



Konrad  
Adenauer  
Stiftung

## CIVICS AND GENERAL STUDIES



- Corruption
- Democratic Practices in Tanzania
- A Symposium on the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania
- CETA Activities: January - June, 2011
- Mzee Wa Uraia

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His impressive speech on Education and Development of Democracy has been included in this Journal so that the

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**Ceta Executive Director  
June, 2011**

## **PREFACE**

Civics and General Studies Journal was introduced by Civic Education Teachers' Association (CETA) with a strong support from Konrad - Adenauer- Stiftung (KAS) as part of supporting the government efforts to create a nation of people who are self-confident, analytical and critical thinkers, without forgetting their national patriotism. CETA regards Civic Education as an important tool to achieve this goal.

Civic education entails political interventions, awareness rising and capacity building efforts that seek to enhance the citizens' participation in governance. Though there are many definitions of the concept, CETA prefers to utilize the above one. Civic education enhances democracy, improves quality of leadership, prepares future leaders, encourages collective exercise of power, enhances the appreciation of citizens' basic rights and freedom, lastly strengthens the economic development of a society.

This CETA Journal volume nine is a reflection of CETA's attempts to shape the character of youths to become responsible citizens. It consists of five chapters. Chapter one is about Corruption. In the school curriculum, corruption has been taken as one of the cross cutting issues. The topic on corruption has been presented in this journal so as to develop deeper understanding of the issue, its impact to the society, and the way forward.

Chapter two discusses practices of democracy in Tanzania. The government of Tanzania is making an effort to see that Tanzania becomes a democratic society. This topic attempts to show how Tanzania practices democratic principles, including the rule of law and human rights.

Chapter three focuses on the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania. Right now there is on going debate on need for a new Constitution in Tanzania. This chapter attempts to analyze the present constitution and what factors should be considered in the new constitution.

Chapter four shows some major activities conducted by CETA from January to June 2011, including news through photographs.

Chapter five is about Mzee wa Uraia. This chapter provides a forum for students to question and give their views on various cross cutting issues that are affecting or likely to affect the society.

## CHAPTER 1

*Corruption takes place in the government institutions where public officials, have great authority and can exercise discretion without respect to interpretation and application of regulations.*

## CORRUPTION

### Definition of corruption

Corruption is the solicitation, receiving or agreeing to receive, giving, promising or offering any gratification as an inducement or reward to a person to do or forbear to do any act with a corrupt intention. Or behaviors on the part of officials in the public sector, whether politicians or civil servants, in which they improperly and unlawfully enrich themselves, or those close to them, by the misuse of the public power entrusted to them.

### Forms of corruption:

- i) **Petty corruption** involves people and means at lower scale and rates, however frequent. This entails offering of small sums of money in order to get small services performed in a speedy fashion in essence, paying extra over the required amount or for services that are supposed to be free to the public. Example of this is bribes in rendering social services, kickbacks given to the police, licensing officers, magistrates, doctors and clerks; sex demanded from employment seekers and political positions.

ii) **Grand corruption** involves big or massive transactions through, among others, contracts and concessions. It can be in construction, huge purchase, provisions and mining. It takes the form of skewed investment decisions that work for personal gain; transfers of cash money from public to private investors; illegitimate tax exemptions, tax holidays, ghost projects (in which money is received but the intended construction never happens) and money laundering. This type of corruption often occurs at the highest level of the establishment.

The following are the elements of corruption that are classified under the two major forms; petty and grand corruption.

- **State capture:** where large firms influence the laws, policies and regulations of the state to work to their advantage by providing illicit private gains to public officials.
- **Kleptocracy:** obsessive impulse to steal regardless of the economic needs. This is popularly known as Mobutu – Bokassa corruption. Milking dry state coffers and stashing away in overseas accounts funds equivalent to 5 up to 10% of the country's annual budget.
- **Political corruption:** behavior which violates and undermines the norms of the system of public order and subverts democracy. It includes buying voters support during elections; (takrima) for influence and political support and direct bribing of Government officials through the process of administration and governance.

The Warioba commission report distinguished between petty corruption caused by need and grand corruption caused by greed,

although it made it clear that both these forms of corruption were result of fundamental failure of the administrative and political system to impose controls and enforce discipline.

### **Causes of Corruption in Tanzania:-**

**The absence of transparency** where there is no transparency in the government institution. Where tasks and functions are conducted in secret and are not open to examination by other government officers or the public, the opportunity for corruption increases.

Transparency is a prerequisite for democracy in which sovereignty is vested in the people and conduct of civil servant must be open to the examination.

**Range of discretion in the government officials**, no system can exist unless one person or authority is used to some extent to make decisions. Such a person is said to have the power to exercise discretion. The freedom to act within certain limits. Corruption takes place in the government institutions where public officials, have great authority and can exercise discretion irrespective to interpretation and application of regulations.

This can be demonstrated by a corruption scandal of 2008.

