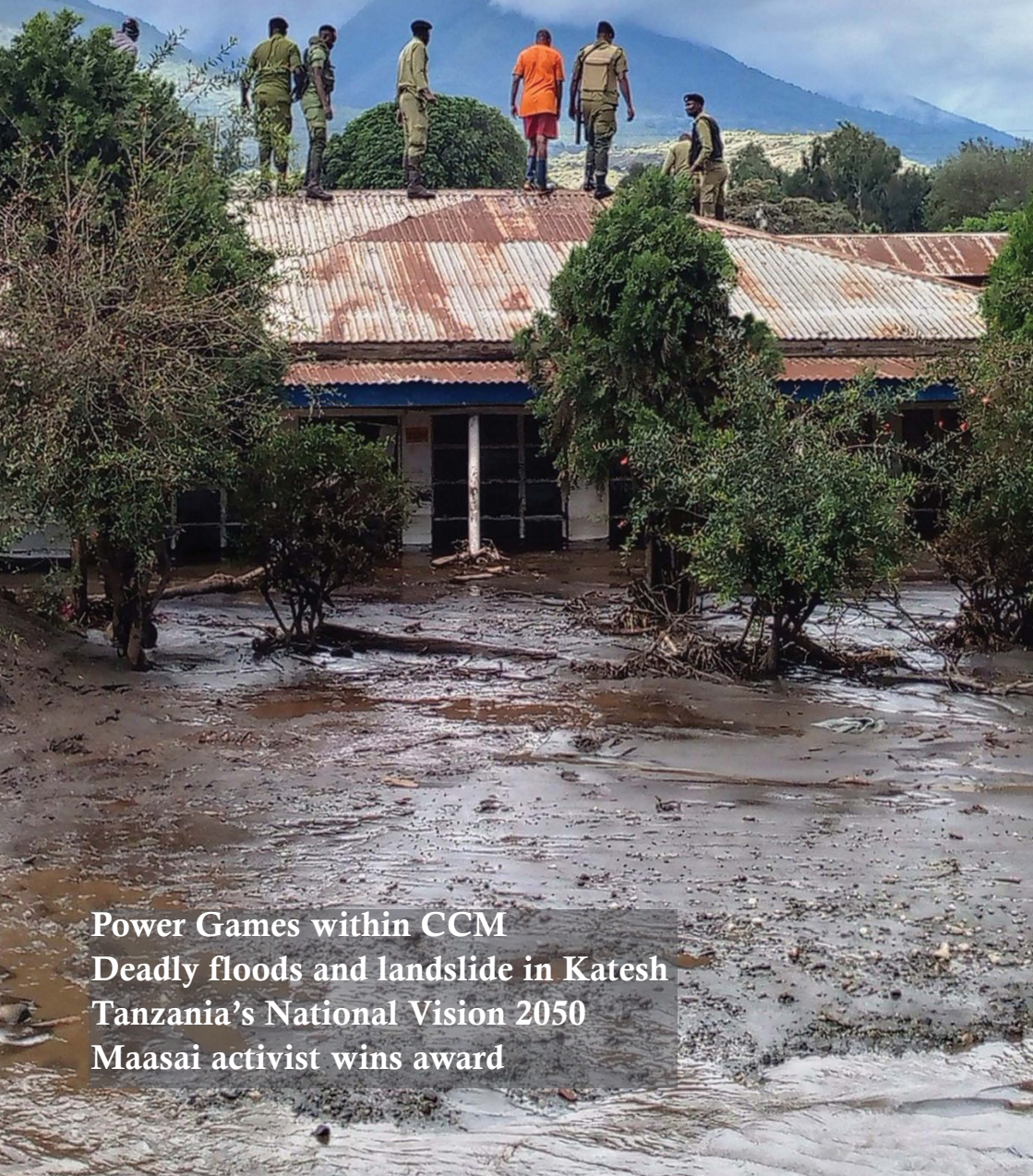


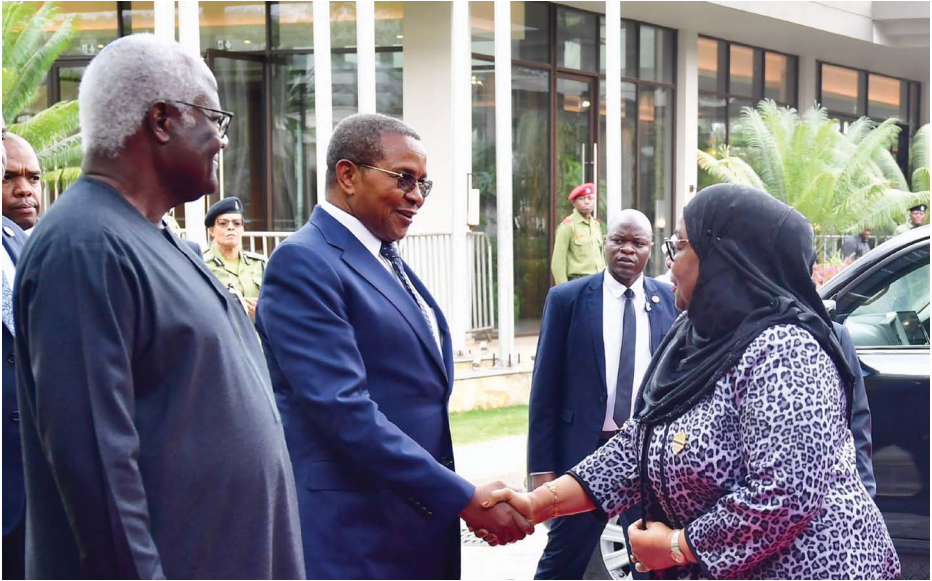
Tanzanian Affairs

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Power Games within CCM
Deadly floods and landslide in Katesh
Tanzania's National Vision 2050
Maasai activist wins award



President Samia greets former president Jakaya Kikwete and Sierra Leone's Ernest Bai Koroma (L) - photo State House

Power games within CCM continue as 2025 approaches

It has long been the case in Tanzanian politics that power struggles within the ruling party, CCM, have had more significance than disputes that pit CCM against opposition parties. Such has been the dominance of CCM that manoeuvres to seize and maintain control of the party are where the real focus of the country's politics lies.

This is where the pre-2015 struggle between former prime minister, Edward Lowassa, and Bernard Membe primarily played out, though both ended up running for President for opposition parties after party elders brought forward John Magufuli as something of a compromise candidate.

The significance of that choice only became clear well into President Magufuli's term in office as President. And it continues to cause repercussions to this day, with his Vice President, the current President

Cover shows the after effects of flooding and a landslide in Katesh, Hanang province (see page 10)

Samia Suluhu Hassan working hard to maintain her control of a party that remains filled with divisions over matters of policy, personality and power.

Having never truly been chosen for the role by either party members or the national electorate, President Samia's starting point was weaker than previous new party leaders. She is also dealing with the aftermath of the divisive presidency of her predecessor, who was extremely popular with many – both in the party and the wider country – for taking on corruption and “neo-colonialist” investors, and yet also drew extensive criticism for his approach, variously described by critics as “draconian”, “populist”, “anti-democratic”, and “economically illiterate”.

There are those within the party – including some at high levels – for whom a continuation of Magufuli's style is the best way forward for some combination of the party, the country and their own interests. And there are others – again including some at high levels – who would prefer to see a return to the business-friendly (and perhaps corruption-friendly) approach of Presidents Mkapa and Kikwete.

The challenge President Samia faces is to consolidate her position as party chair, ensure she faces no serious opposition within the party for nomination as the CCM presidential candidate in 2025, while keeping the various party factions happy as they wait to pounce either on any weakness she may show between now and 2025, or, failing that, in the lead-up to 2030 when President Samia will not be eligible for another term.

Many of President Samia's early moves as President were to gradually roll-back the most egregious anti-democratic measures introduced by President Magufuli – such as restrictions on the media and on opposition party gatherings. The pace of this change has noticeably slowed in recent months, however.

In the previous issue of TA (No. 136), it was reported how her response to criticisms of the involvement of DP World in managing the port in Dar es Salaam showed some Magufuli-like instincts, clamping down hard on critics (See below for an update on that situation).

More recently, she has appointed a key ally of President Magufuli, Paul Makonda, to the influential position of CCM's Secretary of Ideology and

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Publicity – a position that represents the party to the public as much as any other besides the President.

Some observers see Makonda’s appointment as a means to gain confidence among party members who were big supporters of the former President, including those from his stronghold in the north-west of the country. Others have pointed out that the appointment contradicts the reformist and reconciliatory ideals that the President has been claiming since she assumed the presidency in March 2021. Tundu Lissu, CHADEMA’s deputy national chairperson (Tanzania Mainland), has described Makonda’s appointment as a sign of the “coming dark and painful days of politicking.”

Further, in November 2023, the CCM Secretary-General, Daniel Chongolo, requested to step down after being “defamed” online, amid allegations of sexual impropriety. The specifics of the case are unclear, but some have argued that he had been targeted by others in the party who were keen to remove him from his position.

[*STOP PRESS*: Shortly before going to press, it was announced that the new Secretary General of CCM will be Emmanuel Nchimbi. Mr Nchimbi is a former Minister of Home Affairs (2012-2013) and more recently has been Tanzania’s Ambassador to Brazil between 2016 and 2021 and Egypt since 2022.]

In this context, it is worth reflecting on the words of former President Jakaya Kikwete at CCM’s national congress meeting in December, 2022. His words are outwardly reassuring, but also bear an implicit warning:

“Don’t listen to people’s rumours that there is this young man who will run, or this old man will run. It’s pure nonsense,” he said. “I’m not saying I’m stopping them, but I don’t see any member of CCM who will take the form to oppose you in 2025. Maybe if things become too much worse between now and then. But I don’t believe that will happen, and it’s not our tradition.”

New election legislation presented to Parliament

A collection of bills were presented to Parliament for their first reading late in 2023, with a view to introducing some changes to how elections are run. Specifically, this includes a new Elections Bill, which is set to replace the Elections Act of 1985 and the Local Government Elections

Act of 1979; a National Electoral Commission Bill, establishing the basis on which the commission should be governed; and a bill proposing amendments to the Election Expenses Act, Political Parties Act.

As soon as the bills became public, they created some controversy, largely for not including various provisions that had been expected. Indeed, the majority of what is included in the bills is minor: making small clarifications and corrections to existing laws, or consolidating them, and/or part of the country's gradual shift from the use of English to Swahili in its legislation.

Critics of the new laws pointed out, however, that there is nothing to substantively change the independence – or lack of independence – of the National Electoral Commission (NEC) or the Office of the Registrar of Political Parties (ORPP), which had been widely called for. Nor is anything proposed that would allow for independent candidates. And nor do the proposals address the long-recognised problem of local government employees, dependent on senior ruling party politicians for their career prospects, taking the role of local election coordinators (returning officers). It has been widely reported that in 2020 the then President John Magufuli said he would have serious questions for any council director who received vehicles, housing and their salary from the President and yet went on to announce an opposition candidate as the victor.

There are legal concerns as well. The use of local government employees and the constitutional block on independent candidates have both been determined by the African Court of Human and People's Rights (ACHPR) to represent a denial of citizens' rights. The court has directed the government to take appropriate steps to change the law and/or the constitution.

Earlier, a meeting convened in August 2023 by the Tanzania Centre for Democracy (TCD), an organisation whose members are Tanzania's political parties, including CCM, had concluded that it was too late to introduce major changes to the national Constitution before the elections in 2025. Instead, they had recommended some minor changes that would include provisions to establish a truly independent electoral commission and to allow for independent candidates.

The new bills strongly suggest that the government has no plans to

introduce the changes either as recommended by the TCD or as directed by the African Court.

