

# Tanzanian Affairs

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## ‘AGRICULTURE FIRST’

In several recent statements President Kikwete and other government leaders have made it clear that agriculture, which employs about 80% of Tanzanians, brings in 30% of foreign currency, and contributes 27% to the national income, is to be Tanzania’s top priority in the drive to expedite development.

Launching the programme on August 4th in Dodoma, the President urged the private sector to participate effectively in the implementation of his new ‘Agriculture First’ (*Kilimo Kwanza*) declaration.

He pledged that his government would “engage the private sector in large-scale farming” in a bid to realise the declaration’s objectives and bring about a green revolution in the country. He said that the private sector had been the only missing link in past agricultural initiatives but it was critical in meeting the ‘Agriculture First’ goals.

However, probably mindful of the controversies which have occurred in other African countries like the Sudan, and especially Madagascar, where Saudi Arabian investors were offered a large tract of land for the growing of food crops and the government was then overthrown in a coup d’etat, he added that this did not imply that the agricultural sector’s policy as a whole would be overhauled. The crusade was aimed at injecting fresh vigour into the implementation of various agricultural projects.

The President stressed the need to revive the government’s own plantations – some of which formed part of the ill-fated groundnut scheme in the 1950’s as one of the ways of improving agricultural production. “After reviving these plantations, we would like to offer them to the private sector so that they could run them effectively” he said.

Tanzania had 29 million hectares of land suitable for irrigation agriculture but the current data showed that only 400,000 hectares were under irrigation.

Commenting on the use of seeds, the President said: “I have already ordered all departments in Prisons and JKT to research and come up with better seed varieties.” He complained that most Tanzanians did

not use fertilizers - one of the reasons for poor performance.

Minister for Food and Agriculture Steven Wasira said that his ministry had embarked on a number of initiatives to establish a 'farmer's bank' in collaboration with the government of China to provide capital to small farmers.

### **Priority in the budget**

The government's 2009/2010 budget reflected the *Kilimo Kwanza* programme with a 30% increase in expenditure on agriculture including compensation for losses incurred by crop buyers in the cotton sector. There would be exemption from VAT on processed locally grown tea and coffee and on heat-insulated milk cooling equipment as also on farm services – land preparation, cultivation, planting and harvesting. There are also specific budget allocations for the identification and surveying of land for large scale food crop farming. The government has increased subsidies on fertilizer from Shs 7bn in 2005 to Shs 118bn in 2009.

## **DEMOCRACY FLOURISHING**

If an important element of a flourishing democracy is the existence of an outspoken elected parliament not afraid to take a country's administration to task when it fails to satisfy the aspirations of the people, Tanzania now has a flourishing democracy. The parliament of 2009 is hardly recognisable when compared with the performance of earlier parliaments which either didn't want to or were afraid to tackle the government head on.

On the issue of corruption above all, MP's are making themselves heard, especially now that they have been allowed to expose it, investigate it, insist on punishment of the guilty parties and propose measures to stop it.

Armed with new powers and donor funding [see TA 93], Tanzania's National Assembly is nowadays really exercising its authority. Among the many cases where questions have been asked or the Assembly has brought its influence to bear are the following (details in other articles below):

- the Richmond electricity and Bank of Tanzania scandals;
- the controversial sale (and recent reversal of the move) of the Kiwira coal mine;
- the allocation of hunting blocks and trophy fees;
- the performance of Tanzania International Container Terminal Services (TICTS), the Tanzania Ports Authority and Tanzania Railways Limited (TRL);
- the Buzwagi gold development agreement; other gold-related deals involving the central bank;
- the DECI pyramid scheme; MP's wanted to know why no steps were taken in time before people were swindled;
- the national ID project;
- complaints from 12 civil servants who served for over 10 years without being put on the permanent payroll;
- smuggling of ivory to Vietnam;
- seizing and destroying small fishing nets banned by the government; the Minister pointed out that he was only implementing the law the MP's had themselves passed:
- the failure of TANESCO to submit its master plan; and,
- the sale of Williamson Diamond Mine to Petra Diamonds of South Africa.

### **MP's pay and allowances**

In August, as in the UK, the salaries and allowances of MP's themselves came under the spotlight when details were revealed by leading anti-corruption crusader CHADEMA's Dr Wilbroad Slaa. Just as in UK this was not a popular move as far as some MP's were concerned. He began to be booed by his colleagues when he advocated salary cuts. He said that their salaries should be made proportional to the salaries of public employees. "Let them jeer me. It will wash off my back, for the final decision will come from my voters next year" he declared.

As in the UK, the Speaker's sympathies seemed to be with the MP's who were protesting. In an interview with the Guardian on Sunday the Speaker said it was not true that legislators were earning a huge income. MP's taxable base stood at Shs 1.8million (£ 840); the rest of the money paid to them was shared with their aides. Critics were wrongly including their allowances and other charges in their monthly salaries.

“Is it fair to include a sitting allowance, per diem and other charges in an MP’s monthly pay? Is it also justifiable to include the salary of an assistant to an MP’s monthly pay? ” he asked. He said the allowances paid to the MPs were just the same as the allowances paid to all other public servants of the same rank, adding that all senior officers were paid per diems and sitting allowances.

At the height of this row in July, the Speaker said that a group of people were putting his life in serious danger. This followed alleged reports circulated on the internet that he was plotting to torch parliamentary offices to destroy sensitive files containing negative information about him. Two tabloid newspapers were said to have been running fabricated stories meant to undermine him in his personal and official capacity. He asked the government to strengthen his security.

### **Praise**

The Assembly gained praise when the Public Procurement Regulatory Authority stated that it had achieved 92% in levels of procurement compliance – the highest figure in the country.

### **STOP PRESS**

As this issue of TA went to press, there was further drama surrounding parliament. At a meeting of the CCM National Executive Committee (NEC) a group of MP’s expressed their anger at the way in which Speaker Samuel Sitta had allowed CCM MP’s to be critical of the government. They demanded his resignation. President Kikwete allowed them all to express their opinions – for 17 hours - before a compromise was reached. The Speaker apologised and an ad hoc committee was set up, under former President Ali Hassan Mwinyi, to come up with guidelines for the conduct of the party’s MP’s. This decision, which many thought was designed to ‘gag’ CCM MP’s who were not toeing the government line, brought all kinds of criticism from personalities outside parliament. The leader of the official opposition in parliament, Mr Hamad Rashid, said the move by the ruling party was “proof that it does not respect democracy and good governance”. Other opposition leaders suggested that CCM MP’s who were not happy should think about joining the opposition!

# THE ANTI-CORRUPTION DRIVE

The very busy Director General of the Prevention and Control of Corruption Bureau PCCB), Dr Edward Hoseah, has revealed to the investigative newspaper 'This Day' that the forthcoming trials of prominent citizens all involved 'grand corruption.' Several investigations were being finalised, he said.

Meanwhile, the Swiss Ambassador in Dar, during the launch of an online corruption tracker system, pledged to help Tanzania recover any public funds that may have been stashed away in its banks by corrupt people. The ambassador said his country would also "gladly help to repatriate funds" confirmed to have been looted from Tanzania and hidden in Swiss banks.

## **'The least corrupt'**

In spite of all this, a new Transparency International report released in July said that Tanzania was the least corrupt nation in the East African region. The Kenya Police were said to be the most corrupt institution in East Africa and Kenya had the highest incidence of corruption at 45%. Uganda was 34% and the figure was similar in Tanzania.

## **The High Commissioner speaks on 'grand corruption'**

Tanzanian High Commissioner in London, Mrs Mwanaidi Maajar, interviewed in the Guardian, said that 'in the war on grand corruption, people in other countries shouldn't judge Tanzania by the number of reports on corruption appearing in the media but by the way the country was fighting the vice. 'International opinion makers normally focus on what governments are doing about it. For example, people in the UK are keen to know what the government will do to ensure that expenditure-related scandals involving MP's do not recur because that is what matters the most.' The Tanzanian government had done a lot to address the corruption problem, she said.

## **The Richmond case**

This scandal, which resulted in the resignation of former Prime Minister Edward Lowassa and other ministers, has been described in detail in earlier issues of TA. A House Select Committee formed in 2007 said there was ample evidence that Richmond was a briefcase company incapable of manufacturing even electric bulbs; it could not have complied

with an agreement it made to supply electricity to Tanzania. The committee made many recommendations but there was no reaction from the government for several weeks. MP's began to complain.

Finally in August the government issued its response entitled: 'Implementation of the Parliamentary Directives.' It exonerated PCCB Director-General Edward Hosea and Attorney General Johnson Mwanyika. It also exonerated civil servants whose names had been linked to the contract. None of the officials was liable for legal action and the government would take punitive measures only if an official was implicated in the ongoing court cases against the owners of the Richmond Company

MP's were far from happy with this and the government came under fire from all sides of the House. Opposition CHADEMA MP Zitto Kabwe told *The Citizen* that the Richmond debacle had exposed the Government and heightened its differences with parliament.

### **President Kikwete**

After what was described as the 'fierce debate' in parliament, rumours began to circulate about a possible involvement by the president himself in the scandal. Within hours of the debate the State House issued a remarkably detailed response strongly denying the rumours.

It said that the president was involved in four different stages of the saga. In the first stage, he allowed Tanesco to hire emergency power generating plants. At the second stage, he asked the World Bank to allow Tanzania to use a portion of its aid granted by the Bank under the Debt Relief Initiative, to pay the cost of hiring emergency power generating plants during the 2006 electricity crisis. The Bank allowed Tanzania to spend \$225 million to hire emergency power generating plants. Part of the money was used to buy a 100 megawatt power plant. The President was also involved in chairing all cabinet meetings that discussed the 2006 power crisis. During these meetings the President made it clear that despite the looming power crisis, public procurement procedures should be followed to ensure that Tanesco got a competent bidder. At the fourth stage, the President blocked a \$10 million down payment to Richmond and demanded accurate reports about the integrity of the Texas-based company. The President had also rejected an application by the Ministry of Energy and Minerals, seeking approval

for Richmond's request to receive down payments. The President also demanded thorough research about the company before the releasing of any down payments.

