book is the product of a five year research project - African Workers' Participation Development Programme - executed by the Institute of Development Studies (University of Dar es Salaam). The research project was based in a series of survey questionnaires, delivered to workers' representatives

at various levels of the Organisation of Tanzanian Trade Unions. As a result, the book is very rich in empirical survey information: no less than 59 Tables and Boxes in less than 200 pages.

Chambua covers a great deal of ground. The book begins with a discussion of labour politics in comparative perspective. The argument here is that workers' participation is a key property of developed capitalist societies, and is therefore not merely to be associated with 'socialism'. The point drawn from this argument is that the appropriate participation of labour can improve the developmental or economic effects of structural adjustment. Thus, a scene is set in which Chambua aims to understand participation in order to make it work more effectively for Tanzania's neoliberal programme. The second chapter gives an interesting history of labour organisation in Tanzania, largely following a series of legislative changes. Chambua emphasises the cloying corporatism of the single party period, although he does identify a limited space for autonomous worker politics in the Workers Committees until 1975 when they were banned.

Chapter three provides a case study of Morogoro Canvas Mills (MCM) which raises some interesting issues concerning the performance of this foreign-managed factory and the workers' participation in decision-making. In keeping with the Presidential Circular (1970), at MCM, workers' participation was largely conceived as a way to make firms more productive. As a result, participation was a means to an end, not an end in itself, which set limits to the quality and extent of participation: at best participation as good labour relations and at worst, as 'lip service' (page 55).

By and large, this tension is not investigated in subsequent chapters. 'Participation' as a concept works to externalise a wider variety of issues pertaining to labour politics in preference to a liberal model of labour relations in which astute labour management can make workers feel 'valued' and more productive. As a result, Chapters four to seven are largely 'problem solving' in their tone: how to make participation work better and in everyone's interests. These chapters give a wealth of statistical detail concerning labour representatives' views on information management, social provision, wage levels, training and other specifics. These all feed into a case study of the general strike in the turbulent year of 1994.

Not a great deal has been written about formal labour politics in Tanzania. As a result, Chambua's book is valuable to those interested in the institutional

dynamics of labour union politics. But, the book has such a wealth of questionnaire results to relate that it stops short of a fully political analysis. There are no passages in which one can get a sense of workers' voices: the 'moral economy' of the workplace; the constructions of worker collectivity/identity and employers as 'bosses' or 'managers'; the strategies that workers employ to bend jobs to their own preferences - 'weapons of the weak', are not considered. This is most apparent in the chapter on women in decision-making. The analysis is rather bloodless in that no women's voices are heard, no application of concepts of gender analysis are brought in, and the principal conclusion is that women need to be 'more confident' which, intuitively to this reader, sounds rather like blaming the victim. The point that women lack confidence, even if related by a general survey, should be a place to start a critical analysis, not the place to conclude.

The book concludes with a sensible statement concerning the way forward for labour unions with a view to enhanced participation. Here, it appears that Chambua's analysis fits well with the reformulation of structural adjustment as a Comprehensive Development Framework, Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper and so on. Chambua ends with an entreaty to ensure that foreign large-scale capital does not prevail in Tanzania and that labour constitutes a keystone of Tanzanian civil society in the face of predatory globalisation.

Graham Harrison

LEADERSHIP, CIVIL SOCIETY AND DEMOCRATISATION IN

AFRICA: Case Studies from Eastern Africa.

Abdalla Bujra and Said Adejumobi, editors. Development Policy Management Forum, UNECA, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 2002. Distributed by African Books Collective.

This edited volume contains four case studies of the role of civil society organisations in the democratisation processes in Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania and Zimbabwe, each of which is concerned with the organisation's location, history, size and structure, mission, and relationship with the state. Its special focus on civil society is designed to emphasize the capacity of the organisation to act as an independent center of power, and consequently effectively participate in the political process.

Chachage Seithy analysis of "Leadership in the Civil Society in Tanzania" is exceptionally interesting reading because the author develops a careful context that includes an historical overview of the concept as it evolved during the colonial and post-colonial periods with a focus on economic aspects which seemed to characterise both eras. NGOs gradually emerged in the post-socialist era as responses to societal needs which the government failed to meet; they tended to be non-political, rather than either liberal or conservative.

This chapter includes two case studies. The first analyzes - dissects is probably a better description - the Association of Journalists and Media Workers (AJM) when independent newspapers began to emerge in the late 1980s. Given the media's opportunities to take issue with the newly evolved non-socialist government it failed to take issue with various political policies, not so much because it feared government retaliation but rather because it feared loss of readership and profits. Rather than take a proactive approach to government policies the media tended to be reactive and indirectly pro-government.