The Catholic Bishops Conference was among those concerned by the lack of changes in the proposed new laws. The bishops pointed out that relying on public servants as returning officers is discriminatory and unconstitutional, and also recommended for an independent body to appoint members of the electoral commission instead of the President, and proposed a separate budget for the national election.

Dr. Anna Henga, Executive Director of the Legal and Human Rights Centre, and NGO, proposed that “the commission should be given the power to hire its own staff at ward, district, regional, and national levels,” rather than relying on local government employees.

Speaking on behalf of CCM, the party’s new Secretary of Ideology and Publicity, Paul Makonda, came out in defence of the proposed laws. He said that the exercise has largely considered recommendations from stakeholders. It was unfortunate, he added, that criticisms of the bills were coming from those, such as Chadema party chairperson Freeman Mbowe and his party, who had been major beneficiaries of the ongoing political reconciliation under President Samia Suluhu Hassan.

Government proceeds with DP World port deal despite controversy

President Samia Suluhu Hassan in October 2023 witnessed the signing of three investment and operation contracts with the Dubai-based logistics company DP World, having decided to proceed with the controversial partnership despite heavy criticism.

The ceremony occurred at Chamwino State House in Dodoma after lawmakers approved the controversial Tanzania-Dubai intergovernmental agreement that would see DP World take over some operations at the Dar es Salaam port.

The government has hailed the deal as a “game-changer,” arguing that it will help Tanzania achieve its ambitions of becoming a major regional logistical hub. However, critics including thirty-seven Catholic Bishops argue that the benefits are exaggerated, with some saying that the deal is effectively “selling off” the country. Public debate around the issue had become highly politicised, including heavy-handed policing of critics (*see previous issue of TA*).

The signed contracts include the Host Government Agreement (HGA), the lease and operation of berths 4-7 and the joint operation of berths 0-3 between Tanzania Ports Authority (TPA) and DP World for commercial and governmental activities. Few details of the contracts have been publicly released.

After witnessing the signing of the contracts, President Samia said the government had considered proposals shared by stakeholders on the intergovernmental agreement, which include the Tanganyika Law Society (TLS), political parties, civil societies, activists and the press. “We listened to our religious leaders, and even our former leaders,” the Head of State noted. “I can confidently say that there is no group or voice that was ignored.”

She explained that the government had appointed a team of experts, which also included politicians and lawyers, who went through all the comments made regarding the deal, which ultimately advised which should be considered and which were baseless and could be ignored.

“This task was superbly done and contributed immensely to the negotiating team,” President Samia said.

Speaking during the signing ceremony, TPA Director General Plasduce Mbossa said the contract between the government and DP World will last 30 years, and DP World’s performance will be evaluated every five years.

This at least partly answers one of the biggest criticisms of the original agreement with DP World – that it had no end-date and might thus commit Tanzania to partnership with the firm beyond the country’s best interests.

“After signing these agreements, the government will be able to keep more than 60 per cent of all revenue as all operating costs will be borne by DP World,” Mr Mbossa said.

He explained that custom duties collected by the Tanzania Revenue Authority (TRA) will be based on the number of serviced ships, leading to a significant increase in revenue as more ships will be serviced.

“We expect that revenue collected by TRA at the port will increase from the current TSh7.8 trillion in 2021/22 to TSh26 trillion by 2032,” Mr Mbossa explained (from GBP £2.4bn to £8bn.)

He pointed out that the contracts do not involve all port operations in Dar es Salaam or all other Tanzanian ports, revealing that TPA has already begun finding an operator for berths 8-11, and that security at the port would remain the government's responsibility.

The chairman and chief executive of DP World, Sultan Ahmed bin Sulayem, described the signing of the three contracts as a "significant step" in his company's commitment to Tanzania. "Over the next five years," he said, "DP World will invest in excess of US\$250 million to upgrade the port."

"We'll strengthen the port's role as a maritime gateway for the copper belt and other important green energy mineral territories," he added. "We'll also do this with a multi-phase plan that will also focus on improving transport and logistic services throughout Tanzania and into the hinterland."

Ben Taylor: **MAASAI ACTIVIST WINS AWARD**

Joseph Moses Oleshangay, a Tanzanian lawyer and activist campaigning for the rights of the Maasai people, has been awarded the 2023 Weimar Human Rights Prize. In accepting the award, he vowed to continue the fight, describing the award as a recognition for his work. Mr Oleshangay is an Arusha-based lawyer with the Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC), a leading human rights organisation in the country.

The Wiemar prize is awarded annually to people, groups or organisations committed to protecting and enforcing fundamental human rights worldwide. It is presented on December 10 yearly to coincide with the United Nations' International Human Rights Day.

The prize recognises Mr Oleshangay's fight to protect the fundamental rights of his Maasai people in Ngorongoro and Loliondo, where authorities have been trying to "relocate" them to other parts of the country.

Authorities say the human population in the areas has unprecedentedly shot up, putting both the lives of human beings and wildlife in jeopardy.

Despite calls for the government to stop its controversial exercise, the



Joseph Moses Oleshangay - photo Mahsa Nejadfallah www.stadt.weimar.de

work has continued and the authorities are determined to “relocate” as many people as possible from Ngorongoro to designated areas of Msomera, Saunyi and Kitwai. Chief Government’s Spokesperson Mobhare Matinyi said in December that more houses are being constructed in the designated villages to receive more people expected to relocate from Ngorongoro.

“With all the challenges we have found ourselves in, I am still hopeful that though we do not know when this is going to end, I believe it’s going to crash one day,” said Oleshangay. “This repression will crash because it’s against the law, against human rights and known standards. It really defies logic in displacing thousands of people and replacing them with businesses like hotels.”

“It can’t be tolerated that 10,000 people get expelled from their lands,” said Michael Brand, a German politician who spoke at the award ceremony. He described Oleshangay as a “defender of human rights” with “impressive civility, experience and spirit.”

Ben Taylor: DEADLY FLOODS IN HANANG

Deadly floods and landslides in Katesh

Early December 2023 saw extreme weather northern Tanzania that caused devastation in the small town of Katesh, in Hanang District, Manyara Region [see cover]. Heavy rains across the region had their worst impacts in Katesh and the nearby village of Gendabi, where a total 87 people were killed by floods and landslides. Around 100 more were injured, while homes, vehicles, livestock and agricultural land sustained extensive damage. An estimated 5,600 people have been left homeless.

Rescue efforts were coordinated by the government National Disaster Management Committee (NDMC) with the assistance of the military. Roads, bridges and communications infrastructure had also been badly damaged, hampering the work. A school in Katesh was used as an emergency refuge centre.

President Samia Suluhu Hassan cut short her attendance at the COP28 climate change conference in Dubai in order to visit the area. She described the disaster as “a wake-up call for the government to take the necessary measures to detect the signs and alert people in advance to avoid serious consequences like these.” She also expressed her dismay over people who continue to live in the flood prone lowlands and river valleys, especially in towns and cities.

President Hassan said new houses costing between TSh25 million to TSh30 million each would be constructed for the flood victims who lost their homes. “They will be resettled in entirely new areas and assisted to have their children back to school. These people lost everything including livestock and food stocks,” she said.

East Africa has been hit for weeks by torrential rains and floods linked to the El Niño weather phenomenon. Typically associated with rising temperatures, droughts in some parts of the world, and heavy rains in others, El Niño effects are expected to last until around April.

The disaster – and similar incidents elsewhere in East Africa – brought back memories of the rains and floods of 1997-1998, also an El Niño year, which left over 6,000 people dead across the region.

In this more recent case, the floods followed the worst drought in four

decades.

Scientists say extreme weather events such as flooding, storms, droughts and wildfires are being made longer, more intense and more frequent by human-induced climate change. (*Al Jazeera, The Guardian, VoA, The Citizen*)

Ben Taylor: **GERMAN PRESIDENT SHAME**

German President expresses shame over colonial atrocities

The German president, Frank-Walter Steinmeier, has expressed “shame” for the colonial atrocities his country inflicted on Tanzania.

German forces killed around 300,000 people during the Maji Maji rebellion in the early 1900s, one of the bloodiest anti-colonial uprisings.

“I would like to ask for forgiveness for what Germans did to your ancestors here,” he said, speaking at a museum in Songea. “What happened here is our shared history, the history of your ancestors and the history of our ancestors in Germany.”

President Steinmeier said he hoped the two countries could together work towards “communal processing” of the past.

He promised those present that he would “take their stories with me to Germany, so that more people in my country will know about them.”

Professor Jürgen Zimmerer of the University of Hamburg said that Germany has, until recently, had “colonial amnesia” around the brutality and racism of their former empire.

As part of the three-day visit, the president met the descendants of one of the Maji Maji leaders, Chief Songea Mbano, who was among those executed in 1906. President Steinmeier told the family the German authorities would try to find his remains. Thousands of human remains were brought from German colonies - partly as “trophies” but also for racist research.

In a separate development, researchers in Berlin have successfully identified living relatives of people whose remains were stolen from Tanzania and taken to Germany for “scientific” experiments during the

colonial era.

The Museum of Prehistory and Early History in Berlin has been carrying out research for several years on around 1,100 skulls taken from what was then known as German East Africa. In September the museum reported that DNA analysis had provided a clear link to living descendants in Tanzania, hailing the find as a “small miracle”.

“The relatives and the government of Tanzania will now be informed as soon as possible,” the museum said in a statement.

Ben Taylor: **ENERGY & MINERALS**

Criminal syndicate at Barrick?

Acacia Mining, a subsidiary of Barrick Gold that operated the company’s gold mines in Tanzania up to 2019, lost as much as \$31 million each year to a criminal syndicate operating at the North Mara gold mine, according to an internal report. The report was prepared in 2017 by a consulting firm, Europe Conflict and Security Consulting Ltd for a security contractor at Acacia Mining, and was recently cited in a court case underway at the High Court in London.

The report found that North Mara gold mine was “fully infiltrated” by at least one criminal syndicate that stole millions of dollars in fuel, equipment and high-grade gold-bearing rock, with the collusion of police, the report found. It warned further that there was widespread corruption, fraud and misappropriation in the mine’s contracts and land compensation payments.

The report estimated that criminal activities at North Mara “may easily exceed US\$20 million annually” and could be as much as US\$31 million. It pointed to the involvement of both Acacia staff and the criminal syndicate in all criminal activities surveyed, adding that “this indicates a significant level of collusion/infiltration.”

The syndicate at North Mara had “strong intelligence, operational and organisational capabilities,” the report said, including the ability to manipulate security-camera coverage, move large stolen items without detection, rapidly adjust exit routes when detected, and co-opt the police and security guards. As many as 30 per cent of the mine’s staff could be involved in the activities, with “local government and political

patronage” protecting the criminals, according to the report.

Barrick has long faced scrutiny for police-related violence and deaths at North Mara. Dozens of local villagers have reportedly been injured or killed by police, who receive regular support from the company for providing security outside the mine. The company has blamed the violence on “intruders” who illegally enter the mine in search of gold-bearing rock.

These allegations are the subject of the court case currently underway in London, where Tanzanian villagers are claiming that Barrick co-operated with local police who caused deaths and injuries in the local community – an allegation that the company denies.

The internal report estimated that the losses from trespassers were only about US\$200,000 a year, while the mine was losing much larger sums from organised criminal groups operating in much more sophisticated ways.

A spokesperson for Barrick did not respond to questions from reporters from *The Globe and Mail* newspaper (of Canada, where Barrick is based) about the report on criminal activities at North Mara. However, in the court case Barrick lawyers acknowledged that the company was aware of allegations that the mine was infiltrated by criminal syndicates in collusion with the police.

The mining company “took what steps it could, including rotation of police officers assigned to the mine site, to prevent collusion,” Barrick said in its statement of defence.