### **The Radar saga**

A 'This Day' reporter wrote that it appeared that the PCCB was having difficulty in building an airtight case against some prominent suspects in this three-year long \$28 million military radar transaction scandal. In February the PCCB said the Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP) had opted to withhold his mandatory consent for the prosecution of the suspects pending further investigations. The paper reported in August that the PCCB had lined up at least five major corruption cases for early prosecution but it was yet to obtain consent from the office of the DPP to prosecute the Radar trial.



*Part of the radar component at the International Airport in Dar*

### **The Bank of Tanzania scandal**

One of the accused in the case involving the Shs 133 billion losses incurred by the Bank of Tanzania (BOT) has said he made his confession

of guilt under duress.

Meanwhile, questions over the BoT's expenditure were again highlighted in the latest report of the office of the Controller and Auditor General (CAG) which reported on fraudulent public procurement procedures, dubious agreements and cheating on allowances which had caused causing massive loss of public funds. Extract: 'For example, the Dar twin-tower construction agreement indicated that the contractor had to pay both the public liability risk insurance and the damage to property risk insurance. But the BoT also signed an agreement with an insurance agent and paid Shs 7.3bn for a similar purpose.'

### **The Kiwira Coal Mine saga**

Several new developments: Following China's contribution to the construction of the Shs 4.2 million mine in the early 1980s it soon ground to a halt before former President Mkapa's administration decided to sell it in a controversial deal in which the former president himself with family and partners, was alleged to have bought the mine at a cut-down price.

In July 2009 however the Government absolved Mkapa from suspicions surrounding the mine's sale telling Parliament that the former President withdrew his 200,000 shares from the firm in 2005 after the firm through which he had bought the shares failed to pay for them. This absolved him from accusations that he used his influence as head of state to engineer the failed venture.

On June 5 Energy and Minerals Minister William Ngeleja announced that the government had taken back the mine and was determined to implement a project to generate 200 megawatts of electricity within 18 months.

Finally, in August, Prime Minister Mizengo Pinda announced that China was going to invest \$400 million to revive the mine which was no longer operating - The Citizen.

### **DECI**

The Guardian reported in May on a financial scheme, started in 2007 and known as the 'Development Entrepreneurship Community Initiative' or DECI – a pyramid or ponzi scheme. In a short space of time membership had grown to some 700,000 and it was believed to

have 46 up-country branches. Apparently an alert by the media helped to make 'largely innocent public and overly gullible government agencies' wake up to the fact that this money game was criminal. Finally the government issued a statement declaring that enough was enough and effectively prevented the scheme from continuing [see TA 93].

However, 82 Pentecostal Church of Tanzania leaders had earlier called on the government to intervene in favour of DECI in its wrangle with the Bank of Tanzania and the Capital Markets and Securities Authority over the legitimacy of the scheme's operations. After the government ordered DECI to close down, five DECI officials, said to be pastors of the Pentecostal Church, appeared in court charged with illegally conducting and managing the pyramid scheme.

## ZANZIBAR, THE UNION AND OIL

TA 93 described how a row had developed over who is responsible for any oil that might be discovered in Zanzibar – the Union government or the Zanzibar government. The row has continued with the Zanzibar cabinet insisting on Zanzibar's right to the oil.

In his national budget speech the Finance Minister said that the row over sharing of costs and revenue from oil and gas would come to an end after deliberations on the report, submitted to the Union government on June 30 this year by a British consulting firm, had been considered. The Union government had asked the firm to study how best the two sides of the union could engage in oil and natural gas exploration and how to share costs and revenue so collected. The consultants' report called for the establishment of a Joint Petroleum Board and the review of the Tanzania Petroleum Development Corporation's structure. Zanzibar was not happy.

One day after Prime Minister Pinda had expressed his anger over the anti-Union noises continuing to emanate from the Zanzibar House of Representatives, the Minister of State in the Office of Zanzibar's Chief Minister's said that Zanzibar would never work against the Union that had been in existence for 45 years. "Our intention is not to destroy the Union but to defend it for mutual benefit," the Minister emphasised - *Tanzania Daima*.

President Kikwete said that since no oil has been discovered in the country, there was no point in arguing about distribution of revenues. "Recently the issues of oil and natural gas and its revenues has shown indications that it could divide the nation despite the fact that it is being worked out according to rules and procedures" he said. There had been hot discussions and sometimes the language used could create an impression that there was a misunderstanding between us. He added that efforts to find oil had been going on for 56 years without any success. 42 wells had been drilled since 1952 and the 43rd one was still being drilled - Guardian.

## PEMBA AND THE ELECTIONS

Pemba island is the stronghold of the opposition CUF party which won all the parliamentary and local government seats there in the 2005 elections. Now, with new local elections due later this year and a general election in 2010 the registration of voters has begun again in the island.

It was immediately beset with problems. The exclusion of voters from the list either because they did not have the necessary documents or because they were not in favour with the village officials (*Sheha*) or, as alleged during previous elections, the CCM party wished to limit the number of people voting for the opposition, soon resulted in outbreaks of violence.

Incidents widely reported in the Swahili press in July and August included the placing of TNT-type landmines, two of which exploded under bridges in North Pemba; an attack on a *Sheha*; placing of stones on roads to restrict the movement of police vans; and police firing into the air to disperse protesters. On August 5 police seized 20 landmines at Chake Chake. The next day two families of a *Sheha* were reported to have escaped death when landmines exploded near their houses, destroying one of them. In another incident beehives were placed in registration centres to threaten registration officers.

Security services were strengthened and the press reported that reinforcements were arriving from the mainland.

### **Voter registration suspended**

Finally, on August 7 it was reported that the Electoral Commission, after two days of meetings, had failed to resolve inconveniences associated with voter registration in Pemba and that the registration process was suspended.

The Chairman of the Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC), Salim Kassim Ali, said the House of Representatives had made a mistake when it passed the law stating that voters must have a ZanID, when the Zanzibar constitution stipulated that anyone aged 18 or above with a birth certificate or voting card was eligible to vote.

The opposition CUF party protested constantly and alleged that the government was planning to ship thousands of voters from the mainland while some 175,000 Zanzibaris were being denied registration.

Then, in mid-August, foreign donors intervened. A press statement issued by the Embassy of Sweden on behalf of the EU countries and supported by the USA, Canada, Norway and Japan pointed out that the right to vote is one of the fundamental rights in democracy, and that all citizens should have the right to participate in the 2010 elections. The donors urged political parties to desist from any acts of violence and instead to use peaceful means to channel their complaints.

### **“Putting the record straight”**

Foreign Minister Bernard Membe reminded foreign envoys of the Geneva Convention that forbids them from ‘meddling’ in internal matters. Minister of State in the Zanzibar Chief Minister’s Office, Hamza Hassan Juma, said that his office was surprised by the donor statement “Let me put the record straight” he said. “No one is being denied registration in Pemba, but there are people lacking legal standing to qualify for Zanzibar Residents’ Identity Cards. Some have failed to submit even birth certificates to justify their citizenship” - *Habari Leo, Majira, Mwananchi, Nipashe.....*

As this issue of TA went to press it was reported that registration was likely to commence again and that a delegation from the EU was expected in Pemba.

## OPTIC FIBRE CONNECTION

On July 23 President Kikwete pressed a knob to inaugurate the Seacom International undersea fibre optic network in Dar. It is expected to revolutionise internet and telecommunication services in the country by improving efficiency and easing the current costs by over one third. He noted that the Eastern African coast had been the longest coastline in the world without optic fibre cable connections to the rest of the world. "Today, this is history," he declared. However, he said the landing of the cable on Tanzanian shores could only be useful if there was a terrestrial link to pull it further inland to the masses of users. "We already have some existing network with Tanesco, Tanzania Railways Limited and the Songo Songo gas pipeline, but we have been working on a wider network to cover the whole country," he said. The President added that the government had secured part of the financing and work had started on laying the National Optic Fibre Cable (OFC) network covering a distance of 10,674 kilometers - Guardian.

## DAR EXPLODES



*The explosion at Mbagala*

Dar es Salaam was hit by a series of massive explosions on April 29. A Guardian reporter wrote: 'Thunderclaps... Quiet moment... More thunderclaps... Another quiet moment... Yet more thunderclaps... Yet another quiet moment... the random interplay ran on for hours.'

Deafening blasts from the military armory site in Mbagala, 14 kms from the city centre, tore through the city's skies and left both people and buildings shaking. Some 20 people were killed and 200 injured and up to 7,000 houses were destroyed. Rockets hit sites as far away as 23 kms from the scene of the explosion.

On August 1 Defence and National Service Minister Hussein Mwinyi said that he was re-confirming some sensitive details of the report which

had been prepared on the tragic bomb blasts before making it public.

## PRESIDENT ACTS

According to *Nipashe*, while opening a tourist hotel in the Serengeti Park, President Kikwete was seen to be visibly annoyed with the Regional Commissioner for Mara, because of the way he was considered to be running his region. He asked the RC to leave the function and go and deal with his problems including tribal clashes in Rorya and Tarime districts and the environmental degradation caused by North Mara gold mines and his failure to submit a report he had been asked to submit.

## DRAMATIC BANK ROBBERY

Police in Dar es Salaam mounted a massive manhunt on July 31 after more than 10 armed robbers stormed the Temeke, Dar es Salaam branch of the NMB Bank, stealing over Shs 150 million, killing one person and leaving 14 others seriously injured. The gangsters came in three vehicles bearing government number plates, and, for the first time used hand grenades as well as small arms in the attack on the bank. According to *The Citizen*, they smashed the glass to the teller's compartments and some of them gained access to the tellers' cubicles, stashing money into their bags, while others kept a close eye on those who were lying on the floor. With bags bursting with cash, the thieves came out of the bank and got away in two of their vehicles.

