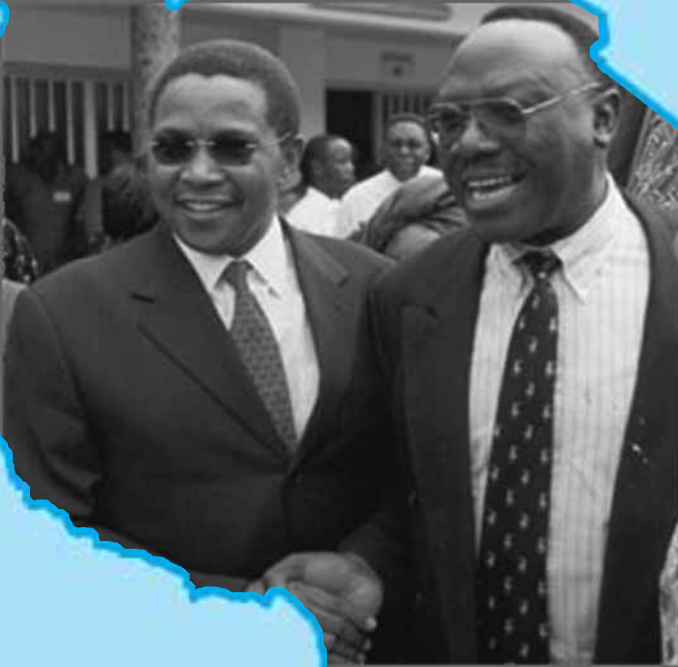


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ELECTION GUIDE

THE TWO PARLIAMENTS -WHAT HAPPENED LAST TIME?

At the end of the 2000 elections President Benjamin Mkapa, leader of the ruling party, *Chama cha Mapinduzi* (CCM) was elected with 71.7% of the vote. Prof. Ibrahim Lipumba, leader of the main opposition party, the Civic United Front (CUF) got 16.3%. In the coming elections on 30th October, Mkapa cannot stand again as he has completed two terms. Prof. Lipumba is standing again, in his third attempt. There are 8 other candidates standing for the presidency from smaller opposition parties.

The **Union National Assembly** or *Bunge* comprises 307 seats (there were 274 last time) 232 in constituencies elected by popular vote (including 50 from Zanzibar). There are 75 (37 last time) 'Special seats' for women which will be allocated to parties in November by the Electoral Commission based on the number of elected seats each party has won.

At the end of the last elections the parties had obtained the following numbers of seats in the Assembly: CCM 203; CUF 2 elected on the mainland and 16 elected in Zanzibar but they refused to take their seats because of alleged rigging; CHADEMA 4; TLP 3; UDP 3; NCCR-Mageuzi 1. Subsequent nominations by the President brought the number up to 274 and two years later the CUF MP's returned to the Assembly. In Zanzibar President Abeid Karume (CCM) won with 67% of the vote in a poll widely believed to have been rigged. The main opposition contender Seif Sharriff Hamad (CUF) received 33% of the vote.

In the **Zanzibar House of Representatives** elections in 2000 CCM took 34 seats (29 in Unguja and 5 in Pemba). CUF won in 16 seats (in Pemba) but refused to accept the results and boycotted the Assembly. In addition to this, ZEC announced the allocation of 7 'special seats' for women - 4 for CCM and 3 for CUF. The President then nominated 8 additional members. Five regional commissioners and the Attorney General also became MP's. After by-elections, when CUF agreed to come back into the House and resumed its seats, CCM now has 61 seats and CUF 14. In the October 2005 elections in Zanzibar, in addition to the 50 elected

cover photo shows the contenders for the presidency of Tanzania selected by the two main parties - Jakaya Kikwete (CCM) left and Ibrahim Lipumba (CUF)

MP's, there will be 15 special seats for women and 10 persons nominated by the President. The Attorney General and the five Regional Commissioners will also sit in the House as MP's.

AN EXCITING EVENT

No one with the slightest interest in politics or the future governance of Tanzania could have failed to be excited by the drama of the CCM Congress held in Dodoma from May 1 to May 5 to choose the party's candidate for the Presidency. People all over the country were glued to radio or TV to hear/watch the event. The full list of eleven leaders who had applied and been able to obtain the required number of supporters in ten regions of the country was given in TA No 81. After what the Guardian called a series of gruelling meetings and sometimes angry debates that extended late into each night, the 1,678 delegates eventually chose their favourites to run for the Union and Zanzibar presidencies.

On May 1st. CCM Central Committee's Ethics Committee drew up evaluations of the candidates and recommended five for the short list who would qualify for the second round of nominations. Those interviewed were Minister for Foreign Affairs Mr. Jakaya Kikwete, former OAU Secretary General Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim, Minister of Communications and Transport Prof Mark Mwandosya, Prime Minister Frederick Sumaye and Minister of State for Planning Dr Abdalla Kigoda. The early rejection of CCM Vice-Chairman and veteran former Prime Minister John Malecela was said by the Guardian to have sent shockwaves around the vast hall. Then two more candidates were eliminated by the CCM National Executive Committee (Sumaye and Kigoda) and finally the delegates showed clearly who they really wanted. Mr Jakaya Kikwete got 1,072, Dr Salim got 476 and Prof Mark Mwandosya got 122 votes. Massive jubilation in the hall was followed by huge demonstrations in favour of Mr Kikwete in Dodoma and when he returned in triumph to Dar es Salaam and later visited Zanzibar.

Even invited dignitaries and political parties from outside and foreign envoys in the country were said to have been impressed by the democratic and well run selection process. Many in the opposition gave credit, even if reluctantly, to the process and also to the eventual choice. 'A remarkable history indeed' wrote the Guardian.

THE MAIN CONTENDERS

CCM **Jakaya Kikwete** (54) started his career in the army and is an economist by training. He has served in several ministerial posts and is currently Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation. He is a Muslim but has also actively supported Christian charitable efforts. He exudes a great deal of charm and is popular amongst the youth - a significant factor where the median age of the population is 17 - 18 years. As he toured the country seeking support for his candidacy he was greeted by large crowds everywhere.

The London Financial Times (August 3) wrote: 'It is unclear what direction CCM will take following its selection of Mr Kikwete (54) as the party's presidential candidate. On the one hand he represents the younger generation of the party and claims to have strong appeal among the youth. On the other hand, he is a lifelong party man.' Quoting a western diplomat the article said that initial signs were moderately encouraging. The key would be who he appointed to key ministries. Finance Minister Basil Mramba was quoted as saying: "He won't bring a revolution but he has said himself that he will act faster, act more precisely, more definitively on the things that have been going on. He has grown from the ruling party. He is very much a professional politician."

Dr Ali Mohammed Shein, the current Vice-President, who is from Pemba, was chosen again as the candidate for the Vice-Presidency.

For the Zanzibar presidency the voting in Dodoma was 195 out of 207 for the sole candidate - the current President of Zanzibar, **Amani Abeid Karume**. He is the son of the first president of Zanzibar after the 1946 revolution. He was born in 1948 and came to the fore in politics in 1990 when he was elected a Member of the House of Representatives and eventually became Minister for Communications and Transport Zanzibar. In 2000, when President Salmin Amour wound up his two terms in office, Karume succeeded him and claimed to have obtained 67% of the votes.

CUF's presidential candidate, **Professor Ibrahim Harun Lipumba** (53) has two degrees in economics from Stamford University, California and from 1991 to 1993 served as Economic Adviser to President Mwinyi at the time Tanzania's economy was being liberalised. He was also instru-

mental in the establishment of better relations between Tanzania and several international financial institutions. From 1993 to 1995 he taught at Williams College, Massachusetts. In the 1995 elections he came third and in 2000 he came second in the race for the presidency. His running mate is **Juma Duni Haji** who was a CCM minister in an earlier Zanzibar government but subsequently spent a long period in jail on charges which were eventually withdrawn.

CUF's candidate for the presidency of Zanzibar, **Seif Sharriff Hamad** was CCM Chief Minister of Zanzibar from 1984 to 1988 and also worked with former CCM President Mwinyi in liberalising the economy. He was dismissed in 1988, expelled from CCM and detained in prison charged with taking away confidential documents, before the case was dropped.

OTHER CANDIDATES FOR THE PRESIDENCY

Some of Tanzania's 18 disorganised, weak and divided opposition parties (although CUF is not in this category) have been choosing presidential candidates and then changing their minds in favour of coalitions with other parties.

On August 16 four small parties decided to join together in supporting the candidates of the NCCR-Mageuzi party for the presidency - Dr Sengondo Mvungi and his running mate Naila Jidawi from Zanzibar. They are:

The Forum for Restoration of Democracy (FORD)

The National Reconstruction Alliance (NRA)

The Union for Multiparty Democracy (UMD)

and the United People's Democratic Party (UPDP).

Finally, on 20th August, at the start of formal campaigning for the elections, the National Electoral Commission (NEC) formally endorsed ten presidential aspirants, the Chairman of NEC, Judge Lewis Makame, naming the candidates as:

Jakaya Kikwete (*Chama Cha Mapinduzi* - CCM),

Ibrahim Lipumba (Civic United Front - CUF),

Prof. Leonard Shayo (*Demokrasia Makini*),

Freeman Mbowe (*Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo* - CHADEMA),

who is likely to support CUF's Seif Sharriff Hamad in Zanzibar. Sen'gondo Mvungi (NCCR-Mageuzi), Paul Kyara (*Sauti ya Umma* - SAU, a splinter group from CHADEMA), Augustine L. Mrema (Tanzania Labour Party - TLP), Anna Senkoro Claudia (Progressive Party of Tanzania - PPT *Maendeleo*), John Emmanuel Makaidi (National League for Democracy - NLD) and Rev. Christopher Mtikila (Democratic Party - DP).

Candidates for three political parties were disqualified for failing to fulfill the conditions set by the commission. They are *Chama cha Haki na Ustawi* (CHAUSTA), the UPDP and Tanzania Democratic Alliance (TADEA). CHAUSTA's James Mapalala claimed that he failed to submit the forms because some forms were still in Singida due to transport problems, but he made an impassioned plea to his members not to be upset by his disqualification, but to vote for whoever they deemed appropriate to become president

John Cheyo originally stood for the United Democratic Party (UDP), but withdrew and will stand for parliament instead.

It is not yet clear why *Jahazi Asilia* (translatable variously as 'The ancestral dhow' or the 'Mother Ship') did not put up a candidate.

WHO WILL WIN?

Most observers expect Jakaya Kikwete to win the Union presidency. CCM claims that he will win by a landslide. Evidence to support this has been the remarkable way in which he so comfortably defeated 10 other prominent people who competed against him to obtain the candidacy.