Lawyers for the Tanzanian claimants said Barrick must disclose more information on the North Mara criminal activities. They argue that the police violence is sometimes a result of police collusion with one or more criminal syndicates at North Mara. To help the syndicates, police have controlled access by the trespassers and used force against villagers who were suspected of competing with the syndicates for gold-bearing rock, the lawyers said.

A British-based rights group, Rights and Accountability in Development (RAID), said the alleged police involvement in organized criminal syndicates at North Mara was troubling, since the police are still involved in day-to-day security at the mine today. “It raises serious

questions as to why Barrick continues to have such a close relationship with the police,” said Anneke Van Woudenberg, executive director of RAID. (*The Globe and Mail*)

Helium drilling enters crucial stage

The search for helium gas has stepped up with the commencement of new drilling in Rukwa region, according to the Minister for Minerals, Anthony Mavunde. The new drilling holds the potential of making Tanzania the world’s leading source of helium and securing the future of the vital gas used in medical diagnostics, among other critical applications.

Justyn Wood, the CEO of Noble Helium, the company responsible for the exploration, expressed his appreciation for the collaborative efforts that have brought them to this juncture in a statement.

“This operation is a testament to the dedication and collaborative efforts of Noble Helium’s team, the Marriott Group, SLB Services, local suppliers and workers, and the Tanzanian government. It is an absolute milestone moment in the company’s history.”

The milestone marks a crucial juncture as Tanzania gears up to commence actual helium production in 2025, provided all goes according to plan. The numbers are staggering, with Tanzania’s primary helium project in Rukwa estimated to contain as much as 138 billion cubic feet (bcf) of recoverable helium, making it the largest known primary helium deposit in the world.

This surpasses the 54 billion cubic feet of helium discovered at Lake Rukwa in 2016, which was already celebrated as a discovery of global significance.

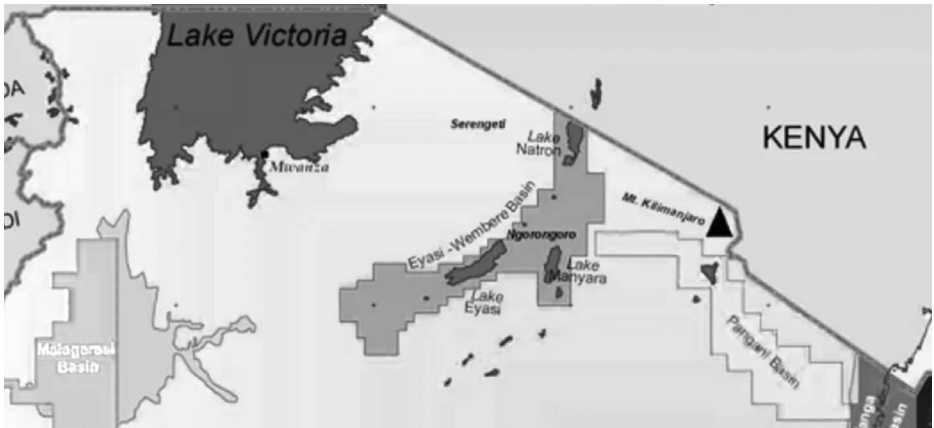
The global helium market has long been dominated by the US, and more recently by Russia. However, with the significant reserves in Tanzania, experts in the mining sector believe the nation is poised to become the world’s largest helium supplier.

A senior economist specialising in mineral resources, Dr John Kitomari, said, “The successful extraction and export of helium could significantly boost Tanzania’s economy and contribute to the country’s long-term financial stability.”

“The world watches with bated breath, eager to see if this crucial stage

of exploration will usher in a new era for Tanzania as a major helium producer, fundamentally transforming the dynamics of the global helium market,” he said.

Besides providing a vital ingredient for party balloons and other inflatables, helium is an important gas in modern medical technology such as MRI scanners and has uses in scientific research and space exploration.



Map showing the Eyasi-Wembere basin area, to the west of Arusha, with the southern tip near Singida.

Oil exploration underway in Northern Tanzania

Tanzania has completed the acquisition of 2D seismic data in the Eyasi Wembere basin, a key step in the country’s quest to discover oil and natural gas in the region. The project, which cost TSh8 billion, was conducted in areas within the eastern branch of the great rift valley, spanning six districts across five regions, namely Singida, Arusha, Tabora, Shinyanga, and Simiyu

The basin is believed to have the potential to contain significant oil and gas resources, based on its geological similarities to other oil-producing basins in the region, such as the Albertine and Turkana basins in Uganda and Kenya, respectively.

Mr Sindi Maduhu, a Geophysicist from the Tanzania Petroleum Development Corporation (TPDC) and the Project Manager, explained that the 2D seismic data acquisition will help the country identify areas with potential for oil and natural gas presence.

Dr Hildebrand Shayo: NATIONAL VISION 2050

Tanzania's National Vision 2050: lessons to learn from China?

Dr Samia Suluhu Hassan, the president of the United Republic of Tanzania recently endorsed the process of soliciting public input for the National Development Vision 2050 (NDV). Among the eight directives she issued was a need to adhere to a strong emphasis on national integrity.

To create prosperity for all, the NDV 2050 places a strong emphasis on an inclusive economy that aims to reduce poverty, create jobs, and increase exports outside the nation to earn foreign currency. The endorsement took place in the nation's capital, Dodoma, in front of international partners and development agencies who attended the launching of the process of preparing the new vision, showcasing their commitment to supporting Tanzania's development journey.

For a trip like this to bear fruit, we must learn from our peers. There are lessons to be learned from China, for example, which has a remarkable record at eradicating poverty with a well-coordinated and capable, focused government. These factors made the country's strategy for economic growth possible, as well as the carefully calibrated policies and programmes that produce the long-term gains that the rest of the world is currently experiencing.

Published Chinese data shows that from 1970 to 2017, the percentage of Chinese citizens living in extreme poverty fell from approximately 90% to 88% in 1981, 10.2% by 2012, 3.1% by 2017, and approximately 30.46 million at that time. It was stated in 2022 that only 0.7% of people were considered to be living below the poverty line. How China did this is a potentially useful lesson for Tanzania in its planning for NDV 2050.

Undeniably, China's efforts to reduce poverty have depended on a series of dedicated and determined leaders, starting with Chairman Mao, followed by Deng Xiaoping (who implemented the National Economic Development Programme), and, more recently, President Xi Jinping, who has made the fight against poverty the centrepiece of his administration.

A large portion of the imperial economy was based on agriculture and agrarianism, which meant that generations of Chinese people had historically lived in poverty for tens of decades under the various



Vice President Philip Mpango and Finance & Planning Minister Mwigulu Nchemba launching the National Development Vision 2050.

Dynasties. But starting in 1949, the Chinese Communist Party made a significant effort to lessen extreme poverty and inequality, which resulted in land and economic reforms.

This measure was followed by investment in rural healthcare and education facilities, as well as farm irrigation systems. Throughout, the CCP was the catalyst for the nation's efforts to reduce poverty.

The Chinese government's subsequent initiatives to reduce poverty, a good lesson to Tanzania were based on two main factors. One, the economy must be transformed to create new opportunities and raise income levels; Two, policies and programmes to reduce poverty must target demographics that lack access to opportunities due to their geographic location.

Based on this, Tanzania could in its NDV 2050 adopt the four main strategies that China used to reduce poverty: improving urbanisation, which will encourage the development of industries and income potential; increasing agricultural productivity, which will help raise household and farmer incomes; continuing industrialization, which will result in a record number of well-paying jobs and an increase in foreign investment; and significant investments in infrastructure, particularly roads, which will help to improved access to markets and distribution networks.

Currently, one of the main tenets of President Xi Jinping's governance

policies is poverty reduction and this new phase of poverty alleviation in 2012 began when the sitting president took office, solidifying the record of at least seven hundred million people who had been helped by the CCP to escape poverty.

The government needed to identify the impoverished groups and determine the underlying causes of their poverty to implement relief policies and decide who could carry out the programmes at the central, municipal, prefectural, and county levels. This approach could give Tanzania a good start as it establishes the foundation for NDV 2050.

The Xi Jinping administration outlined 5 courses to alleviate poverty. These included: the economy's continued growth to keep growth job availability or the developmental approach; the relocation of people from extremely impoverished areas to areas where they can find better livelihoods; the creation of environmentally friendly employment opportunities; the provision of quality education as a means of bridging intergenerational poverty; and the provision of social security for those unable to work, including insurance and medical care. All these offer potential as ingredients for Tanzania's NDV 2050.

A good lesson for Tanzania, as it starts working on NDV 2050, is to know that a fundamental element in the accomplishment of China's unparalleled efforts to reduce poverty was the presence of sound governance, resulting from devoted leadership, which made it possible for the economic growth plan and the well-targeted policies and initiatives to produce long-term benefits.

China's success in reducing poverty can be rationalised as a growth story, illustrating how steady and quick economic expansion resulted in changes to the productive base of society, which were then linked to the strengthening of market incentives.

China's rapid economic and social growth was facilitated by its long-term development plan, strength, and ruthless prioritisation of government goals. These factors attracted investment and provided incentives for growth in important sectors like infrastructure, agriculture, health, education, and technology, among others. The Development Vision 2025–2050 will promote stability, draw investment, and guarantee equitable growth, benefiting all Tanzanians. It will do this by acquiring from peers, especially from China and the United Kingdom.

Ben Taylor: BUSINESS & THE ECONOMY

Rising growth, no fall in poverty

In its recent Country Economic Memorandum for Tanzania, the World Bank concluded that Tanzania's economic growth model is not sufficiently inclusive and as a result is continuing to trap many in poverty. The report, entitled *Privatizing Growth*, stated that while many Tanzanians have come out of poverty in recent years, many others have fallen into it as well: "more than half of those in the lowest quintile of the wealth distribution in 2021 had fallen back from a higher quintile."

The Bank said many Tanzanians are "exposed to frequent income shocks" and that they are "highly sensitive to such shocks as they tend to own few assets and have limited access to social protection". Median consumption per adult in 2021 was more than 10% lower than in 2014 due to overlapping shocks that occurred after 2019, according to the report.

The report found that between 2012 and 2018, poverty in Tanzania – measured against the national basic-needs poverty line – only decreased by 1.8 percentage points. Alongside relatively high GDP growth rates in this period, "the near-zero growth elasticity of poverty in Tanzania was one of the lowest in the world," and "the number of poor Tanzanians rose by 1.3 million over the same period".

Nevertheless, the report also pointed to Tanzania's impressive rate of GDP growth in recent years, which has averaged 6.1% per year since 2000, raising Tanzania to Lower Middle-Income Country (LMIC) status in 2020. And this was accompanied by a lot of progress on broader human development: between 2000 and 2020, life expectancy rose from 52 years to 67 years and the average duration of school attendance from 3.8 years to 6.4 years, while in just the last decade the share of Tanzanians with access to electricity has increased from 5.6% to 39.9%.

This contrast – rapid growth without similar rates of poverty reduction – was the focus of much of the report. In particular, the report unpacked different elements that had contributed to the growth, most notably the changing role of exports. Between 2000 and 2012, Tanzanian exports grew by a massive 6.5 times, but more recently were stagnant afterwards, such that the exports-to-GDP ratio increased from 9.6% in 2000 to 20.9% in 2012, but fell back to 14.3% by 2021. The composition of

exports changed too, from over 50% agricultural produce in the 2000s, to a very different situation in 2021, where extractives (mostly gold) made up more than half of all merchandise exports.

The report also found that the agriculture sector's role in the economy had shifted in recent years. Between 2000 and 2014, the percentage of the labour force employed in agriculture fell from 76% to 67%, but more recently the figure has been rising again. The report points to economic shocks and policy factors forcing many who had previously earned a living in other ways to return to agriculture as a backup livelihood mechanism.

