

Tanzanian Affairs

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2010 ELECTION RESULTS

THE EMERGENCE OF A REAL OPPOSITION

In Tanzania's elections on 31 October 2010, for the first time since independence, an opposition party made significant gains in votes and seats in Tanzania's National Assembly.

The ruling CCM party's presidential candidate Jakaya Kikwete saw his vote drop to 61% compared with 80% in 2005.

Leading opposition CHADEMA presidential candidate Dr Wilbroad Slaa got 26% and the presidential candidate for the Civic United Front (CUF) (whose main strength is in Zanzibar) Professor Ibrahim Lipumba was in the third position with 8% of the vote.

The ruling CCM party lost 55 seats in parliament while the CHADEMA party increased its seats from 5 to 24. Thus, Tanzania now has a viable opposition party in parliament and observers are anticipating lively debates.

TANZANIA SHOWERED WITH PRAISE

Tanzania was showered with praise on its conduct of the elections from the large contingent of foreign observers in the country and by heads of state and leaders of international organisations.

The elections passed largely peacefully although there were many minor incidents in individual constituencies before the elections when CCM was involved in often passionate debates on the selection of its parliamentary candidates and during the counting of the votes when there were complaints about the delay in publishing some results.

BUT THE OPPOSITION PROTESTS

CHADEMA, while accepting the validity of the parliamentary elections, and after an apparently heated internal debate on what to do, refused to recognise the re-elected President Kikwete because it believed that the published results of the presidential election had not been correct. The Party's MP's then walked out when the President began his inaugural speech to the new parliament.

cover photo: New President of Zanzibar Dr Ali Mohamed Shein (CCM) (right) and First Vice President, Maalim Seif Shariff Hamad (CUF), embrace at the start of the Government of National Unity.



Cartoon by Gado (Godfrey Mwampembwa) which appeared in the local press

CHADEMA leader Freeman Mbowe said that their aim was to pressurise the government into changing the constitution so that future elections would be free and fair. He said that his party was not satisfied with the way the presidential votes had been counted and the results announced.

He pointed out that the law did not allow anyone to question the presidential election results yet it was possible to question the outcome of parliamentary and civic polls. The law had been drawn up during the period of the one-party state and was now obsolete. CHADEMA would press for the formation of an independent commission to examine the presidential poll results and to make proposals on the preparation of a new constitution.

Asked if CHADEMA's readiness to meet the government was not against their stand not to recognise President Kikwete, Mbowe explained that they acknowledged the presence of the head of state though they were not in agreement with the way he was elected.



President Kikwete on the campaign trail in Dodoma (Issah Michuzi)

CCM REACTIONS

CCM Publicity Secretary John Chiligati said that what CHADEMA MPs had done was an 'act of treason against democracy.' He said the elections were endorsed by local and foreign observers who said it was free and fair. What CHADEMA was doing was 'incitement to violence.'

The Citizen quoted Prime Minister Pindo as saying that CHADEMA MP's had shown weaknesses in handling issues and its MPs had proved to be still very young democratically. Mr Pinda said he had been ready to meet with CHADEMA and discuss their problems but they had decided to take another measure which was not helpful in building the country's democracy and bringing development.

President Kikwete told parliament that there was no way for any person to avoid CCM's government. "People will come and go but this is the CCM government and it will remain in power whether they like it or not. I am the President and they will end up bringing their problems to me," he said.

In the following weeks the demands for a new constitution grew amongst wide sections of the population.

THE RESULTS

President Kikwete garnered 5.2 million votes or 61% of the 8,626,283 ballots cast, followed by CHADEMA's Dr Willbroad Slaa, with 2.2 million votes or 26%. The new Vice President is the prominent Zanzibar leader Dr Gharib Billal, who was not voted for being part of President Kikwete's ticket.

After seven by-elections were held in seats where there had not been enough ballot papers, the final result of the parliamentary elections for the 239 elected seats in the Union National Assembly (when special nominated seats for groups such as women and youth are added the total is 358 MP's) was as follows: CCM 188. CHADEMA 24, CUF 21, NCCR-Mageuzi 4, United Democratic Party (UPDP) 1 and Tanzania Labour Party (TLP) 1.

By comparison the 2005 results were as follows: Kikwete 80% and out of 232 elected seats: CCM 206, CUF 22, CHADEMA 5, TLP 5, UDP 2 . Five seats were vacant at the time.

The number of MPs increases to more than 350 compared with 323 following the demarcation of new constituencies.

The President also appointed additional MP's representing special interests such as women and youth. After these appointments the number of opposition MP's in the National Assembly was as follows: CHADEMA 45, CUF 34, NCCR 4, TLP 1 and UPDP 1 - Guardian.

In Zanzibar President Shein appointed a number of Special Seat MP's making the composition of the House of Representatives CCM 28 and CUF 22.

REGIONAL DIFFERENCES AND PERSONALITIES

There were differences in regional voting patterns. CCM remained very strong in all the coastal regions and strong in most other areas. CHADEMA gained votes and seats in urban centres and, in particular in the Kilimanjaro, Arusha, Mbeya and Kigoma regions. Opposition parties in Kilimanjaro Region won four seats – three CHADEMA and one TLP.

In Lindi the CCM candidate made some derogatory remarks about the CUF candidate. He advised voters that his opponent 'suffered from

albinism' and should be avoided by voters who should ... keep their distance from him because albinism was a curse. But the Albino is the new MP for Lindi.

The result in the constituency of former Prime Minister Edward Lowassa, who had been alleged to be involved in corruption, caused surprise in some circles. His electorate showed that they had not lost confidence in him by giving him an overwhelming majority.

Former prominent minister and MP Augustine Mrema is back in the forefront of Tanzanian politics after his success in the elections in Moshi. He himself became MP for Vunjo and his TLP party did well in the civic elections.

Former Speaker of the National Assembly Samwel Sitta said that in his new position as Minister for East African Cooperation, he would continue advocating ethical and transparent leadership as he had done when he was Speaker. During his heyday he had given government leaders a tough time by allowing fiery debates that led to the resignation of the then Prime Minister Edward Lowassa – *Mwananchi*.

The new Speaker is Anne Makinda, Njombe South MP (CCM), the first woman in the country's history to be elected to this post. She brings a wealth of experience having been an MP for 35 years, and having been the deputy Speaker for five years.

CHADEMA won its first seat in Manyara region when its candidate Mustapha Akunaay, the outspoken executive secretary of the Tanzania Association of Tour Operators, defeated veteran CCM Minister Phillip Marmo by a margin of over 20,000 votes.

In the Arusha council elections a CHADEMA Rastafarian was elected: The Citizen wrote: 'Donning his characteristic curled hair and a green-and- yellow cap associated with the culture, astounded some of his political rivals. During the campaign he was perceived by his rivals as a marijuana smoker unfit for leadership because of his behaviour which 'resembled that of some famous Rastafarians in the Caribbean.' However he insisted that he had 'never ever' smoked bhang or any other narcotic drug and did not plan to do so. CHADEMA had advised him to remove his Rastafarian attire "But I told them that I had better leave politics than remove my Rasta fashion. Since then nobody has ever discussed this matter with me again " he said.



Dr Slaa addresses a crowd in Zanzibar - photo Emmanuel Herman

Another of the new MPs is rapper and Bongo Flava artist Sugu (Joseph Mbilinyi) who won the Mbeya Mjini seat for CHADEMA. He defeated the incumbent CCM candidate Benson Mpesya by 46,411 votes as against 24,236. Sugu's campaign had the theme "*Tumaini Jipya kwa Maendeleo ya Wote*" "New Hope for Development for All". In an interview Sugu said "It pains seeing many musicians in the country failing to pay for a bus fare, while someone somewhere is eating the sweat of musicians." Fellow musician Afande Sele says that he hopes Sugu will be able to reduce the problems Tanzanian musicians face due to widespread piracy of their work.

OPPOSITION CAMPAIGN

The CHADEMA presidential candidate Dr Wilbroad Slaa attracted massive crowds during the election campaign wherever he appeared. As an example, on September 19, the Guardian reported that business in Arusha came to a standstill for four hours as thousands of its residents rushed to welcome him. His decision to vie for the presidency 'had changed the political wind in the country.' A convoy of hundreds of vehicles accompanied the candidate to the rally grounds. Security officers were almost overwhelmed....Finally came the moment when Dr

Slaa stood to address the crowd. "We have not ferried you from your homes to this place with lorries or buses...Neither did we give you free T-shirts nor khangas plus money to solicit you to come here....Your massive attendance is a demonstration that you are fully committed to change" he said.

Slaa said it was a shame that people from a nation endowed with abundant natural resources such as minerals and wildlife led a miserable life while countries with minimal or no resources such as Kenya were now offering education for free. He said Tanzanians, for a long time, had been victims of poor government policies, corruption and embezzlement of public funds. He added that CHADEMA would raise money to finance education and health care services by cutting down public spending through reducing the size of the cabinet to not more than 20 seats, slashing MPs' emoluments, abolishing some government posts, such as the post of district commissioner, and reducing procurement of government vehicles. He said other money would be generated after overhauling mining contracts. Slaa maintained that a CHADEMA government would waive all taxes on construction materials to enable people to construct decent houses.

CHADEMA's founder, former Finance Minister Edwin Mtei, who also attended the rally, questioned the new culture in which those accused of corruption were being protected by the ruling party. This, according to Mtei, was the beginning of the downfall of Africa's oldest ruling party – the CCM - Guardian

During the election campaign at a big rally in Lindi, CUF leader Professor Ibrahim Lipumba was quoted in *Majira* as saying that his party would like to see the country being run as it used to be under colonial authority which had been better than the present CCM government. He said despite the problems of colonialism, the suffering people now underwent was worse. In those days the current spiralling cost of living was unknown, while the poor people were now burdened with education fees he said. Lipumba claimed. "If it were not for the free education I got I would be in my village corralling cattle."