The competition to become an MP in Tanzania was more intense than ever this year. As usual, CCM can be expected to win most of the seats in the National Assembly. All aspirants for parliament first had to receive the approval of their constituency party members and for CCM the 'preferentials' or 'primaries' were fiercely contested with often as many as ten candidates trying to get the one position available. When these selections reached CCM HQ the NEC agreed that some 50 existing MP's would not be allowed to stand again under the CCM party banner. Those who fell by the wayside included Minister for Energy

and Minerals Daniel Yona, who got 60 votes compared with Mrs Anne Kilango-Malecela, the wife of the CCM Vice-Chairman (286 votes), former CCM Secretary General Lawrence Gama and former Finance Minister Prof Simon Mbilinyi. Deputy Foreign Minister and former High Commissioner in London Dr Abdulkadir Shareeff failed in his attempt to be nominated in Zanzibar.

In the last election, in some fifty seats, CCM candidates were unopposed but this time such seats were rare indeed. Minister of Finance Basil Mramba was unopposed in Rombo. Several candidates were reluctant to accept the selections made and there were a few demonstrations and petitions against the results.

Among prominent politicians retiring from parliament this year are Prime Minister Frederick Sumaye who said he wanted to give room to other people to bring new development ideas to his constituency of Hanang; Co-operatives and Marketing Minister George Kahama; and Minister of Science, Technology and Higher Education Pius Ng'wandu also retired.

ELECTIONS ON THE MAINLAND - FREE AND FAIR?

President Mkapa was much criticised by the opposition parties when he stated some months ago that he was going to use all the power of the state in the elections. He was assumed to be intending to use this power to ensure a CCM victory. But later on he said "I have been misunderstood. What I meant was using state power to make sure that peace, and stability would prevail during the elections. The government, CCM, multiparty democracy, our freedom, development, our country, and political parties all will have respect only if the elections are free and fair."

An encouraging sign was the launching in July of the 'Tanzania Centre for Democracy (TCD)' - an institution created by the only five political parties which have representatives in Parliament - CCM, CUF, CHADEMA, TLP and UDP. The aim is to work together in bringing about development, disregarding political or ideological differences. Representatives of some of the other small political parties addressed the meeting. The Centre is being sponsored by the Institute of Multi-party Democracy in the Netherlands (IMD) and John Cheyo, the UDP

chairman, is its chairman.

Another even more encouraging event on August 10 was the signing by twelve parties, plus the National Electoral Commission (NEC) and the Government, of a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on a 'Code of Conduct' to help ensure free, fair and peaceful elections.

Most observers expect the mainland elections to be free and fair and violence is not anticipated although there have been isolated incidents in the run-up to the elections. On June 12 police were said to have stopped a truck carrying CUF supporters after a CUF public rally in Dar-es-Salaam, to have beaten them and arrested 36 people. The Bagamoyo home of presidential candidate Kikwete was attacked on 5th June. Both parties subsequently agreed that they might have had some responsibility for this.

OUTSIDE DAR ES SALAAM

At election time most attention is directed towards what is happening in Dar es Salaam (and Zanzibar of course!). As an example of the atmosphere in areas where there has been little or no violence in previous elections Henry Kippin has told TA about the situation in Tabora Region as he saw it recently:

Few people in Tabora region are daring to predict anything other than a CCM president, and a National Assembly dominated by CCM members. The recent confirmation of the popular Jakaya Kikwete as the CCM candidate would seem to reinforce this perception. Even so, the contest will be heated, and politicians from all of the opposition parties will be putting their case in the next two months.

Tabora may be a long way from the hothouses of Dar and Zanzibar, but it will not be short of political competition. The region has been suggested (in these pages) as the scene of possible CUF election gains, and indeed their leader, Ibrahim Lipumba, hails from Llolangulo village not far from Tabora town. I visited two villages near to Llolangulo in March and April this year, and asked people what they thought about the political process and how it affected them.

Their responses varied. One village official commented that 'the *wananchi* (people) are not used to democracy; "they don't know how to think democratically". His allegiances lay with CUF, obviously frus-

trated with the overwhelming influence of CCM in the region. Others saw opposition parties as 'troublemakers', more interested in stirring up unrest on the coast than participating in a peaceful process. For them, CCM still represented the best way of ensuring peace.

Common to everyone was a feeling of distance from the politicians in Dodoma and Dar. Even those villagers carrying party cards felt that their region was on the margins of the political process; one woman told me that politicians "only come to the villages when they want something from us" - namely their vote. Similarly, the willingness of MPs to indulge in *takrima* ('hospitality') was frowned upon, though one man joked that they could use this to get more things done in the village! For these residents, the real election issues will be about how they can improve their meagre resources, and who is best placed to help them do that.

Some Tanzania-watchers have suggested that the election will be fought over personality, rather than actual policy. This is an understandable point of view, especially as the World Bank, bilateral donors and NGOs seem to be working towards a pretty homogenous political agenda. So was this the case in Tabora? I would say not exclusively, as the people I spoke to were keenly aware that a 'good' President is no guarantee of improvement locally. Feeling distant from the political process can mean that local networks and resources become extremely important, and in this sense Tabora is no different to any other region in mainland Tanzania. Asked whether the kind of violence and unrest witnessed in Zanzibar could occur there, people were sceptical. "It is the politicians that make the *ugomvi* (quarrels)", I was told, and as these kind of politicians were seen to have little interest in Tabora, they wouldn't be able to mobilise people in the same way. The prospect of violence certainly seemed unlikely in this particular part of the region, even given the visible presence of major parties within village society. People were certainly not afraid to express their political allegiances, yet all were adamant that the unity of the village, and of the country, should be preserved.

If the 2000 result is anything to go by, CCM will probably be returned in the region, yet not without a contest!

THE ELECTIONS IN ZANZIBAR

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In a paper published in Oxford University Press's *African Affairs* in August 2005 Ben Rawlence gave the background to the unhappy history of elections in Zanzibar. Extracts:

The 2000 elections were cancelled and then re-run but were subsequently boycotted by the opposition. In the 1995 elections the official margin between the CCM and CUF was only 0.4%.

Before that, the last elections held on the islands under a British mandate in 1963 precipitated a revolution. British gerrymandering ensured a victory for the Zanzibar National Party (ZNP) in alliance with another party. Despite forming a government, these two parties only commanded 46% of the national vote, whereas the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) won 54%. The ZNP with its roots among Zanzibar's elite, left the constitutional monarchy unchanged and the Sultan on his throne. After only a month, the Government and the Sultan were overthrown in the bloody revolution of January 1 1964. The 'Revolutionary (now CCM) Government' of Zanzibar has ruled ever since.

Zanzibar's first President, Abeid Karume, agreed to the establishment of a Union between Zanzibar and the mainland of Tanzania creating the new state called Tanzania in 1964. The second President, Aboud Jumbe, supervised the union between the mainland's Tanzanian African National Union (TANU) party and the ASP, forming the *Chama Cha Mapinduzi* (CCM - the Party of the Revolution) in 1977.

Some observers see the current political division between CCM and the CUF as nothing more than a reincarnation of the old 1963 divisions. However, although these historical associations undoubtedly have some relevance to older voters, well over half the voters were born since the Revolution and around 45% are under 30. Rawlence goes on: In fact, the current divisions between the two parties are more rooted in events that have taken place since 1964. In the 1963 elections, the ASP won 44% of the vote in the northern island of Pemba but only two seats. At the elections in 2000 and by-elections in Pemba of 2003, CCM's own official figures put their share of the vote at around 15%. On Unguja island, the south and central regions have remained faithful to CCM but Zanzibar

town and parts of the north that were always oriented towards the mainland, have now become either CUF seats or marginal seats. CUF officials claim that of the 32 seats on Unguja, they now have a majority of potential voters in 13. CCM denies this but some CCM officials are said to privately accept the figures. It was after CCM appeared to be losing the supposedly safe CCM seat of Rahaleo in the 2000 elections that police were ordered to seize ballot boxes and the election was cancelled.

PARTY POLICIES

In all previous elections in Tanzania the emphasis has been on personalities rather than policies. This election might be different.

President Karume claims to have done much during his first term. He refers to the Chake Chake Road in Pemba linking Mkoani port with the rest of the towns and villages in the area; improved water supplies; achievement of Millennium Development Goals in education - every child who is at the age of going to school goes to school. Karume has also eased political tensions with the result that international donors have resumed aid. He plans to complete the construction of the Michenzani flats - work stopped during the First Phase Government under his father.

CUF, which is a member party of 'Liberal International', is proposing some radical new policies, especially in its Zanzibar stronghold. These include privatisation of the clove industry and the other state-run organisations including those concerned with oil, insurance, tourism, together with lots of public housing and the state farms which were established after the 1964 revolution.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN THIS TIME IN ZANIBAR?

CCM has admitted that holding on to power in Zanzibar is going to be difficult but there is a lot at stake for both parties and it is this factor which creates the political tension for which Zanzibar is renowned.

According to Rawlence, CCM is divided about the causes of its woes. Presidents Karume and Mkapa say that the opposition is fuelled by troublemakers who are intent on power at any cost. In recent speeches, they have both called the opposition, 'people of violence'. They have suggested that CUF is motivated variously by Islamic fundamentalism, Zanzibari nationalist secessionism and foreign intervention from the

Gulf States as well as Britain. However, according to Dr Mohamed Bilal, former CCM Chief Minister, who recently challenged incumbent President Karume for the 2005 CCM presidential nomination, the President has failed to deliver on CCM's promises to the people. Bilal was persuaded to withdraw his challenge by President Mkapa at the last minute before the final vote at the National Executive Committee of CCM in Dodoma on 3rd May.