Earlier, speaking at the 27th Annual Research Workshop held in Dar es Salaam, the World Bank Africa Region Chief Economist, Andrew Debalen, emphasised that African countries should invest more in human capital. "To attain real transformation in Africa, the organisation of production has to change. Economies of skills are lacking. Large firms have to augment labour with innovation and technology to reach larger markets," he says.

Speaking at the same event, the Minister for State in the Prime Minister Office, Professor Joyce Ndalichako said that the government has taken bold steps to strengthen the workforce by investing in education from early ages. "The government has increased the education budget and stepped-up enrolment to ensure that all children have access to education. We have built more classrooms, hired more teachers, and allocated more funds to the Higher Education Student Loans Board to enable more students to pursue higher education," she said.

The former Chief Secretary, Ambassador Ombeni Sefue argued that despite Tanzania's move towards the market economy, some Tanzanians still hanker for an outdated model that should be consigned to the past.

"Our entering into the market economy notwithstanding, we are still embracing the past economic model. We forget that our economy can grow through cooperation between the private and public sectors. This is where we should be heading," he said.

"If the government doesn't trust the private sector and vice versa, there can never be a conducive environment to build collaborations. We've always said that there ought to be channels for each party to listen to the other," Ambassador Sefue emphasised.

James L.Laizer **TOURISM & ENVIRONMENTAL CONSERVATION**

Tanzania Becomes Home to New Seed Bank, Aiming to Boost Food Security in Africa

The Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA) and the Agricultural Research Institute (ARI) have partnered to establish a new seed bank in Tanzania, the Africa Seeds and Biotechnology Centre. Positioned in Tanzania strategically due to its climate, the centre aims to distribute high-quality seeds to farmers across Africa. As part of AGRA's broader initiative, the centre is expected to significantly contribute to improving food security on the continent, conducting research on seed varieties and technologies to boost agricultural productivity. This milestone aligns with Tanzania's efforts to develop its agricultural sector, create jobs, and stimulate economic growth, contributing to the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals.

Tanzania shifts sights for tourism gold with five million visitors sought by 2025

The Citizen noted Tanzania aims to hit the 5 million tourists mark by 2025, boosting the sector's already significant contribution to the economy (25% of foreign earnings, 17.5% of GDP). This push for "Responsible Tourism for Inclusive Growth" was showcased at the Swahili International Tourism Expo last year, featuring cultural performances from the new target nations. With global eyes on Tanzania's tourism scene, President Hassan's government aims to solidify the country's place on the map, attracting diverse travellers and driving sustainable growth.

Xinhua reported that Tanzania seeks to diversify its tourist base by targeting China, Russia, and India as new strategic markets. This move, announced at the Expo, aims to tap into the growing middle classes in these countries. Tourism Minister Kairuki emphasized the tourism industry's critical role in Tanzania's economy. The expo showcased both Tanzania's natural beauty and its commitment to sustainable practices.

According to the BBC, efforts to attract UK tourists include strategies implemented by the Tanzanian High Commission, such as establishing a special tourism desk, conducting roadshows, and promoting lesser-known circuits. The goal is to welcome 200,000 UK visitors by 2027,

aligning with Tanzania's broader plan to achieve 5 million annual tourists by 2025, aiming to generate \$6 billion in tourism revenue.

Zanzibar Bets on Luxury Tourism with East Africa's First Seven-Star Hotel

Zanzibar ventures into luxury tourism with East Africa's first seven-star hotel on Pemba Island, a \$1.2 billion joint venture with UAE investors. The opulent new hotel project aims to elevate Zanzibar's tourism offerings but faces concerns about environmental impact and potential community displacement. While promising economic growth and job creation, responsible implementation and community engagement are deemed crucial for a sustainable outcome.

EU Parliament rebukes Tanzania over forced Maasai evictions.

According to Survival International, the European Parliament, citing escalating tensions and alleged violence, condemned the Tanzanian government's displacement of the Maasai from their ancestral Serengeti lands, in December 2023. Demanding a halt to evictions and dialogue for a rights-respecting solution, the EU resolution adds to international pressure on Tanzania to protect the Maasai people and their cultural heritage.

Wildlife policy, anti-poaching plan launched to boost tourism

Tanzania launched a comprehensive plan to combat poaching and boost tourism late last year. The Wildlife Policy Implementation Strategy and Tanzania Elephant Implementation Plan 2023-2033 involves collaboration with the UN Development Programme (UNDP) and the Global Environment Facility (GEF), focusing on strengthening protection, engaging communities, and investing in anti-poaching efforts. Successes include a recovering African elephant population (from 43,330 to 60,000 since 2014) and rising rhino numbers.

Eastern Arc: An \$8 billion emerald, but who guards it?

According to the Mongabay magazine, the importance of the Eastern Arc Mountains is underscored by a study involving over 70 scientists, emphasizing their \$8.2 billion value through clean water, carbon capture, and tourism. Protecting this ecosystem, while providing fair compensation to locals, requires international collaboration and sustainable practices. Tanzania's commitment to a greener future is evident as it explores carbon investments to transition to a low-



Clouds rise above forests in the Eastern Arc's Usambara Mountains. Photo Marije Schaafsma

carbon economy. Challenges include capacity gaps and the need for supportive policies, but promising opportunities in renewable energy and sustainable land use exist. Concerns remain over the long-term security of the hotspot.

Carbon Credits in Africa: Green Promise or Neocolonial Echo?

According to the Citizen, in pursuit of a sustainable future, Tanzania is initiating carbon investments for a low-carbon future, establishing a national carbon market and strategy and a new partnership with the UAE. Challenges include capacity gaps and the need for supportive policies, but promising opportunities exist in clean energy and sustainable agriculture. As Tanzania navigates its carbon investment landscape, building capacity, ensuring alignment with sustainable development goals, and active stakeholder involvement are essential for long-term success.

Despite the potential benefits, concerns arise about Africa's carbon credit market perpetuating 'carbon colonialism.' Tanzanian news platform Chanzo questions whether promised benefits will materialize for local communities and urges transparency, accountability, and community involvement. The challenge lies in ensuring equitable distribution of benefits and empowering local voices in climate action efforts.

Zanzibar Seeks Greener Horizons: Eco-Tourism Summit Charts Island's Sustainable Future

According to the Citizen, the upcoming Zanzibar Sustainable Tourism Summit, being held on February 19-20, 2024, will gather tourism professionals, conservation experts, and government officials to chart a sustainable course for the island's tourism industry. This event aims to chart a sustainable course by fostering collaboration, identifying responsible practices, and showcasing local eco-friendly solutions. Aligned with Zanzibar's commitment to sustainable development, the summit seeks to address environmental challenges while promoting community engagement, resource protection, and cultural preservation.

Ben Taylor:

EDUCATION

New education policy to start imminently, but gradually

The government has announced that it will begin implementing the new Education and Training Policy (2023 edition) in January 2024. The policy, which has been in the making for nearly four years, will introduce some major changes in the country's education sector. Developed after extensive consultations with stakeholders, it restructures the school system and emphasises 21st-century skills such as communication, collaboration, creativity and critical thinking.

The new policy includes a stronger emphasis on practical education, including technical and vocational training, starting with form one. It also aims to harmonize higher education with national priorities and labour market demands.

According to Educational Circular No 5 of 2023, issued late in the year, the initial phase will start with immediate implementation of the new policy for pre-primary, grade one, and grade three in primary schools, right after the opening of the school year in January 2024. The implementation of the vocational training option for Form One students in select secondary schools that meet the necessary requirements will also commence in January.

Curriculum changes for upper secondary schools (forms five and six) are scheduled to begin in July 2024, the circular further indicates.

“Students [already] in primary and secondary schools this year [2023]

will complete their studies using the current curriculum. However, those joining Form One in 2024 will experience a dual curriculum scenario, with practical students following the improved curriculum while general education students continue with the existing one," the circular noted.

One of the most significant changes is a new education structure, denoted as 1+6+4+2/3+3+. In this system, pre-primary education spans one year and primary education takes six years. Lower secondary education (forms one to four) extends for four years. Upper secondary school takes two years for students undertaking general education subjects and three years for students in the vocational training stream. Higher education remains at three years or more, according to the type of course.

Enrolment age adjustments accompany the structural changes, with the pre-primary class admitting five-year-olds and the standard-one class admitting six-year-olds. Primary and lower secondary education, totaling ten years, will be compulsory and free.

The lower secondary education phase introduces two streams: general education and vocational or practical education. At the end of the sixth grade in primary schools – typically around age 12-13 – students will take a national test and decide between general and practical secondary education when entering form one.

General education students will cover six compulsory subjects, while vocational stream students will study one business field and four compulsory subjects. Graduates from the vocational option will be awarded certificates from both the National Council for Technical and Vocational Education and Training (NACTVET) and the National Examinations Council of Tanzania (NECTA).

The improved curriculum introduces new subjects aligned with current needs, according to the circular. Tanzanian history, morals and ethics subjects will be taught in Kiswahili, "so as to foster patriotic and responsible citizens".

Religion subjects have been given prominence and are to be taught based on age and national values. Additional primary education subjects include geography and environment, arts and sports, and science.

For lower secondary education, computer science and business studies have been introduced, with business becoming compulsory for all streams. Higher secondary education sees the inclusion of academic communication in Forms V and VI to enhance graduates' academic communication skills.

Two new studies point to problems in primary schooling, and offer solutions

Two recently published studies by the KiuFunza initiative [full disclosure: the TA editor works for the same organisation, Twaweza, that runs KiuFunza, albeit in a different department] have laid bare some of the challenges facing primary education in Tanzania, as well as identifying a potential solution.

First, in a 2023 survey of 285 schools in ten regions found that only four out of ten pupils aged 10-14 years could read and understand a simple sentence written in Swahili, and that more than half could not yet read individual words. Further, the survey found that teachers do not recognise these deficits: on average, teachers in grade 2 estimate that 53% of their students can read at grade 2 level, against a pass rate of 20% percent on the independent assessment. And the same study found that one third of primary school classrooms observed by researchers had pupils present but no teacher.

In the second study, conducted between 2015 and 2021, the KiuFunza team found that providing small financial incentives (up to 3.5% of the average teacher's annual salary) to teachers was a cost-effective way to improve performance. The result was an increase in pupils' learning equivalent to an extra four months of schooling. They also found evidence that fewer pupils were dropping out and that teachers were demonstrating more frequent positive behaviours towards pupils, and that there was no negative effect on performance either in subjects that lacked teacher incentives and or on the performance of either high- or low-performing pupils who were not closely to the test-score threshold and therefore unlikely to impact on the incentive.

Based on results from 2015-16, the Tanzanian Ministry for Local Government asked Twaweza to test a performance pay programme that can work at larger scale. This follow-up programme focused on practical innovations to reduce unit costs while maintaining quality and trust,

and was implemented in 2019-2021. The KiuFunza team found that the learning impact in this version was higher and had lower implementation costs, such that the cost-effectiveness of the incentive program had increased substantially.

Maths and English highlighted as problem subjects in primary schools

Primary school examination results released in November showed that only 34% percent of candidates achieved grade C or higher in the English exam, while 49% achieved a similar grade in mathematics. In contrast, the pass rate for Kiswahili was 88% and the overall pass rate across all subjects was 81%.

“The shortage of competent English teachers is so acute that teachers with limited proficiency are being compelled to teach the subject, especially in public schools. This not only adversely affects the quality of education, but also hinders pupils’ ability to learn and master the language,” Tanzania Education Network (TEN) national coordinator Ochola Wayoga said.

Deputy Minister of Education, Science and Technology, Omary Kipanga, admitted that there was a “deficiency”, which was posing a significant challenge as far as English language skills among pupils were concerned.