The second case study focuses on the Tanzania Gender Networking Program (TGNP) whose "vision and mission ... stood for the interests of the less privileged and marginalized ..." (p.164) Organized in 1992 it gradually became an 'umbrella' organization for various groups dealing with women's needs, extending from education, training, and advocacy to awareness raising, and evolving as a pressure group exerting a positive influence on the government. In effect, it has become a social movement, promoting positive and beneficial policies for women at local, regional, and national levels.

The contrast between the two types of NGOs could not be more telling. A recent journal article - Jyotika Ramagrasad, *The Private and Government Sides of Tanzanian Journalists*, Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics, 8, 1, Winter 2003, 8-26 - notes that the private media's recent approach has been to exercise its freedom in a "sensationalistic and unethical manner", which suggests that journalists have not yet utilized their independence in a manner comparable to the TGNP's constructive approach to society's needs.

Marion Doro

TELLING OUR OWN STORIES: LOCAL HISTORIES FROM SOUTH MARA, Tanzania. Shelter, Jan Bender. Brill, 2003. 334p bibl index (African sources for African history, 4) ISBN 9-00-412625-2 pbk, \$31.00.

The Mara region of Tanzania, known mainly for its Serengeti National Park, is squarely placed in the center of the human cultural landscape by this book on the area's precolonial history and social structure. The authors of the individual texts comprising this volume are the local residents themselves, usually male elders, who dictated their historical knowledge in one of the local languages to a now literate younger generation, who then transcribed the accounts into Swahili. (All participants are identified by name and photograph.) These texts in turn are faithfully translated into English by Shelter (Goshen College), who also provides an informative social and historical context for these indigenous accounts of the past, demonstrating that these peoples had both greater local identities and regional similarities than admitted to by the colonial regime, which transformed them into a series of manageable "tribes" for administrative purposes. This exquisite cultural portrait of the area and its peoples was clearly an intensive intellectual labor of love for all concerned. The result belongs in every library of higher education.

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THE UNIQUE FOREST BIRDS OF THE USAMBARAS.

Lecture given by Dr William Newmark of the Utah Museum of Natural History at the Royal Geographic Society in November 2003.

Across the globe there are twenty five 'Tropical Bio Hotspots'. Within these hotspots are the vast majority of the Earth's threatened species. One such Hotspot is situated within the East Usambara Mountains, at an altitude of 1000 - 2500 metres. For the past sixteen years this area has been under close examination by Bill, who has built up a well organised system to monitor and analyse the delicate ecosystem.

His research, primarily focused on birds, has revealed this area of Tanzania, which covers 6/10ths of 1% of its land surface, is home to unique species of Sun Birds, Fly Catchers, Waxbills and Broadbills to name just a few! What's all the more interesting is through netting and tracking the birds, Bill has found that 80% of them don't venture more than 400 meters from where they were netted. This shows their strong dependence on their local forest area, and helps

explain why small disturbances in the forest have a big impact on this rare bird population.

The current threat to this sensitive ecosystem is gold mining, which brings with it people and the demand for fuel wood. Bill's simple message: to prevent further damage "Don't fragment the forest!" In fact he has gone one stage better and agreed with the Government to reconnect large blocks of the forest and create a Wildlife Corridor, which will start taking shape when sufficient funds are achieved.

Bill uses both local villagers and volunteers in his research. The volunteers are arranged through Earthwatch. If you are interested in volunteering you can contact it at: www.earthwatch.org/europe or info@earthwatch.org.uk. Main Phone: +44 (0)1865 318838

Peter Leonhardt

RECENT JOURNAL ARTICLES

As Plato duly warned: music politics and social change in East Africa. K M Askew. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 76 (4), 2003.

Poverty and wealth at the rural-urban interface: an actor-centred perspective from northern Tanzania. J Baker and H Wallevik, *Environment and Urbanisation*, 15 (2), 2003. Pps 8.

'Brothers by Day': Colonial policing in Dar es Salaam under British rule, 1919 - 61. A Burton. *Urban History*, 30 (1), 2003. Pps 28.

Reconsidering Witchcraft: post-colonial Africa and analytic uncertainties, Ihanzu, Tanzania. T Sanders. *American Anthropologist*, 105 (2), 2003. 14 pages

Cultural interpretations of an emerging problem: blood pressure in Dar es Salaam. H Strahl. *Anthropology and Medicine*, 10 (2), 2003. 24 pages

Urban health in daily practice: livelihood, vulnerability and resilience in Dar es Salaam. *Anthropology and Medicine*, 10 (3).