Police Commissioner Manumba was concerned over the heavy weaponry used by the robbers. He said it was disappointing that despite efforts taken by the police force to check proliferation of small arms, there were still people in possession of such deadly weapons.

In 2006, armed robbers waylaid NMB vehicles at the Ubungu traffic lights and made away with millions of shillings, killing two people and injuring several others. 16 people were charged in connection with the robbery. Their case continues at the High Court.

In another incident, armed robbers attacked the NMB Mwanga branch in July 2007, making away with Shs 234 million. In this one, several people, including 11 Tanzanians and Kenyans were charged and their case continues in a Moshi court.

# BUSINESS & THE ECONOMY

## Economic stimulus package

President Kikwete announced on June 10 a Shs 1.7 trillion economic stimulus package designed to mitigate the effect of the global financial crisis. He said that the crisis had adversely affected many areas including exports, tourism, manufacturing and agriculture. He said that the world was facing the worst economic crisis since the 1930s, but the government would do everything possible to absorb the shocks. Among the measures included were the off-setting of the Shs 21.9 bn loss suffered by several firms and co-operative unions involved in crop buying. On firms which had borrowed over Shs 270 bn for construction of hotels and in other areas, the government would guarantee the debts and ask bankers to extend the repayment schedule by two years. Shs 80 bn would go to recapitalizing firms with inadequate working capital and Shs 20 bn to boost export and small and the medium entrepreneurs guarantee schemes plus Shs 20 bn to the Tanzania Investment Bank (TIB) to enhance its capacity to extend loans. To support gemstone dealers who could not sell diamonds, tanzanite and other precious stones abroad, they would be exempted from payment of royalty for two years. – Daily News

## REMAKING TANZANIA PLC

By Joseph Sabas

The financial crisis has availed us of a golden opportunity to see the two major schools of political and economic thought being played out in an open arena and the divergence in approach to solutions.

The school on the right characterised by the Conservative Party in the UK, Republican Party in USA and the CDU in Germany offers a simple and clear approach of allowing the recession to take its course (the left call this “the do nothing approach”). This school also believes in protecting individual liberty, private property, in fiscal conservatism and small government and fewer taxes. To them a country is a sum of individuals rather than societies.

The left school of thought characterised by the Democrats in USA, the Labour party in the UK and the Social Democrats in Germany believes in

Government interventions in economic activities to safeguard economic prosperity and to act as a safety net for the people. The left believes a country is made up of societies hence unions and such overused phrases like “hard working families”.

While the left, led by President Obama and Prime Minister Brown favours increased government spending and bailing out failing key companies, the Right led by Mr Cameron in the UK and the seemingly leaderless Republicans in the USA are vehemently opposed preferring instead to encourage the opening of lines of credit to viable business while allowing bad businesses to fail, which is a good case of “constructive destruction”.

In most countries these two schools of thought tend to converge and form a more or less identical centre-right/centre-left position with the demise of socialism and the rejection of pure capitalism offering a more amenable form of governance.

In Tanzania, with the exception of the Mwalimu phase, the IMF engineered policies that bear no resemblance to either school. Interestingly, CCM’s core belief remains that of “Socialism and Self Reliance” which is centred far to the left. God knows what it means in today’s CCM world. The opposition parties fare even worse. The irony here is that the IMF prescribes economic and social medicine but bears no political or economic responsibility for the consequences.

Over the period of Mr Kikwete’s presidency we have witnessed a restrained approach in diversifying the remaining major companies and utilities still in government hands. The government has intervened directly: in Air Tanzania by breaking the partnership with South African Airways, appointing a new management, and loaning it over Shs 5 billion of taxpayers’ money; in the Port Authority, the Telecommunication company (TTCL), TANESCO and the postal service by issuing directives on the way forward; in the National Insurance Corporation (NIC) the government has underwritten a NIC reorganisation; and, in TRL employees’ benefits have been improved.

In most countries the conclusion from the convergence of the two schools of thought is that the state is a bad allocator of capital and therefore the best job for the government is to legislate and regulate business and not to run it. This is only possible if the government policy

framework is credible and sets clear objectives and there is an understanding of the conflicting goals of government and private investors/shareholders. In the words of Adam Smith in 'The Wealth of Nations' "it is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker, that we expect our dinner but from their regard to their own interest". There is no doubt that most of TRL's many problems emanate from these sorts of conflicts.

One cannot blame President Kikwete for trying to prop up the Mwalimu era of publicly-held companies and utilities. As he directs from the state house pulpit, summons CEO's for a dressing-down and makes surprise visits to the port to highlight inefficiencies he also notes their critical importance to the country. But in this year of the 200th anniversary of Darwinism the nature of human beings in pursuit of self interest in the course of survival comes very much into play. This human behaviour has tested Mwalimu's structure of governance at a huge cost to the country let alone the taxpayer.

In this structure the taxpayer owns the companies, the President appoints the Chairman and Chief Executive with the respective Minister constituting the Board. The management bear no risk to the capital they are charged to employ and stand not to receive rewards for taking risks as they are serving at the pleasure of the appointing authority. So no matter what the President may promulgate, their goals are always short term. In the private world of owners and managers there is increasing professionalism (business competence, audit committees, independent non-executive directors). Rewards are linked with ownership through share option schemes. This is not perfect as seen in the case of the Royal Bank of Scotland but at least it addresses the key weaknesses. Now the government's shares in public and partly privatised firms are vested with the Treasury Registrar and very few if any in government can claim to have either the knowledge or the professional experience to run major businesses.

The shenanigans emanating from the THA, NIC, TANESCO, the TTCL, the Postal Service, TRL, etc are almost guaranteed. Vesting these shares in government-owned but independently and professionally run companies similar to the UK Financial Services Authority may go a long way in safeguarding taxpayers' money, and creating value, while removing direct political interference.

## FAITH NEWS

Both the Catholic Church and the Muslim hierarchy have been involved in controversy during recent weeks.

The Church issued a pastoral letter which resulted in what Prime Minister Pinda described as a 'hot debate' because to Muslims it represented interference in the political process. Then the Muslim authorities stepped up their campaign against what they considered to be excessive Christian pressure forcing the government to ban the spread of Sharia law.

### **The Roman Catholic Church**

This Church published an 18-page booklet entitled '*Mpango wa Kichungaji Kuhamasisha Jamii Kuelekea Uchaguzi*' (A Pastoral Project to Sensitise People Towards the Elections) authored by the Catholic Professionals of Tanzania and the Tanzania Episcopal Conference's Justice and Peace Commission which has caused great controversy. The aim was said to be to help their believers to be better informed on political issues and on how to question prospective holders of political office before the 2010 general elections. The document said that the country was experiencing 'serious leadership problems' and called on all Catholics to participate in the forthcoming elections to choose good leaders. The aim was to sensitise the people... to take action in rectifying bad things and strengthening good ones. The sensitisation project started in January 2009 and has 15 phases.

Veteran CCM MP Kingunge Ngombale-Mwiru speaking in the National Assembly urged the Church to withdraw the document which was 'divisive', could spark 'unnecessary chaos' and was against the principles of unity. "I was surprised to see the document," he said, "because, during the era of the Father of the Nation, Mwalimu Nyerere and TANU, all leaders were united.... This time it is the Catholic Church, next probably the Evangelical Lutheran Church will come with its own statement and so will the Anglicans and the Muslims," he said. The MP warned that the move was a threat to religious tolerance and could influence people to choose national leaders on religious grounds.

A senior state official told *Raia Mwema* that they were concerned about the letter, circulated to all parishes, which had poked holes in government and CCM policies. A young CCM leader, Nape Nnauye, told a

rally in Dar that the Church had called upon Tanzanians not to elect corrupt leaders. "Anyone against the manifesto is playing into the hands of the corrupt" he said. CCM Secretary General Makamba said Ngombale was expressing his personal opinion and did not represent the party. House Speaker Sitta and CCM Party Vice-Chairman Msekwa also said they saw nothing wrong in the pastoral letter as it did not go against the law or constitution - *Majira*

The Church hit back at the wave of criticism. President of the Tanzania Episcopal Conference (TEC), Archbishop Jude Ruwaichi, said that critics should not comment on the circular which they had not thoroughly read nor understood. Such people were viewing the letter with the background of the forthcoming elections "Our intention is to empower the voters to understand the value of their vote and how they can identify capable leaders."

Prime Minister Pinda, speaking in parliament, distanced himself from showing whether the government supported the church initiative or not. He said the church should not ignore what the public were debating about its circular. He warned over the possibility of other religious institutions coming up with their own circulars to sensitise their worshippers on civic education. "I have not seen such a circular during the last two elections. Why now?" he asked.

However, he expressed his optimism that the controversy would not culminate in a deterioration of the political atmosphere.

The Muslim Council (BAKWATA) then entered the fray. The churches should not try and install their preferred political leaders by influencing the elections next year, because that would be unconstitutional. It would be wrong for them to establish the qualities of leaders to be elected, as it was not their job to do so said Mwanza Regional Secretary Mohammed Said Balla. He said that since January this year Christian clerics had been holding seminars telling worshippers whom to elect - *Mtanzania*.

## Sharia Courts

Following the government's decision not to allow Sharia courts in Tanzania, BAKWATA called upon Muslims all over the country to boycott CCM candidates in the forthcoming presidential, parliamentary and local government elections. The Chief Sheikh, Mufti Issa Simba,

said it was obvious that the government was succumbing to pressure from Christian clerics. Muslims had been demanding a Sharia court for 20 years but all they got was empty promises. Several sheikhs supported the Mufti and one criticised Muslim MP's who were 'tight-lipped on the matter.' Answering an MP in the National Assembly who asked why CCM had "cheated" the people by promising a Sharia court in its manifesto, Prime Minister Pinda called upon people to be patient. Since the issue was sensitive, government had to be careful. Speaker Samuel Sitta intervened to state that the manifesto had not promised a Sharia court but only said it would 'look into the possibility' - *Mwananchi*.