“The ability to communicate effectively in English is a valuable skill that opens up opportunities in higher education, employment and international relations,” he said.

He noted, however, that the Education ministry was committed to addressing the issue by implementing strategies meant to attract and retain qualified and competent English teachers. “This includes investing in teacher training programmes, providing professional development opportunities and offering competitive salaries and benefits to incentivise educators with the right skills and competencies to take up and stay in the teaching profession,” he said.

When it comes to maths, Dr Amos Chacha from the Saint Augustine University of Tanzania said a multiplicity of factors was behind the consistently high levels of failure.

“Pupils, teachers, the learning environment, curriculum and schools

are all factors in this long-standing issue,” he said, while noting that the trend raises questions as to whether the existing education system can supply graduates who possess the essential skills to enable them to cope with the ever-evolving technological society.

An education stakeholder, Mr Mwakumba Mwemezi, said the major reason behind poor performance in mathematics is the poor teaching methods that teachers use.

“Teachers teach like they are teaching university pupils, they don’t teach children based on their age. That makes the children miss the foundations for learning mathematics and makes them get bad results in their exams,” he said.

“We should not expect a quick change in the performance of pupils in that subject. We need enough and very smart teachers to change the trend,” he added.

Mr Mwemezi hoped, however, that forthcoming curricular changes – see earlier article in this section – will also help in improving the teaching environment for teachers and learning for students.

Ben Taylor: **HEALTH**

Universal Health Insurance Bill enacted

On November 1, 2023, the Tanzanian Parliament enacted the Universal Health Insurance Bill, a highly significant piece of legislation that aims to ensure access to healthcare services for all citizens through a comprehensive health insurance system.

The new law makes it mandatory for every citizen of mainland Tanzania to have health insurance. To achieve this, citizens may either join a recognised private health insurance scheme or the National Health Insurance Fund (NHIF) as a public scheme.

The Tanzania Insurance Regulatory Authority (TIRA) will oversee and manage the health insurance system. TIRA’s responsibilities include registering and regulating health insurance schemes, ensuring compliance with a standardised benefit package, and providing guidelines to optimise the efficiency of health insurance schemes nationwide.

The law mandates a standardised benefits package. Members also have

the option to acquire additional benefits beyond the standard package. The Minister is granted the authority to modify the standard benefits package based on various evaluations and the sustainability of funds.

Similarly, the legislation empowers the Minister to enhance the public health insurance scheme based on findings from studies and evaluations.

Finally, a specific provision caters to financing healthcare for the poorest households, constituting 27% of Tanzania's population. Special funds, sourced from electronic transaction revenues, excise duty on select products, taxes on gaming, motor vehicle insurance, parliamentary allocations, returns from fund investments, and contributions from stakeholders, including development partners, will support health insurance for this demographic.

In tabling the bill before Parliament, health minister Ummu Mwalimu said the government will establish an equity fund which will be used to pay the insurance premium for poor Tanzanians and finance the cost of treating chronic diseases such as cancer, kidney and heart problems, and emergency services like accident treatment.

"We are going to revoke the exemption system which has not benefited people," she added, referring to the system that has theoretically existed up to now whereby children under five, those aged over 60 and pregnant women were entitled to receive free treatment. "The system is there on paper," she explained, "but in most cases, exempted people do not get medicines and other services".

The government made various changes to the Bill that had been proposed by the parliamentarians and other members of the public. The minister said the government repealed a section which restricted some public services for people who had not subscribed to the government's health insurance schemes.

Previously, the Bill restricted access to services such as driving licence, motor vehicle insurance, tax identification number (TIN), Sim card registration, business licence, passport or visa, registration of students, and national ID. This section had drawn widespread public criticism.

Ms Mwalimu said the section was scrapped in response to public demand, but that the government had instead introduced a different

“sanction” to make it necessary for people to join the insurance coverage.

“We will invest in public awareness programmes and convincing people to join,” she said. “And there will be a penalty of 10% of the annual contribution for a person who do not join any insurance scheme after three years since the law starts,” she added.

“This is a basic step towards ensuring Tanzanians live in good health by accessing the health services timely,” said Stanslaus Nyongo, the chair of the Parliamentary Health and HIV/Aids Committee.

Zanzibar on track to eliminate cholera

Epidemics of the deadly disease have been absent on the Zanzibar isles for the last five years, even as cholera incidence has risen globally, and researchers say the current approach to controlling cholera looks set to eliminate the disease on the islands by 2027.

Scientists from the World Health Organization (WHO), the Ministries of Health for Tanzania and Zanzibar, and UNICEF, conducted the research, which was published this year in *The Pan-African Medical Journal*.

Zanzibar’s cholera plan rests on three pillars – an enabling environment, prevention and response – and encompasses a diverse set of actions, from training food workers on cholera prevention, to major investments in water and sanitation in hot-spot zones, to preventive vaccination, to stockpiling life-saving IV fluids and oral rehydration solutions where they might be needed, and more.

The model has proven “very effective”, write the researchers. Zanzibar’s high-level leadership commitment ought to be taken as “exemplary”, they add.

“The improvement of water and sanitation infrastructures, coupled with a comprehensive plan to eliminate cholera, has set Zanzibar on the path towards a future free from this disease,” said Ghirmay Andemichael Redae, Liaison Officer for WHO Zanzibar.

The entire population of Zanzibar has been targeted for cholera elimination through the approach, which included providing preventive cholera vaccination to 322,483 people in cholera hotspot areas of Unguja

and Pemba Islands. However, the researchers noted that when COVID-19 vaccines were introduced concurrently, the coverage for cholera vaccination declined.

Cholera, a bacterial disease transmitted in contaminated food and water, spreads fast, sometimes killing patients in as little as a few hours after exposure.

Zanzibar residents remember the last major outbreak of cholera to hit the island. It began in September 2015, and rolled on for ten months, affecting 4,330 people, and killing 68. Zanzibar has experienced no fewer than 17 cholera outbreaks since the 1970s.

Ben Taylor:

TRANSPORT

Progress with Standard Gauge Railway

The Tanzania Railways Corporation (TRC) has embarked on testing of its electric train along the country's recently constructed Standard Gauge Railway (SGR) line. Beginning in early December, the tests are running initially between Pugu in Dar es Salaam and Soga in Coast Region.

The South Korean-made train, coupled with the Turkish/Chinese-built railway line, is expected to be capable of reaching speeds of up to 160km per hour. This enhanced speed will significantly reduce travel times and facilitate the efficient movement of goods and people throughout Tanzania.

Later in December TRC took delivery of three new electric locomotives and 27 new passenger cars. This latest batch brings the total locomotives received to four and passenger cars to 56, paving the way for a smooth rollout of the modern railway service. "We're steadily equipping ourselves for SGR operations," affirmed TRC Acting Director-General Michibia Shiwa. He explained that TRC plans include 17 locomotives and 59 passenger cars already purchased for the project.

Shiwa emphasised that rigorous testing procedures were underway to ensure perfect compatibility between the trains and the newly built infrastructure, guaranteeing a safe and seamless journey.

The President, Samia Suluhu Hassan, has previously pledged that the

new line will be operational no later than July 2024. Chief Government Spokesperson Mobhare Matinyi has reaffirmed that this deadline will be met: “There will be no other directive. No changes should be expected after the recent directive of the Head of State,” Matinyi declared, emphasising the government’s commitment to the President’s deadline.

He explained that the extensive trials required for each engine (10,000km) and coach (5,000km) before operation.

The introduction of the electric train and the expansion of the SGR network represent a major step forward in Tanzania’s transportation modernisation efforts.

These advancements are expected to stimulate economic growth, enhance trade connectivity, and improve the overall transportation experience for Tanzanians and their neighbouring counterparts.

Tanzania’s SGR is being built with Turkish and Chinese construction firms at an estimated cost of TSh 26 trillion (approx. GBP £8 billion).

Zanzibar also looks to (re)develop rail infrastructure

The President of Zanzibar, Hussein Mwinyi, is looking to follow the mainland example and steer Zanzibar towards transportation development.

He has ordered the immediate implementation of the long-dormant “Zanzibar Urban Public Transport Master Plan,” aiming to revamp the island’s public transport system with efficiency, sustainability, and economic growth in mind.

“The Zanzibar Social Security Fund (ZSSF) will partner with transport authorities to select a company that can bring modern buses to our city,” he declared. “Small cars can continue serving rural areas, but Zanzibar City deserves a modern fleet.”

He further called for a vision beyond roads, stating “We must rely on a modern, integrated, and efficient transportation network, and we must invest in it carefully. We should also plan for a railway network.”

Evoking Zanzibar’s historical connection to railways, President Mwinyi recalled the Stone Town-Bububu line from the 1870s. “It’s high time we restore this railway,” he asserted. “The need for a modern transport network is not just our own; it’s a global imperative for a sustainable

future.”

There had indeed been a rail line in Zanzibar built in 1879, but it ran not to Bububu to the north but to the palace of Sultan Bargash bin Said in Chukwani, to the south of Stone Town. Initially the two Pullman cars were hauled by mules but in 1881 the Sultan ordered small steam locomotive from the UK. The railway saw service until the Sultan died in 1888 when the track and locomotive were scrapped. Later, between 1905 and 1930, a seven-mile rail route linked Stone Town and Bububu. The service was extremely popular and largely used by the native population.

UK inquest opened into death of UK national in Bukoba air crash

An inquest has opened in the UK into the death of a British citizen who died during the plane crash in which Precision Air flight PW-494 crashed at Lake Victoria in Bukoba in November 2022. Jonathan Rose, a resident of Suffolk, England, was one of 39 people (38 adults and one infant) on board when the crash occurred.

On November 14, 2023, a pre-inquest review hearing was held at Ipswich Coroner’s Court. Also present in court were legal representatives for Mr Rose’s family.

The court heard that a final report from the Tanzanian authorities was being written but that this was expected “soon,” the publication reported.

Mr Stewart said that he believed it would not be necessary for a jury to be called to sit on Mr Rose’s inquest. However, expert witnesses may be called to help explain the technical difficulties the plane encountered.

Another pre-inquest review hearing will take place in six months when it is hoped the report from the Tanzanian authorities will be complete.

In November 2022, the Air Accident Investigation Branch of the then-Ministry of Works and Transport released a report that blamed the deaths of the passengers aboard the flight on the failure of the first responders to act with sufficient urgency upon being informed of the crash.

Philip Richards:

SPORT

Tanzania to co-host African Cup of Nations (AfCON) 2027

Alongside Kenya and Uganda, Tanzania has been selected by the Confederation of African Football (CAF) to co-host the 2027 edition of the African Cup of Nations (AfCON), Africa's premier international football tournament.

This will be the first time that three countries will co-host the tournament, the first time that any of these three countries have hosted it, and the first time since Ethiopia in 1976 that it has been held in East Africa. "There's a minimum guarantee of nine completely sold-out home games - a record that has never been achieved before since a single host can only guarantee three home games," said Rogers Byamukama, a board member of the Federation of Uganda Football Associations (FUFA).

CAF will not be dealing with the host countries individually but as an entity, and soon the three nations are expected to name a joint organising committee. "Even as things stand right now, we have enough stadiums available to host the tournament," said Byamukama. "Renovating these facilities is a simpler approach than starting from scratch." He added, however, that all three countries' government had committed to funding the construction of new stadiums for the tournament.

CAF requires AfCON hosts to have a minimum of six stadiums, two of which must be 40,000-seater and above. Tanzania appears well-prepared in this regard, with Tanzania Football Federation (TFF) president Wallace Karia confirming the Benjamin Mkapa Stadium in Dar es Salaam as their main venue.