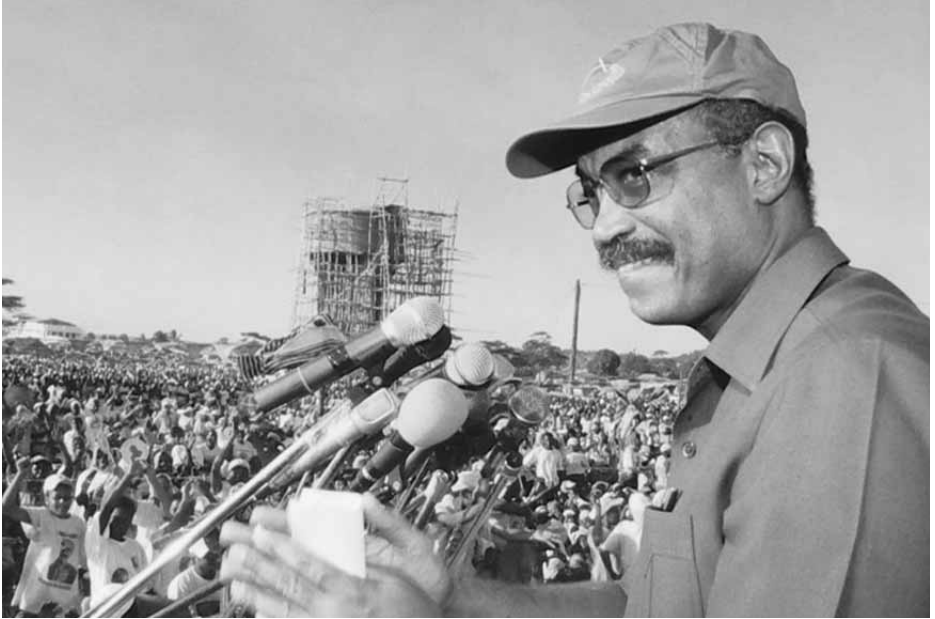


Seif Shariff Hamad (CUF Zanzibar Presidential candidate)

Rawlence quotes CUF Zanzibar Presidential candidate, Seif Shariff Hamad, as saying that CCM is guilty of corruption and economic mismanagement; discrimination against people of Arab or Pemban ethnicity; ceding too much sovereignty to the Union government over energy, customs duties, and security; and politicization of the security forces and civil service as well as abuse of human rights.

In October 2001, following the violent January riots, CCM and CUF signed a historic agreement, called '*Muafaka*' (see earlier issues of

Tanzanian Affairs - Editor) which provided a framework for ensuring free and fair elections in 2005. Since then a constitutional amendment has been passed, the electoral laws have been reviewed and the Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC) has been overhauled. ZEC has just completed a nationwide computerized registration process to create a permanent voters' register.



President Amani Abeid Karume (CCM Zanzibar Presidential candidate)

However, other *Muafaka* provisions including a reform of the judiciary have not been implemented according to CUF, the police and security organs are still heavily politicized and compensation promised to the victims of the shootings of January 2001 has not been paid. The *Muafaka* Committee has started meeting again on a regular basis which is encouraging news.

Many observers believe that a government of national unity is the only solution for Zanzibar but CCM has said that it is opposed to this.

VOTER REGISTRATION

According to Rawlence the voter registration exercise this year passed off relatively peacefully in Pemba. Registration was accurate and the number of voters was consistently about 85% of the number estimated by the 2002 census. Rawlence reports however that the process in *Unguja* was less calm. In the South and North, there were few reports of disturbances but in the Urban West Region, including the isles' capital and the district containing by far the largest number of voters in the country and the most marginal seats - there were reports of Zanzibar security forces, dubbed *Janjaweed*, setting fire to homes, chasing people into the bush, separating parents from their children, and, according to several victims who spoke to 'Zanzibar Watch', systematically beating up and raping CUF supporters. A CCM election agent was found dead on April 23 in an apparent act of retaliation. On April 29 police in Zanzibar town raided CUF meeting places beating people who were sitting on verandas or watching television. And on April 24 a small bomb went off at the CCM *maskani* (a meeting place for party members): no one was injured.

The ZEC statistics for registration in *Unguja* are much less consistent than those for Pemba. Registration ranges from 50% of the estimated population to over 200% in some areas. This is viewed by the opposition as part of a government tactic to shrink the opposition vote in marginal areas and raises serious questions about the accuracy of the *Unguja* voters' register.

ZEC has made some changes to the administration of elections, to ballot boxes, and to the protocols for counting votes as agreed under *Muafaka*. The West district, which now holds almost half of Zanzibar's population, has grown from 3 constituencies to 9. The number of seats in Pemba has been reduced by 3, and the constituencies of Mkokotoni and Tumbatu in North *Unguja* have been merged.

According to 'Zanzibar Watch No 5' the flurry of signing of codes of conduct, co-operation with opposition parties and the u-turn by President Mkapa regarding the use of state organs during the elections are all positive signs that the head of state is taking his responsibilities seriously. However, the paper goes on to say: 'The disruptions and

delays at the Electoral Commission, the build-up of security forces in Pemba and the deploying of the army in *Unguja* all point towards a government planning to stay in office at all costs, not a government at ease with its citizens'.

There have been a number of isolated cases of violence in recent weeks. Examples: According to Zanzibar Watch a group of '*Janjaweed*' invaded Forodhani in Stone Town and beat people who were checking their names in the register. On August 6 three houses belonging to CUF members were set on fire. The fires were said to have been started by '*Janjaweed*' CCM militia. On August 7, according to the Guardian, six people were injured after some 15 unknown armed youths attacked them in political-related violence. Four houses were set ablaze at Kwa Ali Masha. Unidentified people stoned one house belonging to a CCM supporter.

At the beginning of August the ZEC displayed the electoral roll for verification by political parties and the public but numerous flaws were found by CUF which presented a list of 7,400 people from Urban West region whom it believed had been denied registration. ZEC said they believed the names to be fake, put there for political purposes by CUF. International donors (who are financing the reform of the ZEC) met in Zanzibar on August 11th to discuss the progress of the Permanent Voter's Register in the wake of the violence and criticisms.

CUF finally issued an ultimatum to CCM that they would not accept the results of an election in Zanzibar unless the problems with the voters register were rectified. Without a credible voters register, they would be preparing for mass action.

The nomination process for candidates for House of Representatives seats started on August 1 with internal primary elections within CCM. According to 'Zanzibar Watch' there has been fierce competition within CCM in Zanzibar between two camps - the supporters of Karume and of former President Salmin Amour. There have been some shock results in the primaries with three Zanzibar ministers losing their seats. However, the final decision on candidates is made by the CCM Central Committee.

16 *The Elections in Zanzibar*

As an example of the fluidity of the candidate selection process two CUF MP's have defected to join CCM. A CUF party spokesman said that one had lost in the CUF primary elections and that the other was among those who had been expelled from the party in 1997 but allowed back conditionally.



An illustration of the enthusiasm of voters in Zanzibar in August well before the October election. This photograph shows some of the supporters of CUF's Seif Sharriff Hamad as he went to collect his forms to register at the Electoral Commission as a candidate for the Zanzibar presidency.

FREE AND FAIR?

According to Rawlence, whether or not there is a change of government is a complex equation affected by many related factors.

How far was the Zanzibar government prepared to go to secure victory? The killings of 2001 were an embarrassment for CCM. The Karume administration had since benefited from the resumption of aid and had earned a certain status from the *Muafaka* agreement. Rehabilitation with

the donors has been hard won and could be easily lost. However, for CCM the suspension of aid due to election fraud might be a price worth paying to stay in power. How far will the Union government support the Zanzibar administration in retaining power? An opposition victory in Zanzibar would be a sign of CCM's vulnerability and would provide CUF with a platform to demonstrate an alternative programme of government with a view to winning on the mainland in five years time.


The true test of CUF's claim of mass support, according to Rawlence, would be the reaction of the people to the result of the election, and even their ability to withstand intimidation prior to the poll. CUF is fond of proclaiming 'people's power' at public rallies but in neither 1995 nor 2000 did it feel confident enough to call for mass action against the CCM government. The examples of Ukraine, Georgia and Kyrgystan together with CUF's increased support, may have changed that calculation this time.

There was some pessimism about the chances of a free and fair election in Zanzibar also in the report of a 'Fact Finding Mission' of the East African Law Society, quoted in the Sunday Observer on July 17. The report said that there were complaints of voter disenfranchisement, electoral gerrymandering through vote-loading, and voter intimidation through state and party-sponsored violence. Mission members were said to have been made aware of the intimidating presence of police and para-military officers, and members of other security organs in and around many registration centres. The institution of the *Shehas*, civic leaders appointed by Regional Commissioners on the advice of the DC's, was said to have had a negative impact on the voter registration exercise. Regrettably, some of the denials of registration were resolved through offering bribes.

However, Zanzibar president, Amani Karume, has been quoted repeatedly as assuring the public that his Government would conduct free, fair, and peaceful elections. CUF's Seif Sharriif Hamad was quoted as saying that if the elections were not free and fair and CUF lost there would be a Ukraine style peaceful demonstration and that all the party's leaders, including himself, would be in the front line.

STOP PRESS

On August 15 there was an important new development. For the first time, President Mkapa said that there was a need for political parties to explore further the possibility of forming a government of national unity in Zanzibar as proposed in the *Muafaka*. He added that CCM and CUF would review the *Muafaka* on August 19 ahead of the official start of election campaigns on August 21. He directed CCM and its government to ensure that this year's elections did not result in violence of the kind that rocked the Isles in 2001. He commended several political parties for signing the election 'Code of Conduct'.



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BUSINESS & THE ECONOMY

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At the G8 summit in Scotland in July President Mkapa received assurances that in view of its impressive record in economic management, poverty reduction, good governance and good use of aid and previous debt relief, Tanzania can expect to receive a significant share of the new resources being added to the aid programme. The actual amount will be worked out by the boards of the IMF, the World Bank, and the African Development Bank over the next few months. The President said that to him, debt relief was the most assured form of development assistance as it freed revenues in his government's budget to help in poverty reduction.

On May 12 Vice-President (Operations Policy) of the World Bank Jim Adams who was formerly the Bank's Tanzanian Country Director gave a comprehensive review of Mkapa's achievements in an address to the Britain-Tanzania Society. The subject was: 'The Mkapa Legacy - Economic Reform, Growth and Poverty Reduction' He listed some of Mkapa's achievements including a reduction in poverty, a strong macro-economic programme, a successful programme of privatisation, (Dar es Salaam harbour and the telecommunications industry now performing better), reform of primary education with enrolment increasing from 65% to 100%, good relations with the private sector, debt reduction, substantial expansion of mining and tourism and close cooperation with donors. "President Mkapa's reputation stands very high in the world" he said.

More foreign tourists are visiting Tanzania. Those staying in hotels increased from 562,000 two years ago to 582,000 last year. The Government earned \$746.14 million compared with \$730 million two years ago. Last year 257,000 tourists arrived in Tanzania from African countries 53,000 from America, 221,000 from Europe and 50,000 from Asia. - Guardian

Tanzania is the first country in Africa to benefit from the World Bank programme on 'Trade Finance Clinics' targeting small and medium enterprises (SMEs). A Bank spokesperson said the clinics would help create linkages between local and foreign exporters and importers and

assist traders to exchange knowledge and information on international trade through a series of training courses and the exhibition of export products. She also said that there would be a special forum for addressing the impediments faced by women exporters.