On July 9 a panel of ten Muslim clerics from several mainland regions gave the PM two weeks to declare when a Sharia court would be established. They warned if this was not done they would launch a country-wide campaign to convince Muslims not to vote for CCM. Mufti Shaaban Issa Simba appointed a special committee to pursue the matter, and called upon Muslims to stay calm.

At a meeting of 1,000 Muslims it was stated that they were more capable than BAKWATA to mobilise the Muslim masses. The meeting donated Shs 1.8 million to start the campaign. Several MPs said a Sharia court would ensure that women got their rights. Mgeni Kadida MP (Special Seats - CUF) said she couldn't understand why the government was against the Court while it existed in places such as Kenya, Uganda and Zanzibar which were multi-cultural and multi-faith societies. Defending the Court, she said: "Under a Sharia Court a widow would have the right to live in her husband's house until she completed the four-month mourning period." With a Sharia Court no one would dare throw her out she said - *Majira*.

Six Muslim organisations including Bakwata, the Istiqaama Community, the Dar es Salaam Islamic Club, the Ishnasheri Community and the Muslim Professional Organisation TAMPRO decided to hold a whole-night prayer session calling for a Sharia court. A protest march was planned in support of a statement by some 300 imams from various mosques who had met in Kariakoo. Former Minister for Industry and Trade Dr Juma Ngasongwa said it was a mistake for government to delay its decision on the Sharia court when the election was just around the corner. The matter had been discussed for 20 years and this had led to the present conflict with Muslims. The Sharia court had existed under

colonial rule but then the government had dissolved it –*Majira*

### **Muslim political party introduced at mosque**

Representatives of a new political party based in the Middle East, *Hizb ut-Tahrir*, arrived in Tanzania while the religious debate was continuing. It was introduced at a well-attended international colloquium at a mosque in Dar es Salaam. A representative from Mombassa told reporters that his party did not need to be registered because it “followed the teachings of the Koran.” He said that the party, founded in Al Quds (Palestine) in 1953, aimed at Islamic rule (*Khilafah*) in Muslim majority countries, while in countries such as Tanzania the aim was to “awaken Muslims through intellectual discourse” - *Mtanzania*.

### **Gays appeal to the UN**

Gay rights activists in the country have complained to the UN Human Rights Commission, claiming that their rights are being trampled on in Tanzania, contrary to the country’s constitution. They want the Penal Code to be amended. But, according to *Mwananchi*, they were facing strong admonition from religious bodies which considered gay rights to be against religious teachings and moral values. Auxiliary Catholic Bishop of Dar es Salaam Methodius Kilaini said: “If they were disabled then we would understand, but what they want is unacceptable. God has created two sexes and that is how it will remain.”

## **NEW TRENDS IN BY-ELECTIONS**

There have been three by-elections in recent weeks:

### **Busandu, Geita**

There was plenty of drama during the intensely-fought Busandu by-election which took place on May 24. Once again there was a poor turnout with only 55,460 voters (41%) casting their ballots out of 135,168 registered voters. CCM won with 29,242 and the leading opposition party on the mainland CHADEMA got 22,799. The other main opposition CUF party must have been very disappointed by its 957 votes.

Veteran CCM leader Ngombale-Mwiru, said the problem for CHADEMA was that it was facing CCM with its strong and organised network of branches and leaders right down to the village level, while CHADEMA

depended on its helicopter, rabble rousers and cheer leaders. "At the end of the day people leave noisy rallies and go back to the CCM network. What CHADEMA lacks is a grass roots organisation. Among the opposition parties only CUF is well organised in Zanzibar," Ngombale-Mwiru said.

However, CHADEMA Deputy Secretary General Zitto Kabwe pointed out that his party had increased its votes in Busanda from 4% in 2005 to 44% in 2009. He told reporters: "This time they won; now we are waiting for the next by-election in Biharamulo. I have called the CCM deputy Secretary General and congratulated him on his victory" – details were in all the Swahili newspapers.

### **Biharamulo**

The CCM party came very close to losing the fiercely contested by-election in Biharamulo West. The CCM got 17,561 votes against 16,700 for CHADEMA – a majority of only 861. The by-election also illustrated the growing strength of CHADEMA which got 48.8% of the vote. The other major opposition party CUF, which rarely does well on the mainland, got very few votes.

An angry CHADEMA Chairman Freeman Mbowe said that the results had been doctored and warned that the "conspiracy" between the National Electoral Commission (NEC) and CCM was a recipe for "disorder and bloodshed" in the country. "In any case it shows we are now a formidable force ready to take over from CCM, especially if you compare this result with our past performances." He said that his party didn't intend to file a petition because the NEC had already announced that there would be no more by-elections until the 2010 elections, so even if CHADEMA succeeded in unseating CCM the result would be no MP for Biharamulo. Once again there was a low turnout – of the 87,188 voters on the permanent register, only 35,338 (41%) cast their ballots – The Citizen.

### **Magogoni, Zanzibar**

At the Magogoni by-election, at which 13 EU observers were present, the CCM candidate, Asha Hilal, won comfortably with 2,874 votes compared with the opposition CUF's 1,974. "The election was free and fair and I have conceded defeat," the CUF candidate said. The Zanzibar

Electoral Commission applauded the political maturity and tolerance shown by the political parties during the by-election and said that this was a manifestation that Zanzibar could conduct free and fair elections devoid of chaos. Since the introduction of a multiparty system in 1992, Zanzibar has held reconciliation talks twice following political instability in the Isles resulting from alleged electoral misconduct - Guardian

## HISTORICAL PHOTOS ONLINE



*Group of British sailors posing in front of the Beit al-Ajaib - Bombardment of Zanzibar 1896 - Winterton Collection of East African Photographs: 58-5-2*

The Northwestern University, Chicago has recently made a large collection of historical photographs available online at website

<http://repository.library.northwestern.edu/winterton/>

The Humphrey Winterton Collection of East African Photographs: 1860 - 1960 includes over 7,000 photographs from numerous sources, depicting life in Africa from 1860 - 1960. They include photographs of Zanzibaris and other Africans as well as the travels of European explorers, traders, colonialists and soldiers.

# TANZANIA IN THE INTERNATIONAL MEDIA

Compiled by Donovan Mc Grath

*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 publication to the address on page 51. If you do not wish your name to be published please say so - Editor*

## **After a Severe Birth Injury** - New York Times 22.03.09

This article described the distressing pain and suffering experienced by Sarah Jonas and Mwanaidi Swalehe, two teenage girls hospitalised in Dodoma after developing 'an internal wound called a fistula, which left them incontinent and soaked in urine.' The young women are hoping surgeons can repair the damage caused by difficulties during childbirth.

Extract: 'Pregnant at 16, both had given birth in 2007 after labor that lasted for days. Their babies had died, and the prolonged labor had inflicted a dreadful injury on the mothers.'

The article continues: '... Dr. Jeffrey P. Wilkinson, an expert on fistula repair from Duke University in North Carolina, noted that women with fistulas frequently become outcasts because of the odor... Fistulas are the scourge of the poor, affecting two million women and girls, mostly in sub-Saharan Africa and Asia – those who cannot get a Caesarean section or other medical help on time...' *Thank you Liz Fennell for this article – Editor.*

## **Bi Kidude book review** - East African 13.07.09

A review of a book about Fatma Bint Baraka, popularly known as Bi Kidude, was published in The East African (13 July 09). The reviewer Mohamed Said says: 'Bi Kidude needs no introduction to the people of the East African coast, from Lamu in Kenya to Lindi in Tanzania and beyond. This is the region where taarab music is a popular part of Swahili culture.'

Extract continues: 'In this predominantly Muslim society, where elderly people are expected to live their last days in pious seclusion, the 80-

year-old Bi Kidude wears make-up, enjoys a drink once in a while and still mounts the stage in packed concert halls in Zanzibar and abroad... This book is an encyclopaedia of the life and culture of Zanzibar people. ... The book moves with ease from one epoch to the other, introducing readers to the “Zanzibar enlightenment” when young people were first exposed to Western dance, music, and cinema for entertainment.’

### **Borderless competition** - African Report No 18 (Aug-Sep 09)

‘Borderless competition: The arrival of East Africa’s common market next year will be the first step to much more open trading in the larger Comesa [Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa] region; winners and victims are already getting ready’, reads the headline to this business article

Extract: ‘Even when tariffs strike zero on 31 December, a host of non-tariff barriers will persist, entrenched by vested interests. Much of the trouble is coming from Tanzania, where the authorities do not recognise harmonised regulatory standards already written into law. On the whole, Tanzania has been far more resistant to integration than any other EAC member. As its socialist past and lack of English-language training has kept Tanzanian businesses from becoming as competitive as those next door; fear of being overrun runs deep. It is questionable whether Tanzania will go forward with the EAC – it has until the end of 2009 to opt out.’

### **‘Expenses culture has high cost for world’s poorest nations’** - Financial Times 30.07.09.

Extract: ‘In Tanzania, one African country with a relatively well established if slow public sector, the problem is not simply corruption. It is a form of institutionalised, legal time-wasting that is endemic in the region ...

‘At its root is the culture of the “per diem”, the daily payment made to officials attending meetings and conferences that is nominally designed to cover the costs of travel, food and accommodation... All too often [per diems] are a rational way for individual, underpaid and neglected civil servants to make ends meet, while doing little to help achieve any objective... The whole system rewards people on outputs not outcomes.’  
*Thank you Leocardia Tesha for this item.*

## **Indonesia & Tanzania Illegal Logging** - Developments 12.01.09

Indonesia-based NGO PT Triton and UK-based Environmental Investigation Agency (EIA) worked together with the Moi people in West Papua, Indonesia to express outrage at the environmentally disastrous logging activities proposed for their district. The result was an 11 minute film, *The Tears of Mother Moi*, screened at the Bali climate change conference and an instant Internet hit. The idea is to give local people a voice to express their thoughts and concerns over their – and our – environment.

Extract: 'EIA is now taking its unique brand of training and empowerment to ... Tanzania ... As in Papua, illegal logging is a serious problem. With 33 million hectares of forest land (about 40% of the country), Tanzania is one of the most heavily forested countries in east Africa – but up to 500,000 hectares of forest are disappearing every year, up to 90% of it illegally felled.