The 60,000-seater would be ready to host if the Nations Cup kicked off today, and the stadium was sold out when it hosted the opening match of the inaugural African Football League between Simba and Al Ahly in October, 2023.

In addition, the Uhuru (Kinondoni Municipal) Stadium and Major General Isamuhyo Stadium ("JKT") – both in Dar es Salaam – are currently undergoing renovations and are expected to be ready next year. Mr Karia also announced the construction of new stadiums in the capital Dodoma and Arusha, presenting already-approved designs, with work scheduled to start in 2024.

It is expected that Zanzibar will be included in the list of host venues, with Zanzibar's sports minister Tabia Maulid Mwita announcing the Amaan Stadium as a potential host ground. "The stadium has already received a positive nod from CAF but we need to increase its current capacity to 20,000 seats," he said. "This work is already under way."

In addition, in September 2024 the same three countries and Zanzibar will all provide one stadium to host the African Nations Championship (CHAN) – a lower-profile tournament involving only players based in their home countries.

Donovan McGrath: TANZANIA IN THE INTERNATIONAL MEDIA

Statesman and saint

(The Tablet – UK) In this section of the publication, readers share their thoughts and stories. The following was submitted by Joy Elder: I was thrilled to read that the Church in Tanzania is calling for the canonisation of Julius Nyerere ... I was in Tanzania as a young White Sister just after independence and beyond. Julius Nyerere was, I think, educated partly by White Fathers ... His visits to my mission of Sumbawanga were always memorable and delightful and he was my hero. Among all the leaders of the world he was distinguished for his genius in running the country successfully and for being a man of great kindness, talent, humour, integrity and humility. He has always been a saint for me! (16 December 2023) – Thanks to Roger Bowen for this item – Editor

The Tanzanians searching for their grandfathers' skulls in Germany

(BBC News online – UK) Isaria Anael Meli has been looking for his grandfather's remains for more than six decades. Extract continues: He believes the skull ended up in a Berlin museum after his grandfather, Mangi Meli, along with 18 other chiefs and advisers, was hanged by a German colonial force 123 years ago. After all this time, a German minister has told the BBC the country is prepared to apologise for the executions in what is now northern Tanzania. Other descendants have also been searching for the remains and recently, in an unprecedented use of DNA research, two of the skulls of those killed have been identified among a museum collection of thousands... [It was] on 2 March 1900 [in a one-time market area for the villagers of Tsudunyi, in a part of what is now called Old

Moshi] that, as the descendants tell it, one-by-one the 19 men were hanged. They had been hastily tried the day before, accused of plotting to attack the German colonial forces... Mangi Meli, the most prominent mangi, or chief, among those who were killed, had in 1882 successfully defeated the German forces. That success was later reversed and by the end of the 19th Century, the Europeans were keen to stamp their authority on this part of what was known as German East Africa. They wanted to make an example of Mangi Meli and other local leaders who may have been planning an uprising... While most of the torsos are believed to be buried in a mass grave somewhere near the tree, their heads were at some point removed, packed up and sent 6,600km (4,100 miles) to the German capital. In some cases the complete skeletons were shipped... The lively 92-year-old [grandson] was told about the killing of Mangi Meli by his grandmother, who he says was forced to watch the execution ... Since at least the 1960s, Mr Meli had been writing to the German and Tanzanian authorities urging them to look for the remains of his grandfather. He says officials tried to put him off by telling him that relevant records had been destroyed during World War Two. But Mr Meli was not deterred. "... [T]his skull is needed by the whole country – not me, myself, only." There is a sense of profound loss that goes beyond the idea that this was a historical injustice. Mangi Meli was a chief from the Chagga ethnic group – one of the most prominent in modern-day Tanzania. For the Chagga people, as well as others in the region, the idea that the head was separated from the body and then taken away from the land is deeply disturbing. In Chagga culture the dead are supposed to be buried in the homestead so they can continue to watch over the living. It is believed that the failure to do that could have consequences down the generations... Simulango Molelia, the grandson of another victim of the executions – Mangi Molelia – believes his family is being haunted by the chief's spirit... Museums and other institutions in 19th and early 20th Century Europe and North America amassed large collections of skulls and other human remains. This was partly driven by huge interest in the now-discredited science of phrenology. It was based on the idea that someone's fundamental characteristics were reflected in the shape of their skull. In some cases it took on a racist element, with researchers trying to establish a racial hierarchy... As a consequence people began collecting skulls from across the world. Zablon Ndesamburo Kiwelu followed in his late brother's footsteps and

took up the search for the skulls “What the Germans did was not a good thing,” says Zablon Ndesamburo Kiwelu, whose grandfather, Mchili Sindato Kutesha Kiwelu, served as an adviser, or *akida*, to Mangi Meli and was also hanged... Mr Molelia wants the skull of his ancestor to be brought to Tanzania and “buried in our Chagga tradition” ... (29 October 2023)

Joshua Mollel: Tanzania says student killed in Israel by Hamas

(BBC News online – UK) A Tanzanian student initially reported to have been taken hostage by Hamas in Israel is confirmed to have been killed, Tanzanian government says. Extract continues: Joshua Mollel was working as an agricultural intern at a kibbutz which was attacked by Hamas gunmen on 7 October. Tanzania’s Foreign Minister January Makamba says Mr Mollel was killed immediately after he was taken hostage. Fellow student Clemence Felix Mtenga was also killed in the attack... The two Tanzanian students had travelled to Israel just a month before the 7 October attack. It was initially reported that they were among the 240 people taken hostage by Hamas. According to Tanzania officials, around 350 Tanzanians live in Israel, mostly students pursuing agricultural-related studies... (14 December 2023)

Philip Mpango death rumours: Tanzania orders crackdown over VP speculation

(BBC News online – UK) Tanzanian authorities are investigating social media users accused of spreading false information about Vice-President Philip Mpango’s health. Extract continues: Mr Mpango resurfaced ... after being absent from public view for over a month, sparking relief and ending widespread rumours he had died. Information Minister Nape Nnauye has ordered investigations into those who spread the speculation. Mr Mpango says he was hurt by the false rumours circulating on social media... There have been mixed reactions regarding the vice-president’s return and the rumours that surrounded his absence. Some argue the matter was mishandled by the government’s failure to provide clear information about his whereabouts. His absence had sparked widespread concern, with Prime Minister Kassim Majaliwa previously warning citizens against the speculation... [T]he vice-president appeared unannounced at a Sunday service in the capital, Dodoma, saying he was healthy and had not lost any weight. “There have been photos circulating alongside a candle, and claims that I have

passed away...”, Mr Mpango said... In 2018, Tanzania enacted tough laws against the spread of “fake news”, which critics see as a way of curbing freedom of expression. This is not the first time there have been rumours about the state of Mr Mpango’s health... (11 December 2023)

DP World in Tanzania: The UAE firm taking over Africa’s ports

(BBC News online – UK) A multimillion-dollar deal signed between Emirati maritime giant DP World and Tanzania ... looks set to further entrench the dominance of the United Arab Emirates (UAE) in Africa’s freight industry. Extract continues: Reports of the \$250m (£205m) deal first emerged in July, sparking criticism by the opposition that it “violated Tanzania’s constitution and endangers national sovereignty”. Activists petitioned a court to halt the deal and were briefly detained for planning anti-government protests. The high court in Tanzania’s south-western town of Mbeya dismissed the petition, paving the way for DP World to manage two-thirds of the Dar es Salaam port for the next 30 years. Transport Minister Makame Mbarawa ... said there would be no job losses and that Tanzania would retain 60% of earnings. DP World says it expects to triple revenue within a decade and speed up the clearance of vessels from the current average of 12 hours to 60 minutes. Chronic inefficiency, corruption allegations and competition in freight management by neighbouring Kenya are some of the underlying reasons why Tanzania President Samia Suluhu signed off on the agreement... Part of the contention over DP World’s presence in Tanzania is the perception that its operations are undermining local rights and management. DP World Group boss Sultan Ahmed Bin Sulayem said while in Dodoma that the Dar es Salaam port would become a “world-class facility”... DP World remains an anchor for the UAE to extend its geopolitical ambitions across Africa. (23 October 2023)

Investigations launched into killings and evictions on World Bank tourism project

(Guardian online – UK) Extract: ... The World Bank is investigating allegations of killings, rape and forced evictions made by villagers living near the site of a proposed tourism project it is funding in Tanzania. The bank has been accused of “enabling” alleged violence by the Tanzanian government to make way for a \$150m (£123m) project ministers say will protect the environment and attract more tourists to Ruaha national park. The “resilient natural resource management for

tourism and growth" (Regrow) project will almost double the size of the park, which is 130km (80 miles) from the city of Iringa. Villagers living near Ruaha told researchers at the Oakland Institute thinktank that rangers had killed and beaten cattle herders and fishers, had raped women and confiscated thousands of head of cattle, under the premise that they had encroached on the national park. In April 2021, rangers reportedly shot and killed William Nundu, a fisher, and allegedly killed two herders, Sandu Masanja, and Ngusa Salawa, who was only 14 years old. The regional police commander claimed that they were killed by wild animals while illegally entering the park, according to a report published by the institute ... More than 21,000 people from dozens of villages around Ruaha are also facing eviction by the government, it claimed. Anuradha Mittal, the executive director of the Oakland Institute, said: "[The] Regrow project is not about protecting wildlife or conservation. Instead, the bank is financing an oppressive and violent economic growth model based on boosting tourism revenues." Mittal said the World Bank should have scrutinised the Tanzanian government's record on human rights before financing it. The government authorised evictions close to the same area in 2006 and has been criticised for its handling of forced evictions in northern Tanzania, which "should have triggered internal alarm before the bank decided to finance the project", added Mittal. "Instead, it looked the other way and continues to do so. It should be held accountable." The institute said villagers were told in October 2022 they would have to leave their land despite holding title deeds, which the government has cancelled, claiming the property fell within the boundaries of the national park. More than 850 villagers have challenged the evictions in Tanzania's high court... [Roland Ebole, An Amnesty International researcher focusing on Tanzania and Uganda] said tourism, much of it linked to trophy hunting, has driven a need for the government to take land, even at the expense of the people living there and often without their consent... (28 September 2023)

'Oldest wooden structure' discovered on border of Zambia and Tanzania

(*Guardian online – UK*) Extract: ... Researchers have discovered remnants of what is thought to be the world's oldest known wooden structure, an arrangement of logs on the bank of a river bordering Zambia and Tanzania that predates the rise of modern humans. The simple



Prof Larry Barham uncovering the structure (University of Liverpool)

structure, made by shaping two logs with sharp stone tools, may have formed part of a walkway or platform for human ancestors who lived along the Kalambo River nearly 500,000 years ago. Marks on the logs show they were cut, chopped and scraped with an array of stone tools found at the site. One log, a type of bushwillow, overlies the other and is held in place by a large inverted U-shaped notch in its underside. "When I first saw it, I thought this can't be real. The wood and the stone suggest a high level of ingenuity, technological skill and planning," said Prof Larry Barham, an archaeologist at the University of Liverpool who led the work. "It could be part of a walkway or part of a foundation for a platform," he said. "A platform could be used as a place to store things, to keep firewood or food dry, or it might have been a place to sit and make things. You could put a little shelter on top and sleep there." Scientists at the University of Aberystwyth dated the structure to at least 476,000 years old, from long before Homo sapiens are thought to have emerged about 300,000 years ago. The structure may be the work of Homo heidelbergensis, a predecessor of modern humans that lived in the region... The findings, published in Nature, are remarkable because wood so rarely survives for long periods. The material at Kalambo Falls was preserved by waterlogged sediments that are starved of oxygen... (20 September 2023)

The new 'scramble for Africa': how a UAE sheikh quietly made carbon deals for forests bigger than UK