*“Following investigations then Prime Minister and other two Ministers were forced to resign in February 2008. Their resignations, which triggered the dissolution of the entire Cabinet were due to their involvement in granting a large contract to an American based Company in which they had personal interest”*

Corruption is attitudes or circumstances that make average people disregard the law. People may try to get around laws of the government they consider illegitimate, for example not to pay taxes. Poverty or scarcity of goods such as medicine may also push people to live outside the law. So corruption is not just about ethics, it is also about how the government is set up and managed.

**The absence of committed watch dog institutions**, the absence of internal and external institutions that investigate cases of corruption or that act on complaints related to corruption. Employees may take advantage of the fact that the chance of being caught doing something corrupt is remote. Even if the offenders are caught, the consequences would probably be minimal.

**Desire for an unfair advantage**, many officials are motivated to participate in corrupt behavior because of the inherently selfish desire to have an unfair advantage over their peers through bribery, extortion, embezzlement, nepotism, and other means. Corruption can help dishonest people go ahead while the public pays price. A corrupted politician may seek to sway people's opinions, actions, or decision, reduce fee collected, speed up government grants, or change outcomes of legal processes. Through corruption people seeking an unfair advantage may bribe the courts, Police, customs officers, and tax collectors.

Corruption can also take place where there is excessive control and power monopoly. In these circumstances there is no a level playing field and decisions will always be made at the advantage of the group or person who dominates political arena. As a result ordinary citizen rights are lost and public resources are

often plundered for personal gains of public officials. Poverty or scarcity of goods may also push people to live outside the law.

### **Other causes of corruption.**

- Erosion of integrity in public service due to abuse of power by individuals.
- Lack of political will to tackle the scourge
- Existence of excessive red tapes and ineffective regulatory framework
- Absence of rule of law, extreme poverty and inequity.
- Disconnection between traditional value and modernization.
- Lack of exemplary ethical leadership.
- Side lining citizens' participation in decision making.
- Unfair and undemocratic electoral system.
- Lack of security of "tenure"
- Unfettered economic liberalization and emergence of competitive conspicuous consumption.

### **EFFECTS OF CORRUPTION.**

#### **Effect on politics administration and institutions**

Corruption poses a serious development challenge. In the political realm it undermines democracy and good governance by flouting or even subverting formal processes. Corruption in elections and in legislative bodies reduces accountability



and distorts representation in policy making. Corruption in the judiciary compromises the rule of law, and corruption in public administration results in the inefficient provision of services.

It violates a basic principle of republicanism. More generally, corruption erodes the institutional capacity of government as procedures are disregarded, resources are siphoned off, and public offices are bought and sold. At the same time corruption undermines the legitimacy of the government and such democratic values as trust and tolerance.

### **Economic effects.**

Corruption undermines economic development by generating considerable distortion and inefficiency. In the private sector, corruption increases the cost of doing business through illegal payments, high management costs of negotiating with officials, and the risk of breached agreements or detection. Although some claim corruption reduces costs by cutting red tapes.

### **Environment and social effects**

Corruption facilitates environmental destruction; corrupt countries may formally have legislation to protect the environment which cannot be enforced if the officials can be bribed easily. The same applies to the social rights workers protection, unionization, prevention, and child labor. Violation of these laws rights enables corrupt government to gain illegitimate economic advantage in the international market.

Corruption can also sabotage national development. Corruption leads to a loss of government legitimacy and public trust and support. It inhibits the functioning of the market, and distorts

the allocation and use of resources. Hence hampering trade and deterring investment.

### **Other effects of corruption**

Observation and experience tell it all. Corruption reduces or worsens public services and expenditure; reduces employment, cuts down life expectancy, weakens the government, resulting into disappearances of law and order, thus causing immeasurable political and social consequences. Detriments of corruption also include economic vulnerability of citizens as income and distribution of welfare suffer; transparency disappears, speculative capital gets encouraged, long term investment withers, causing money volatility and resulting into economic instability.

“Corruption does more than this. It erodes confidence in leadership, weakens the structure of political organizations and the bureaucracy, creates social unrest, increases poverty, reduces the revenue of the government, creates unlevelled playing field, reduces productivity and creates an unfavorable impression of a country and its people.”

### **Remedial measures of corruption.**

Leadership in the country has a key role to play in combating corruption. Leaders and those with authority, high regard and esteem. Hence the top leadership must set a good example with respect to honesty, integrity and hard work.

Since fighting corruption will involve taking difficult decisions, the leadership must also display firmness, political will and commitment to carry out the required reforms to counteract corruption.

Involving people. Publicity campaigns to create awareness of the adverse effects of corruption and a clear and unequivocal official pronouncement on the desirability to bring it under control, would be helpful. Ordinary citizens have first hand experience with corruption, they are good source of information. Their help and cooperation should be solicited for the successful launch of an anti- corruption drive.

Once people are convinced that a sincere and genuine effort to combat corruption is underway, they will respond positively and extend their full cooperation in resolving the problem. Just a little opening up and providing opportunities for them to express their views on the matter, will bring helpful information.