Needless to say, with its vast financial resources the CCM also put on a well organised campaign and President Kikwete's numerous rallies attracted huge audiences many draped in the party colours.

THE PRESIDENT'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Undeterred by the unprecedented walk out by CHADEMA MPs, the President continued with his inaugural speech to Parliament and emphasised the need to build a middle-class economy and empower small-scale and medium entrepreneurs, farmers, pastoralists and fishermen.

He outlined 13 priority areas, which his administration would concentrate on in the next five years.

He called for speedy healing of rifts created in the run-up to and during the elections to forge national unity.

He said the government would continue to equip the Tanzania People's Defence Forces (TPDF) and the Police Force to safeguard the country's borders, and protect the people and their properties.

He said he had noted religious incitement during the campaigns, which had fuelled rifts that could jeopardise national unity. "The elections are over. We must now concentrate on building our country," he said, stressing his willingness to work with fellow politicians and religious leaders to end the rifts.

The government would also attract investment in new industries and revive the defunct ones. Efforts would also be made to ensure reliable power supply and infrastructure for factories. "We will establish and strengthen the Tanzania Investment Bank to lend to entrepreneurs. We will also strengthen SIDO to serve more Tanzanians," he said.

In the past five years, he said, the country had reviewed contracts with major mining firms, some of which had started to pay taxes. A new mining policy as well as legislation had been enacted to boost local participation in the sector. More than \$4.7 billion was earned from minerals. The government would now acquire shares in major mining firms. He said there were plans to establish and attract agro-processing industries as well as local processing of minerals such as gold and tanzanite.

On railways, President Kikwete conceded that the government did not handle the area well in the past five years, but said that had been a good lesson to the government. "Our efforts to improve railways failed. But

we are determined that in the next five years, we will take the correct steps because we have learnt our lessons,” Tazara and the Central Line would be rehabilitated to standard gauge level from Dar es Salaam to Mwanza and Kigoma and a new railway from Isaka to Kigali, Rwanda and Bujumbura, Burundi built.

The construction of Dodoma University would be completed to pave the way for work on the Mwalimu Nyerere University in Butiama and the Muhimbili University of Health and Allied Sciences. The Mbeya Institute of Technology would be upgraded to a full university.

The government, he added, would continue to reduce dependence on hydropower generation. He said emphasis would be put on power production from natural gas, coal, wind and solar power.

“We plan to add 640MW to the national grid. We will increase the number of Tanzanians who get power from the current 14 per cent of the population to 30 per cent,” he said - Citizen

THE SURPRISINGLY LOW TURNOUT

Many observers were surprised when it was revealed that, of the 20,137,303 registered voters, only 8,626,283 or 42% voted, making it the lowest turnout since the restoration of multi-party democracy in 1992. In 2005, when Mr Kikwete was first elected President, the turnout was 72% of the 9.1 million voters. In the 1995 and 2000 General Elections, 76% and 84% of the registered voters cast their ballots, respectively. In the 2010 election 2.64% of votes were spoilt.

Following a Royal African Society/BTS meeting on the elections on November 9 in London, Ron Fennell summarised the views expressed on this rather disturbing aspect of the results. He listed the factors:

- ‘Voter indifference about the outcome – it would not change the existing system in which a privileged group received the benefits of economic growth;
- A defective electoral registration process - many people disenfranchised, some because they had no ID cards;
- Fear that the ballot papers were not anonymous and that there could be victimisation of anti government voters;

- Fear of intimidation by the security forces;
- A significant number of CCM incumbents failed to be re-nominated for the election - 83 out of 232. John Malecela and other old timers and power brokers lost their seats;
- The absence of realistic manifestos – for example CHADEMA proposed a national non-contributory pension system. The perception is that the President campaigned more on promises than on policies;
- Regionalist tendencies which could undermine the unity of the nation seemed to be on the increase. Warning signals of future discord from personal allegations of cultural divides; for e.g CHADEMA Christian and Chagga; CUF Islamic;
- CCM candidates boycotted the TV debates. Opposition candidates had found it difficult to get air time in previous elections;
- Public funding was biased in favour of the ruling party which also had access to government transport, security, buildings, and helicopters. According to the East African, government financial support for the election campaigns of the different parties (based on the results of the previous election) was as follows: CCM \$1.5 million, CHADEMA \$500,000, CUF \$100,000.

THE NEW UNION CABINET

President Kikwete's previous government had 60 ministers who were reduced to 47 in February 2008 following the Richmond scandal, which led to resignation of the then prime minister Edward Lowassa and two cabinet ministers. The President's new government comprises 50 ministers - 29 in the cabinet and 21 deputies. There are three new ministerial positions and 24 new faces. 15 full ministers from the previous cabinet have been retained and the number of women remains at seven. The previous cabinet had 26 full ministers and 21 deputies adding up to 47:

Finance - Mustafa Mkulo (*no change*).

Foreign Affairs & International Cooperation - Bernard Membe (*no change*)

Home Affairs - Shamsi Vuai Nahodha (*former Chief Minister of Zanzibar*)

Energy and Minerals - William Ngeleja (*no change*)

Constitutional Affairs & Justice - Ms Celina Kombani (*formerly Minister for Regional Administration and Local Government*)

Regional Administration & Local Govt - George Huruma Mkuchika
Infrastructure Development has been split into two ministries:
Works - Dr John Pombe Magufuli; and, Transportation - Omari Nundu
Natural Resources & Tourism - Ezekiel Maige
Health & Social Welfare - Dr Haji Hussein Mponda
Lands, Housing and Human Settlements - Prof Anna Tibaijuka
Livestock Development & Fisheries – Dr David Mathayo
Communications, Science & Technology – Prof Makame Mnyaa Mbarawa;
Education & Vocational Training - Dr Shukuru Kawambwa
Labour & Employment - Philipo Mulugo
Community Development, Gender & Children – Ms Sophia Simba
East African Co-operation – Samwel John Sitta
Agriculture, Food Security & Cooperatives – Prof Jumanne Maghembe
Water - Prof Mark Mwandosya (Irrigation has been moved to the
Ministry of Agriculture).

Among other changes:

Youth Affairs has been moved from Labour to the Information & Sports ministry. This led to an increase of the three positions. The President said the additional positions were needed to have ministers of state overseeing Coordination as well as Planning.

Under the Prime Minister's Office, a new position focusing on investment promotion and economic empowerment has been created. The President appointed two ministers of state under his office - Mathias Chikawe for Good Governance and Stephen Wassira for Relationships & Co-ordination. Ms Hawa Ghasia retained her previous position as Minister of State, Public Service Management.

There are ministers of state for Union Affairs and the Environment in the Vice President's Office.

ARUSHA VIOLENCE

As this issue goes to the press, there are reports that three people were killed by police during a demonstration organised by CHADEMA in central Arusha on Jan 5th. The CHADEMA leadership were arrested and held overnight before being released on bail. We will include more details in the next issue of *Tanzanian Affairs*.

ZANZIBAR ELECTIONS

The former Vice-President of Tanzania, Dr Ali Mohamed Shein who hails from Pemba, won the Zanzibar presidential election in Zanzibar with 50.1% of the votes. The CUF candidate Seif Shariff Hamad gained 49.1% of the votes. There were four other candidates.

As a result of the agreement entered into before the elections under which there would be a Government of National Unity (GNU) in the Isles after the election, the election itself took place peacefully and without major problems unlike the elections during the previous 15 years.

Some analysts have been trying to explain how it was that the two main parties (CCM and CUF) were able to come to an agreement after their fierce rivalry in the past. The explanation they have given is that CUF finally realised that the CCM would never allow it to rule Zanzibar alone (several CCM leaders made this clear in the past) and, that, if it were to have influence in the development of the country it could only do so in a government of national unity. Similarly, the explanation continued, the CCM realised that it was losing support and risked losing the 2010 election if this was free and fair. The election results, with the difference between the respective party's votes differing by only one per cent, tend to support this hypothesis.

The Zanzibar Cabinet

The new President Dr Ali Mohamed Shein increased the number of ministers in his cabinet from 13 under the previous President Karume to 19 plus six deputy ministers (compared with five). The Special Seats for women were increased, with eleven allocated to CCM and nine to CUF.

The duties of the new Vice Presidents

Veteran leader in the Isles of the CUF party and a former Chief Minister in a CCM government, Zanzibar's new First Vice President, Maalim Seif Shariff Hamad, has revealed that his official duties in the GNU will include being first-line advisor to the President and overseeing issues relating to the environment, people with disabilities and the war on drug abuse and HIV/Aids. Maalim Seif also explained that Zanzibar's seventh phase government was determined to serve the people as diligently and efficiently as humanly possible and that the most important thing was for people to give their all in helping the government to serve them. He wanted to cut red-tape in the public service to the minimum

and said he would himself set a good example by reporting for duty at 7.30am each day. He said that Zanzibar would only move forward socially, economically and otherwise “if all people ensure maximum discipline at their various workplaces and if public servants desist from bureaucratic behaviour and practices”.

He hailed the new President, Dr Ali Mohamed Shein (who had been Vice-President of Tanzania prior to the elections), for having cooperated with him during the run-up to the formation of the GNU and the cabinet “despite the fact that the constitution allows the president to form the cabinet even without any consultations” - Guardian.

The Second Vice President, Ambassador Seif Ali Idd, will be responsible for government business.

Pemba secessionists give up

One day after President Shein declared his new cabinet the group of 12 elders from Pemba who have been calling for secession of the island from Zanzibar said their demands had been met. Four years ago they submitted a petition to the UN and foreign diplomatic missions in Dar es Salaam, complaining that people of Pemba were denied their basic rights by the governments of Zanzibar and Tanzania. Coordinator of the group, Ali Makame said Zanzibar can now teach democracy to other African countries. He said the Pemba elders were now willing to collaborate with the unity government – *Mwananchi*.