(Guardian online – UK) Extract: ... The rights over vast tracts of African

forest are being sold off in a series of huge carbon offsetting deals that cover an area of land larger than the UK. The deals, made by a little-known member of Dubai's ruling royal family, encompass up to 20% of the countries concerned – and have raised concerns about a new “scramble for Africa” and the continent's carbon resources. Such deals can deny the rights of people living on the land to make use of it for their own purposes while providing unclear benefits to the environment. As chairman of the company Blue Carbon, which is barely a year old, Sheikh Ahmed Dalmook al-Maktoum has announced several exploratory deals with African states that are home to crucial wildlife havens and biodiversity hotspots, for land that represents billions of dollars in potential offsetting revenue. The sheikh has no previous experience in nature conservation projects. So far, the deals cover a fifth of Zimbabwe, 10% of Liberia, 10% of Zambia and 8% of Tanzania, amounting to a total area the size of the UK...” ... The deals would give the UAE firm the exclusive rights to sell the credits for 30 years, taking 70% of the sale of the credits. Under the rules of the Paris agreement, countries that sold the credits would not be able to use them for their own commitments. Some of those involved in these deals highlighted that carbon markets provide much-needed financial support to African countries where other sources of climate finance were not delivering. However, others raised concerns, saying the size of the land deals amount to “a new scramble for Africa”... (30 November 2023)

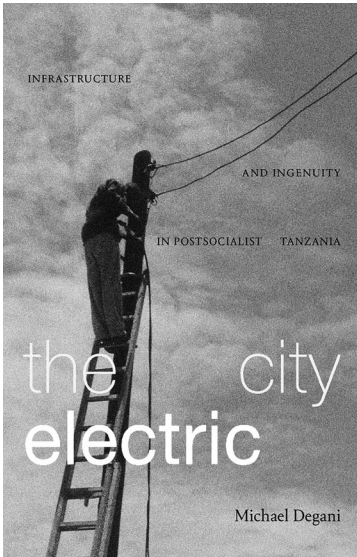
Who is Nestory Irankunda? Meet the Bayern Munich wonderkid who suffered life threatening injury on the pitch after leaving a Tanzanian refugee camp for Australia

(Daily Mail online – Australia) Extract: Nestory Irankunda is the wonderkid every Australian football fan is talking about after he landed a huge move to European Powerhouse Bayern Munich. Irankunda, 17, will join the German giants next July after Adelaide United agreed to part ways with the prodigious talent for an A-League record fee of \$5.5million. The youngster has made waves in Australia's domestic scene but his arrival in Germany will certainly raise eyebrows, with very few players making the step up from football's backwaters to the big stage. But Irankunda's journey is a unique one that has consisted of challenges from very early on... Born on February 9, 2006 to his father Gideon, a rideshare driver, and his mother Dafroza in Kigoma, Tanzania. The fourth child of seven, Irankunda spent the first three months of his life

in a refugee camp, with his family desperate to flee Burundi's civil war. The Irankundas moved to Perth, West Australia before relocating to Adelaide in South Australia, where Nestory soon discovered his love for football. He played for the Northern Wolves and Parafield Gardens as a junior and his talent was quickly recognised by scouts. Irankunda was snapped up by National Premier League club Adelaide Croaia Raiders, where his performances attracted attention from Airton Andrioli, head of youth at Adelaide United. Irankunda was invited for a trial with the A-League club in 2020 and was offered a place in the club's academy within a couple of weeks. 'When you see a boy like Nestory, some players have that naturally,' Andrioli said. 'That gift of understanding and reading the game. Being street smart. You don't see that [in] a lot of Australian players... Irankunda had long been linked to Bayern ... 'We've had Nestory on our radar for some time and we're pleased we've reached an agreement with him and Adelaide United on a move to Munich for next summer,' said Jochen Sauer, Bayern's director of youth development... (14 November 2023)

Martin Walsh: **REVIEWS**

THE CITY ELECTRIC: INFRASTRUCTURE AND INGENUITY IN POSTSOCIALIST TANZANIA. Michael Degani. Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina, 2022. xii + 254 pp. ISBN: 9781478023777 (ebook free to download from <https://library.oapen.org/handle/20.500.12657/58921>; also available for purchase as a hardback and paperback).



It's difficult to overstate the importance of electricity and its presence and absence in a developing economy like Tanzania's. Stories about its generation and supply and the controversies surrounding them feature regularly in the national and international media, including the 'Energy and Minerals' pages of *Tanzanian Affairs*. Whether or not they are aware of all the shenanigans that are alleged, ordinary citizens experience their

consequences viscerally, not least where electricity is yet to be supplied by TANESCO (the Tanzania Electricity Supply Company), or when that supply is cut. Many readers of this review will not need to be reminded what it is like sweating in the humidity of a fan-less night or pretending to ignore the throbbing of the generator that is keeping their lights on and food refrigerated. Some will be all too familiar with the hustling and haggling required to secure or restore a connection; others will have suffered the anxiety that comes from having to complain again and again about inflated bills, a recurring nightmare for householders without prepaid meters and often for tenants sharing one.

And yet, somehow or other, everything kind of works, notwithstanding the pace of economic and demographic growth and the constant demand for more electricity. Mike Degani's well-crafted anthropological study, *The City Electric*, goes a long way towards explaining why and how all things TANESCO don't completely fall apart, both at national level and from the perspective of the parastatal provider and its everyday consumers in Dar es Salaam. As its subtitle suggests, it also takes its place alongside other recent studies that tell us what has happened more generally in the often-troubled transition of Tanzania from state socialism to its present condition, however that might be characterised. It's not the neat development trajectory that modernisers and then neoliberal reformers envisaged, but an at times messy bricolage that has incorporated some of those old Nyererean values and come out of the mixer looking more like an unbaked BRIC country. Among the many concepts that Degani deploys in his analysis is that of a dynamic equilibrium: at national scale it is perhaps easier to see that the dynamism has produced some forward motion, though its direction may not always be to everyone's taste.

Sandwiched between an introduction that sets the scene and a conclusion that provides an update and pulls its main themes together, *The City Electric* comprises four main chapters, each focusing on a different locus on the infrastructural circuit of current and currency: generation, transmission, consumption, and maintenance/extension. The first chapter, "Emergency Power: A Brief History of the Tanzanian Energy Sector", outlines the political and economic context and "upstream conditions" that led to the high costs and periodic shortages of electricity in Dar during the presidencies of Benjamin Mkapa (1995-2005) and Jakaya Kikwete (2005-15). Recurrent droughts and other failures of the hydropower network have, in Degani's words, "prompted dubious government tenders to well-connected private companies for emergency infusions of oil-generated electricity. These public bailouts

are quickly converted to private rents that in turn feed the patronage network and fund electoral campaigns.” Much of the chapter focuses on two notorious examples of this: the 1996 contract with the Malaysian-Tanzanian company Independent Power Tanzania Ltd (IPTL), and the 2006 contract with Richmond Development, “an ostensibly American company with direct ties to the prime minister at the time, Edward Lowassa.” While these arrangements severely damaged TANESCO’s operations, further privatisation of the sector and unbridled rent-seeking by the political elite were held in check by a lingering attachment to socialist values and periodic anticorruption sweeps, producing a hybrid practice and one of the dynamic equilibria that Degani describes.

Chapter 2, “The Flickering Torch: Power and Loss after Socialism”, turns the spotlight on the supply of electricity in Dar and the history of public responses to its rationing. It is based on a wide reading of documentary sources, including newspaper reports, blog posts and social media, as well as observations of the “*annus horribilis*” of shortages that Degani experienced himself in 2011. The resulting “ethnography of power loss” describes the narratives that circulate around the city, highlighting the explanatory voids that frustrated consumers are only too ready to fill with their own conspiratorial texts. Again, Degani skilfully weaves this account into an understanding of its political and historical context. Here he is, for example, describing what happened after 2011: “From 2012 onwards, irregular or unexplained cuts frazzled the public, giving rise to rumors and suspicions about covert and illegitimate rationing, and resonating with a wider “communication breakdown” marked by the forceful silencing of political opposition. Enduring these shifting patterns of power outages and their effects on the public nervous system, residents articulated an important and key postsocialist distinction: if it is one thing to endure absence, it is another to endure it in the absence of explanation.” While perhaps more Kafkaesque than postsocialist, the general point is well made.

In the next chapter, “Of Meters and Modals: Patrolling the Grid”, Degani and his research assistant come into their own as ethnographers of institutional practice, working in TANESCO offices and joining its patrol teams as they tramp the streets and alleyways in search of customers who haven’t paid their debts or otherwise conspired to tamper with the flows of current and currency that are the legitimate purpose of the grid. Here we learn about the compromises forged between TANESCO employees and customers in both the poorer “Swahili” neighbourhoods of Dar and their wealthier counterparts: “Faced with the evasions, protests, and obstructions of those who do not wish

to be disconnected for debt or theft, some inspectors rail against customers who want it “easy” with stolen power or unpaid bills, echoing a socialist discourse of discipline and hard work. However, patrols are also well aware that the same liberalizing forces that created this indiscipline press upon them as well, in the form of diminishing pay, equipment, and job security. Some inspectors incorporate extortionist or protectionist arrangements with customers, while others maintain an ethical outlook steeped in the “socially thick” Fordist labor regime that Tanesco could still resemble even in the 1980s and 1990s”. The outcome is another of those dynamic equilibria: “Somewhere between rejecting and exploiting the putatively “Swahili” mentality of easy money, Tanesco patrol teams and customers collaboratively exercised a kind of modal reasoning about what kinds of diversions of payment are tolerable and which ones are insensible.”

In the fourth chapter, “Becoming Infrastructure: Vishoka and Self-Realization”, we find ourselves looking at all this from the perspective of the *vishoka* or “fixers” who work as intermediaries and mediators between TANESCO and its customers, becoming essential parts of the system and the daily struggle to maintain and extend supply. Working as unlicensed agents, they “facilitate access, expedite customer applications, provide emergency repairs, tamper with meters, or divert materials and supplies to residents in parallel markets, often by collaborating with Tanesco employees “inside” [...] the institution.” As they build up the trust required to make themselves indispensable, Degani concludes that as “[b]oth parasite and channel, they are the densest expression of Tanzania’s postsocialist condition as a living circuit, a give and take of mutual adjustment and responsiveness that threatens to fall out of form; but, at least in the first decades of the twenty-first century, managed to keep spinning.” Readers will recognise the script by now, and while some might take issue with this characterisation of Tanzania’s “condition”, based as it is on selected insights into the workings of just one sector in its largest city, the challenge is to provide alternative accounts.

This summary, based largely on Degani’s own, barely does justice to the wealth of reference and conceptual sophistication that make this book such a rewarding and sometimes difficult read. With its many asides and theoretical digressions, it betrays obvious signs of its origin in the author’s doctoral dissertation (2015), though this is not directly referenced. I spotted several typos and other mistakes in the text, especially in Swahili words and phrases that will have been missed by English proofing tools (note also the mistranslation of *vibatari*

as “matches” rather than small oil lamps). These, however, are mere quibbles. My personal recommendation would have been to streamline the argument of the thesis and provide richer ethnographic documentation, with less reliance on the relatively few anecdotes that bear its theoretical load, providing instead more case material on relationships and interactions in particular places, for example in sample neighbourhoods and the roadsides where “fixers” and others congregate. But urban anthropology and the ethnography of complex institutions are easier said than done, and Mike Degani deserves praise for his own ingenuity and the way in which he has negotiated this difficult terrain and produced such an illuminating study. General readers as well as fellow academics and anthropologists will find much in his first book to stimulate reflection and debate and, like me, will no doubt look forward to reading more.

Martin Walsh

Martin Walsh is the Book Reviews Editor of Tanzanian Affairs.