Tanzania is among countries that will benefit from a 40 million-Euro assistance programme to enable it to adapt to the new market conditions created by the reform of the European Union (EU) Sugar Regime. The exact terms of the changes to the regime are likely to be agreed by the end of this year but the amount of money available to Tanzania has not yet been decided. For many years Tanzania has benefited from being able to sell about 20,000 tonnes a year to the EU at a price higher than the world market price. The statement said the funds would be made available by mid-2006 and would continue for a maximum of eight years thereafter.

The companies mining Tanzanite have become the largest contributors of royalties to the government. Last year they amounted to \$0.4 million or 5% of total royalty revenues. The USA is the primary market followed by Japan - Guardian.

A UN Report has listed Tanzania as the second largest marijuana producer in Africa after South Africa and there is fear that the drug is becoming the mainstay of the economy of some remote villages north-west of Arusha. According to the Arusha Times (July 23) up to 10 bales of marijuana, commonly known as *bhang*, are daily brought down from Mount Meru by foot or loaded on donkeys. From the many depots along Nairobi Road in Arusha, marijuana consignments are transported to the Namanga border post. The largest consignments are destined for Nairobi from where they are sold to Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, the Congo, Ethiopia and Sudan. A peddler who has just served a three-year jail term in Kenya, said the route to the Namanga border post did not bother him much compared to the Kenyan side which he said had many check points. That was where he was nabbed and sent to prison. Another peddler claimed that the business is lucrative and therefore worth the risk. In remote areas marijuana is intercropped with food crops such as maize and peas. Other areas involved in cultivation of marijuana are the Usambara mountains and the southern highlands, but according to those familiar with the matter, Arusha's variety is

favoured and highly priced because of its potency. "It flowers quickly in one's head" one grower said- Guardian.

A PEASANTS' BUDGET

Joseph Kilasara has kindly agreed to summarise and comment on Tanzania's latest budget. This what he wrote - Editor

Finance Minister the Hon. Basil Mramba described his 2005/06 budget as a Peasants' Budget designed to implement the ruling CCM party's manifesto on poverty reduction. Despite misgivings expressed by several MPs on the political face of the budget they eventually passed it with a huge majority according to the Guardian.

The Government is proposing to spend TShs 4.176 trillion (US\$ 39bn) out of which TShs 2 trn (US\$17.6bn) is projected from home revenue while the rest will come from foreign aid, Central Bank savings, sale of shares in government owned companies as well as internal borrowings.

In order to attain an economic growth rate of around 8% the budget allocates about 50% to works, health, education, agriculture and water - key sectors in poverty reduction. Development expenditure has been set at TShs 1.3 trn which will include raising of the Ministry of Works budget by about 20.5% to TShs 345bn and the education budget by 39% to TShs 271bn. (Source: The Guardian and Daily News).

The main aspects of the budget as captured by experts from PriceWaterhouseCoopers are:

- Raising the minimum wage from TShs 60,000 to TShs 80,000 (US\$77)
- Removal of special relief on VAT to mining companies.
- VAT exemption to railway locomotives and rolling stock, and to Jet - A1 aviation fuel and Mobile Health clinics. Abolition of Excise duty on Jet- A1.
- Excise duty on most beverages increased by about 5% in line with inflation.
- Other changes include reduction of stamp duty from 4% to 1% on a number of items, the abolition of licence fees for non-passenger vehicles and an increase of vehicle license fees from TShs 10,000 to TShs 20,000 annually.

WELL RECEIVED

The budget has been received well across the country albeit with some misgivings.

As a member of the Tax Reform Team the Confederation of Tanzania Industries (CTI) decried the Government's refusal to reduce the VAT rate of 20% in line with that of other East African countries in order to offset the unfair advantages to Tanzanian manufacturers. The Kenya and Uganda VAT rates are currently 17%. CTI also noted the continuing high dependency on donor funding of the national budget which currently stands at around 41% and thus believes stimulating the manufacturing sector should be one of the key strategies to address the problem - *The Financial Times - Tanzania*.

According to the Planning Minister the economy for the year 2004 grew by 6.7% which is short of the projected rate of 8%, perceived as necessary to win the war on poverty. The manufacturing sector recorded a 8.6% growth rate, mining 15.6%, agriculture 6%. The inflation rate was contained at around 4%. As this is the last budget for the presidency it should be noted that when it started the GDP growth rate was 3.6% while the inflation rate was hovering around 29.5% - a remarkable achievement.

Exports receipts have increased by 18% to US\$ 1,333m (2004) which has been contributed mostly by non-traditional exports which increased by 14.6% to US\$ 1,042m with gold exports alone contributing US\$ 686.5 million. Of major interest is the high contribution of mining to the GDP growth as well as exports (51%). To what extent this will stir up growth in other sectors and boost employment is unclear.

Equally troubling is the increasingly unfavourable balance of trade with imports rising by 18% to US\$ 2,281.8m (fob) creating a balance of trade deficit of US\$ 948.3m. Despite receiving the HIPC relief the National Debt amounted to US\$ 9,219.3 by December 2004 an increase of about 4.8% from December 2003.

The Shilling continued to fluctuate negatively registering an average of US\$ 1,089.6 for the year 2004 as opposed to an average of US\$ 1,038 in the previous year.



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TANZANIA & ZIMBABWE

On June 2, in a speech to the World Economic Forum in Cape Town, President Mkapa stated his views on what was happening in Zimbabwe under President Robert Mugabe. Quoted at length in the Government-owned 'Zimbabwe Herald', he said he felt emotional about Zimbabwe and particularly about what he saw as the West's unjust criticism. As he would be leaving office in a few months' time, he now felt free to speak out. He said continued hostility towards Zimbabwe was a resuscitation of old prejudices against the country's firm determination to manage its own affairs. "All we hear are sanctimonious and pious statements that are totally abhorrent. I mean every word of it," he said, in apparent reference to the criticism and bad press Zimbabwe continues to endure.

Mkapa said Zimbabwe's land reform programme was justified given the historical background. The few anomalies in its implementation, that were now being corrected, included the fate of farm workers on farms that had been designated, but these did not make illegitimate the need to redistribute land. He criticised attempts by some journalists to compare Zimbabwe and Tanzania stressing that the latter had only been occupied by a few settlers who were sympathetic to the cause of the Tanzanians. In Zimbabwe, indigenous people had been forced off fertile land and were denied their rights during colonial rule. "The history of our two countries is different and, therefore, the path to restoring the voice and ownership of the countries will be different". Mkapa also refuted suggestions that the ruling Zanu-PF had rigged the 2005 parliamentary elections.

After the launch on May 19 of what the Zimbabwean Government called a 'Clean-up Operation' which involved the demolition of large numbers of shops and dwellings all over the country, President Mkapa justified this too, according to the Herald. It was necessary, he said, to deal with some of the activities compounding economic problems facing the country and to wipe out a growing secondary economy. The police and local authorities had been demolishing illegal settlements, flea markets and other unauthorised business operations, most of whose owners were actively involved in the black market for foreign currency and basic commodities.

TWO TANZANIANS ARE SENT TO SEE WHAT IS HAPPENING

On June 21 the UN's Information office publication IRIN reported that UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan had decided to send a special envoy to assess human settlement issues in Zimbabwe. His envoy was a Tanzanian - Dr. Anna Tibaijuka, the Executive Director of UN-HABITAT in Nairobi.

Shortly after her arrival the 'Zimbabwe Independent' reported that she had been shocked by what she had seen and had condemned the role of the police and army in the 'clean-up' operation. The paper went on: 'Government has been making frantic efforts to turn a demolition campaign into a development initiative, but Tibaijuka has resisted manipulation. After separately meeting President Mugabe and three government ministers and civic groups, she 'came out with her guns blazing against the operation.' A huge internal refugee population had been created and displaced people were being held at transit camps nationwide. Mrs Tibaijuka was quoted as saying: "The people are not here (in urban areas) because they want to be but because they are trying to get a living." She added: "I was born in a rural area, but I now work in Dar-es-Salaam. There is no way the Government can relegate the people to the rural areas where there is poverty..... the poor work hard and they should not be criminalised." Tibaijuka said Zimbabwe had had no serious problem with illegal settlements and for that reason UN HABITAT did not have an office in the country - Africa had a slum rate of 72% but Zimbabwe had a rate of only 3.4%. However, a Zimbabwe Minister said "Since we embarked on the exercise, crime has fallen drastically and we have recovered goods worth millions of dollars from the illegal structures and we believe they were harbouring criminals."

While Mrs Tibaijuka was conducting her survey another Tanzanian - Mr Bahame Nyanduka - arrived in Zimbabwe having been sent by the African Union on a similar mission. But he was allowed to spend only a few days in a hotel in Harare before being told to leave as his visit was not 'protocolly correct'. When told of this he expressed surprise. The Government said it was preoccupied with the visit by Mrs Tibaijuka and that it could not accommodate a concurrent itinerary for such a high-ranking AU official at such short notice.

'A CRISIS OF IMMENSE PROPORTIONS'

Mrs Tibaijuka later published a 98-page report on her visit. This concluded that 2.4 million people had been indirectly affected, of whom 700,000 had lost their homes or livelihoods or both, in a humanitarian crisis of 'immense proportions'. The clearances were a 'disastrous adventure.....while purporting to target illegal dwellings and structures and to clamp down on alleged illicit activities, the operation was being carried out in an indiscriminate manner, with indifference to human suffering, and, in repeated cases, with disregard to several provisions of national and international legal frameworks'. The report said the operation was popularly referred to locally as 'Operation Tsunami' because of its speed and ferocity. The vast majority of those affected were the poorer and disadvantaged segments of the population. They were today deeper in poverty, deprivation and destitution.....' Mrs Tibaijuka suggested that those suspected of responsibility - she did not identify them - should be tried in Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe's Foreign Minister dismissed the UN rebuke as 'biased and wrong'. It had used 'judgmental language' that had demonstrated its 'in-built bias against the Operation.' President Mugabe was quoted as saying that Mrs Tibaijuka had told him that Britain forced her to write a critical report, something which was vigorously denied by the British Ambassador to the UN in New York.

UN Secretary General Kofi Annan said the report was "profoundly distressing" according to The London Guardian.

TANZANIA SAYS NO

Mrs Tibaijuka was allowed to brief a closed-door meeting of the UN Security Council on July 27 on her report but this was only after Tanzania and the other two African members, Algeria and Benin, plus China and Russia, had voted against her being able to do so. Nine Council members voted in favour of hearing her. Brazil abstained. Tibaijuka defended her role after she had been criticized as working at the behest of the British and said she had not been pressured.

The Zimbabwe Independent later reported that there had been a 'fierce debate' in the country's parliament on the Tibaijuka report.