ONGOING CORRUPTION CASES

The radar case and WikiLeaks

The case related to the purchase by Tanzania of an air traffic control system (RADAR) from Britain’s BAE Systems in 2001 for £28million reached apparent finality in London in December. After an unexpected reversal by the High Court in London of a previously agreed plea bargain arrangement under which BAE would compensate Tanzania, new information came from the publication by the London Guardian of dispatches from the American Ambassador in Dar es Salaam revealed by WikiLeaks. In its comments the Guardian wrote: ‘Every individual involved in the BAE scandal in Britain and Tanzania has escaped prosecution. BAE had agreed with the UK Serious Fraud Office (SFO) to

pay £30m in corporate reparations and fines, provided the word “corruption” did not appear on the indictment. The Head of Tanzania’s Anti Corruption Bureau had alleged that his life might be in danger on this matter and that senior politicians in his country were ‘untouchable’....

In what appeared to be the end of the matter, as far as Britain is concerned, the Southwark Crown Court in London ruled that BAE would pay a fine of £500,000 for ‘failing to keep proper accounting records,’ £225,000 in legal costs and the remainder of the penalty of £30 million to the people of Tanzania as restitution. The court criticised BAE for concealing the purpose of nearly £8 million in payments made to Shailesh Vithlani, its marketing advisor in Tanzania at the time. (*Thank you Elsbeth Court and John Sankey for helping on this story – Editor*).

The Richmond Saga

On November 15 the International Chamber of Commerce (ICC) ordered the Tanzania Electricity Supply Company (Tanesco) to pay Dowans Holdings SA and Dowans Tanzania Limited a sum of Shs106 billion for breach of a power contract. The two companies inherited the project from the controversial Richmond Development Company of the USA’s Shs152 million-a-day emergence power supply contract, which was also the cause of the resignation of three ministers including the Prime Minister in February 2008. The two parties in the case were also instructed to pay fees and expenses of the arbitrators and the ICC administrative expenses amounting to \$750,000 equally. Tanesco had moved to the High Court to restrain Dowans from disposing of its turbines. Dowans wanted to sell the turbines after the government had terminated power production and purchase agreements between Tanesco and Dowans on grounds of underperformance. The plan to sell the turbines had been a source of public debate throughout 2010 with some people proposing that the government should nationalise the plants after the company had allegedly failed to honour its agreement. There were varying reactions in Tanzania on whether the country should pay such a large sum to Dowans. Several leaders said that Tanzania should not pay.

Before this court decision the Government had increased the supply of heavy fuel to Dowan’s firm - Independent Power Tanzania Ltd (IPTL) - enabling it to pump more electricity into the national grid to ease the ongoing power rationing - *Majira*.

The 'Twin Towers' case

In September the Bank of Tanzania's former Director Amatus Liyumba was sentenced by the Kisutu Resident Magistrate's Court to two years in jail after he was found guilty of abuse of office during the construction of the Bank of Tanzania's 'Twin Towers' project. His lawyers immediately filed an appeal. The change of scope of the work being done had been under the supervision of the Bank's former Governor the late Dr Daudi Balali, who was in charge, they claimed. They further submitted that the court erred when it dismissed the appellant's defence and his witness, former BoT secretary Bosco Kimela, on grounds that they had cooked their testimony because they were locked in the same remand prison – Guardian.

DAR-ES-SALAAM CONSTRUCTION BOOM

Visitors to Dar-es-Salaam cannot fail to see evidence of the construction boom in the city. Perhaps most obvious is the number of skyscrapers being constructed in the central Kivukoni area (see photograph). One casualty is the *Nyumba ya Sanaa* (Nyerere Cultural Centre) which has been demolished to make way for a tower. The centre's operations will be relocated to Msasani Village.

An ambitious project to try and alleviate the chronic congestion faced by commuters is the Dar es Salaam Rapid Transit (DART) project, which was launched by President Kikwete in September and is expected to start operating in 2012. The system will use guided buses (Bus Rapid Transit) on segregated bus lanes, and *dala-dalas* will no longer be allowed to operate on the routes, but will operate as feeder services to the DART arterial routes.

The project will comprise six phases and a total of 130km of road plus two workshops, five main stations and six feeder stations. The first phase has just been let to Chinese firm Beijing International Engineering Group (BCEG). The route follows Morogoro Road from Kimara - Ubungo - Kivukoni with branches to Kariakoo and Morocco. 145 articulated buses, each capable of carrying 140 passengers will operate on the route, with an expected 400,000 passengers using the system every day. Subsequent phases comprise Kilwa Road, Nyerere Road, Bagamoyo Road, and orbital routes. The scheme further includes cycle



Kivukoni area of Dar-es-Salaam, with the Askari Monument to the right, and the Bank of Tanzania twin towers in the distance, near the ferry to Kigamboni. Photo Issah Michuzi <http://issamichuzi.blogspot.com>

tracks alongside the routes with the aim of encouraging non-motorised transport in the city. Funding for the project comes from the World Bank and UNEP as well as the Tanzanian government.

The government has also released a tender for construction of a road flyover at Tazara and a bridge at Bendera Tatu that will link the junction of Nyerere Road to Bibi Titi Road, also with the aim of reducing congestion.

Private development is gradually spreading outwards from the central areas of the city, for example a large mixed use project planned for Mchikichini, Ilala district, with over 1,600 multi storey flats, office accommodation and hotels, jointly funded with a Malaysian company.

Construction work is also underway at Julius Nyerere International Airport (JNIA). Speaking at the official launch of the project, Tanzania Airports Authority (TAA) Director General, Mr Prosper Tesha said that the project would involve rehabilitation of taxiways, runways and sewage system, and is set to be finished by May 2011.

RAILWAYS

The Tanzania Zambia Railway Authority (Tazara) has signed a contract with a Chinese manufacturer for the manufacture and supply of 90 container wagons worth approximately US\$5 million. The Chinese company was given eight months in which to manufacture and deliver the wagons which will be used in the transportation of containerised cargo and metals such as copper and manganese. Other components of the agreement are expected to follow including the supply of six new mainline locomotives, rehabilitation of three shunting locomotives and training of staff. Chinese ambassador to Zambia Li Qiangmin was quoted as saying that Tazara was a symbol of friendship between Zambia and China and his country was saddened by problems the company was facing. "We are sending a technical team to Tazara to investigate the problems and help them improve efficiency," the envoy said. Tanzania's Infrastructure Development Minister Shukuru Kawambwa was quoted as saying that the Chinese financing was intended to save Tazara from total collapse as the company had been experiencing major operational and financial problems with a debt burden of over US\$100 million – Guardian.

BUSINESS & THE ECONOMY

Addressing a conference of leading financiers in Dar es Salaam Prime Minister Mizengo Pinda stated that strong supervisory enforcement of financial regulations had enabled Tanzania to weather the storm during the recent world economic crisis without too much impact compared to other countries. Limited links with the global financial markets had also helped to keep the country's financial sector strong and sound, as the world went through its most severe financial crisis in recent times. All major financial indicators of the local banking sector had remained strong he said. The banking system had remained adequately capitalised against any potential financial risk and the ratio of non-performing loans to total loans had remained within prudential limits. "Furthermore, the banking system has managed to keep enough liquidity to operate smoothly and cover its liabilities without recourse to the central bank."

"Our banking system has maintained reasonable profitability", he pointed out. He also announced that the Bank of Tanzania recently

took steps to review the minimum capital requirements for commercial banks, raising it from Sh5 billion to Sh15 billion. This would consolidate the strength of the banking industry and enhance its ability to self-bailout in case of a crisis. On the proposed East African Monetary Union (EAMU), the PM said that recent reforms in Tanzania's financial sector had placed the country in a better position for financial integration. Since these had been undertaken in various phases dating back to the early 1990s, the number of banks that operate in the country had increased to 42, up from only three public-owned banks in 1992. Insurance companies had increased from two in 1990s to 26 at present. The total assets of banks had risen significantly from an average of 6% of GDP in the early 1990s, to above 40% of GDP currently.

Warning to foreign traders

The government has issued a warning to foreign traders doing small business in Tanzania without following procedures. One of the requirements for a foreigner to do business in the country is that he should have a minimal capital of \$300,000. Some foreigners are said to be entering the country for work on the mines or on major projects but later moving into petty trading in Kariakoo market in Dar es Salaam. The Guardian has reported that there has been an increase of shopkeepers of Chinese origin at several business centres in the city which were adversely affecting local businesses. However former Industry, Trade and Marketing Minister Dr Mary Nagu she said this was due to globalisation. "It is not only Tanzanians who conduct their businesses in the area, but also Congolese, Zambians, and Malawians" she said.

Big Korean investment

100,000 hectares of land in Tanzania's Rufiji valley are to be developed by South Korean corporation KRC as part of Tanzania's *Kilimo Kwanza* programme. In an interview with the BBC, Lee Ki-Churl, of the state-run Korean Rural Community Corporation, said the move would see Tanzanian farmers benefit from an education centre as well as from South Korean expertise on the ground. Plans envisaged half the land given over to local farmers with the rest being used to set up a food processing complex for exports to Korea. The initiative was said to be partly the product of Prime Minister Mizengo Pinda's visit to South Korea to help develop economic ties between the two nations.

UK gives £103.5 billion

While some donors have decided to cut down on their donations towards General Budget Support, Britain is giving Shs 230 billion in the financial year 2010/11. This was said by the UK Parliamentary Under-secretary of State for International Development, Stephen O'Brien, during a visit to Tanzania. Earlier on, the British minister had a meeting with Finance Minister Mustafa Mkululo during which they had a profound discussion on the utilisation of the funding. "This will help in the priority areas as stipulated in the *Mkukuta* development strategy," said the statement. Tanzania ranks third among the recipients of British aid – *Mwananchi*.