'... EIA's new project got off the ground [last] November with basic training for three Tanzanian partner NGOs. Eventually the training will cascade down to local communities which are being invited to participate.'

## **Malaria Resistance** -Economist 11.04.09

This interesting article explained a new approach in evolutionary theory that may help fight malaria. Aside from insecticides, herb-based drugs and the possibility of a vaccine, 'the traditional first line of attack on malaria, killing the mosquitoes themselves, has yet to have a serious makeover.' This method has enabled resistant strains to evolve, consequently rendering chemical insecticides ineffective over time.

Extract: 'The upshot is that discovering a way to retain the anti-malarial benefits of insecticides without provoking an evolutionary response would be a significant breakthrough. And that is what Andrew Read of Pennsylvania State University and his colleagues have done. They have rethought the logic of insecticides, putting evolutionary theory at the centre, instead of a simple desire to destroy the enemy...' Dr Read started from the observation that it is old, rather than young, mosquitoes that are infectious. Only females can transmit malaria (males suck plant juices, not blood) but they are not born with the parasites inside

their bodies. They have to acquire them from humans already carrying the disease, and that takes time... In theory, then, killing only the oldest female mosquitoes—those at significant risk of being infectious—could stop the transmission of the disease. Since these females would have plenty of time to reproduce before they died, the evolutionary pressure imposed by killing them would be much lower...

'The model, which they have just published in the *Public Library of Science*, reveals that selectively killing elderly mosquitoes would reduce the number of infectious bites by 95% and that resistance to such a tactic would spread very slowly, if it spread at all, because mosquitoes vulnerable to a post-breeding insecticide would have a chance to pass on their vulnerable genes to future generations.

'The problem, of course, is to find an insecticide that only kills the elderly... A trial involving spraying fungal spores on to bed nets and house walls in Tanzania, is being set up at the moment. If it works, it will be a good example of the value of thinking about biological problems from an evolutionary perspective. People will still get bitten, but the bites will be merely irritating, not life-threatening.' *Thank you Simon Hardwick for this item.*

### **Michael Jackson Tribute** - East African 6-12.07.

This tribute to Michael Jackson sought to vindicate the late 'King of Pop' for failing to perform in East Africa by emphasising his 'special relationship' with the people of the region. Reporter John Kariuki says, 'His music and videos carry memorable clips of the region.'

Extract: 'For instance, part of the footage on ... "Earth Song" [*Bad* 1987] was shot at the Tarangire National Park in Tanzania ...' Moreover, the Kiswahili verse ... "Nakupenda pia mpenziwe" ... appears in "Liberian Girl" ... Originally, "Earth Song" was to be filmed at the Amboseli National Park, but since it involved darting elephants, "The Kenya Wildlife Services would not allow it" ... 'Tanzania was more flexible and the filming was done on its soil.' MJ did visit Tanzania in 1992, but there were 'negative claims that he constantly held his nose ... because of the country's foul smell,' which was explained as just 'a nervous gesture' by Robert E. Johnson, writing for *Ebony* (May 1992). Apparently, this is why producer Quincy Jones nicknamed him "smelly".

**Tanzanian rookie Thabeet now a Grizzlie in the NBA** -East African  
06.07.09



*President Kikwete and Hasheem Thabeet in Dar-es-Salaam.*

Extract: 'Tanzania now boasts of the first ever international basketballer from the region to grace the world famous NBA, the US top basketball league. Hasheem Thabeet from Dar was on June 25 selected by the Memphis Grizzlies as the second overall pick in the 2009 NBA Draft in New York and will earn \$11.5 million in the next three years ... Born on February 16, 1987 in Dar. Thabeet at 7ft 3in and weighing 119 kilogrammes was the tallest player ever to play for the Huskies. 'He did not begin to play basketball until the age of 15, when he began to watch pickup games in Tanzania...' Thabeet began playing basketball when he was in Makongo Secondary School in Dar es Salaam.'

**Portraits of Success – Sir Stuart Rose** - Times Mag 23.05.09

Readers of this article would have discovered that Sir Stuart Rose, Executive Chairman of Marks and Spencer, has connections with Tanzania. In a report featuring portraits of today's high-flyers posing in their work spaces, among numerous items in his office, Sir Stuart Rose has an African shield hanging over the window frame. In reference to the shield, he said: "I spent my childhood in Tanzania and have real affection for it. I helped build the Mvumi Secondary School there three years ago, and was made an honorary chief of the Wagogo tribe." *Thank you David Morgan for this item.*

**Register your sim card in Tanzania** - East African 13-19.07.09

According to Joseph Mwamunyange 'Tanzania has become the first

country in East Africa to start registering cellular phone sim cards.'

Extract continues: 'The move is aimed at curbing misuse and keeping track of the owners... The practice in Tanzania, as in other neighbouring countries, is for mobile phone subscribers to buy sim cards like any other commodity. This has led to abuse of the cards. But now, one will have to produce some form of identification before buying a sim card. Mobile phone users have until December 31 to register their sim cards, after which time all unregistered numbers will be deleted from the mobile phone system.'

**Should it follow on the path of health or weather** - BBC Focus On Africa (Apr-Jun 09)

This is the ethical dilemma facing Tanzania today. Reporter Anthea Rowan asks: 'Should [Tanzania] turn away from tobacco production or continue to reap its economic benefits?' An estimated 1.5 million Tanzanians depend on the cultivation of tobacco for their livelihood, so will the country's health lobbies convince citizens that smoking is bad for health?

Extract: 'True, since 2003 smokers can no longer light up in public places and the sale of cigarettes to those under 18 is banned. But the country is emerging as one of Africa's primary tobacco producers and non-governmental organisations like the Tanzania Tobacco Control Forum (TTCF) want tobacco growing to be cut back in favour of alternative crops deemed more healthy...' However, critics argue that alternative crops (i.e. export vegetables and paprika) suggested by TTCF are not 'viable replacements since the tobacco-growing region of Tanzania lacks the necessary infrastructure to support the export of highly perishable crops like fresh vegetables which must have swift access to an international airport and cold storage facilities....

'But what of the conflict between promoting a tobacco-growing industry and the responsibility to protect a population from smoking-related disease?'

The article ends by saying: 'The reality is that tobacco remains a profitable crop. The shape of its market is changing – there are fewer smokers in the West but growing numbers across China and eastern Europe. Smoking – and its attendant health problems – is a choice. Poverty usually is not.'

**Tanzania claims \$58m war debt from Uganda** - Uganda's Daily Monitor May 09 (online)

Extract: 'Thirty years since the Kagera war, Tanzania, which played a major role in liberating Uganda wants the paycheck for its contribution to the 1979 war that freed Uganda from Idi Amin's leadership. According to the paper's online edition, the bill sent to the Uganda government stands at \$58m...'

**Tanzania to solve murder by 'ballot'** - West Australian 07.03.09

Tanzanian police are continuing their efforts to stop the witchcraft-related murders of albinos. After issuing possible victims in Dar es Salaam with mobile phones and access to a 'hotline' using text messages [TA No. 93], the latest tactic is to ask 'residents to write down murder suspects' names and deposit them in ballot-type boxes.' *Thank you Douglas Gledhill for this article.*

**'The Gem of Tanzania. The strange journey of the "jinxed" jewel'** - Financial Times 28.03.09

Jonathan Guthrie and Samantha Pearson analyse the complex chain of ownership of the 2.1kg ruby known as the 'Gem of Tanzania'. Trevor Michael Hart-Jones, a South African-born businessman living in Winchelsea, East Sussex, is said to be the most significant former owner of the gem. Extract: 'Mr Hart-Jones, 66, bought the Gem in 2002. It had been discovered by Ideal Standards, a company mining near Arusha ... in which he had invested. The company sold him the gem for R200,000, or about £13,000... 'Mr Hart-Jones exported the ruby to the UK in 2002 ... It then came into the possession of Cheshire-based businessman Tony Howarth ...

'David Unwin bought the ruby from Mr Howarth in 2006, through a land deal, valuing the gem at £300,000 ... The gem was recorded at the same value on the balance sheet of Tamar Group [owned by Unwin] that year. It received a gob-smacking revaluation to £11m in 2007 after the takeover of Wrekin [Construction]...'

According to the FT, 'Wrekin enters administration' 10 March 2009, and the 'Administrators take possession of the ruby' ten days later. Apparently, were it not for the recession, no one outside of the chain

might ever have heard of the 'Gem of Tanzania.'

**The push to get all children into school** - Guardian 10.03.09

'The push to get all children into school has seen spectacular successes for Tanzania,' reports Jessica Shepherd. 'But,' she adds: 'with up to 70 pupils to a class, and global aid faltering in the recession, can progress be sustained?'

Extract: '... [According to the Tanzanian government], the country is well on its way to achieving universal primary education by 2015 ... The ministry of education ... states in its statistics book published in June that by this year "all children aged seven to 13 can be enrolled"... 'But look deeper than the official statistics and education in Tanzania is an altogether different story.' In her report, Shepherd goes on to explain in detail the overcrowded, dank classrooms and the lack of adequate teaching resources seen in one of the country's schools. There are also 'hidden' costs for parents – the article continues: 'While primary school tuition fees have been scrapped, Tanzanian parents are expected to contribute to other costs, such as uniform, a cooker for lunch, the cost of the school guards and, in some schools, a donation to the Aids bereavement fund for pupils who have lost one or more parents.'