Independent MP and recently resigned cabinet minister Jonathan Moyo said the report was a true reflection of the situation on the ground. The operation had been madness..... "each and every one of us here knows someone who is suffering from this." He likened the situation to the crises in Nigeria under Sani Abacha and Uganda under Idi Amin. One opposition MP reminded government leaders of how Mobutu of Zaire had died and was buried in a "very small grave in Morocco".

DSM WATER - WHAT TO DO?

On the 13th of May the Government terminated its contract with City Water Services for the management of Dar es Salaam's water supply. The contract, in which the British firm Biwater was involved, was terminated on the grounds that the firm had failed to deliver services as per the contract. City Water claimed that the original bid documents were misleading and inaccurate. For detailed background see Tanzanian Affairs No. 80.

Dr. Brian Mathew looks here at the issues that now face the body - DAWASCO - which has taken over responsibility for water supplies and offers a four-part solution.

The problems of Dar es Salaam's water supply are in many ways similar to problems of urban water supply systems across Africa. Systems installed largely in the 1950's and 60's now are not only suffering from under maintenance and old age, but also the challenge of supplying water to populations vastly larger than they were originally set up to serve.

The overall figures for Dar es Salaam, a city of 3.5 million people, give an idea of the problem. 281 million litres is pumped into the system every day, while the estimated total demand is 400 million litres per day. Of the 281 million litres that are pumped as little as 16% is delivered to paying customers, the rest is lost to illegal connections and leakages. The solution often adopted by water companies of concentrating, first on cutting off non payers and illegal connections, and secondly

installing water meters for those that do have registered and paid for pipe connections, has unseen consequences for the vast majority of the population that have to rely on water vendors, or walking to buy their water. These consequences are economic and social, are of great importance to ordinary people and follow the predictable laws of supply and demand.

Where water meters are fitted, for example, the householder with a water connection suddenly becomes much more aware of the cost of the water he or she is receiving and then selling on. The tap owner, if he is to continue supplying water to his neighbours, has to monitor the use of his tap to match its use with income if he is to avoid his water bill going through the roof. As a result he often stops selling water; it is simply too much bother to keep an eye on the tap all day especially if you have a job; it is easier to lock the tap up and refuse water to those who come rather than risk making a loss. The consequences, for the 75+% of the population who depend for their water on informal arrangements such as these is real hardship. With further to travel to find water the price also goes up for both vendors and end users.

The solution of privatisation for city water supplies, favoured by donors as a free market approach to urban development, can make the situation worse, especially when efforts made for short term financial prudence come into conflict with the bigger needs of a thirsty and growing urban population. So what is the solution?

In the first place, more water is needed for the system as a whole. This means both improvements to the pumping and treatment works, but also a new pumping main. The current main pipes are beset with problems of illegal connections and leakage and a new main, without any take offs until it reaches the distribution network, would go a long way to securing a better water supply for Dar es Salaam, along with a better leak detection and repair system. All this will mean higher levels of investment are required, but with the poorest often paying up to ten times more per litre for their water than those with house connections, surely it will be an investment worth making.

Secondly, enforcement of by-laws to protect water installations and pipes from illegal connections is needed. It has been pointed out in the past that it is often the water workers themselves who have installed many of the illegal connections with bribes from wealthier individuals. The creation of the new company DAWASCO is the ideal opportunity for senior management to point out to all involved, that national pride and the welfare of the people is on the line, that previous dubious and corrupt practices will no longer be allowed. A reward system could be introduced to assist virtuous workers and to 'name and shame' their corrupt colleagues. Pride and dignity in the water company should be an enduring goal of management, with uniforms provided on a regular basis and company sports teams supported to build and keep up morale.

Thirdly, lessons learned by NGO-supported community water supply initiatives need to be 'scaled up' to assist those un-served communities that can help themselves in partnership with DAWASCO. Community management of water supplies, long proven to work in some rural areas of Tanzania, have, since 1997, been a feature of some parts of Dar es Salaam and the lessons are there for the learning. This had been a small element of the original DAWASA proposal, and urgent thought now needs to be given to scale up this initiative to make a more meaningful impact on the situation. Transparently operated water kiosks, with dedicated water supply mains and with community input in their management, are needed urgently in areas where the majority cannot afford individual house connections. These should be a priority for the new company and NGO expertise could be used to help set these up along with the possible use of mechanical water vending machines.

Fourthly, transparent management of the whole pipe network is needed and this will eventually have to include control measures, such as the use of water meters to link billing to water use, as well as robust systems for the disconnection of those who won't pay their bills or use illegal connections. Elements of control should be seen as only a part of the overall solution however and not the main focus. 'DAWASCO getting the water to the people' should be the rallying cry!

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 overseas or travel outside the UK/Tanzania, 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 be published please say so - Editor).

A well-balanced five-page article in the July issue of **PROSPECT** added many more accolades to the ones President Mkapa is receiving as his final term of office approaches its end. The author, Jonathon Power, who writes for the International Herald Tribune, compared Tanzania as it was 20 years ago with what it is like today. 'Since coming to power in 1995, Mkapa has left his reformist mark on everything from tax policy to privatisation, from the bureaucracy to human rights, from political freedom to the free press. Of Nyerere's well-meaning but autocratic Christian socialism there is hardly a sign left. As Deputy Foreign Minister Abdulkader Shareef put it to me, as we sailed across to Zanzibar, "Nyerere was redistributing poverty..... we are not anti-socialism..... But before distributing wealth we must create it."

The article concluded: 'If Tanzania can get past the October elections without too much trouble in Zanzibar, if the next president can be as dynamic as Ben Mkapa has been, if aid donors hold steady, if rich countries open their agricultural markets... then Tanzania has a reasonably bright future..... I think that Tanzanians now know how to keep their ship pointing forward. If I were Tony Blair, preparing for the G8 summit I would cross Tanzania off my worry list.' *Thank you Debbie Simmons for sending this - Editor.*

Under the heading 'A Fair Poll in Zanzibar Will Be Mkapa's Legacy' the **EAST AFRICAN** (July 4) published a long article by CUF Zanzibar Leader Seif Sharriff Hamad which began: 'History is the story of men and events. Sometimes single men can shape events to create history and sometimes history judges them by how they respond to events beyond their control. Many journalists have made assessments of President Mkapa's government but it is not yet clear how history will judge him. He is perhaps the foremost sitting African President in the

international community, with distinguished positions on the UK Commission for Africa, the Commission on the impact of globalisation on developing countries and co-chairman of the Helsinki process on good governance. How President Mkapa will handle the forthcoming election in Zanzibar will have a significant impact on his legacy. Indeed, it may be the determining factor in how his term will be remembered. He has a clear choice: to entrench the rule of law and the precepts of democracy and decency, to ensure that the election is free and fair and thus to bequeath robust democratic institutions to the people of Zanzibar; or to bow to pressure from those who would illegally disrupt the process, deny people their right to vote and cling to power through force. In a recent interview with the UK magazine *Prospect*, President Mkapa admitted that there were militants within CCM in Zanzibar who were not prepared to hand over power even if the process amounted to rigging. He should not let the greed of a few disturb the stability of the whole of Tanzania. On this choice rests his legacy.'

The German publication **DEVELOPMENT AND COOPERATION** (July) published an interview with Tanzanian Finance Ministry Permanent Secretary Peniel Lyimo. Extracts: "You have said you will reject aid if donor conditions turn out to be too strict. Can you really afford to do that?" "We will not accept aid at any cost or terms. The aid has to conform to our priorities." "What has been the greatest success in your country?" "Restoration of macro-economic stability and increase in real economic growth. Foreign direct investment reached \$350 million compared with less than \$100 million in the early 1990s." "Tanzania has become something of a donor 'darling'. Do you have any advice for other governments who are not in favour with donor nations?" "We have a proven track record of successes. And we have established a very good and strong partnership with our development partners. So in my view we have earned this status".

An article entitled 'An Argentinisation of Tanzania?' by Issa Shivji was published in **PAMBAZUKA NEWS** on May 17. Extracts: 'With general elections due in Tanzania in October why can't aspirant candidates talk about how the country is going to avoid recent Latin American experiences with the 'Washington consensus'. Argentina became the start of

the 'Washington consensus.' The IMF held up Argentina as a show-piece. Public utilities were cut up and sold off. Foreign investment flowed in. GDP grew by 10 per cent. It was an economic miracle. Then came the great crash in 2001 the 'Washington' baby collapsed like a pack of cards..... But our experiences of Latin America are passing us by..... we should be learning from history in this election year in Tanzania. We should be taking stock, particularly of the last 10 years of neo-liberal reforms.....Regrettably, none of this is happening. The so-called free media does not even report such experiences as those of Argentine; cliché politicians are talkingabout the good done by the third phase government....Shouldn't our aspirant candidates be telling us what they have learnt and how they propose to avoid the Argentinisation of Tanzania?'

According to the Kenyan publication **E-TURBO NEWS** (May) Mount Kilimanjaro remains the biggest attraction as far as Kenyan tour operators and tourism planners are concerned. Extracts: 'For decades, Kenyan tour operators have been selling their tourist services under the brand name of Mount Kilimanjaro which stands majestically and silently in Tanzania..... Kenyan Tourism and Wildlife Minister Morris Dzoro angered Tanzanian delegates who were attending an Africa Travel Association Congress in Nairobi by his comment that "Mount Kilimanjaro is among top tourist attractions available in Kenya." "We are sorry that the Kenyan minister erred in his comment to such a big international gathering of tourist professionals and planners," said Amant Macha, the marketing manager for the Tanzania Tourist Board. "And if it was a slip of the tongue, Mr. Dzoro should have said 'sorry' to the delegates" Macha said. (*Many thanks Yusufu Kashangwa, Head of the Tanzania Trade Centre, for sending this item - Editor*).

South Africa's **AFRICAN DECISIONS** (Issue 3, 2005) revealed that a critically endangered, previously unknown monkey species - the Highland Mangabey (*Lophocebus kipinji*) has been discovered in the mountains of southern Tanzania. Brown with a black face, it is thought to be closely related to the baboon and lives in trees at altitudes as high as 2,450 metres above sea level on Mount Rungwe and in the Kitulo National Park. It has long fur and a distinctive 'honk bark' call. *Thank*

you John Sankey and Jill Thompson for sending more detailed stories on this which appeared in the Daily Telegraph and the Times on 20th May - Editor.

Reporting on what it described as 'the largest exhibition of contemporary African work ever seen in Europe' **DEVELOPMENTS** (Issue 29) recommended its readers to visit the British Museum where they would be able to see some of the earliest man-made objects ever discovered, including beautifully designed hand tools close to 2 million years old from the Olduvai Gorge in Tanzania - and be able to 'trace the trajectory' through the Museum's Africa Galleries, into the present.