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 47. If you do not wish your name to be published please say so - Editor

'A disgrace that we have to import food' - New African (November 2010, No. 500)

In celebration of its 500th issue, New African magazine reprinted several noteworthy articles of the previous century to be read in retrospect. President Julius Nyerere's message to Tanzania's farmers (published in June 1981) was among these articles. Below is an extract on the realities behind the late president's remarks:

'... Julius Nyerere, recently told his countrymen they were facing "a serious food shortage" as a result of floods and droughts during the past four years ... Nyerere said that last year [1980] Tanzania spent \$83.3m on food imports ... [M]inister for agriculture, John Malecela, warned Tanzanians that the country would run out of food ... [A]bout 96% of the population, live in rural areas ... President Nyerere has said that it was time for peasants to discard the primitive methods of farming inherited from their grandfathers, and engage instead in modern farming by

using fertilisers and other advanced techniques.’ Immediately following the end of the article, NA remarks on what has happened since by saying: ‘Tanzania, like most African countries, still imports food. The Old Man must be turning in his grave.’

Introducing Kamba, Plaited Rope from Tanzania - Living Woods (November-December 2010)

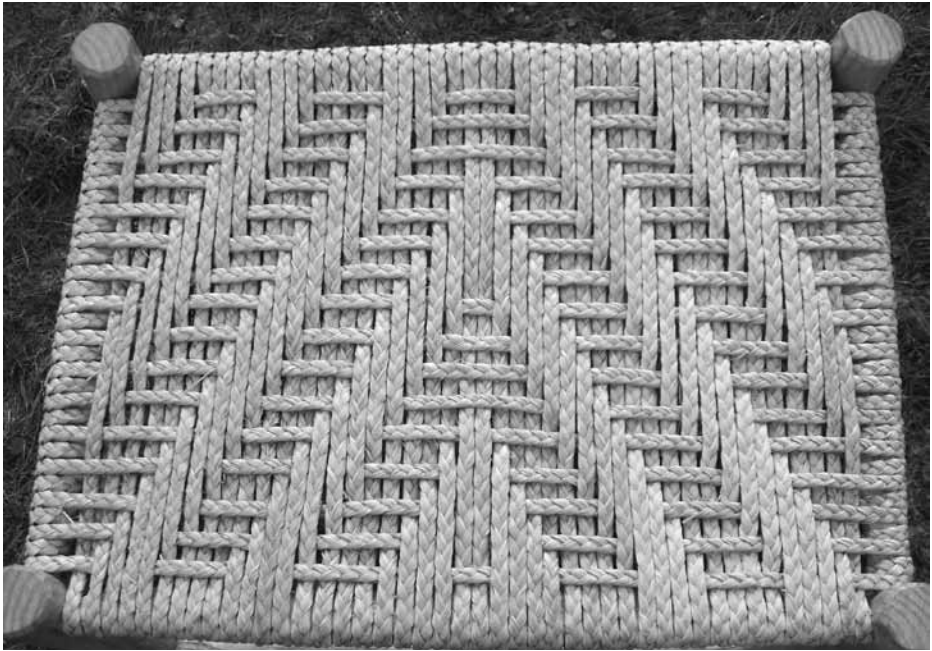
It is amazing where Tanzania turns up! This is a wonderful article by Graham Cole published in ‘Living Woods’

Extract: ‘People in Africa could teach us plenty about using natural materials, from rushes and grasses to trees great and small ... The natural material which I want to introduce here is a rope made from palm leaves. It’s made by plaiting leaf fronds together and the resulting rope is amazingly consistent in size. The leaves come from the tall doum palm which gracefully lines the banks of rivers in dry parts of Africa or from a dwarf palm which has its leaves conveniently close to the ground for harvesting. The rope which I prefer to call by its Swahili name “kamba”, has many uses including making chair seats and resilient bed bases. Some people also use palms leaves for thatching houses and for weaving mats, hats, baskets, fans and food covers...

‘Subsistence farmers can make kamba during the long dry season when there is little work to do on the land. The dwarf palms in Masasi District are evidently sustainable in their natural habitat and do not have to be planted in place of food crops. I was keen therefore to expand the trade in kamba to this country and I began importing it with the help of an Anglican monk whom I had met in Masasi and he arranged for someone to send me parcels by sea mail...

‘A number of chair makers have been enthusiastic customers and several leading teachers of greenwood crafts have encouraged pupils to use kamba in place of hemp or rush. One advantage is the greater width of kamba which allows for coverage with far fewer turns and so the time taken to weave a seat is reduced. As kamba is very strong an open weave is quite practical ...

‘Kamba is sold very cheaply in Tanzania but I don’t sell it cheaply here. I take into consideration the many hours of labour needed to harvest the palm leaves and the patient and skillful (sic) plaiting needed for each long hank. Thus enhancing the value for our market makes good



Innovative kamba weave on a stool (photo Mike Abbott)

sense and I return all profits to the producers and their kin through the Anglican-organised Friends of Masasi charity. I think this can reasonably be called fair trade...

‘Hopefully this trade in kamba will help the producers and give some of you a wonderful “new” material to work with.’ *Thanks to Tim Brooke for recommending this item - Editor.*

Coin Shortage - “Retailers, buyers suffer as coins shortage bites hard” reads the headlines (The East African, August 2-8, 2010). Apparently, major retail chains in Kenya like Nakumatt, Tuskys and Uchumi now offer sweets to customers instead of coins. The acute shortage of coins has been blamed on runaway inflation, which has rendered lower denomination currencies almost worthless.

There is a similar situation in neighbouring Tanzania where inflation has seen the value of the shilling deteriorate, consequently increasing the price of goods and services: In Tanzania, no one wants [coins] except in buses is the headline in a corresponding article. Extract: ‘Tanzania coins are facing imminent death as they are hardly used anymore with people ignoring them saying they are worthless. The coins which are

now rendered valueless are Tsh20 (\$0.01), Tsh10 (\$0.007), Tsh5 (\$0.0035) and Tsh1 (\$0.0007)... The only coins still in circulation - Tsh50 (\$0.0035) (sic), Tsh100 (\$0.07), and Tsh200 (0.14) - are mostly used in commuter buses.'

Africa's largest national park - The East African (August 16-22, 2010)

Extract: 'Tanzania has spent \$4.027 million in expanding Ruaha National Park on the southern tourist circuit, making it the largest game sanctuary in Africa. The park has been annexed to Usangu Game Reserve, increasing its size to over 15,000 square kilometres. Tanzania National Parks Authority Director for Planning Projects and Tourism Services Allan Kijazi told *The EastAfrican* ... that a large chunk of the cash was used to compensate local people who were displaced in order to pave the way for the project.' Government officials expect the expanded park to boost tourism.

Flower Power - African Decisions (South African publication. Issue 3/2010)

In April 2010 the eruption of the Icelandic volcano Eyjafjallajökull resulted in an ash cloud causing widespread airline disruption and financial loss. However, despite such losses Africa's well-established floriculture sector managed to absorb the impact and is moving ahead.

Extract: 'Africa is the world's biggest supplier of roses and carnations. Did you know this? ... Flower farming, or floriculture, has become increasingly popular in Africa since the first flower farms started in Kenya in 1969. Since then the sector has grown exponentially, with a number of other countries establishing their own flourishing flower industries, including Zambia, Uganda, Ethiopia, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Tanzania, Mozambique ... and Côte d'Ivoire... The general climatic conditions in Africa are well suited to the production of flowers.' Besides Eyjafjallajökull's ash cloud, floriculture in Africa is facing other challenges, for example, the pollution and shrinking of Lake Naivasha in Kenya where 'blame ... has been laid at the door of the approximately 60 flower farms that line its banks... In Tanzania ... concerns are being raised about health and safety of farm workers (70% of whom are women), many of whom work with harmful pesticides intended to produce crops of perfect blooms. Issues of sexual harassment also abound as many of these women are unfamiliar with

their rights in the workplace. As a result, the Tanzanian Plantation and Agricultural Workers Union (TPAWU) presents courses to farm workers explaining their rights and equipping them with the skills needed to work safely with harmful chemicals.'

New cassava types boosting food security in Zanzibar - The East African (July 19-25, 2010)

Apparently, disease-resistant high yielding cassavas have been developed in Zanzibar. Extract: 'While millions of cassava farmers in East and Central Africa are distressed by the viral cassava disease that is ravaging their crop, Zanzibar is experiencing a quiet revolution from four new disease-resistant and high yielding varieties. Introduced three years ago, the four varieties, Kizimbani, Mahonda, Kama, and Machui, have given the crop a new lease of life after it was devastated by the two main diseases afflicting the country - cassava brown streak and cassava mosaic.'

Revealed: how crocodile that thought it was a cat got stuck on a branch of the tree of life - The Times (05.09.10)

Extract: 'An ancient cat-like crocodile that lived 105 million years ago has been discovered in Tanzania ...' The "croco-cat" was similar in size to modern cats and probably hunted similar prey (small mammals, lizards and large insects). Extract continues: 'The creature, which became extinct about 80 million years ago, has been named *Pakasuchus kapilimai*, meaning cat in Ki-Swahili ... "-suchus" comes from the ancient Greek for crocodile, and the species name "*kapilimai*" honours the late Professor Saidi Kapilima, of the University of Dar-es-Salaam, a leader of the project that made the discovery.'

Regional security heads react to accusations of illegal renditions and rights abuses: Exchange of crime suspects within East Africa 'normal,' say police chiefs - The East African (October 11-17, 2010)

Extract: 'In the wake of a Kenyan High Court ruling against the illegal transfer of Kenyan terrorism suspects to Uganda for detention and trial, it has emerged that security chiefs have been trading high profile criminals in blatant disregard of extradition laws... The partner states have a common agreement [since 1967] on mutual extradition of nationals who are suspected or accused of organised crimes and corruption, said

Tanzanian security sources... The revelations came even as civil society and human rights groups were up in arms over the recent rendition of 13 Kenyans to Uganda on charges of terrorism... Tanzania's Director of Criminal Investigations, Robert Manumba, said the agreement demonstrated the mutual determination to combat organised crime and would strengthen confidence among East African states...' In reference to current negotiations between Uganda and Tanzania (i.e. extradition of three suspects linked to bombs in Kampala on 11 July), Mr Manumba later added that '... the EAC member states do not need to go through extradition trials to surrender cross-border criminal suspects who are arrested less than 100 kilometres from the common border. The mutual agreement also enables criminal investigation authorities in the EAC countries to exchange information without going through diplomatic channels... "The time has gone when criminals co-operated better than the countries."'