Towards the end of the article the reader is informed that: 'In the 1980s, Tanzania almost achieved universal primary education, but it had accumulated a crippling debt burden and by 2000 the proportion of pupils enrolled for primary school had dropped to 57%.' *Thanks to Liz Fennell and Sister Lusia for this article –Editor.*

**Waiting for a great leap forward** - Economist 09.05.09

Extract: 'The country already gets 40% of its government budget in aid, but now it wants even more foreign cash to help it through the economic downturn ...' President Kikwete, who has been accused of 'spending too much time burnishing Tanzania's image abroad and not enough fixing problems at home' ... hopes that aid will keep Tanzania afloat long enough for its economy eventually to make a great leap forward.' *Thank you David Leishman for this item – Editor.*

*Our apologies to Alex Renton who was wrongly described in TA 93 as an Oxfam reporter. He is a freelance journalist and the piece we quoted from was commissioned by the Observer - Editor.*

# TANZANIA RAILWAYS LIMITED

The CCM MP for Nzega described, in the investigative newspaper 'This Day' how he saw the controversial goings-on within Tanzania Railways Limited (TRL), which has a long-term management contract with government as bearing all the hallmarks of something similar to the Richmond electricity corruption scandal. He alleged that new reports of a contract for the leasing of locomotive engines and coaches from India were 'scandalous.'

Under this agreement TRL would eventually be forced to pay huge capacity charges for 25 locomotive engines and 23 coaches. In addition the financially-troubled TRL had already had to pay a substantial sum for the shipment of the engines from India to Dar es Salaam. He said that the contract should be terminated forthwith. TRL Managing Director Hundi Lal Chaudhary said these allegations were not true. He admitted that TRL was in a critical financial situation, but insisted that both the shareholders (RITES and the Tanzanian Government) are supposed to find a lasting joint solution. RITES Limited owns 51% of the shares while the Government has 49%.

The government said that a special task force appointed to review the TRL privatisation contract with a view to amending some of the key provisions, had already completed its task. Railway sources reported to 'This Day' that the TRL expatriate management had grounded seven Canadian and UK-made locomotives to pave the way for their replacement by leased engines from India. According to the sources, TRL planned to sell off the once-dependable locomotives of the 88-class, traditionally used by the railways since when it was a state-owned enterprise, as scrap in preference for the leased engines from India.

Some TRL workers are said to have accused the RITES management of sabotage in its bid to scrap the 88-class engines in favour of the costly and less reliable Indian engines. These reports were later confirmed by Managing Director Chaudhary.

There was an ongoing debate as to which type of engine was the more powerful. Some said that the Canadian and UK-type engines were still the best and most widely-used all over the world. They were still working and in good condition, compared to Indian engines which were said to frequently malfunction" others said.

It has also been claimed that unilateral decisions by the TRL management to dispose of the old locomotives would amount to a breach of the lease contract between RITES and the Tanzanian Government. Some railway workers were said to have accused the management of planning to create a market for Indian-made locomotives and spare parts in Tanzania by hook or by crook.

It has been alleged that the intention is that if the Government eventually decides to terminate the RITES contract, TRL will be left with leased Indian locomotives that will still had to be paid for, probably at inflated costs.” Managing Director Chaudhary confirmed the reports of the grounding of seven running locomotives and plans for their replacement with Indian-made engines. ““We have decided to use the Indian-made locomotive engines because they are more powerful than the Canadian and UK types,” he said.

RITES Limited of India and the Tanzanian Government signed a 25-year concession agreement for the 2,700-kilometre state railway network in 2007. In parliament Zitto Kabwe MP said there had been few bidders for the railway corporation at the time as a result of which government was forced to hand 51% to the Indian firm RITES.

TRL said that it had started repairing its locomotives in a bid to improve services. Speaking to reporters during the offloading of two rehabilitated engines at the Dar es Salaam port, TRL executive director Mukesh Rathore said that the locomotives were overhauled to increase their pulling capacities from 20 wagons to 25 wagons each. The engines would be tested at the company’s major workshop in Morogoro before they started operating. He said that since 1973 when the engines were bought they had never been overhauled. He said the remaining engines would be repaired at the Morogoro workshop.

TRL said they had a total of 22 engines, though only seven were functioning properly. 26 passenger wagons had been repaired and the plan was to repair all the 82 wagons by mid 2010 – Guardian.

As this issue of TA went to press the East African reported that high level discussions were going on in India, Tanzania, Burundi and Rwanda on a possible restructuring of the railway to incorporate Rwanda and Burundi.



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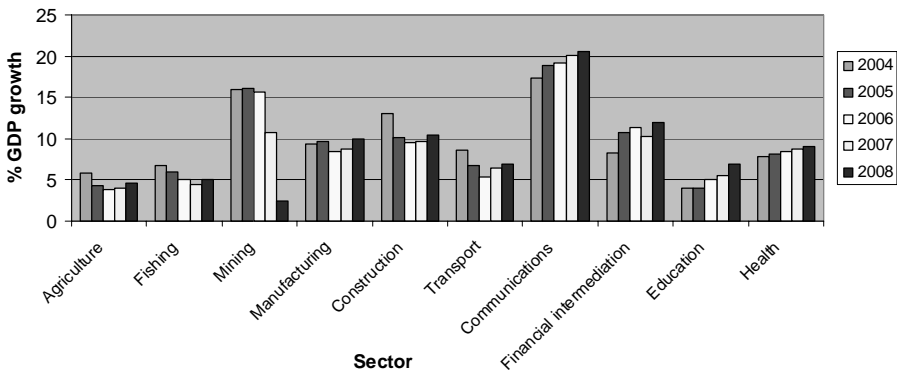
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# THE ECONOMY & THE BUDGET

During the budget session in Parliament Finance Minister Mustafa Mkulu reviewed the state of the economy. He forecast a significant fall in revenue because of the global financial crisis and said that the Government would borrow funds from the domestic market, although he hoped that donors, would increase their support through loans and grants by 30% compared with the previous year

The economy of Tanzania is estimated to have attained GDP growth of 7.4% during the year 2008 (7.1% in 2007). The annual rate of inflation for 2008 was 10.3% (7% in 2007.) The rate of inflation reached 13% by the end of March 2009.



*Percentage GDP growth by sector 2004-2008 - source Budget Speech 2009/10*

The 2009/10 budget sets out the following targets:

- GDP growth rate of 5% in 2009;
- inflation at below 10% by end of June 2010;
- increase in domestic revenue from 15.9% of GDP in 2008/09 to 16.4% in 2009/10;

Total budget revenues will be as follows (Shs mn):

Domestic revenue 5,096  
grants and loans 3,181  
domestic loans 1,082  
local government collections 138  
privatisation proceeds 15  
Total Revenue 9,513

Donor dependency is expected to grow due to the economic crisis reaching 45% of the 2009/10 budget.

The Government is proposing to spend Shs 9,513 billion in 2010/11:

Recurrent 6,688, development 2,825. Total: 9,513 in the following areas: Education 18.3%; agriculture 7%; infrastructure 11.5%; health 10.1%; water 3.7%; energy and minerals 3%;

Tourism and gold receipts continued to dominate the export sector accounting for 27% and 18% respectively.

Foreign reserves increased by 3.9 % to US\$ 2,869.7 million in 2008, enough to cover 5 months of imports.

As at 31 December 2008, the national debt had increased by 7% to \$6,329 million - 32.6% of total GDP.

The budget included provision for:

- the immediate abolition of 405 government notices issued between 1964 and 2005;
- a reduction in local Government taxes to 3% from the previous 5%;
- a number of measures to ease widespread concerns that Tanzania isn't getting a fair return on foreign investments in gold mining including the removal of VAT special relief and limiting it to cover only prospecting and exploration; abolition of exemption from taxes on fuel for mining companies, other than fuel levy exemptions in existing mining development agreements;
- a reduction in the VAT rate from 20% to 18% and a 7.5% increase in excise tariffs on alcohol, tobacco and carbonated drinks;
- in the tourism sector the removal of VAT exemption on air charters, balanced by a removal of import duty on 4-wheel drive vehicles specifically designed for tourist purposes, and some rationalisation of visa costs;
- removal of import duty on pharmaceuticals.
- to encourage companies to list on the Dar es Salaam Stock Exchange a reduction in the corporate tax rate for companies from 30% to 25%;

- PricewaterhouseCoopers Newsletter.

## Criticism

There was such strong criticism from religious leaders of the proposal to lift tax exemptions enjoyed by religious and other non-governmental institutions providing services like education, health and water that on June 17 the Prime Minister announced, at an emergency news conference, that this part of the budget would be cancelled - Guardian.

## MISS UNIVERSE TANZANIA



The 2009 Miss Universe Tanzania, Illuminata James, waves to the audience after being declared the winner over 19 other girls (*photo Issah Michuzi*). Apart from the crown she took home Shs3 million, was offered a one-year French course at the Alliance Francaise, cosmetics worth Shs 500, 000 and a Samsung Omnia cellphone. Someone from the audience, who was not named, gave her \$1000.

# Kunduchi House



Kunduchi House is a friendly, family run Bed & Breakfast situated in Kunduchi Village 18km northwest of Dar-es-Salaam, offering breath-taking panoramic views and the cool breeze of the Indian Ocean. Zanzibar and Bagamoyo are within easy reach, and the famous Kunduchi Hotel with its fantastic water-sports facilities is just two minutes walk away.

Security and cleanliness are of paramount importance to us. All rooms are air-conditioned with on-suite facilities, and we can accommodate up to twelve adults. There is a lovely Swiss restaurant next door, or if required our staff can provide delicious local dishes such as “ugali kwa samaki”.

Rates	Non-Resident	Resident
Single	US\$ 35	TShs 35,000
Double	US\$ 45	TShs 45,000

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Leocardia & Peter Tesha

## KIKWETE 'THE FIRST'



President Kikwete was the first African head of state to be invited to Washington by President Obama following his inauguration in January. During the May visit, President Obama said that his invitation was in recognition of the Tanzania's leader's impeccable credentials and his successful policies. "I want

you to succeed in your leadership. Tell me how you would like us to assist you to continue on your successful path. I am really pleased with your leadership." He praised Tanzania for laying emphasis on education, which he described as a pinnacle of good leadership. He promised to step up American assistance in the Millennium Challenge projects in Tanzania to ensure more prosperity. Mr Kikwete briefed his US counterpart on his efforts to bring about political reconciliation in Zanzibar and also discussed the situation in Darfur, the Congo, Somalia and Kenya and what America could do for Tanzania.