The **NEW CIVIL ENGINEER** (April) reported that the 'ICE Graduates and Students National Committee' has instigated an award for mentors who provide exemplary support to younger colleagues through the early stages of their careers. It went on to report that founder-member of the ICE headquarters in Tanzania, Professor Awadhi Mawenya, had been awarded the annual engineering excellence award by the Tanzania Engineers Registration Board. He is the first civil engineer to receive the national award. *Thank you Dick Waller for sending this news - Editor.*

Gillian Reynolds, writing in the **DAILY TELEGRPAH** (31st May) was impressed by a series of five 15-minute programmes presented on BBC Radio by Tanzanian journalist Adam Lusekelo. Extracts: Each told a good story well. When only the bad and bizarre are reported, said Lusekelo, we get used to Africa being portrayed as helpless, hopeless, the begging bowl of the world. It's not like that, he said, and went on to prove it. We met media mogul Reginald Mengi, a businessman who owns 70% of all Tanzanian media. "Is it dangerous for one man to have such control", asked Lusekelo? Mengi, chuckling, said that with business interests such as his (Coca-Cola and mining were mentioned), when would he have time to interfere? He was concentrating on what he does best: business. *Thank you John Sankey for this - Editor.*

Simon Hancock on the **BBC's 'CLICK ON LINE' PROGRAMME** featured Tanzania. Extracts: 'Mobile phones are taking the country by storm, although only one in 10 houses has electricity. An alien landing in Tanzania could be forgiven for thinking that the only business here

was the mobile phone. Some 97% of Tanzanians say they can access a mobile phone, and what is just as interesting is how those phones are being used. Take Zanzibar for example. Here, fishing is one of the mainstays of the economy.....Many fishermen now carry mobile phones while they are at sea, and they use them to check market prices. If there are too many fish in Zanzibar, they sail to Dar es Salaam to get better prices. Phones also serve another even more vital use, allowing fishermen in trouble to call for assistance.....

But recently a debate has been raging as to whether this kind of leap-frogging may have any downside. Since the first internet evangelists emerged from the mist, it has become gospel that for economies to grow and business to flourish, the internet was essential. So, without landlines, the communications industry would stall, internet take up would be hampered and all kinds of economic horrors would be unleashed. However, no-one told the Tanzanians about these dire predictions, so they just got on with things...

An article in **NATURE** (August) analyses lion attacks on humans in Tanzania over the past 15 years. There were 563 known deaths during this period and many more injuries. Numbers have increased since 1990, which the authors Craig Packer, Dennis Ikanda, Bernard Kissui, and Hadas Kushnir attribute to the increase in human population and depletion in natural prey. Attacks are commonest around harvest time,



Sign warning "Man eating lion has killed 40 and injured 7"

and in areas where there are few prey apart from bush pigs. Although more than 18% of victims are children under 10, most are men attacked when walking/ foraging, working in fields, sleeping in the fields to protect their crops, or when actively hunting lions. The authors hope the analysis will help plan

strategies to reduce risks to rural Tanzanians while sustaining viable populations of lions.

MISCELLANY

The **US First Lady Laura Bush** arrived in Dar es Salaam on July 13. She visited the 'Pastoral Activities and Services for People with Aids, Dar es Salaam Arch Diocese' (Pasada) in Chang'ombe area where she pledged \$500,000 to assist HIV-positive people and their families. Her host, Mama Mkapa, expressed deep appreciation to her for visiting the country to highlight the plight of people infected with Aids.

In Zanzibar the First Lady, Shadia Karume, led her to the Al-Rahma Madrasa, about 30km from Zanzibar Stone Town, one of several pre-primary schools that had benefited from \$200,000 from USAID.

Under the heading 'That American exclusivity' the Guardian on July 18 wrote: 'We take this opportunity to thank Mrs Bush for sparing some days and flying for more than 15 hours to jet into this poor part of the world. Yet, the protocol and security around her.... left the nation aghast. Granted the Americans would not take any chance, particularly after the recent attacks on London...but the security detail around her was contemptuous of the host country. The whole world watched Tanzania being utterly humiliated by the American Secret Service and FBI personnel as they pushed away local security personnel. One got the impression they were protecting someone from Mars and not a human being.....If Mrs Bush was so much in danger, was there any reason for her to even think of coming?'*Thank you Peter White, Keith Lye and Christine Lawrence for sending information on Mrs Bush's visit - Editor*

Immediately after the British election in May President Mkapa sent a **congratulatory message to Tony Blair**. He said that relations between the Labour Party and CCM and between the two governments had been long and rewarding. He went on: The Commission for Africa Report bears the stamp of your genuine concern for Africa. I hope that working together in 2005 may truly be the turning point in engendering a big international push for a strong, peaceful and prosperous Africa.

After a recent seminar at the University of Dar es Salaam, the Guardian quoted various dons criticising the government and foreign donors for '**downgrading university education**'. Market forces were dictating what teaching mode should be employed; public resources going to the universities were being siphoned off by the bureaucracy; university

education had been turned into a commodity and this had given rise to 'academic slavery' sustained by the donor community..... *Thank you Jairo Nyaongo for sending this - Editor.*



Mrs Liz Fennell and Mrs Anna Mkapa

On June 29 British High Commissioner Andrew Pocock held a musical evening at his Residence to raise funds for **Buigiri School**, a special school for the blind (which the Britain-Tanzania Society has helped in the past). Mrs. Anna Mkapa was guest-of-honour and in this photograph we see her with Chairman of the UK Branch, Mrs. Liz Fennell who was visiting Tanzania at the time (*Thank you Nancy Macha for sending this news and the photo - Editor*).

A large piece of **Tanzanite** weighing over three kilogrammes was been mined at 270 metres underground at Mererani in Manyara Region. It measures 220x80x70 millimetres and weighs well over three kilogrammes. It is the world's largest single piece of Tanzanite to have been mined in recent history. The piece has been named 'The Mawenzi' after Kilimanjaro's second highest peak - Guardian.

THE Zanzibar government has said it will not bow to pressure by international human rights groups that want it to legalise **same-sex marriages** and abolish stiff punishment for gays and lesbians. Minister for Education and Culture, Haroun Suleiman, said the government would never legalise such marriages - Daily News.

On July 17 Prime Minister Frederick Sumaye emerged best in an **annual firing range exercise** that involved nearly 30 MP's "It is useless, and indeed dangerous, to keep a gun that you cannot use skillfully," the premier said. Sumaye pumped 15 bullets out of 20 in the bull's eye using a sub-machine-gun. He also did well with a light machinegun and a pistol. Some MPs, who used personal handguns, ended up as 'outright washouts' - Daily News.

The National Museum of Tanzania is hoping to make a film on the **Majimaji war** which pitted Tanzanian heroes against German rule a century ago. The war is being seen as the first stirring of nationalism and a unifying experience that brought together all the different peoples of the country under one leader in an attempt to establish a nation free from foreign domination - Daily News.

Tanzania filed a civil case in June in the Clerkenwell District Court in London against the British Government to demand the **relocation of destitute people (squatters)** who have invaded one of the two official residences of the High Commissioner in Highgate. The High Commission is also asking for compensation for damage caused. The residence fell vacant after the High Commissioner shifted residence temporarily to facilitate repairs on his official house. Efforts were made to persuade the destitute to move on but to no avail - Guardian.

Entry fees for the Serengeti National Park and Kilimanjaro National Park will be increased from January to \$50 per day compared with the present \$30 but fees for the remaining parks will remain at \$30 per day - Guardian

OBITUARIES

A nominated Member of Parliament, **MARGARETH BWANA** (49) died of a heart attack in June. She held a Diploma in Social Sciences, which she obtained in the former USSR in 1985, and a Diploma in Economics (1990) from a Bulgarian university. She is the fifth Member of Parliament to die in the past 12 months - Guardian.

NICK JAGO (69) was an entomologist and taxonomist whose main research work was on locusts. From 1965 to 1968 he was in Tanzania as a Senior Lecturer in the University of Dar es Salaam. He collected a huge number of insects, many of them new to science and, together with his detailed descriptions and drawings, these remain an invaluable scientific archive. The East African grasshopper (*Afrophaeoba Jago*) is named after him. His 100 odd publications include a four-volume pest identification handbook for use in the African field which will be published posthumously - - *Thank you John Sankey for sending this item from the Daily Telegraph - Editor.*

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REVIEWS

Edited by John Cooper-Poole (UK) and Marion Doro (USA)

SACRED TREES, BITTER HARVESTS - GLOBALIZING COFFEE IN N.W. TANZANIA. Brad Weiss. Greenwood Publishing Group, June 2003. ISBN p/b 0 325 070970 £15.99. h/b 0 325 070954 £36.99. pp216.

Brad Weiss explores the ethnography of coffee in Northwest Tanzania, weaving the story of its historical significance with the changing social political and economic processes taking place at the beginning of the twentieth century. While this book is surely an ethnography of coffee and coffee growing - its cultural, political as well as material significance - it also belongs in a whole line of literature exploring colonial encounters. In this case, the analysis is of local encounters between Haya communities and powerful outsiders - the White Fathers, coffee traders and others who act as supporters of change at the turn of the century. This is an anthropological monograph, a book as much about the Haya people themselves, about the relational elements of product practices frequently interpreted as simply 'technical' - the cultural, political as well as the material significance of coffee and coffee growing - as well as a study of political, social and economic processes - of power and how it is sustained and maintained.

In the world that most of us live in, coffee is a commodity whose value is determined by the international market of supply and demand. With good management of the coffee enterprise, producers in any particular location might be expected to derive an income that provides sufficient incentive for them to stay in production. As with all good ethnographies, this book takes us well beyond this understanding and provides us with a rich picture of relations between the material - coffee in all its aspects - and the social, against an historical backdrop that includes colonisation, globalisation and the making of modernity. In this analysis, we are shown clearly that the Buhara are not simply producers of commodities for consumption elsewhere among whom agricultural practice is just a reflex of production. Rather the Buhara are presented as an example of how people are able to themselves creatively act on their world and in their own interests - expressing their agency - even when facing intense and sustained socio-historical pressures. In this case, these pressures include what Weiss refers to as the 'plethora of colonial projects' - the introduction of rupees as the currency of German administration and enforced taxes along with an

associated royal edict that made coffee planting compulsory.

In making this analysis, Weiss is addressing some of the pressing theoretical questions that are at the heart of current debates about poverty, empowerment and development of what are frequently referred to as 'marginalised groups'. The book provides some answers to the question of how is it possible to locate and acknowledge the 'meaningful agency' of all social actors even in the face of systemic oppressions and inequalities.