LETTERS

THANK YOU

This is just to say, once again, many thanks for forwarding Tanzanian Affairs to me regularly. The last issue No 77 for January-April 2004 arrived safely in my office and I read almost everything during my trip by BA, via old London to Helsinki, where I went both as a co-chair of the Helsinki Process and as a speaker at its first Helsinki Group meeting. I want to thank you and the BTS 'mob', my friends, for keeping Tanzania's affairs alive in the UK. I equally want to thank all the contributors to Tanzanian Affairs.

Dr. Abdul Shareef. MP
Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs and
International Cooperation

DUAL CITIZENSHIP

Tanzania is losing and has lost a lot of its nationals going to other countries for a better life and earnings. The country should retain its nationals who have roots in Tanzania and the government should convince these people to come back and contribute to the country's economy and development. Many of them who left the country are now very successful businessmen, doctors, engineers, IT professionals, computer engineers, programmers and if they decide to invest back home the country would benefit a lot. The best way for Tanzania to retain its nationals is by introducing dual citizenship whereby a person is not forced to renounce his/her Tanzanian citizenship upon attaining citizenship of another country. This will enable Tanzanians to visit their motherland very often without going through the hassle of applying for a visa and to spend foreign currency while in Tanzania thus boosting the economy. Presently, Tanzanians abroad do contribute to its economy by remitting finances to relatives and friends or visits. They are Tanzania's ambassadors abroad. They could also decide to retire in Tanzania with their pension money being diverted to Tanzania thus generating foreign exchange. Also it would benefit Tanzanians who marry foreign nationals as it would allow the foreign spouse to retain his/her original nationality without renouncing on attaining Tanzanian citizenship. The children of these parents with two different nationalities would not be forced to choose the nationality of either parent but would be free to choose and keep both nationalities.

This is freedom and democracy. The benefits of dual citizenship can be judged by taking examples of many countries that have allowed dual citizenship like

Nigeria, Ghana, South Africa, Rwanda, Pakistan, Ireland, Australia, UK, USA, Korea, The Netherlands, Finland, Mexico, Philippines and on December 22nd last year India too passed a Bill in parliament to allow its nationals to hold dual citizenship. Over 100 countries have accepted dual citizenship. Kenya and Uganda too, in its proposed new constitution, has a clause to allow its nationals to hold dual citizenship. Tanzania, being a member of East African Community, should do the same. The current law is not in the interest of the Tanzanian economy and freedom of association.

In addition, as the world economies get increasingly linked and inter dependent, and as human rights become globalised so that one can be charged with human abuse outside his/her own country, national citizenship will take a back stage. New legislation should be passed.

Dr H.E.Shayo

TANZANIAN AFFAIRS (ISSN 0952-2948)

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E-mail: epunt@btopenworld.com

ADVERTISING MANAGER: Pru Watts-Russell, 27 Shrublands Avenue, Berkhamsted, Herts HP4 3JH. Tel: 01442 875 137.
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Graham Harrison lectures in Politics at the University of Sheffield. He has recently completed a book on the World Bank and Tanzania and Uganda.

Peter Leonhardt has family links with Masasi and takes an interest in Tanzanian development. He is a friend of Rondo Junior seminary, which he visited earlier this year.

Nancy S. Macha is Advisor for the Outreach Programme to the Board of the Tuamoyo Family Children Center at Kigamboni, in Dar es Salaam. She is a long-term resident of Tanzania. 31 of 33 years of marriage to Dr. Augustine M. Macha, retired Director General of TALIRO, have been spent in Mpwapwa, Uyole, and Dar es Salaam, with frequent visits to the Macha home in Mori, Moshi.

John Madinda is an MA Mission and Development Studies student at the Oxford Centre for Mission Studies and an ordained minister of the Anglican Church of Tanzania.

Dr Hildebrand Shayo is a Tanzanian currently working as a local economy and regeneration expert at the London South Bank University. He conducted research on natural resource management, particularly timber for construction, between 1997 and 2004 in Tanzania.

The views of contributors given in this issue are their own and do not necessarily represent the views of the Editor or the Britain-Tanzania Society

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Three issues per annum:

UK: £7.50

Elsewhere: £ 12.00 or US\$ 25.00 or Euros 25.00.

Back Numbers: £2.50 each (plus p&p if overseas)