ZAMANI: A HAUNTED MEMOIR OF TANZANIA. Jane Bryce. Cinnamon Press, Birmingham, 2023. 226 pp. ISBN: 9781788649865 (paperback). £13.99.

Zamani starts with a quick introduction to Jane Bryce’s childhood involvement in Tanzania as she flies over Kilimanjaro into the country for the first time since she left in 1968 at the age of 17. She briefly sketches the lives of her parents, their meeting and their subsequent marriage, and then she continues by describing how her father joined the Colonial Office and was posted to the Forest Department in Tanganyika, to the Rondo Plateau in the Southern Province (present Lindi Region), with a view to introducing sound forest management. His first job was to map the 32,000 acres of the forest, on foot. Jane’s mother was not one to sit at home waiting for her husband to return, but accompanied him on these journeys through the forest, perhaps covering 80 miles in six days, carrying on with this until late in her pregnancy with Jane. Referring to her mother’s diaries, she describes the life at this time, the isolation, the hardships, the lack of food, the wild animals.

Jane then jumps to the present and gives an account of her travels to Lindi, to explore the place of her birth, which she hadn’t visited since she left at the age of three. She meets people who knew her father, all old men by now, but delighted to encounter her and to spend time telling tales of the past. This becomes a theme which threads through the book since there are many more old colleagues in Moshi – meeting old-school government forest officers, now in their 70s, who remember her father. There are photographs of kindly faces,

seamed with experience, throughout the text. One cries out, “The daughter of Bwana Bryce!” and she immediately feels part of the story of Tanzania, not merely an outsider wandering the country like a tourist. This fits in with another of her themes, that of identity and belonging.

At the end of their time on Rondo, the family moved first to Morogoro and then north to Moshi. Their time in Moshi is the central part of the book, since this is the place Jane remembers as a child, and where she grew up. She compares the Moshi of today with the one she remembers and is pleased to find much is similar – “I could walk with confidence in any direction and know without asking where I was going”, she tells us. She recounts her daily life as a child, her friends, the social gatherings with other colonials, their holidays on the coast via the old steam trains, the primary school she went to. Once she turned 13, she then left her comfortable home and made the long and difficult journey to the boarding school in Lushoto, filled with the usual horrors of boarding schools – matrons, food, inflexible rules – during that period. After that, she was sent to England, to study at Cheltenham Ladies’ College, a foreign country in many ways for her, which she hated as much as the Lushoto school. In 1968 her father is suddenly told he must leave Tanzania. The sisters are informed by letter, their mother telling them, “We have been so lucky with our happy life in dear old Moshi all these years it has been home to us. Sorry to have to send you news which will distress you so much.” It throws Jane’s life out of kilter, and it takes another 36 years for her to return to Tanzania.

The title, *Zamani*, meaning ‘long ago’, is contrasted with *sasa*, meaning ‘now’, and Jane explores how on her return, the two seem to co-exist for her, as she sees the present as a sort of overlay of the past. She weaves her narrative almost seamlessly, jumping from the past to the present, with brief digressions into history, politics, mythology. The history snippets are not long enough to slow down the narrative but are painted in as a necessary and helpful backdrop to what she is discussing, and this was one of the aspects of the book which I liked the most. She explains the history of the area she lived in, looks into the origins of the peoples who originally lived here and their languages and local leaders, describes the forest policies and their effects, the colonial times and then the transition to independence in the 1960s, as well as the country under the Germans before the British took over.

I was concerned through the first chapters of the book that Jane would sustain the colonial attitudes inherited from her parents, imbued as a child, but she uses her later trips to Tanzania to question her assumptions at the time, the rigid, rule-

bound ways of her parents' generation. She discusses the house staff in their Moshi home, whom she accepted were always there, always ready to help, and realises she knows little about them, even their surnames, apart from their daily lives with the family. The colonial set-up comes in for critiques too, and the fact that they never knew any African people, apart from their house staff, and perhaps once a year took tea with a well-to-do Indian family but never invited them back. However, her father clearly got on with his African colleagues, and in meeting some of them almost 40 years later, Jane experiences a different view of the country she loved so much.

Kate Forrester

Kate lived in Tanzania for 15 years, working as a freelance consultant chiefly in social development, and carrying out research assignments throughout the country. She now lives in Dorchester, where she is active in community and environmental work.

MUSLIM CULTURES OF THE INDIAN OCEAN: DIVERSITY AND PLURALISM, PAST AND PRESENT. Stéphane Pradines and Farouk Topan (eds.). Edinburgh University Press in association with The Aga Khan University, Edinburgh, 2023. 356 pp. ISBN: 9781474486514. (*ebook free to download from <https://library.open.org/handle/20.500.12657/62324>; also available for purchase as a hardback*).

There has been a boom in Indian Ocean studies in recent years, with a plethora of edited collections now on the market. This book is the latest addition to a series on “Exploring Muslim Contexts” overseen by the distinguished scholar of Swahili literature and culture Farouk Topan, who has edited this volume in collaboration with the archaeologist Stéphane Pradines. As their blurb declares, it “examines the role of Muslim communities in the emergence of connections and mobilities across the Indian Ocean World from a longue durée perspective. Spanning the 7th century through the medieval period until the present day, this book aims to move beyond the usual focus on geographical sub-regions to highlight different aspects of interconnectivity in relation to Islam. Analysing textual and material evidence, contributors examine identities and diasporas, manuscripts and literature, as well as vernacular and religious architecture. It aims to explore networks and circulations of peoples, ideas and ideologies, as well as art, culture, religion and heritage. It focuses on global interactions as well as local agencies in context.”

Students of the history and practice of Islam around the Indian Ocean will find

much of interest here, beginning with the editors' handy introduction to the historiography of the region and its Muslim cultures and heritage. The main text is split into two parts, "Muslim Identities, Literature and Diasporas" and "Monuments and Heritage in Muslim Contexts", with eight chapters under the first heading and seven under the second. Three consecutive chapters in Part I are of direct relevance to the history of Zanzibar and its wider sphere of influence: Beatrice Nicolini's analysis of Omani rule ("Muslim Identities of the Indian Ocean: The Ibadi Al Bu Sa'id of Oman during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries"), Valerie Hoffman's deep dive into social and cultural relationships as revealed in contemporary manuscripts ("Religion, Ethnicity and Identity in the Zanzibar Sultanate"), and Farouk Toupan's study of the changing roles of Swahili women ("Transcending Boundaries: Sayyida Salme/Emily Ruete and Siti binti Saad"), which homes in on the lives of two of the archipelago's most famous daughters, both of whom challenged the status quo, albeit in very different ways.

Part II opens with Eric Falt's discussion of "The Indian Ocean as a Maritime Cultural Landscape and Heritage Route", which makes a case for its study and promotion in just such terms. This short presentation is followed by two longer chapters about the history and archaeology of the Swahili coast and islands: Stephen Battle and Pierre Blanchard's introduction to heritage and conservation ("Indian Ocean Heritage and Sustainable Conservation, from Zanzibar to Kilwa"), and Stéphane Pradines' illustrated account of the role of trade in the spread of Islam and associated mosque architecture ("Early Swahili Mosques: The Role of Ibadi and Ismaili Communities, Ninth to Twelfth Centuries"). As he has done elsewhere, Pradines highlights the part played in the early development of Islam by what are now considered to be religious minorities within the faith, before the widespread adoption of Sunni Islam in Africa and this region. He concludes by referring to "the permeability between Sufism and Shi'a spirituality", and it would be interesting to know more about this and how it is reflected in modern language and practice.

Readers will find topics worth exploring in other chapters too. Fortunately, this informative and well-produced volume, which is the first publication of the Indian Ocean programme in the Aga Khan University's Institute for the Study of Muslim Civilisations, has been made open access and can be downloaded for free by those of us who can't spare £85 for the hardback.

Martin Walsh

Ben Taylor:

OBITUARIES

Activist, academic and writer, **John Saul**, died of cancer at his home in Toronto, Canada, in September 2023 at the age of 85.

Described by his friend and colleague, Peter Lawrence, as “the complete revolutionary socialist”, Saul was a tireless academic-activist and writer, and a lover of books, film, music and sport.

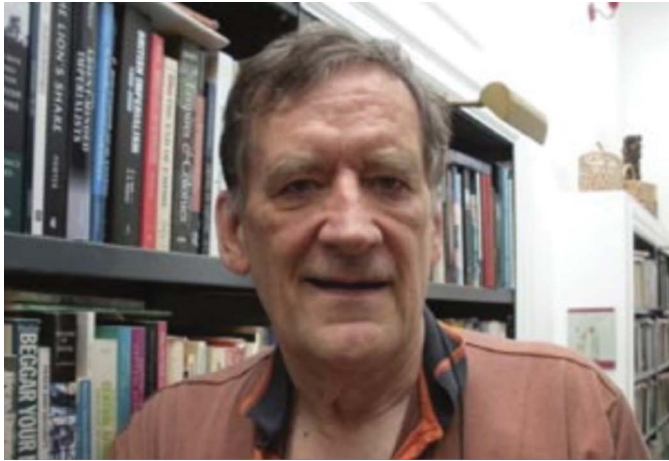
Having been educated at the Universities of Toronto, Princeton, and London, he went on to teach at the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM), Tanzania, as well as the University of Eduardo Mondlane in Maputo, Mozambique, the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, South Africa and York University in Toronto, Canada.

In his 20s, he joined the brilliant group of global intellectuals attracted to Tanzania by Julius Nyerere. At the University of Dar es Salaam, he taught political science and was involved in attempts to transform the curriculum to support Tanzania’s socialist ambitions and begin what we would now call the decolonisation of university courses related to the development of the Global South and the interpretation of its history. With Lionel Cliffe, he co-authored a two-volume teaching guide for African students preparing to govern their countries. He engaged in lively debate with fellow academics such as Italy’s Giovanni Arrighi and Guyana’s Walter Rodney on how Nyerere’s socialism could be adapted for the continent.

Saul’s already well-established radical reputation saw him blamed for instigating a student revolt against the administration, and eventually found that his contract was not renewed. He left the country in 1972.

His close association with liberation struggles and socialist politics across southern Africa continued, however, including a close friendship with Samora Machel of Mozambique, forged in Dar es Salaam when Machel was living there in exile. In 1975 he was invited to watch Machel give his first speech from the balcony of the City Hall in Maputo where he had just been sworn-in minutes before as President of a newly independent Mozambique. Later he attended the inauguration of Nelson Mandela as President of South Africa after the country’s first democratic elections.

Reflecting on his career and life’s work in a 2015 interview, Saul was both dissatisfied and hopeful:



“The past 50 years have seen both successes and disappointments, the biggest success being, without question, the removal, by armed liberation movements and by dramatic popular mobilization, of the parasitic – ‘evil’ seems not too dramatic a word for it – grip of racist rule as defined by the dominance of whites in firmly institutionalized positions of power (apartheid and the like).”

“[T]he ‘failure’ of the region’s liberation struggles, once their leaders had come to power, to make any very dramatic difference, economically and in many other ways, to the lives of the vast mass of the population there constitutes the greatest single disappointment of recent years, both for residents of the region as well as for any committed outsider who would wish the peoples of southern Africa well.”

“We must take hope from the fact that the numbers (made up of the vast and swelling ranks of the exploited and the marginalised) are, potentially, on our side, the revolutionary side, in southern Africa – and more globally as well!”

Professor Colin Leys, another long-time collaborator, paid tribute. “It was very few foreign scholars who were accepted as full participants in the national discourse in an African country and John was, to the point where he could disagree sharply in print with very senior African politicians and that was acceptable because he’d paid his dues, fought the battles. [...] His legacy is in hundreds of young Africans ... who were inspired by him.”

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