Weiss begins with a detailed picture of coffee in Buhaya at the outset of the twentieth century - how *robusta* coffee was grown in the Haya Region, became Haya coffee; the way coffee was used as an expression of royal control enforced through local witnesses and techniques of propagation that together limited widespread planting and privatisation of a crop with considerable cultural and social value. In Chapter 2, we are rapidly introduced to the chewable coffee cherry product. It is through the coffee cherry that the cultural and social values of coffee are expressed on a day-to-day basis, in social transactions. In subsequent chapters we follow in great detail the transformation of coffee through its articulation with other valued currencies. Weiss argues that money coinage introduced at the turn of the century transformed coffee and as a consequence, through its articulation with these, redefined the nature and meaning of wealth.

Beyond the initial chapters therefore, the book moves rapidly into a detailed analysis of how coffee is valued - as an expression of local power, and then, as currency. Weiss describes the mix of cowries and corvee labour that coexisted with rupees as forms of payment and compensation, well after the introduction of colonial money, and records the efforts by officials and the 'White Fathers' or priests to establish clear and stable prices for cattle, land and bridewealth - as he argues - redefining the nature and meaning of wealth. As Weiss points out, these changes were not simply about encouraging the use of a new official currency but also about the introduction of distinct cultural processes of valuation.

This issue of changing values is one of the most significant in current development thinking where the expected success of development frequently presumes shared values, of things and relationships. Using his historical analysis, Weiss details the complex social and cultural processes that surrounded the

introduction of standardised currencies in this region, and linked with this, the development of the coffee trade characterised by concrete techniques of measurement and enumeration. Readers who have themselves grappled with measurement in settings where measurement and quantification are regarded as 'intensively suspicious acts - drawing unnecessary attention to ones good fortune' or more simply poor etiquette, will be fascinated by the detailed description of the different measures or containers used at this time. They will no doubt revisit their own attempts to transform these containers into some standardised measure (a kilo) following what are viewed as scientific procedures. Having done so, they may agree with Weiss that the process results in the loss of the full significance of the measure itself and makes one reflect on our own appreciation of meanings of value. Many of us will agree that 'putatively objective measures often conceal the social projects through which they are implemented' and which are hidden by the apparent simplicity of the procedure of counting and enumeration.

Early in chapter 3 the author grapples with the moral quandaries of materialism during the colonial encounter. This new materialism is presented as part of the socioeconomic transformations generally associated with global capitalism. Overall, it is this constant shift from the Haya case to wider ongoing changes that binds the chapters together and makes this a valuable contribution to the list of ethnographies. Weiss argues for a comparative perspective that explores differences between pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial understandings of such entities as exchange, property and wealth in relation to one another, in order to avoid the pitfalls of normative and linear models. In the face of the insight offered here by using such an approach, the reader engaged in the development project must reflect on the constant search for macro indicators of change that are used to represent the reality of peoples' lives - the Millennium Development Goals and even the GEM.

Weiss's book will satisfy the interests of a wide range of readers beyond academic scholars. It is not an easy read, but it is one that is endlessly rewarding whether the reader is seeking a new look at a tropical crop, or a new interpretation of events. Those readers concerned with the loss of culture in the face of modernity will be left with the overall understanding that local cultures neither embrace nor reject new meanings in a straightforward fashion.

FROM THE ABYSINNIAN EXPEDITION TO THE MAU MAU INSURRECTION. Catalogue 1343 published by Maggs Brothers, 50 Berkeley square, London WC1J 5BR. military@maggs.com. 2003. £15 incl p & p.

Maggs, "Purveyors of Rare Books & Manuscripts" to H.M. The Queen, are selling over 1000 items from the Winterton collection relating to military operations in East and North-east Africa from 1860 to 1960. Some 300 items relate specifically to the WWI campaign in East Africa. These include a detailed first-hand account by Daniel Greenshields, Chief Yeoman of Signals on H.M.S. Severn, of the sinking of the German cruiser *Konigsberg*, and a letter dated November 1916 from the British commander, (General Smuts) to his opposite number Colonel von Lettow Vorbeck congratulating him on the "well deserved" award of the Order of Merit by the Kaiser.

One of the most expensive items, (at £2,750) is a set of four reports by Major Meinertzhagen, who despite his German name was the Chief British Intelligence Officer under general Smuts. He compiled a complete list of the German officers in East Africa by use of D.P.M. (dirty paper method) - he found that the "contents of German officers' latrines were a constant source of filthy but accurate information." Less expensive (at £200) is a souvenir banner produced by the Germans to commemorate their victory at Tanga in November 1914, with the words "Vivat! Tanga" and a picture of St Michael slaying the British lion. Von Lettow Vorbeck's own account of the campaign, in German and entitled *Heia Safari* is priced at £85.

Another interesting item (and a bargain at £25?) is a pamphlet written in 1917 by Rev. Frank Weston, Bishop of Zanzibar, entitled *The Black Slaves of Prussia*. Angered by reports that the Territory might be returned to the Germans after the war, Weston gave a graphic account of German ill-treatment of Africans and argued that the British could not betray them by handing them back to German rule.

The catalogue itself, with a splendid photograph of Lettow Vorbeck on its cover, has much pithy comment and background information on the items listed is of considerable bibliographical and historical interest.

John Sankey

(As at August 2005 many of the items have been sold, but as Maggs point out, a lot of them are books and therefore may be repeatable. Ed.)

THE CROSS VERSUS THE CRESCENT: RELIGION AND POLITICS IN TANZANIA FROM THE 1880's to the 1990's. Lawrence E.Y. Mbogoni, 2005, Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers, 2005. ISBN 9987686621. pp242. £20.95. Available through African Book Collective, Unit 13 Kings Meadow, Ferry Hinksey Road, Oxford, OX2 0DP. Tel +(0)1865 726686. e-mail orders@africanbookscollective.com

This book was written by Mbogoni as an attempt to understand Christian-Muslim relations in Tanzania since the 19th Century. It provides an historical perspective on more recent, high profile conflicts in Tanzania, notably the riots at Mwembechai mosque in February 1998 which left two people dead and considerable damage to property. Mbogoni challenges the thesis of Dr. Hamza Njozi who in his book *Mwembechai Killings*, published in 2000, claims that this conflict was the result of a conspiracy between Church and State in Tanzania to marginalise and oppress Muslims. By contrast, Mbogoni argues instead that there has been a much longer history of Christian-Muslim conflict in Tanzania which reflects fundamental theological and cultural differences.

This book provides much interesting historical material notably on missionary attitudes towards Islam, colonial government policies on education, on the representations of Christianity in Swahili poetry, and on the ambivalent relationship between the Catholic Church and Nyerere's *ujamaa* ideology. It illustrates the complexity of the inter-relationships between Christianity and Islam since the mid nineteenth century. What is absent from the book is to relate changes in the relationships between Muslims and Christians to the broader process of social and economic transformation in Tanzania in the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods. A broader level of analysis is needed.

For example, one surprising omission in Mbogoni's analysis is the role of Nyerere and CCM as unifying forces in Tanzanian society. Having lived in a mixed Christian-Muslim village in Newala District in the 1980s, I witnessed first hand the strong sense of identity that people had as Tanzanians. The breakdown of the *ujamaa* model and increasing inequalities within Tanzania society in the late 1980s and 1990s weakened the sense of national identity. The decline of political ideology as unifying factor has arguably meant religious identities have now been able to take on a more prominent position.

One of the frustrations with the book is the long digressions into areas that do not help the overall argument. While highlighting differences between Muslims and Christians, such as on scriptural interpretation, dress codes and

dietary laws, Mbogoni does not show how these differences became catalysts for conflicts at particular points in time. Why is it that Christian and Muslim communities can live peacefully together for long periods and then conflicts flare up? Usually one needs to look at underlying social, economic and political factors rather than looking for explanations only at the level of religious differences.

In general, the book does successfully refute Njozi's theory of Church-State conspiracy against Muslims. It is rich in historical material but lacks a clear focus and does not really provide a comprehensive analysis of why there has been an upsurge in religious tensions in Tanzania in the 1990s.

Andrew Clayton

THE NGORONGORO STORY by Tom Lithgow & Hugo van Lawick, Camerapix, Nairobi, 2004. ISBN 1-904722-04-0, 144 pages (28 cm x 21.4 cm). US\$45.00 (cover price) or £19.95-£24.76 (Internet).

Lithgow (author and erstwhile Oldeani farmer) and the late van Lawick (leading photographer) complement one another in this book. As the cover notes say: "The battle for the Ngorongoro Crater is one of the most gripping conservation stories of the [twentieth] century" - the story is illustrated with useful facts, lively anecdotes and striking photos.

After background chapters on palaeontology (thanking Mary Leakey) and the Maasai culture (thanking the late Solomon ole Saibul), the book traces the first European to reach the collapsed volcano in 1892 and the German brothers who farmed there a decade later. Despite their "war" with Maasai, Wanderobo and lions, the settlers valued the environment, free from tsetse flies and 1700-2300 m above sea level. The book illustrates bush life with darkly humorous engravings and old photos. In 1907 one of the brothers - Adolph Siedentopf (a burly many-rôled recluse) - was granted a 25-year lease for about a quarter of the crater. With 2000 cattle he would have appreciated the Game Preservation Ordinance, which allowed the shooting of game "in defence of life and property". Within six years the German government started to press for a National Park. They regretted the lease, but had up their sleeve an impractical clause for the lessee to fence the perimeter.

World War I saw Siedentopf (and later his wife) removed from the crater as an alien, but by 1922 the British allowed the trigger-happy Captain Sir Charles

Ross to take over the original lease. The government did not enforce fencing (or "improvements" in lieu at £5 an acre) until 1940, after Ross refused to invest. Meanwhile in 1927 GH Swynnerton, Chief Game Warden, proposed that Ngorongoro become a Game Reserve, implemented one year later (outside the Ross lease). In 1940 the Tanganyika Game Ordinance (based on the international Fauna and Flora Convention) established the Serengeti National Park, which now included **all** of Ngorongoro.

The book has its share of weaknesses. The dedication to Adolf Siedentopf seems ironic, and UNESCO's inscription of Ngorongoro Conservation Area as a World Heritage Site in 1979 received no mention. The high-quality photos were unnecessarily shrunk to 60% of the page area, and the semi-matte paper surface robs dark colours of contrast. High-key subjects such as cloudscapes and lions reveal how sumptuous all the images would look if published on gloss paper! Some details were skimmed, for example there was no legible modern map. The bibliography contained just 11 publications and omitted Henry Fosbrooke's historic *The Eighth Wonder*.