### **Responsible Press:**

A responsible press to gather, analyze, organize, present and disseminate information is considered vital to create greater public awareness and provide the momentum for undertaking reforms to overcome corruption. Secretiveness has been a key factor that has enabled public officials and politicians to get away with corruption. A responsible and an investigative press has played an important role in the country in exposing misconduct, as well as in serving as a watchdog to limit corruption and preventing it from getting out of hand.

Combating corruption demands political commitment at highest level of government which can in turn be supported by pressure from civil societies outside the government, including the private sector, civil servants and influential citizens.

## **Specific measures adopted by government to fight corruption**

### **Promoting transparency and accountability.**

The introduction of the Leadership Code of Ethics, Act No: 13 of 1995 was intended to ensure that present and future leaders adhere to the highest standards of conduct. This law differentiates between declarable assets and non declarable assets, identifying what to declare and what not to declare.

Another significant initiative was the amendment of the prevention of Corruption Act to transform the Anti-corruption Squad to the prevention of Corruption Bureau with a more comprehensive mandate including investigation prevention and public education.

### **The Presidential Commission on Corruption (The Warioba Commission)**

In 1998 the President appointed a Commission led by the former Prime Minister Joseph Warioba. This Commission catalogued a large number of public grievances on corruption and revealed that the public had lost confidence in the government's ability and will to contain corruption.

The Warioba report was remarkable for the detailed analysis. A large number of documented cases were presented. The report concluded that corruption had penetrated to the core of Tanzania society and had become endemic.

Appointment of Good Governance Minister who is responsible for among other things for monitoring overall strategy and implementation of ant-corruption measures. The National Anti-corruption Strategy focuses on the need for transparency and accountability in the government.

### Conclusions

Problems in governance occur when a government is not only corrupt, but when it is also inefficient, unresponsive or secretive. Essentially, when a government is ineffectual, it is considered to be corrupt. Corruption is fundamentally caused by low wages, poor incentives structure and inefficient system. It is also caused by the desire for unfair advantage and the knowledge that one will not be caught or punished for corrupt behavior.

Corruption is not just about ethics, it is also about how the government is set up and managed. Parliament and parliamentarians must oversee the way government works so that corrupt behavior is punishable, and opportunities for corruption are limited through laws.

## CHAPTER 2

*A direct democracy gives the voting population the power to; change constitutional laws, put forth initiatives, referendums and suggestions for laws, give binding orders to elective officials, such as revoking them before the end of their elected term.*

## DEMOCRATIC PRACTICES IN TANZANIA

### The concept of democracy

Democracy is a form of government in which all citizens have an equal say in the decisions that affect their lives. Ideally, this includes equal (and more or less direct) participation in proposals, development and passage of legislation into law.

It comes from the Greek word *demokratia* which is a union of two words *demos* meaning common people and *kratos* which means power. Therefore democracy can simply be defined as the power of the common people.

There is no specific, universally accepted definition of 'democracy', but **equality** and **freedom** both have been identified as important characteristics of democracy since ancient times.

These principles are reflected in all citizens being equal before the law and having equal access to legislative processes. For example, in a representative democracy, every vote has equal weight, no unreasonable restrictions can apply to anyone seeking to become a representative, and the freedom of its citizens

is secured by legitimized rights and liberties that are generally protected by a Constitution.

Democracy came into existence because many people wanted freedom and equal treatment before the law and other aspects of human life related to socio-economic and political issues.

During the ancient times many governments were practising dictatorship in which citizens were mistreated and they were not given freedom to express their views, suggestions, and ideas on how they want to be governed.

Many governments were ruled by Kings and Dictators who came from a wealthy and powerful family/class. This can be traced back when Europe was under the Roman Empire. During that time, all the powers were vested to leaders. The citizens were just followers who were submissive to the ruling body. Therefore, people were forced to follow and obey anything coming from the government, whether good or bad. The citizens were not allowed to criticize, challenge or raise any objection to the government. The leaders were seen as God, so they were referred as Holy people.

These hardships catalyzed the birth of democracy which made people live as humans.

### **Genesis of Democracy**

Democracy has its formal in Ancient Greece in the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> Century Before Christ in some Greek city-states, especially Athens due to a popular uprising in 508 BC. This was referred as **Direct democracy or Athenian democracy**, and it came due to the movement of common people to demand

equality and freedom. Greece was a slave owning society characterized by inequality and lack of freedom. During ancient times in Greece, women, slaves, foreigners, and males under 20 years were lowly regarded, and they were not allowed to vote for the Assembly.

The term democracy first appeared in ancient Greek political and philosophical thought. According to Plato, democracy is an alternative system of monarchy (rule by one individual), oligarchy (rule by a small elite class) and timocracy (ruling class of property owners).

Although the Athenian democracy is today considered by many to have been a form of direct democracy, but originally it had two distinguishing features. First the allotment (selection by lot) of ordinary citizens to government offices and courts. Secondly the assembly of all citizens.