Airport Security - Jenerali Ulimwengu, chairman of the board of Raia Mwema newspaper shares his concerns with airport security in an article published in The East African (October 4-10, 2010) beginning with the headline: "Airport thief who stole my Blackberry, beware, the cyber juju app is a killer."

Extract: 'Air travel has always been a hassle for me ... The Tanzanian authorities ... have done something all the others should emulate, by doing away with the "departure" and "arrival" declaration forms for Tanzanian passport holders... all you need do is show your face and passport, maybe stare into an electronic eye and off you go, or in you come. That really alleviates the burdens of travel for me, especially because I just hate filling out forms of any type... But all the smiles ... will just as quickly be wiped out if our authorities continue to ignore a serious problem that has plagued our airports for as long as I can remember: Thievery [by unscrupulous airport handlers] ... What good is served by all those electronic surveillance machines, what use are all the searches and frisks, if the human agents handling them can steal items such as underpants and aftershaves ... I'm not saying all this simply because a week ago [a nimble-fingered luggage handler] went away with my Blackberry that I'd forgotten in checked luggage. It was a beautiful little gizmo, and may whoever took it never learn to operate it.'

Tanzanite - "Other dealers feel left out of the \$500m industry: Protests as govt exempts firm from raw tanzanite ban" - The East African (September 27 - October 3, 2010)

Extract: 'Tanzania has lifted the July ban on exports of raw tanzanite for commercial mining firm TanzaniteOne much to the dismay of other players [in the gemstone industry] ... [who] see the London Stock Exchange-listed TanzaniteOne as trying to establish a monopoly on the \$500 million tanzanite industry at the expense of local small-scale firms.'

Cross-border crime: Abductions - "Tanzanian parents panic over Kampala child kidnap gang" - The East African (September 20-26, 2010)

Extract: 'Tanzania's intelligence personnel have intensified a manhunt for kidnappers after several children were rescued from a gang of criminals in Uganda. The kidnappers operating from Uganda's capital Kampala have been abducting children under 10 years in Tanzania, triggering the worst panic among parents in the country's history... The crime is a relatively new phenomenon in Tanzania and is forcing parents to reduce their working hours to stay at home with their children.' Tanzanian parents are paying as much as \$6,000 ransom for the safe return of their children.

Tanzania's election: Promises, promises - The Economist (October 30, 2010)

Immediately following the headline a statement reads: 'Tanzania is still a backwater compared with its Kenyan neighbour to the north.' However, CCM candidate January Makamba has plans that, if successful, may begin to change this view.

Extract: The parliamentary campaign in Bumbuli, a constituency of 167,000 souls in the mountainous Lushoto district of Tanzania, is a mixture of ancient and modern. January Makamba ... stands for the modernists... Educated in the United States, the son of a CCM power broker, [Mr Makamba] recently quit his job as a speechwriter for [President Kikwete] to run in Bumbuli. He wants Tanzania to enter the world market. . . Bumbuli is among Tanzania's most densely populated constituencies. Most of its people farm tiny plots too small to be subdivided further. But Mr Makamba has a plan. He wants to borrow \$10m from Wall Street philanthropists, to be repaid in ten years. The sum, he says, will be invested in east African treasury bonds and stocks, in the

hope of dividends producing \$700,000 a year to invest in Bumbuli. Some of the cash would help farmers package their fruits and vegetables. Mr Makamba dreams of refrigerated lorries owned by the community leaving daily at dawn for Dar es Salaam and Nairobi with "Fresh from Lushoto" produce.'

Potent malaria drug offers hope of a single-dose cure - The Times (03.09.10). This article shows a picture of the singer Cheryl Cole who contracted malaria in Tanzania in 2010.

Extract: 'The first patient trials of a potent new anti-malaria drug could begin by the end of the year, after animal experiments showed it to be highly effective against a disease that causes more than 800,000 deaths a year. The new agent, known as NITD609, promises to provide a new generation of treatments for malaria, which could fight strains of the parasite that have developed resistance to today's frontline drugs. Such fresh therapies are considered to be critical to the prospects of containing malaria, which causes 243 million infections worldwide and 863,000 deaths each year. The disease ... kills a child in Africa every 45 seconds... Rick Davis, business development manager at the Wellcome Trust, said: "A single-dose cure would go a long way to addressing the unmet medical need in malaria ..."' *Thank you John Sankey for this item - Editor.*

Survey shows popularity of witchcraft - Tablet (24.04.10)

Extract: 'Many professing Christians and Muslims in sub-Saharan Africa also believe in alternative gods, witchcraft, evil spirits, sacrifices to ancestors and reincarnation, according to an extensive new survey [conducted by the US-based Pew Research Center, which specialises in religious issues]... The survey found that Tanzania had the highest levels of belief in juju and superstitious objects... In contrast, Rwandans were found to be the least superstitious people in Africa, with only five out of 100 people interviewed saying they believed in juju.' *Thank you John Sankey for this item - Editor.*

Welcome to Africa, the home of mobile banking - until the West catches up - The Times (October 27, 2010)

Extract: 'The British company's M-Pesa mobile payment system may have been created in Newbury, but it is in Africa that it has taken hold. The system, launched three years ago in Kenya, already has 20 million

users in three countries... The [Vodafone] network has set itself an ambitious target to have 50 million M-Pesa users by 2012... [M-Pesa] has grown beyond the company's wildest expectations... The reason that the service has taken off in Africa lies in the lack of traditional banking infrastructure and the prevalence of mobile phones across the continent. Only 3.5 million of Tanzania's 41 million inhabitants have a bank account but half of the population owns a mobile phone... The benefits of the service have not gone unnoticed and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation is set to provide £5 million to spur greater take-up of mobile payment systems in Tanzania. Cenk Serdar, head of mobile payment for Vodafone, said that M-Pesa had fostered trade in a way that charity donations have failed to do. It is a lesson that is being applied on the ground in Tanzania, where Vodacom runs a micro-finance initiative to help women in business. The first beneficiaries are 109 women in the coastal town of Bagamoyo, who will receive interest-free loans for two months. None have bank accounts and will disperse the money via M-Pesa.'

The Economist (November 27, 2010) included an interesting Vodafone Innovation advertisement with the heading: **Using simple tools to solve complex problems.** The ad is based on a testimony by Mfaume Hermedi, a district health co-ordinator in Tanzania.

Extract: '[Mr Mfaume] can now use SMS technology to help reduce the spread of malaria.' The advert text points out that if the right drugs to treat the disease were more widely available, this would reduce the number of people dying from malaria.

Extract continues: 'Malaria outbreaks occur all over the country and it is difficult for health care professionals such as Mfaume to keep track of the stocks available in all the different clinics ... [which is the reason] why Vodafone's SMS for Life programme has made a huge difference. It's a partnership between Vodafone, Novartis, IBM and Roll Back Malaria, and it's a service that helps Mfaume keep account of his supplies. All he has to do is send a text message from the drug distribution centre where he is based to remind staff at the clinics to check and report on their stocks. Each reply feeds into a database covering the entire province so Mfaume can see a detailed report showing him where stock are running low. Mfaume can now allocate or even re-allocate his supplies to where the need is greatest.' *Thank you Ron Fennell for this item - Editor.*

Gemma Sisia, from a sheep farm in New South Wales, Australia, is one of the remarkable people who do extraordinary work in Tanzania. Gemma founded the School of St Jude in Arusha in 2002 with just three students and one teacher. The school now boasts over 1300 students and 350 staff. The Australian local community newspaper the Cambridge Post (November 20, 2010, Vol.37, No. 47) featured the sponsor Evi Ferrier of Mosman Park, Perth, who visited the school.

Extract: Nine-year-old Samwel Wilson, a student at the School of St Jude ... was over the moon when Evi Ferrier ... dropped in for a visit and helped make costumes for the school musical, Joseph and the Amazing Technicolor Dreamcoat... With a motto of Fighting Poverty through Education, [the School of St Jude] educates some 1300 of the country's poorest but brightest children and is helping them break the cycle of poverty that has gripped their families for generations. The education is free and sponsors like Evi cover the cost of fees, uniforms, stationery, transport, hot meals, snacks and drinks for each child. To read more about the school's amazing success, or join its sponsorship program, see www.schoolofstjude.co.tz.*' Thank you Douglas Gledhill for this item - Editor.*

Rare spray toads make long hop home from US to Tanzania - The Guardian (21 August 2010)

Extract: '... One hundred extremely rare Kihansi spray toads, a species last seen in Tanzania in 2004 after their habitat was destroyed by a new hydroelectric dam, have been flown home from the Bronx and Toledo zoos in the US. They were taken to a "state-of the-art propagation centre" in Dar es Salaam ... "We are optimistic that they will acclimatise soon and be taken to their homeland in Kihansi Gorge in the near future," said Anna Maembe, of the Tanzanian government, which collaborated on the project with the World Bank and the two zoos. The species was first discovered in 1996 during an environmental impact study for a large hydroelectric dam in Udzungwa mountains, in southern Tanzania. The toads lived exclusively in a five-acre zone under the spray of a waterfall.'