The book ends by outlining the progress of legislation covering Ngorongoro, highlighting the needs of the Maasai and other pastoralists. Ngorongoro has a world-leading rôle in the development of participatory conservation, research and tourism. The book's final thought: Ngorongoro's survival would be meaningless without conserving the annual wildlife migration in the region as a whole.

Tony Goodchild

SOME CURRENT JOURNAL ARTICLES OF INTEREST

Articles relating to Youth

Thomas Burgess. *Introduction to Youth and Citizenship in East Africa*. Africa Today. 51. 3. (2005) vii-xxiv. Notes recent attention to "youth and citizenship" in various venues, especially its thematic emphasis at the 2003 African Studies Association meetings. Surveys the extensive literature on this subject, noting changing generational behavior, colonial and post-colony activities, urbanization, and economic factors, especially poverty. Perhaps the most compelling pattern of behavior turns on the transition from tradition to modernization, particularly the stress between community responsibility and individual rights.

Thomas Burgess. *The Young Pioneers and the Rituals of Citizenship in Revolutionary Zanzibar*. *Africa Today*. 51. 3 (2005) 3-29. Traces efforts to promote habits of good citizenship during the colonial era but with emphasis on later socialist oriented Young Pioneers. Their activities were parallel with other structured activities such as sports. Designed to promote socialist modes of citizenship such as discipline and nation building, it gradually lost ground to socio-economic forces as government lost its solvency and capacity to provide financial support.

Andrew M. Ivaska, *Of Student "Nizers" and a Struggle over Youth: Tanzania's 1966 National Service Crisis*. *Africa Today*. 51. 3 (2005) 83-107. Describing the 1966 student strike "as a radical shift in the character of the university and its students" the author analyzes UDSM's 1961 initial elitist status and the generational tensions between the early political leaders who had benefited from independence and the "Nizers" {wealthy elites} who resisted national service as "unsuitable for the most highly educated." President Nyerere vigorously rejected their claims of entitlement. The crisis marked a crucial turning of generational relations and a challenge by youth to early nationalist leaders, not unlike the challenge that nationalists represented to traditional authority as they sought independence.

Edward Miguel. *Tribe or Nation? Nation Building and Public Goods in Kenya versus Tanzania*. *World Politics*. 56. 3 (2004) 327-362. Illustrates generational evolution of ethnicity that promotes cooperation and minimizes ethnic differences; greater success in Tanzania than in Kenya, primarily because of Tanzania's nation-building efforts that imposed a "single national identity" while retaining indigenous cultures.

Eileen Moyer. *Street-Corner Justice in the Name of Jah: Imperatives for Peace among Dar es Salaam Street Youth*. *Africa Today*. 51. 3 (2005) 31-58. Examines the influence of the Rastafari philosophy on poor, disenfranchised male youth living and working in Dar es Salaam's streets, with special reference to the influence of the Jamaican singer Bob Marley. Located opposite the Sheraton Hotel in Dar and conducting socio-economic activities according to an unwritten code of behavior these young men have utilized Marley's Rastafarian life style as a stabilizing influence.

Mwansa A. Nkowane, Lee Rocha-Silva, and Shekhar Saxena. *Psychoactive Substance use Among Young People: findings of a multi-center study in three African countries*. *Contemporary Drug Problems*. 31. 2 (Summer 2004) 329-356. Focus is on South Africa, Tanzania, and Zambia, indicating increased usage especially in locations where these substances - alcohol, tobacco, and cannabis - are sold as a means for survival. Authors note that resources for preventing use are minimal and urge establishing programs designed to improve living standards to minimize substance abuse.

Alex Perullo, *Hooligans and Heroes: Youth Identity and Hip Hop in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania*. *Africa Today*. 51. 4 (2005) 75-101. An exploration of rap as a form of communication among young people coping with unemployment and socio-economic pressures. Noting that the lyrics carry *ujumbe makali* ('strong messages') they serve various purposes such as social commentary about class distinctions, venting political anger, and discussing gender inequalities. On the whole Hip Hop is a non-violent method of dealing with poverty and social discontent.

Some other articles of interest

Martha Ainsworth, *The Impact of Adult Mortality and Parental Deaths on Primary Schooling in North-Western Tanzania*. *Journal of Development Studies*. 41, 3 (April 2005) 412-439.

John Baffes. *Tanzania's Coffee Sector: constraints and challenges*. *Journal of International Development*. 17, 1. 21-43,

Kathleen Beegle. *Labor Effects of Adult Mortality in Tanzanian Households*. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*. 53, 3 (April 2005) 655-83.

Frances Cleaver. *The Inequality of Social Capital and the Reproduction of Chronic Poverty*. *World Development*. 33, 6 (June 2005) 893-906. [Ethnographic research in Tanzania]

Christopher Delgado. *Evidence and Implications of Non-Tradability of Food Staples in Tanzania 1983-98*. *Journal of Development Studies*. 41, 3, (April 2005) 376-393.

N. Desmond, et. al. *A Typology of Groups at Risk of HIV/STI in a Gold Mining Town in North-Western Tanzania*. *Social Science & Medicine*. 60, 8 (April 2005) 1739-49.

Kari A. Hartwig. *AIDS and "shared sovereignty" in Tanzania from 1987 to 2000: a case study*. *Social Science and Medicine*. .60, 7 (April 2005) 1613-1624.

A.B. Johannesen. *Wildlife Conservation Policies and Incentives to Hunt: an empirical analysis of illegal hunting in western Serengeti, Tanzania*. *Environment and Development Economics*. 10, 3 (June 2005). 271-921.

Jowett Matthew and Nigel J. Miller. *The Financial Burden of Malaria in Tanzania: Implications for future Government Policy*. *International Journal of Health Planning and Management*. 20, 1.(January/March 2005) 67-84.

Ann May and J. Terrence McCabe. *City Work in a Time of AIDS: Maasai Labor Migration in Tanzania*. *Africa Today*. 51, 2 (2004) 3-35.

M. Kaseva and S.E. Mbuligwe. *Appraisal of Solid Waste Collection Following Private Sector Involvement in Dar es Salaam city, Tanzania*. *Habitat International*. 29, 2 (June 2005) 353-366.

N. Kikumbih, et. al. *The Economics of Social Marketing: the case of mosquito nets in Tanzania*. *Social Science and Medicine*. 60, 2 (January 2005) 369-81.

Edwin G. Nelson and Erik J. DeBruijn. *The Voluntary Formalization of Enterprises in a Developing Economy - the Case of Tanzania*. *Journal of International Development*. 17, 4 (May 2005) 575-593.

Honest Prosper Ngowi. *Private Sector Delivery of Urban Services: Benefits, Obstacles and Ways Forward for Public Transport Service in Dar Es Salaam City, Tanzania*. *Eastern Africa Social Science Research Review*. 21, 1(January 2005) 97-117.

W. Rosenau. *Al Qaida Recruitment Trends in Kenya and Tanzania*. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. v. 28 no 1. January/February 2005. 1-10.

Amy Stambach. *Rallying the Armies or Bridging the Gulf: Questioning the Significance of Faith-Based Educational Initiatives in a Global Age*. Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies. 12, 1 (Winter 2005) 205-226. Focus on Tanzania. For relevant website, see:

http://church-of-christ.org/churches/Tanzania,_United_Republic_of/Tanzania_S.htm

Simon Turner. *Under the Gaze of the "big nations": Refugees, Rumours and the International Community in Tanzania*. Africa Affairs. 411 (April 2004) 227-247.

Marion Doro

And for pleasant holiday reading we recommend

LAST ORDERS AT HARRODS by Michael Holman. Polygon, 2005. ISBN 1 904598 32 3. p/b £9.99

An enjoyable story set in Kwisha, which is an East African coastal state sharing a boundary with Tanzania and near Uganda, but not otherwise identified. To quote the blurb, "Charity Mupanga has a problem. The widowed owner of Harrods International Bar (And Night Spot), the most popular meeting place in the shanty town of Kireba can handle most of life's challenges, but threatening letters from those powerful London lawyers are beginning to fluster her. How dare a London store, no matter how big and famous, claim exclusive use of the first name of her late father Harrods Tangwena, gardener to successive British High Commissioners for nearly twenty years?"

Well meant but inept efforts to foil the big city lawyers bring Harrods to the brink of disaster and Charity close to despair. But a fortuitous riot, coupled with the quick thinking of Titus Ntoto, the fourteen year old leader of the slum's toughest street gang, leaves both lawyers and locals happy with the outcome". A nice story with much wry comment on the social and political state of Africa, not to mention the "aid community", and the resident foreign press corps.

LETTERS

SNOW. I noted with interest the article on Kilimanjaro and global warming in TA. When a teacher at Tabora Boys' School in the sixties, I climbed up to the crater and took photographs. On 6th January, 1965, the snow was 5 ft. deep and the ice was awesome. I climbed with David Snook (another teacher at Tabora), and with the East African correspondent of The Times.



The latter wrote a description of the climb which later appeared in The Times under the heading 'Fitness Test for Middle Aged Tourists'!

Alan York, 17 Goat Street, St. Davids, Pembrokeshire.

POPULATION. Religious leaders campaigning for the cancellation of the international debt of poor countries use improvements in Tanzania and Uganda as examples of the benefits. Arguments about debt and aid are important, but they are relatively minor problems and deflect us from dealing with the underlying cause of poverty in Tanzania and Uganda. For Tanzania, the population figures are roughly 8 million in 1950, 16 million in 1975, 32 million in 2000 and 64 million well before 2050..... Unfortunately, population changes are so often a taboo issue. We have emotional campaigns about international debt, and no campaigns about the urgent need for effective family planning. My own religious group (Roman Catholic) supports large numbers of medical centres across many of the poorest countries in the world. If family planning and reproductive health advice were provided at each of these centres extreme poverty in these countries would no longer be the certainty it is now. (*A longer version of this letter appeared in The Times on 18th May - Editor.*)

Gerald Danaher

THE MUTINY. I was extremely interested by Anne Moriama's letter in TA No. 81 describing her recollections of the Tanganyika Rifles mutiny in January 1964. I have been working for some time with Tony Lawrence (who originated the project) on a book describing in detail the events of that week. We were both first-hand witnesses ourselves of some parts of what happened though from quite different vantage points. We should be very glad to hear from any of your readers who were in Dar Salaam or Tabora at that time.

Sir Christopher MacRae, White Lodge,
Lime Tree Road, Goring-on-Thames, Reading RG8 9EY.

(Thank you Martin Gilbert, David Le Breton, Mrs Winifred Glynn and others who sent or offered to send back numbers in response to my request - Editor).

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John Sankey was British High Commissioner in Dar es Salaam, 1983-85.

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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