It was possible to practice this form of democracy as it covered a small area, the population was low and it involved a certain group of people only, i.e. males above 20 years old. Democratic practices were also evidenced in earlier societies including Mesopotamia, Phoenicia and India. Another possible example of primitive democracy may have been the early Sumerian city-states. A similar proto-democracy or oligarchy existed temporarily among the Medes (Ancient Iranian people) in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, which came to an end after the Achaemenid (Persian) Emperor Darius the Great who declared that the best monarchy was better than the best oligarchy or best democracy.

Although the term democracy was often not used for civilizations outside Europe in ancient times, there were organizations of

government very akin to democracy in some African societies such as the Igbo nation, what is now Nigeria. A serious claim for early democratic institutions came from the independent republics of India, Sanghas and Ganas which existed as early as the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC and persisted in some areas until the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. Most historians suggested that independent and democratic states existed in India; however modern scholars urged that democracy at the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC was degraded and could mean any autonomous state, no matter how oligarchic it was.

### **The evolution and spread of democracy;**

There are many countries that played an important role in the evolution and spread of democracy, like Ancient Rome, Europe, North and South America.

The concept of representative arose largely from ideas and institutions that developed during the European Middle Ages and the Age of Enlightenment, the American and French Revolutions.

The right to vote has been expanded in many jurisdictions overtime from relatively narrow groups (such as wealthy men of a particular ethnic group), with New Zealand the first country to grant universal suffrage for all her citizens in 1893. The United States of America adopted the principle of natural freedom and equality in its Constitution in 1788 as important movement towards the creation of a democratic state. France passed through different stages in the implementation of democracy during the ancient times. In 1789 France adopted the Declaration of the rights of man and of citizen, though short lived. In 1792 the

National Convention was attended by males only. In 1848 there was a French Revolution which resulted to the introduction of the Universal male suffrage.

In 1848 there were several revolutions that took place in Europe as rulers were confronted with popular demands for liberal constitutions and more democratic government. Liberal democracies were few and often short lived before late 19<sup>th</sup> century, various nations and territories had also claimed to be the first with universal suffrage.

During the 20<sup>th</sup> century transitions to liberal democracy had come into successive waves of democracy resulting from wars (WWI & WWII), revolutions, decolonization and religious and economic movements.

After the Second World War, there was a cold war which divided the world into two blocs, the Western Bloc headed by the US and the Eastern Bloc headed by the former USSR. The Western Bloc was advocating democracy under the capitalistic ideology, while the Eastern Bloc was undemocratic and spread communistic/socialistic ideology. The formal collapse of the USSR in 1980s, led to the end of the cold war, hence the rapid spread of democratization and liberalization to the former Eastern Bloc members, plus other countries in Africa, Asia and Eastern Europe. The spread of democracy to the entire world was ignited by the people's demand for equality and freedom, which was demonstrated through strikes, revolutions and civil wars.

### **Forms of democracy**

Democracy has taken a number of forms since its birth. All these forms are brought by the nature of the people (cultural diversity)

and the way it is practised. For example, there is a difference between the way Europeans and Africans exercise democracy. There are different types of democracy:

**Representative democracy** involves the selection of government officials by the people being represented. If the Head of State is also democratically elected, then it is called a democratic country. The most common mechanisms involve election of the candidate with a majority or a plurality of the votes. Representatives may be elected or become diplomatic representatives by a particular district (or constituency), or represent the entire electorate proportionally. Proportional systems with some using a combination of the two. Some representative democracies also incorporate elements of direct democracy, such as referendums.

A characteristic of representative democracy is that while the representatives are elected by the people to act in their interest, they retain the freedom to exercise their own judgment as how best to do so. **Parliamentary democracy** is a representative democracy where government is appointed by parliamentary representatives as opposed to a 'presidential rule' wherein the President is both head of state and the head of government and is elected by the voters.

Under a parliamentary democracy, government is exercised by delegation to an executive ministry and subject to extent to which the will of the majority can be exercised against the rights of minorities.

**Liberal democracy** is a representative democracy in which the ability of the elected representatives to exercise decision-making power is subject to the rule of law, and usually moderated by

a constitution that emphasizes the protection of the rights and freedoms of individuals, and which places constraints on the leaders and on the ties. In a liberal democracy, it is possible for some large-scale decisions to emerge from the many individual decisions that citizens are free to make. In other words, citizens can "vote with their feet" or "vote with their dollars", resulting in significant informal government-by-the-masses that exercises many "powers" associated with formal government elsewhere.

**Constitutional democracy** is, also known as liberal democracy is a common form of representative democracy. According to the principles of liberal democracy, elections should be free and fair, and the political process should be competitive. Political pluralism is usually defined as the presence of multiple and distinct political parties.

A liberal democracy may take various constitutional forms: it may be a constitutional republic; as the United States, India, Germany or Brazil, or a constitutional monarchy, such as the United Kingdom, Japan, Canada or Spain. It may have a presidential system (United States, Brazil), a parliamentary system (Westminster system, UK and Commonwealth countries, Spain), or a hybrid, semi-presidential system (France).