Appellant (sic) cited favouritism: Govt cancels lab supplies' tender - The East African (November 15-21, 2010)

Extract: 'Tanzania has revoked the tender to supply deoxyribonucleic

acid reagents, instruments, supply services and spare parts citing a flawed process. The tender had been awarded to Immunolabs Medical Supplies Ltd and Hightech Systems (T) Ltd. According to the Public Procurement Appeals Authority, the tender submitted by the appellant (Mesacom UK) as well as the successful tenderers were flawed. . . PPAA ordered that the appellant be compensated Tsh2.12 million (\$1,420) as legal consultation fees and appeal filing fees, against their request for Tsh38.2 million (\$25,670).'

Tanzania's oldest ship to be 'floating' museum - The East African (November 15-21, 2010)

Extract: 'Tanzania plans to turn one of the world's oldest passenger ships - *mv Liemba* - into a floating museum... The Graf von Götzen, as it was formerly known, was built in 1913 at the Meyer-Werft Shipyard in Papenburg, a city in the district of Emsland in Lower Saxony, Germany, along the river Ems... Count Gustav Adolf von Götzen was a German explorer and governor of German East Africa who presided over the bloody quashing of the Maji Maji Rebellion... [The ship] was salvaged by a British Royal Navy salvage team and re-commissioned in 1927 as the *Liemba*. The ferry has been operating almost nonstop since that date.'

NEW HIGH COMMISSIONER



Peter Kallaghe is Tanzania's new High Commissioner to Britain, where he replaces Mrs Mwanaidi Sinare-Maajar, who was earlier this year appointed ambassador to the US. The son of a diplomat, Mr Kallaghe attended Kiev State University where he studied International Relations. He was previously ambassador to Canada.

Mr Kallaghe addressed the Britain-Tanzania Society AGM in October and details of his speech can be found in the BTS newsletter.

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”.

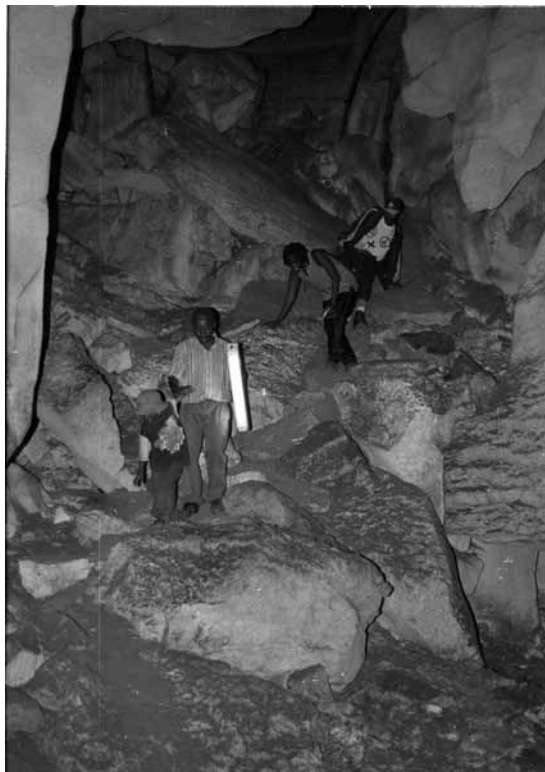
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AMBONI CAVES THREATENED



Inside one of the caves - photo Jacob Knight

The Amboni Caves are one of Tanzania's less well known tourist attractions, located just 8 km north of Tanga. The most extensive limestone caves in East Africa, formed about 150 million years ago during the Jurassic age, there are altogether ten caves covering an area of 234 km², although only one is accessible for guided tours.

Local people have used the caves as a sacred place for anything up to 600 years, and what appear to be ancient paintings of animal footprints can be seen in some areas, although it is not clear how these were created. The caves certainly have strong significance with the local people, and there are chambers within the caves which

are treated as sacred and reserved for worshipping. One of them is called "Mzimu wa Mabavu", which some believe is the home of a powerful deity who can increase wealth, bring justice, alleviate sickness & sufferings and increase fertility. Bottles with perfumes, oil or blood from sacrificed goats or chicken can be seen at the entrance of the chamber.

Amboni Limited, a company which was then operating sisal plantations in Tanga Region, acquired the area in 1892 and informed the British colonial government about the caves who in turn declared the caves a conservation area in 1922. In 1963, the then government of Tanganyika handed over the caves to the Department of Antiquities.

As well as tourists, the caves attract students for their geography lessons, with examples of stalactites and stalagmites and rocks sculpted into strange shapes from the passage of water. For those with fertile imagination, the guide can point out resemblances of all kinds, including a rock in the shape of a lion at the entrance of the cave, rocks in the shape of a sofa, a ship, a crocodile, an elephant, the US statue of liberty, a statue of mother Mary, and even a map of the continent of Africa !

There are numerous legends associated with the caves, such as a hole which is believed to connect to underground rivers which lead to Mombasa in Kenya. According to one story, in 1914 a European man accompanied by his dog ventured down the hole and disappeared without trace except for the dog which was found dead a few days later in Mombasa. There is also a chamber inside the big cave which was used as a hideout for Osale Otanga and Paulo Hamis, two latter day Robin Hoods who used to steal goods and terrorise foreigners in the region. While the government regarded them as criminals, locals seems to have regarded them as freedom fighters during the struggle for Independence.

However, recently concerns have been growing that the caves are being seriously damaged by blasting in nearby quarries where lime and aggregates are being mined.

Reacting to charges that the government has neglected the historical site, Deputy Minister (Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism), Mr Ezekiel Maige said he is planning to meet with the Tanga District Commissioner's Office and the City Council to discuss ways of saving the caves.

He said that the Ministry has initiated a strategy to promote tourism in Tanzania, including the Amboni caves. "The Northern Tourism Circuit has been promoted for years while the North Eastern part which includes the Amboni Caves, the East Usambara mountains and the Saadani National Park has not enjoyed the same publicity," he said. He noted that the Ministry has already taken steps to improve the area as a tourist attraction by reviewing the area legally and increasing its budget, noting "We have already released over Sh30 million for the purpose. We want the Caves to become one of the identities of Tanga".

MISCELLANY

Banknotes

The Bank of Tanzania has issued a new series of banknotes which will circulate side by side with the current notes which were introduced in 2003, until these are gradually withdrawn from circulation. Changes include the portraits of founders of the Nation, the late Mwalimu Julius Kamabarage Nyerere on the one thousand and the late Sheikh Abeid Amani Karume on the five hundred denominations. The other notes show Tanzania's wildlife heritage with the Lion, the Rhino and the Elephant. Various new technologies are also included in an effort to curb the problem of counterfeiting.

Ghailani Partially Cleared

Tanzanian Ahmed Ghailani (36) who has been in a New York court charged with taking part in a worldwide terrorist plot, which killed 236 people in the bombing of the American embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam in 1998, has been cleared of 284 out of 285 criminal counts. The jury found him guilty on November 17 of just one count - conspiring to destroy buildings and property of the US, which carries a minimum sentence of 20 years in prison. Ghailani was captured in Pakistan in 2004, held by the Central Intelligence Agency for more than two years and subjected to so-called enhanced interrogation techniques, which the defence called torture. He was later transferred to the US naval base at Guantanamo – Guardian.

Mkapa for the Sudan

The United Nations Secretary General, Mr Ban Ki-Moon, has appointed former President Benjamin Mkapa the leader of a special panel to monitor the referendum in Southern Sudan. Other members of the panel according to the Citizen are former Portugal Foreign minister Antonio Monteiro and former Nepal Election Commission chairman Bhojraj Pokharel.

New rôle for rats?

Sokoine University of Agriculture in collaboration with 'Apopo HeroRats' are looking at prospects of mounting cameras on rats following earthquakes to help in the search for human beings. Dogs can only sniff those lying on the surface. The organisers are looking for funding

for equipment including cameras that won't burden the rats, wireless devices to project the images to a visual device, microphones, torches and also training of the rats so that they know when to return when they come across a body. It is hoped to use the same concept being used in Mozambique to detect landmines. Over 1.9 million square metres of land of has been returned to the local population there.

Apopo is a social enterprise that deploys rat technology for humanitarian purposes and is currently employing 143 staff in Tanzania and Mozambique and has over 300 rats in various stages of breeding, training or implementation.

The Serengeti Highway

[See background in TA 97] A network of 56 environmental non-governmental organisations asked the government in December not to tarmac a 53 km section of the proposed 480 km Arusha-Musoma highway through the Serengeti National Park as it is an important corridor for seasonal migration of wildebeest. The project has drawn the attention of activists from around the world.

An official from Serengeti Environmental Protection and Development Association said that the majority of people backed the road due to its socio-economic importance - Guardian .

Rise in Pass Rates

53.5% Standard Seven pupils passed the examinations that determine those entitled to join secondary schools. This is an improvement of 4.1% over the previous year. 48% of the successful pupils were girls and 59% boys. Pass rates increased for Swahili (71% compared with 69%) mathematics (25% compared with 21%) and science (56% compared with 53%) - Citizen.

Project Fame

Uganda's Davis Ntare emerged the winner of Tusker Project Fame reality show in November to claim the KSh5 million (\$62,000) prize. Tanzania's Peter Msechu finished in second place, with Kenyans Stephen Nyabwa and Amileena Mwenesi in third and fourth places respectively. A total of 18 contestants spent eight weeks at the academy and were coached on improving their vocal, instrumental, dance and performing skills.

Lilanga wows Paris

As a sign that the “tinga tinga” style has become an internationally accepted art style, Hermes of Paris have brought out one of their famous silk scarves screen printed with a design by the late George Lilanga. Lilanga’s work has been displayed outside Africa since the late seventies, at the Mary Knoll Ossining Centre in New York in 1978 and in a 1985 travelling exhibition that stopped in Austria, Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden. He also took part in the landmark “Africa Remix” road show which passed through Europe, Japan and Houston in 2004-2006.



*Hermes scarf with Lilanga design at Paris airport - Photo Osei G Kofi
www.africancolours.com*

SPORTS NEWS

The 31 strong Tanzanian team returned from the Delhi Commonwealth Games in October dispirited having won no medals. After the boxing team failed to achieve any medals, hopes were high that marathon runners Restituta Joseph, Patrick Nyangero and the Melbourne Games gold medallist, Samson Ramadhan would save the day, but in the end all disappointed. It was the first time in over forty years that Tanzania failed to win any medals at the Commonwealth Games.