Meanwhile, US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton hailed Tanzania as a country which had made "so much progress and has an extraordinary potential that we wish to partner with and assist in every way possible. I myself have had a wonderful visit to your country, Mr President. And I am delighted that I am the Secretary of State at this moment and have this chance to commit our efforts to working closely with you. I'm here to reaffirm our commitment for continued cooperation."

"I am here to give you an assurance of continued cooperation" Mr Kikwete said. Speaking later President Kikwete said, to enthusiastic applause: "Whatever area of investment one is interested in, rest assured that opportunities abound in Tanzania." He told the gathering that Tanzania was a vibrant multi-party democracy and that political stability was guaranteed.

## MISCELLANY

A contingent of 875 Tanzanian soldiers headed for peacekeeping duties in Darfur received armoured personnel carriers, trucks and other equipment worth \$6.2 million from the US armed forces.

The British High Commission, in conjunction with the Journalists' Environmental Association of Tanzania (JET), is organising a media competition on climate change. Head of the Mission Diane Corner said that the competition would take place 20 days before the international conference on climate change in Copenhagen. The winner would attend the conference in order to cover it.

Members of CCM in Britain have been urged to promote Tanzania. The party secretary for finance and economy, Amos Makala, said this in London while opening an annual meeting of CCM members in Britain. He blamed Tanzanians in the diaspora who adopted "unpatriotic" attitudes towards the country by tarnishing its image. "I call upon you to work hard to counter these instigators who conduct negative campaigns for their personal gain," Makala said – *Mwananchi*

A 17-year old British student in a school party in July was found at Dar

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airport to be infected with Swine flu. He flew via Kenya Airways with a stopover at Nairobi airport. He was in an advanced detachment of 350 students visiting Tanzania for tourism and training during the summer vacation. He was kept in a special ward at Muhimbili Hospital and his condition soon improved - *Habari Leo*.

Tanzanian Ahmed Ghailani is to be prosecuted in a Federal Court in New York. The charges relate to the August 1998 bombing of the US embassies in Tanzania and Kenya that killed more than 200 people. According to the transcript of a closed-door hearing in March 2007, Ghailani admitted delivering explosives used to blow up the US embassy in Dar es Salaam but said that he did not know about the attack beforehand and apologised to the US government and the victims' families. He is considered to be a "high value detainee" at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba by the CIA. Ghailani was seized in Pakistan in 2004.

A British national caused the Manyara magistrate's court to be suspended for a while after she broke into tears when she saw a man she claimed to have raped her. The volunteer teacher had arrived in Babati from Britain in February. According to *Nipashe* on 1 April at 3.45 pm the alleged rapist, a project coordinator with "Farm Africa", entered the room of the complainant without her consent and sexually assaulted her. Neighbours informed the school management and the matter was reported to police who arrested the accused. The case was adjourned and the accused was allowed out on bail.

The Observer reported that University Vice-Chancellor Prof Rwekaza Mukandala had 'torn apart' his lecturers when he addressed them in April. They had blamed declining academic standards at the university on 'semesterization.' At the end of the session, in which the lecturers had called for a 'revamping and overhauling' of the university (to the applause of the students) the Vice-Chancellor called the lecturers 'lazy and money-hungry' as they moved from institution to institution, often on the same day, in order to acquire greater income. He had asked them to send him revised curricula of the programmes they were teaching but had received responses from only six out of 1,200 faculties. Lecturers were simply not according their duties the seriousness they deserved, he said.

## OBITUARIES



*Professor Haroub Othman - photo Martin Kabemba*

**Professor Haroub Othman** a veteran senior academic at the Institute of Development Studies of the University of Dar es Salaam died in his sleep in Zanzibar on June 27. A prolific writer of articles [*several of which were reviewed in TA*] and a radio and TV personality he was at the heart of the organisation of virtually everything that the academic staff did at the university to impact on the wider political environment. He was the author of an excellent tribute to the late Abdulrahman Mohamed Babu entitled 'I saw the future and it worked'. He formed the Zanzibar Electoral Monitoring Commission and supervised the work of 'Research and Education on Democracy in Tanzania.' He also founded the Isles' equivalent of the Legal and Human Rights Centre - East African.

**Mr Randal Sadleir** who worked in the Tanzanian administration for many years from the 1950's died from a stroke on August 8. We hope to publish an obituary in our next issue.

**Margaret Kumbuka** who died on May 4 worked as a teacher, broadcaster, editor and in films in many different organisations including the National Kiswahili Council, the International School and SOAS. The Head of the Department of Languages and Culture at SOAS, Akin Oyetade, wrote in 'SOAS Information' that she would be remembered for her openness and vivacity and her beaming smile. She was greatly loved by her students. *Thank you Elsbeth Court for this - Editor.*

## REVIEWS

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

*Suggestions from readers about items for future review are always welcome.*

**SURROGATES OF THE STATE: NGOS, DEVELOPMENT, AND UJAMAA IN TANZANIA**, by Michael Jennings. Kumarian Press, Danvers MA, 2007. xxi + 243. \$50.00 (cloth). ISBN 978-1-56549-243-1.

In this most readable book, Michael Jennings offers an important case study of Oxfam in Tanzania during the two decades following independence. His method is not to recreate policy debates and shifts, but rather to examine ‘how NGOs were shaped by the periphery: from the projects and programs they ran in the field; and through interaction with Southern governments, citizens, and partners’ (p. 3). This book also offers a study of the development industry and its ideals during the 1960s and 1970s. While not prescriptive in its conclusions, Jennings does offer a number of insights that the NGO sector – notorious for its chronic failures of institutional memory – may find useful.

The book begins with an overview of NGOs and a history of charitable institutions in sub-Saharan Africa. Jennings stresses the historical role of informal networks to Africans’ welfare and survival, as well as the dual origins of NGOs in both nineteenth-century missionary organizations and the larger ‘development’ projects of the post-Second World War period. The book’s first full chapter examines Tanzania’s post-colonial rural development policy. Although it makes strangely little reference to the preceding colonial period, this chapter does show how resettlement and agricultural transformation policies consistently guided state intervention throughout the 1960s and 1970s, rather than emerging only with Nyerere’s dramatic pronouncements on the subject. There is also a useful, if not definitive, account of villagization in these pages, as well as a narrative of increasing ‘statism’ on the part of the Tanzanian government into the lives of its citizens and civil society.

The following five chapters, the core of the book, demonstrate how the Tanzanian state created ‘willing surrogates’ among NGOs and local agencies, acting not as independent actors but ‘as another phalanx in the development front’ (p. 92) during the 1960s and 1970s. The state had come to fully exercise this domination by the late 1960s, most plainly in seizing control of the actions of faith-based organizations. Jennings shows how the Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT), a Protestant umbrella group, came to embrace villagization with its ‘lure of increased control over its flock’ (p. 86). Churches uncomfort-

able with socialism simply defined *ujamaa* in Christian terms. The book's centrepiece is its analysis of the activities of one key NGO, Oxfam, during the 1960s and 1970s. Oxfam was then and remains today the UK's largest NGO; it found in *ujamaa* all of the ideals – community participation, poverty alleviation, and struggle against inequality – that it valued most. Yet while Tanzania came superficially to resemble many Oxfam ideals, it was 'in reality implementing a system of rural control that deliberately sought to undermine local, grassroots control' (p. 122). Using Oxfam archival sources, Jennings paints a picture of an institution that frankly should have known better, as it followed the state down the path of villagization during the 1970s with little critical reflection. Yet while managing to show Oxfam's complicity in these developments, Jennings does not make clear the scale and scope of the 'atrocities' (p. 135) carried out during villagization – a subject of great and unsettled debate. He does, however, demonstrate Oxfam's central role in many *ujamaa* dramas, such as the life and death of the Ruvuma Development Association, which revealed the limits of Oxfam's lobbying powers as well as its subsequent

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capacity for self-deception. By the end of the 1970s, Oxfam had finally abandoned *ujamaa* principles in its project evaluations. Instead it adopted economic terms and professionalized its planning and assessments, foreshadowing the logic and methods of liberalization-era NGO activity.

While Jennings is under no illusions about the ‘distinctly darker reality’ (p. 33) that lay behind *ujamaa* rhetoric, his critical focus is reserved primarily for institutions. In those rare moments when the activities, strategies, and desires of farmers themselves are raised, the author invokes Goran Hyden’s moral and affective peasant economy as an explanation for people’s uncooperative behaviour. This is a study of institutions and the dangers they may face in embracing projects covered in the ideological wrappings most attractive to them. It shows the limits of NGOs to shape the political environments in which they operate. Yet Jennings is not dismissive of Oxfam or the role of NGOs in general, and goes to considerable lengths to demonstrate the good work as well as good intentions that most NGOs bring to Tanzania and elsewhere. Marked by crisp prose and solid judgment throughout *Surrogates of the State* makes an important contribution to both the history of post-colonial Tanzania as well as the historical study of NGOs generally.

James R. Brennan

*The above review originally appeared in African Affairs and is reproduced with permission.*

**AFRICA’S FREEDOM RAILWAY: How a Chinese development Project Changed Lives and Livelihoods in Tanzania.** Jamie Monson. Indiana University Press 2009. ISBN 978-0-253-35271-3. H/B pp1pp. £30.99.

The “Freedom Railway”, officially the Tanzania/Zambia Railway (TAZARA), is one of Africa’s best known and most controversial development projects. The visionary idea of a rail link between the Indian Ocean and Central Africa suddenly became an urgent priority in November 1965, when Rhodesia’s unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) cut Zambia’s rail routes to the south. While the West hesitated, china stepped in, offering to provide the necessary finance and technical expertise, and a formal agreement was signed with Tanzania and Zambia in 1967.