**Direct democracy** is a political system where the citizens participate in the decision-making personally, contrary to relying on intermediaries or representatives. The supporters of direct democracy argue that democracy is more than merely a procedural issue.

A direct democracy gives the voting population the power to; change constitutional laws, put forth initiatives, referendums and

suggestions for laws, give binding orders to elective officials, such as revoking them before the end of their elected term, or initiating a lawsuit for breaking a campaign promise. Of the three measures mentioned, most operate in developed democracies today.

This is part of a gradual shift towards direct democracies. Examples of this include the extensive use of referendums in California with more than 20 million voters, and in Switzerland, where five million voters decide on national referendums and initiatives two to four times a year. Direct democratic instruments are also well established at the cantonal and communal level. Vermont towns have been known for their yearly town meetings, held every March to decide on local issues.

No direct democracy is in existence outside the framework of a different overarching form of government. Most direct democracies to date have been weak forms, relatively small communities, usually city-states. The world is yet to see a large, fundamental, working example of direct democracy as of yet, with most examples being small and weak forms.

**Inclusive democracy** is a political theory and political project that aims for direct democracy in all fields of social life: political democracy in the form of face-to-face assemblies that are confederated, economic democracy in a stateless, moneyless and marketless economy, democracy in the social realm, i.e. self in places of work and education, and ecological democracy which aims to reintegrate society and nature. The theoretical project of inclusive democracy emerged from the work of political philosopher Takis Fotopoulos in “Towards An Inclusive Democracy” and was further developed in the journal

Democracy & Nature and its successor The International Journal of Inclusive Democracy.

The basic unit of decision making in an inclusive democracy is the demotic assembly, i.e. the assembly of demos, the citizen body in a given geographical area which may encompass a town and the surrounding villages, or even neighborhoods of large cities. An inclusive democracy today can only take the form of a confederal democracy that is based on a network of administrative councils whose members or delegates are elected from popular face-to-face democratic assemblies in the various demoi.

Thus, their role is purely administrative and practical, not one of policy-making like that of representatives in representative democracy. The citizen body is advised by experts but it is the citizen body which functions as the ultimate decision-taker. Authority can be delegated to a segment of the citizen body to carry out specific duties, for example to serve as members of popular courts, or of regional and confederal councils. Such delegation is made, in principle, by lot, on a rotation basis, and is always recallable by the citizen body. Delegates to regional and confederal bodies should have specific mandates.

### **Sortition democracy**

Sometimes called “democracy without elections”, sortition is the process of choosing decision makers via a random process. The intention is that those chosen will be representative of the opinions and interests of the people at large, and be more fair and impartial than an elected official. The technique was in widespread use in Athenian Democracy and is still used in modern jury selection.

### **Consensus democracy**

Consensus democracy requires varying degrees of consensus rather than just a mere democratic majority. It typically attempts to protect minority rights from domination by majority rule.

### **Cosmopolitan democracy/World federalism**

Is a political system in which democracy is implemented on a global scale, either directly or through representatives. An important justification for this kind of system is that the decisions made in national or regional democracies often affect people outside the constituency who, by definition, cannot vote. By contrast, in a cosmopolitan democracy, the people who are affected by decisions also have a say in them. According to its supporters, any attempt to solve global problems is undemocratic without some form of cosmopolitan democracy.

The general principle of cosmopolitan democracy is to expand some or all of the values and norms of democracy, including the rule of law; the non-violent resolution of conflicts; and equality among citizens, beyond the limits of the state. To be fully implemented, this would require reforming existing international organizations, e.g. the United Nations, as well as the creation of new institutions such as a World Parliament, which ideally would enhance public control over, and accountability in, international politics. The creation of the International Criminal Court in 2003 was seen as a major step forward by many supporters of this type of cosmopolitan democracy.

### **Democracy and human development**

Democracy correlates with a higher score on the human development index and a lower score on the human poverty index.

Democracies have the potential to put in place better education, longer life expectancy, lower infant mortality, access to drinking water, and better health care than dictatorships. This is not due to higher levels of foreign assistance or spending a larger percentage of GDP on health and education. The reason is that, the available resources are managed better.

Several health indicators (*life expectancy, infant and maternal mortality*) have a stronger and more significant association with democracy than they have with GDP per capita, size of the public sector, or income inequality. In the post-Communist nations, after an initial decline, those that are the most democratic have achieved the greatest gains in life expectancy. Statistically, more democracy correlates with a higher gross domestic product (GDP) per capita.

However, there is disagreement regarding how much credit the democratic system can take for this. One observation is that democracy became widespread only after the industrial revolution and the introduction of capitalism. On the other hand, the industrial revolution started in England which was one of the most democratic nations of its time, within its own borders. (But this democracy was very limited and did not apply to the colonies that contributed significantly to the master's wealth).

Several statistical studies support the theory that more capitalism, measured for example with several Indices of Economic Freedom which has been used in many studies by independent researchers, increases economic growth and that this in turn increases general prosperity, reduces poverty, and causes democratization.