The Tanzanian performance was in stark contrast to the Kenyan team which won 32 medals, including 12 golds, and finished as the 6th placed country overall. As well as dominating the long distance running events as expected, Kenyan athletes also featured strongly in the middle distance events, winning gold, silver and bronze in the men's 800m and gold in the men's 400m race.

The Tanzanian women's football team, the Twiga Stars, also disappointed some in losing all their three matches at the CAF African Women Championships, although this was the team's first appearance at the event, and they managed to avoid being embarrassed by the much more experienced teams from South Africa, Mali and Nigeria.

The men's team made a good start to their Cup of African Nations campaign by forcing a draw with 2010 World Cup qualifiers Algeria, but a blunt strike force barely threatened Morocco when losing 1-0 in Dar es Salaam in October. This now leaves them in third place in their group, with qualification looking unlikely.

However, consolation came in December with victory in the CECAFA (Council of East and Central Africa Football Association) Challenge Cup, which is the first trophy the national team has won in 16 years. Tanzania were the hosts for the 16-day tournament, and lost their opening match 1-0 to Zambia. However, they bounced back to defeat Somalia and Burundi and reach the knockout phase where the penalty-taking skills of captain Shadrack Nsajigwa proved crucial. He converted the spot kick that eliminated Rwanda, contributed to a penalty shootout victory over Uganda after a goalless semi-final, and calmly scored again from the spot on 42 minutes to settle the final. The opposing team in the final was a Côte d'Ivoire team consisting of home-based stars as one of three 'guest' teams.

"After a lot of criticism, Tanzania proved worthy champions. The team started slowly but improved with each game," said the 64-year-old Danish coach Jan Poulson.

OBITUARIES



At WOMAD in 1989 (Ton Verhees)

Remmy Ongala, fondly known as "Dr Remmy" died in December at the age of 63. Born in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Dr Remmy moved to Tanzania in 1977 and joined the Orchestra Super Makassy, until leaving to form his own group Super Matimila. At the height of his popularity in the 1990's, Dr Remmy was a regular performer at the Womad music festival in the UK.

Dr Remmy's songs were always thoughtful and often controversial, dealing with subjects such as poverty and Aids. His song *Mambo Kwa Socks*, a plea for safe sex and for young men to use condoms, was banned by Radio Tanzania, but he continued to perform it at concerts. *Kifo* deals with the mercilessness of death, saying no matter how rich a person, bribery cannot postpone it.

In 2001, and after suffering a stroke, Dr Remmy became a born-again Christian and stopped performing his dance music, although he did recently make some appearances as a gospel artist. He is survived by his English wife Toni and four children, with whom he lived in a modest bungalow in an area of Dar-es-Salaam named in his honour "Sinza kwa Remmy."

Abou Ally Semhando "Baba Diana" (50) also died in the same week following a motorcycle accident. Abou Ally was drummer with Dr Remmy's band Super Matimila, and at the time of his death was manager of the popular band African Stars-Twanga Pepeta.

REVIEWS

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

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

SOCIETIES, RELIGION AND HISTORY. CENTRAL-EAST TANZANIANS AND THE WORLD THEY CREATED, C.200 BCE TO 1800 CE, by Rhonda M.Gonzales, Columbia University Press, New York, 2009, pp.ix and 257, ISBN 978-0-231-14242-7. £41.00

Forty years ago a conference took place at the University of Dar es Salaam on the historical study of African religion. The book which resulted in 1972, edited by myself and Isaria Kimambo, not surprisingly contained many chapters on Tanzania. Kimambo himself wrote on Upare religion; Marcia Wright wrote on Nyakyusa cults and politics; Edward Alpers wrote about the expansion of Islam in south-eastern Tanzania and north-eastern Mozambique; Gilbert Gwassa discussed the role of Kinjikitile in Maji Maji; and I described Anglican attempts to adapt Makua initiation rites. But though African religious history in Tanzania got off to such a vigorous start for a long time little happened. Tanzanian historiography entered its materialist stage; Gwassa died; I did not finish my books on Masasi Anglicanism or on witchcraft eradication cults; Alpers did not finish his book on Morogoro. The programme stated in *The Historical Study of African Religion* was not pursued.

Since then the ecological turn in Tanzanian historiography has seen some important publications dealing with religion. In 1996 Greg Maddox, James Gibling and Isaria Kimambo published the edited collection, *Custodians of the Land. Ecology and Culture in the History of Tanzania*. More recently Alpers's chapter in *The Historical Study* has been surpassed by Felicitas Becker's *Becoming Muslim in Mainland Tanzania, 1890-2000* (OUP, 2008). Maji Maji has been comprehensively re-visited in James Gibling and Jamie Monsons's *Lifting the Fog of War* (Brill, 2010). But Rhonda Gonzales still thinks it important to go all the way back to *The Historical Study of African Religion* and to re-state its major argumentative propositions. African religions are not incoherent and 'primal'; they have histories; they do not derive from political or economic systems. In fact, religion – which she defines as establishing and managing relationships with spirits – is primary. It represents both the longest continuities in Bantu cultures and the most flexible responses to change. Gonzales did not go to Tanzania to study religion but with an Afro-feminist agenda. Central-East Tanzanians themselves taught her what was important.

The chapter in *The Historical Study* which is most important to Gonzales is not, however, any of the specific Tanzanian case studies but Christopher Ehret's 'Language Evidence and Religious History'. At UCLA Ehret became her major mentor. In her book she draws heavily on his methods of historical linguistic reconstruction. She also makes extensive use of recent archaeological work, especially that of the Tanzanian archaeologist, Felix Chami, who has claimed to have discovered the site of Rhapta, the famed entrepot of the *Periplus* some fifty miles south of Dar es Salaam. But archaeologists deal mostly with potsherds. Language embodies ideas. So even though Gonzales manages to socialize pottery and has interesting pages on it as a female 'mystery' in a matrilineal society, it is essentially words which interest her. Very old words for 'God' and 'spirit'; much newer loan words for new sorts of cults or divinities; words for male and female initiands; words for rituals.

She deals with what she calls 'the Ruvu group of societies', speakers of ten related languages across 'a large block of central-east Tanzania', who are heirs to cultures 'that have occupied these territories for the past 1,500 years'. She dislikes the notion of 'hinterland' since she argues that these societies have interacted with the coast for more than a millennium. She discusses their ideas of divinity, environment, kinship, healing. She is familiar with missionary writing, ethnography and anthropology. I would say that she is more successful in showing continuities than she is in documenting change. The book is hard going. There is little which is individual or colourful. Extraordinarily there are no maps and no illustrations. But it is a very important book which I hope may revive the project of African religious history in Tanzania.

Terence Ranger

STREET DREAMS AND HIP HOP BARBERSHOPS: GLOBAL FANTASY IN URBAN TANZANIA. By Brad Weiss. Indiana University Press, 2009. pp249. ISBN 9780253220752. £15.99.

This ethnographic study of cultural practices provides an insight into the modern tensions that plague the lives of urban male youth in the political economic context of expanding neo-liberal consumerism in Arusha. Focussing on the social and idiomatic dynamics that circulated in and around street side barbershops in central Arusha at the turn of the millennium, Weiss uses these sites and other urban locales as lenses to elicit views of social struggle, identity politics and agency within the local-global conundrum that affects Tanzanians. Founded on the challenge laid down by certain anthropologists, namely to inquire into how human beings 'construct their intimate, everyday life-worlds

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at the shifting intersections of here, there, elsewhere, everywhere' (p. 8), the book seeks to contribute to anthropology's investigation into globalisation and neoliberalism. Moving beyond the current approach which catalogues the extent to which forces are incorporated into 'local' worlds' Weiss instead reframes neoliberalism as something more than a realm of external relations to which communities respond. This he does by arguing that male youth draw on evolving popular culture to position themselves in the wider world. However, Weiss asserts, this is only achievable, as Tanzanians are well aware, to a very limited degree as Tanzanians remain self-consciously marginalised or even in a relation of abject disjuncture, from an imagined globalised and interrelated world. This liminal positioning, neither fully in, nor fully out, he presents as the lived experience of neoliberalism's dilemma.

Referring to the structural transformations that have been occurring in Tanzania's political economy since the 1980s, the broader context he suggests is the 'sudden crash' Tanzanians experienced which came at the heels of unprecedented possibilities. These possibilities, though unrealised by the vast majority of Tanzanians as anything but possibilities, made it 'possible for a

broad swath of people to desire signs and styles of a global order while finding ever narrower means by which to satisfy them (p.9).

The book is composed of seven chapters, and an introduction and conclusion. The introductory chapter provides an excursion into the ethnographic setting and the topical challenges. In Chapter 1 Weiss summarises various theoretical vehicles in the study of popular culture ranging through themes of familiarisation, distinction, mimicry, alterity and fantasy as discussed by the likes of Bakhtin, Bourdieu, and Zizek. The following three chapters move through discussions of masculine self-fashioning to humans that can endure modernity's onslaught. Explorations into hip hop imagery, metaphors and material culture are set alongside discussions of the shared discourses of suffering and pain that infuse understandings of youths' liminal predicament as quasi-members of an imagined global hip hop culture. The subsequent three chapters explore youths' struggles to create viable adulthoods where a respectable family and livelihood are understood as pivotal, but how certain popular culture genres (fashion, television watching, and music) become instrumental to these challenges. Chapter 5 centres on young females in Arusha through the analysis of popular culture idioms (hair salons, clothing and music) and the discourses utilised by men to marginalize women and reposition themselves as reproductive agents in a world where men's productive capacity is tenuous. Chapter 6 describes the importance of soap operas for Arusha's youth as an educational tool and also as a vehicle for imagining and consuming the world beyond. Music and religion form the focus of the final substantive chapter and here Weiss evinces the importance of 'localised rap lyrics, Pentecostal Christianity and Islam to discern understandings of a world in crisis. The concluding chapter brings the arguments home and summarises Arusha as seen during Weiss's final visit in 2006. The book also contains three 'portraits' which offer some insights into the lives of certain individuals that Weiss came to know.