The railway was built in an astonishingly short five years (1970-75). It was a formidable task. More than 1100 miles of track were laid over intimidating terrain. Eighteen tunnels were blasted by dynamite (in the absence of sophisti-

cated tunneling equipment) and local spirits had to be appeased by the offering (tambiko) of a black ox. The Tanzanian workers respected the Chinese technicians for their dedication and their willingness to accept basic living conditions. However, differences in language, culture and diet, and the fact that the Chinese were not allowed to visit local villages, meant that the two groups worked together but ate, slept and relaxed separately. Western fears that the Tanzanians would be indoctrinated with Maoist propaganda proved unfounded.

After describing TAZARA'S construction, Professor Monson examines its impact on five villages between Ifakara and Makambako, basing her research on interviews with villagers and on receipts for local produce carried on the "Ordinary" (as distinct from the "Express") train. The railway undoubtedly stimulated population growth, farm production and local trade in this rather limited area, but the author only touches briefly on how far it has achieved its primary aim of moving minerals and freight between Zambia's Copperbelt and the Indian Ocean.

In this respect the railway has had its "ups and downs". Its heyday was probably the period 1985-90, when western donors provided new engines, and 988,000 passengers were carried in one year.. The ending of apartheid and the reopening of Zambia's routes to the south in the 1990's led to a drastic drop in freight and revenue and by 2008 TAZARA was deep in debt. In her concluding remarks Professor Monson notes "By the time this book is published, it is possible that privatisation of the railway will be underway".

In fact, something unexpected happened. In April 2009 a British Government Minister (Mr Gareth Thomas of DFID) proposed a £100 million project to improve transport links in the "North-South corridor" linking Dar with Zambia, Zaire and southern Africa. The project would include upgrading TAZARA and talks are being held with China. Whether these will succeed, only time will tell. Meanwhile Professor Monson's book is an interesting account of a remarkable chapter in the chequered history of Tanzania's development.

John Sankey

**THE HUMANITARIAN HANGOVER: DISPLACEMENT, AID AND TRANSFORMATION IN WESTERN TANZANIA** by Loren B. Landau. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2008. Pages: 182. ISBN: 9781868144556. p/b £20.95

This book explores the impact on the lives of people in Western Tanzania of

the influx of refugees and the associated humanitarian interventions in the area. He particularly focuses on the extent to which the arrival of refugees has transformed residents' relationships with the Tanzanian state. Drawing on Foucault, Landau's study analyses changes in three dimensions, or 'regimes of practice': material, coercive and normative practices or 'disciplines'. These provide the themes for the three analytical chapters of the book which follow two chapters outlining the theoretical framework and the background to the humanitarian crisis.

Given such postmodernist leanings, it seems curious that the author then introduces a hypothesis for state formation based on modernist teleology. This seemed somewhat unnecessary and set up a straw man, which was inevitably pulled down by his findings that reveal a much more complicated and nuanced picture.

With regard to material practices, the intrusion of international organisations and expansion of local commodity and labour markets, far from drawing the residents of Kasulu into commoditisation and incorporation into the global economy had a very limited impact on local modes of production. For coercive practices, the arrival of refugees was related to an increase in crime but did not result in the expansion and consolidation of state security mechanism into this territorial periphery. Despite investment in policing by the international community, local residents' experience and expectations of security being provided by the state have diminished. In the dimension of normative practices, this has not been accompanied by a commensurate decline in identification with Tanzania or support for the governing political party. To the contrary, Landau argues that the refugee crisis and humanitarian intervention has enabled politicians to escape responsibility for the problems of the district and, paradoxically, helped to strengthen people's links with the Tanzanian state.

The challenge in any such studies is how to establish the counterfactual – what would have happened in the absence of the refugees? Landau gets round this problem by comparing change in Kasulu District (Kigoma Region), which has hosted thousands of Burundian refugees, with contemporaneous changes in Mpwapwa District in Dodoma Region. As the author points out such a comparison is not ideal but it does highlight interesting contrasts. For example, among Landau's interviewees in Kasulu less than a third said they would go to the police in response to a theft and a similar proportion would do nothing. In Mpwapwa, nearly half the respondents said they would call the police. By themselves, such figures may be unconvincing, but they provide some support

for Landau's broader argument that the residents of Kasulu appear to becoming less connected to the nation state in terms of expectations of state services, in particular security. Of course, we are not privileged to know if there are also less convenient figures that may have failed to make it into the final text.

The focus of the text is on Kasulu and material from Mpwapwa is only introduced as required to serve the main story. This seems quite reasonable, but at times it is frustrating as the reader is offered only a very superficial sense of the context from which the contrast is being drawn. This is most evident in the discussion on identity where Landau contrasts the relationship between the Hutu and the Ha in Kasulu, with the Gogo and the Hehe in Mpwapwa (p. 133). I imagine such passages may really grate with anthropologists, historians and others with an intimate knowledge of the societies in question.

Despite such flaws, there is a wealth of empirical material here which supports the author's overall argument. The study of refugee movements, humanitarian responses and their impact on the societies affected is often relegated to the margins of disciplines such as political science, history and anthropology. Landau's volume offers a valuable corrective as it convincingly demonstrates that humanitarian response is embedded in and contributes to broader processes of economic, political and social change. Its hangover reaches beyond the temporal and geographic boundaries of the crisis; therefore, this book should be of wider interest to those engaged in the study of Tanzania.

Oliver Bakewell

**WILD HEART OF AFRICA. The Selous Game Reserve in Tanzania.**

Rolf Baldus, editor. Paintings by Bodo Meir. Rowland Ward Publications, Johannesburg, 2009. ISBN 978 0 9802626 7 4.

In 1987, three rubber rafts set off from above Shuguli Falls on the Kilombero to paddle for 10 days down the Rufiji River through the heart of the Selous. In those days, we were rafting through the largest so-called "protected area" in Africa, but it was in the throws of a poaching epidemic; now the Selous is a revived World Heritage Site but in need of further recognition and protection. This book is a poetic and artistic journey through the history and ecology of the Selous over the last 150 years, the story of how the most recent transitions came about, and the many individuals and institutions that have acted together with the Government of Tanzania to try to give the Selous a future.

My first experience of the region was living along the Ruaha River for a year in the mid 1970s, when Tanzania had few friends and the country's development aims revolved around Ujamaa or villagisation. I have yet to see, in the 40 years since that first stay, an area of Africa as beautiful as this ecosystem. And every day on the Ruaha, we dreamt of following its course to the sea. The rafting trip was an opportunity to live part of that dream, even though many changes had taken place in the intervening years, changes which are documented in this book.

The authors are a talented group – Oxbridge ecologists, Scottish cartographers and explorers, German scientists, Tanzanian wardens, rangers and scouts. Since the time of Uhuru, the German connection – which originated in Wilhelm I's day – has actively but quietly operated via the GTZ to support and sustain Tanzania's aims for its reserves and parks. The British connection, dating from the days of slavery and expanded after World War I, is also strong in here.

The book is illustrated with beautiful water colour sketches of animals and scenery which, at least for me, capture the clarity, light, and animals of the Selous with vivid accuracy. It is worth buying and owning for these alone! But these glorious paintings do not diminish the quality of the writing and the sense of commitment and passion that each author brought to his subject.

The Selous is in some ways a contradiction in conservation. It "pays its way" by licensed hunting, and it is argued here that hunting preserves the Selous' wildlife and is both ethically conducted and sustainable. This is the government's attitude, and whether it is ethical, acceptable or indeed justifiable in terms of carbon footprints traded against other non-consumptive uses will be argued long into the future. The new threats of mineral exploitation may spell the approaching end of this largest of protected areas and of all its resident species – which are now found in few places elsewhere in Africa.

The proceeds of this book go to protect the Selous – if the excellent writing and superb paintings are not enough of an inducement to buy it, then the thought that you can contribute to the future of the ecosystem in an entirely ethical and non-consumptive way should be enough to make everyone purchase it!

Phyllis Lee

**BEYOND BODIES: RAINMAKING AND SENSE MAKING IN TANZANIA** by Todd Sanders. University of Toronto Press 2008. ISBN 0802091490 £42, cloth; ISBN 0802095828 £20, p/b.

How can rainmaking, including its epistemological and social dimensions, be understood in contemporary Tanzania and more widely? This central question informs Todd Sander's book 'Beyond Bodies' and raises more about the nature and purpose of rainmaking activities, about the implicated constructions and interpretations of gender identity and relations, and about 'western' and 'non-western' or specifically 'African' epistemologies of meaning-making among many.

Sander's central proposition which is asserted, explored and defended throughout the book is that while Ihanzu rainmaking is gendered in critical ways, that we risk imposing universalist frames of reference and analysis onto it, when we seek to read its gendered forms exclusively or predominantly via the lens of the body and the symbolism of sexuality. Rather than symbolizing gender and sexual relations and the physical forms associated with them, the rainmaking rituals and activities of the Ihanzu of north-central Tanzania are 'concerned, above all, with the **practical** management of the social, cosmic, and natural worlds.' (p.23) From a theoretical point of view, his insistence on an 'alternative metaphysics' (p.20) is what drives the analysis, which rejects an academic approach which co-opts and explains away difference rather than acknowledging and problematizing it.

The book is based on what appears to have been an impressive amount of field research, Sanders having spent two full years gathering data in the first instance, with numerous further shorter field trips allowing the possibility of following up people, themes and issues. Perhaps surprisingly, then, the early section on the colonial history of the Ihanzu area, which draws on archival material as well as the oral historical reports of informants in the 1990s, comes alive most compellingly in the written account. The book's central chapters which describe rain making rituals and their significance contain analysis which is recounted by the author mainly without reference to first hand accounts or ethnographic examples. Not until the penultimate, fascinating chapter on 'Witchcraft, Gender and Inversion' do we really start to get a sense of the individuals and characters involved, not to say the impact that the presence of the ethnographer himself had on proceedings.

This is a rich and carefully constructed book, of interest to those concerned

with the history, politics and social worlds of northern Singida District, but also an invaluable resource - due partly to its extensive use of the earlier literature on rain making – to those interested in the sociology of knowledge and in the rituals, beliefs and practices associated with this intriguing and fascinating theme more widely.

Tania Kaiser

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