This is a statistical tendency, and there are individual exceptions like India, which is democratic but arguably not prosperous, or



Brunei, which has a high GDP but has never been democratic. There are also other studies suggesting that more democracy increases economic freedom although a few find no or even a small negative effect. One objection might be that nations like Sweden and Canada today score just below nations like Chile and Estonia on economic freedom, but that Sweden and Canada today have a higher GDP per capita.

However, this is a misunderstanding, the studies indicate effect on economic growth and thus that future GDP per capita will be higher with higher economic freedom. Also, according to the index, Sweden and Canada are among the world's most capitalist nations, due to factors such as strong rule of law, strong property rights, and few restrictions against free trade. Critics might argue that the Index of Economic Freedom and other methods used do not measure the degree of capitalism, preferring some other definition.

Some argue that economic growth due to its empowerment of citizens, will ensure a transition to democracy in countries like Cuba. However, other dispute this. Even if economic growth has caused democratization in the past, it may not do so in the future. Dictators may now have learned how to have economic growth without causing more political freedom.

A high degree of oil or mineral exports is strongly associated with nondemocratic rule. This effect applies worldwide and not only to the Middle East. Dictators who have this form of wealth can spend more on their security apparatus and provide social amenities that lessen public unrest. Also, such wealth is not followed by the social and cultural changes that may transform societies with ordinary economic growth.

A recent meta-analysis finds that democracy has no direct effect on economic growth. However, it has strong and significant indirect effects that contribute to economic growth. Democracy is associated with higher human capital accumulation, lower inflation, lower political instability, and higher economic freedom. There is also some evidence that it is associated with larger governments and more restrictions on international trade.

If leaving out East Asia, then during the last forty-five years, poor democracies have grown their economies more rapidly than no democracies. Poor democracies such as the Baltic countries, Botswana, Costa Rica, Ghana, and Senegal have grown more rapidly than no democracies such as Angola, Syria, Uzbekistan, and Zimbabwe.

Of the eighty worst financial catastrophes during the last four decades, only five were in democracies. Similarly, poor democracies are half likely as no democracies to experience a 10 percent decline in GDP per capita over the course of one year.

### **Causes and challenges of multiparty democracy in Tanzania**

The United Republic of Tanzania was established in April 1964, following the amalgamation of the former independent states of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. The United Republic came about after a long and harsh period of colonisation. Tanganyika was first colonised by the Germans and later handed over to the British in 1920 under the trusteeship system through a mandate from the League of Nations. Tanganyika attained independence in December 1961 under the leadership of Julius Nyerere. The transition to independence,

however, was achieved without violence that dominated the struggle for independence in countries such as Kenya.

In 1962, when Nyerere assumed the mantle of power, the country effectively operated under a de facto one-party state. A de jure one-party state was proclaimed in 1965, after the adoption of recommendations by a Presidential Commission on constitutional matters.

The constitution was amended by Parliament. The role of national elections was retained, although the candidates for elections were selected by the political party (TANU). There was a stipulation that each seat could be contested by two candidates in order to ensure that no member could be elected without commanding a majority of support.

The 1965 election and subsequent national elections under the one-party system were conducted under these rules. Presidential elections were held at the same time as parliamentary elections and Julius Nyerere regularly contested elections every five years from 1965 to 1980.

At independence, it was unclear which development path Tanzania would follow. Nyerere espoused egalitarian concerns and indicated his preference for a socialist economic policy.

The first five-year development plan emphasised the Africanisation of the bureaucracy, the villagisation of the agrarian sector and the overhaul of manufacturing industries.

The plan was premised on the basis of a mixed economy and articulated a strategy that sought joint investment and private

capital. The failure to attract such capital led to a re-evaluation of the strategy. It was against this background that the Arusha Declaration of 1967 was proclaimed.

## THE ARUSHA DECLARATION

The Arusha Declaration of 1967 tried to establish a more egalitarian society, placed emphasis on self-reliance, and avoided dependence upon foreign aids or loans. The strategy entailed that the state owns the main means of production and vital services. Consequently, commercial banks, industries, and leading import and export houses, were nationalised. Nyerere argued:

“We in Tanzania should move from being a nation of individual peasant producers who are gradually adopting the incentives and the ethics of the capitalist system. Instead we should gradually become a nation of Ujamaa system in which people form small groups and where these small groups cooperate in joint enterprises.”

Central to this strategy of self-reliance was the development of the agrarian sector. Nyerere’s version of socialism was based on the principle of Ujamaa, which emphasised a strong family solidarity found within traditional African societies. By deploying the values of Ujamaa, Nyerere sought to unite Tanzania, placing particular emphasis on communal living in Ujamaa villages. The pursuit of such a strategy was justified by Tanzania’s predominantly rural population whom the government sought to reach and encourage to unite in co-operative production.