Certain weaknesses and lacunae are evident in the lack of a theory of value and attention to conceptualising constructs such as neo-liberalism and the New World Order. Related to the latter is the lack of attention to the notion of continuity and discontinuity. For example, Weiss raises the question of whether the current moment of what is now called neoliberalism is distinctly different or a recurring structural phenomenon affecting social life in east Africa but fails to address it. He opines instead that this is a distinctly difficult problematic with which to engage and in doing so fails to address a pivotal issue for the issues at hand. Those who enjoy anthropology for the sake of ethnography may feel

slightly disappointed at the lack of substance for the sake of theory, though, undoubtedly, those with a penchant for anthropology with a heavy dose of theory will enjoy it and may even learn something new. Weiss provides some fresh thinking and contributions to numerous areas of study including cultural studies, youth, neo-liberalism, citizenship, urban anthropology and modernity. Its major strength lies in its generation of ideas about the use of certain theoretical frameworks and their flexibility for future analyses.

Richard Sherrington

CONTEMPORARY DAR ES SALAAM by Muzu Sulemanji, Mkuki na Nyota 2010. ISBN 978 9987 08 077 9. £15.00 + postage. Available from Salma Sulemanji, hugolivia@yahoo.com.

Like the author, Muzu Sulemanji, I grew up in Dar es Salaam, leaving in 1966. Walking around the city centre on my return in 2004, I felt as if I was in a time warp, so little had changed; there was the Askari Memorial, my old school St. Joseph's, oh and even the Sno-Cream Parlour!

Time marches on though, and with the new economic climate the pace of change has accelerated dramatically. Now, each year when I visit Tanzania I see that yet more familiar city buildings have been demolished, replaced by concrete and glass skyscrapers. So, "Contemporary Dar es Salaam" is a timely publication, being both a social and historic document, capturing images of old landmarks before they are lost forever, and marking not only the bold new modernity but also the faces of the people who inhabit this ever-expanding city.

The colonial heritage and fusion of cultures resulted in a range of architectural styles giving Dar its unique character and this has been carefully recorded in a series of photographs of individual buildings.

Muzu Sulemanji has explored the city with his camera from all angles. He presents a broad spectrum of life in Dar, illustrating its colour and variety whilst also showing the extremes of wealth and poverty that exist in all cities. The harshness of street life contrasts with the opulent interiors of expensive hotels, casinos and certain private homes; new high-rise blocks tower above the corrugated iron or *makuti* rooftops of their neighbours.

The people of the city are celebrated, in all their various walks of life, at work and play, from the colourful and crowded Kariakoo Market to a lone cyclist in the rain, from goat racing to snake dancing.

This is essentially a picture book, with an absolute wealth of images on 96 pages

and an interesting potted history of the city by Ghalib Jafferji. The standard of photography is excellent, although with multiple images on almost every page I would have liked some of the captions to be presented a little more clearly.

The author describes his book as “a love letter to both the old and the new” and quotes the wise man who once said “....in this great future, you cannot forget your past”. I’m being sentimental I know, but what a disappointment last year to find that Sno-Cream had vanished too!

Patricia Cumberland-Derrick

DAR ES SALAAM 1963, A NEW GRADUATE ENCOUNTERS AN EMERGING AFRICAN NATION. By Tom Torrance. General Store Publishing House, Renfrew, Ontario, Canada 2010. 150pp ISBN 978-1-907508-73-2 \$19.95 Cdn. + postage. Order from Amazon or kttorrance@rogers.com.

In the 1960s many idealistic young people wanted to offer their services to help fight poverty in the third world. Voluntary Service Overseas was started in the UK in 1958, the US Peace Corps in 1960 and the Canadian University Service Overseas in 1961. All received financial support from their governments, but Tom Torrance, a young Canadian economics graduate, decided to go it alone. In January, 1963 he travelled to Tanganyika at his own expense, having obtained a temporary position on local terms as a junior economist in the Treasury at a salary of £798 a year. This highly readable book is an account in anecdotal form of his first three months in Dar es Salaam. He describes his experiences as a self-confessed greenhorn in an environment that could not have been further removed from his hometown in Ontario.

The book consists of thirty six vignettes that have been fashioned from notes jotted down on scraps of paper, diary entries and, most importantly, letters home. As the author explains, this book would never have been written had it not been for members of his family who kept all the letters he wrote to them from Africa. Although he describes himself as having been shy and insecure, it must have taken considerable pluck to leave his Canadian government job in Ottawa, his family and his girlfriend to work in newly independent Tanganyika. As his friend writes in the foreword, “He stepped off the edge and ventured fully into the unknown.”

Initially, the unknown territory consisted of the Salvation Army camp at Mgulani where he was lodged in a ‘little *banda* in the corner’ at what he con-

sidered an unacceptably high rent of twenty shillings a day for room and board. The book starts with a wryly humorous description of his accommodation; his efforts to cope with the unaccustomed tropical heat; the library with its tattered sofas and dog-eared books and magazines and his meeting with the camp director who spells out the strict rules of conduct enforced by Ali the Askari.

He goes on to describe the problems he faces in his job at the Treasury where he learns that he will be responsible for labour issues. He tours Dar es Salaam with James, a trainee magistrate and a fellow resident at Mgulani, who helps him discover the realities of making a living in the city and the complexities of the informal sector.

The camp accommodated people from a variety of backgrounds and during his short stay there Tom befriends many of them: there is *Tanganyika Standard* journalist Jack Hattersley; old Africa hand Rufiji Barker; Musa the mystery man, Robert the UN diplomat and Joan Wicken, personal assistant to President Nyerere, who not only explains the meaning of African Socialism and *ujamaa* but also shows Tom where he can buy fish and chips in town.

Readers who knew Dar es Salaam in the sixties will be reminded of the Long Bar at the old New Africa Hotel and the Roof Garden at the Metropole Hotel, both now sadly demolished. Tom also describes visits to the Avalon Cinema and the Canton Chinese Restaurant and when he acquires a bicycle he explores other parts of the city. (He feels uncomfortable in the affluent suburb of Oyster Bay.) He meets an old fisherman on one of his expeditions and resolves to take Swahili lessons, the better to communicate. Unfortunately, his exploring comes to an end when his bicycle is stolen from outside the British Council but he makes friends with the recently arrived members of the Peace Corps who invite him along on their outings, including one to Bagamoyo in search of a ghost.

The twenty-three year old Tom Torrance comes across as a serious, highly principled but inexperienced young man, sometimes painfully honest, especially when it comes to his attempts at romance. When he receives a formal invitation to attend a drinks party at the residence of the Ford Foundation representative he readily admits that it is the first formal invitation he has received in his life "except for an invitation to a wedding in Canada". He is not keen on the idea of attending an "expatriate cocktail party" but goes along anyway. After a couple of beers, he loses enough of his shyness to engage in a little self-promotion that would eventually lead to a transfer to the Ministry of Development and Planning and later to a post with the ILO in Geneva.

It is not unusual for a book of reminiscences to reveal as much about the writer as about the incidents he describes. This book traces how a young man's experiences in Africa began to transform his attitudes; how his preconceived ideas were shattered and how he began a journey of self-discovery that changed his outlook on life and convinced him that the inherent worth of each individual was paramount. Those who remember Dar es Salaam in the sixties will find this a very enjoyable read and it will also appeal to the general reader with an interest in the early years of Tanganyikan independence.

Gloria Mawji

TANZANIA IN TRANSITION; FROM NYERERE TO MKAPA. Havnevik, K and Isinika, C. (eds); Published by Mkuki na Nyota and The Nordic Africa Institute 2010. pp284. ISBN 978-9987-08-086-1. £24.99. Available from African Books Collective www.africanbookscollective.com.

This is an interesting book in which a range of Tanzanian, Nordic and other European academics contribute articles which the editors bring together to make a coherent case that there was less transformation in Tanzania during Mkapa's presidency than is sometimes claimed – not least by international donors. There is a helpful reappraisal of Nyerere's development model, which was sometimes praised uncritically in its early years, and then unfairly condemned as a total failure in the 1980s. The achievements which continue to have an impact on Tanzania today – such as the peace and stability sadly lacking in neighbouring countries – are revisited.

The authors provide evidence that more of Nyerere's legacy – positive and negative – remained during Mkapa's presidency than is sometimes perceived. Economic liberalisation has seen significant increases in GDP, yet agricultural productivity actually decreased, and rural poverty remains – it is sectors like mining and tourism which have grown. Brian Cooksey provides a fascinating chapter on corruption – reading the left-hand column of his tables shows progress in tackling this (heralded by some donors) while the right-hand tables show no improvement, even a worsening situation in some cases. As with Nyerere's era, you can find selective evidence on both sides, to support opposing ideological perspectives.

Other chapters cover agrarian-land, gender and forestry issues, development strategy and ideology, aid and development assistance and political change. There are some positive signs, but no major transformation. With CCM's dominance continuing and the opposition fragmented, multi-partyism is seen

to have had little impact, other than in Zanzibar.

Many TA readers will find the book interesting but may not be surprised by its conclusions. Academic language could be a barrier in a few chapters, but the book will be of interest to general readers as well as researchers. In summary; perceptions may change, but the reality faced by most Tanzanians has changed far less.

Nigel West

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Richard Sherrington holds a PhD in Social Anthropology and undertook his doctoral and subsequent post doctoral research in rural and urban Tanzania. Currently he is a senior consultant with Environmental Resources Management (ERM UK) and an Associate Researcher at the Centre for African Studies, University of Cambridge.

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