For Nyerere, these villages were essential entities which would promote equality and prevent the emergence of too rich farmers. Ujamaa also sought to strengthen national identity which, Nyerere argued, had been undermined by colonial domination.

In the agrarian sector, the government introduced state marketing monopolies (parastatals) to handle crops and consumer goods. In 1970, under the Buildings Act, all buildings valued in excess of Shs100 000 were nationalised. The policy of villagisation or Ujamaa vijijini became one of the key strategies.

Initially, the government relied upon voluntary associations setting up villages in remote areas and providing inducements for new settlements. However, in 1973, the leadership started a programme of enforced villagisation, and by 1980, 91% of the rural population lived in Ujamaa villages.

### **Domestic problems and disillusionment with the Arusha experiment**

By the mid 1970s, the Tanzanian economy began to falter rapidly as a result of the ambitious and, in most cases, unrealistic development policies that had been adopted. Despite the rhetoric of self-reliance, Tanzania continued to depend on foreign aid. The economy hit a crisis point by the end of the decade when it found it was increasingly difficult to meet its debt obligations.

In light of these difficulties, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank urged the Tanzanian government to abandon its socialist policies and adopt a structural adjustment programme (SAP). President Nyerere, undaunted, refused to accede to these demands. The economic crisis was exacerbated

by the rapid decline in exports and Tanzania's inability to import even the most basic commodities.

The villagisation programme was also seen as a failure as it became evident that peasant farmers were not producing as effectively on a co-operative basis, leading to an overall decrease in agricultural production. The economy was further affected adversely by the fuel oil shocks in the 1970s, also by drought and by the war with Uganda.

In an attempt to rescue the economy, a National Economic Survival Programme (NESP) was launched in 1980. This plan, however, proved ineffective as it was designed on the principles of self-reliance, albeit with a large external resource component. When external funds were not forthcoming, the plan effectively collapsed. By 1982, the country had plunged further into economic chaos as smuggling became rampant and the secondary economy became the only means of survival for the majority of the population. Even though Nyerere accepted an SAP, he was never willing to accede to the demands of the international donor community. As Booth points out, the process was designed to appease the IMF and the World Bank in order to obtain sorely needed aid rather than to restructure the economy fundamentally.

In 1985, Nyerere stepped down as President and Ali Hassan Mwinyi took over. Nevertheless, Nyerere continued to be an important political figure by retaining the position of chairperson of the ruling party Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), which was formed in 1977 after the amalgamation of the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) and TANU.

The departure of Nyerere from the presidency allowed the new government to embark upon a World Bank-IMF sponsored Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) that lasted for three years. The emphasis was on the correction of external imbalances, reducing budget deficits, reducing inflation and providing adequate incentives to producers, as well as exchange rate adjustment, trade liberalisation and reduction of the public sector. Little attention was paid to social services and infrastructure such as education, health and roads which, as a result, declined rapidly during the course of the recovery programme. Consequently, at the end of the life of the ERP, Tanzania remained in serious crisis with inflation hovering well in excess of 30%.

In 1989, when the term of the ERP expired, an Economic and Social Adjustment Programme (ESAP) was adopted. The deleterious effects of the ERP on the population, with a real decline in wages, increasing inflation, increasing unemployment, as well as a growing unequal distribution of income coupled with a decay of social services, led the ESAP to emphasize the rehabilitation of infrastructure and the provision of essential services, albeit on a cost sharing or user pays basis.

The negative effects of the ERP and growing opposition to the government, no doubt assisted by the democratising wave that swept through Africa in the early 1990s, led to demands for political liberalisation.

The impetus for liberalisation came not only from opponents of the ERP who blamed the one-party state for the country's economic woes, but also from the fatigued international donor community under the aegis of the World Bank which advocated good governance as an essential part of the reform process. The

calls for political liberalisation were spurred by the critical role of Julius Nyerere, who challenged the ruling party's legitimacy in a public speech in February 1990, arguing that it had lost touch with the people. In 1991, Nyerere resigned from his position as chairperson of the CCM and advocated that Tanzania should move towards a competitive political system.

### **Political liberalisation and competitive politics**

Nyerere's influence on the politics of Tanzania meant that the CCM finally relented and President Mwinyi appointed the Nyalali Commission to recommend whether Tanzania should operate in a multiparty environment. The commission presented a draft report to the President in December 1991, in which it recommended the adoption of a multiparty system. In addition, the commission recommended that 40 pieces of repressive legislation should be repealed and a body established to oversee the transition. A Constitutional Commission was to be appointed and a programme of political education in democracy was to be instituted.

In February 1992, the CCM repealed the single-party clause and paved the way for the parliament to pass a Political Parties Act in June, 1992. Effectively allowing for a multiparty system.

The Act stipulated that new political parties had to be registered with the Registrar of Political Parties with a minimum of 200 members each from the 10 regions in the country, including Zanzibar and Pemba. In addition, parties had to satisfy the Registrar that they were not formed on an ethnic, regional, religious or sectarian basis.

The delay in implementing this legislation provided an important opportunity for the CCM to consolidate its position.

During the one-party system, the state and the party had become inseparable, with the latter financially dependent upon the former. In the new environment, the CCM had to be financially self-reliant. The party mounted a campaign to recruit new members in the light of declining numbers during the 1980s. The result of the campaign was that, in virtually all regions of the country, the party was able to increase its membership.

The delay in legalising the multiparty system proved disadvantageous to opposition parties who were unable to operate as a result of prevailing constitutional requirements. The opposition's difficulties were compounded by the President who decreed that the debate on multipartyism was to be restricted to the **Nyalali Commission**, effectively gagging the opposition.

The opposition, undaunted, coalesced to form the Steering Committee for the Seminar on Transition to Multiparty Democracy. After the seminar was held, the committee transformed itself into the National Committee for Constitutional Reforms (NCCR). The NCCR elected Chief Abdullah Fundikira as its chairperson and established a secretariat.

The NCCR argued that the Nyalali Commission was an unnecessary waste of scarce resources, because it could not deny people their most fundamental human rights. The NCCR threatened the government that unless it legalised the multiparty system within a year, the opposition would go ahead regardless of the legal requirements. In addition, it called on the President to establish a transitional government while preparing for multiparty elections.

While the opposition initially gained a great deal of momentum and support, it began to suffer from problems of disunity

once the government acceded to its demands for a multiparty system. These problems not only exposed the opposition's poor organisational skills but also its lack of a social base. The problems of disunity in the Tanzanian opposition mirror those that plagued the Kenyan opposition that also split once a multiparty system was established.

Once the task of freeing the political system was achieved, the opposition in both countries found themselves in disarray as sectional interests became paramount. In Tanzania, the disunity of the opposition was evident with the declared intention of 24 political parties to seek registration. The majority of these parties were led by discontent former CCM members. They either had been marginalized by or expelled from the ruling party had endured detention or had been exiled. This was the case with opposition parties such as the Union for Multiparty Democracy led by Chief Abdallah Fundikira, the Tanzania Democratic Alliance Party led by Oscar Kambona and the Civic United Front led by James Mapalala and Seif Hamad.

The opposition called for a national convention as was recommended by the Nyalali Commission to lay the foundations of a democratic agenda for Tanzania. Furthermore, there were calls to establish a Constitutional Commission to draft a new constitution, which was to be ratified by a constituent assembly specifically convened for this purpose. However, these demands, were rejected by CCM.

Zanzibar has always been treated as an exception. Zanzibar politics revolve around the manner in which the union was created. The violent overthrow of the Arab Sultan, and the fact that the terms of the union were never openly discussed, remain

divisive. As part of this arrangement, the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) was permitted to operate within the one-party system.

The Nyalali Commission was forced to address the Zanzibar question as the rift between politics on the mainland and the island widened. The commission proposed institutional changes to the structure of the union - from a union with two governments to a federation with three governments.

The commission's proposal was in recognition of problems and concerns over citizenship, the control of foreign exchange, the collection and distribution of taxes and customs duties and the formula for contributions to the Republic's expenses.

The commission recognised discontent with the union agreement, which had created neither a federal nor unitary state. Rather, it had allowed for a separate Zanzibar government with its own president and institutions of power, as well as a union government which controlled the mainland with jurisdiction over foreign affairs, defence, communications, currency and higher education for the entire country.

A highly contentious point was the fact that mainland citizens were denied the opportunity to purchase land on the island and required a passport to enter Zanzibar, while no such restrictions were imposed on Zanzibaris. CCM rejected the recommendation and in a speech to parliament on 30 April 1992, the prime minister argued:

“Honorable Members will agree with me that the solution to these problems will not be obtained through the introduction of a Federation with Three Governments. On the contrary, that will

be the beginning of an erosion of unity and co-operation of the Tanzania which has been built since 1964. It will create a fissure which enemies of the union will use to break it. That will not be in the interest of Tanzanians as a whole ... We do not see that there is any sound argument, legal or political, for changing the present structure of two Governments, and starting another of three. We believe that a structure of three Governments will weaken our Union politically and economically.”

Despite overwhelming support for this position, however, the parliament later passed a unanimous resolution demanding that the government introduce a bill which would allow for a Government of Tanganyika thereby adopting a three government structure.

This change was precipitated by concerns about the election of the Vice-President and Zanzibar's decision to join the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC). The election of the vice-president was necessitated by changes to the constitution as a result of the introduction of the multiparty system. In order to deal with these constitutional changes, President Mwinyi appointed a committee to recommend changes with Mark Bomani as chairperson.

**The Bomani Committee** proposed that, in the light of the practice of having two vice-presidents, the prime minister of the union government and the president of Zanzibar, there should be a single vice-president for the United Republic. It further recommended adopting the American model of choosing the Vice-President with the proviso that the vice-president come from a different part of the union as the president thus ensuring that all of the union's interests were represented.

It was felt that the American system where the president stood for election with a vice-presidential candidate would ensure that both came from the same political party. While this recommendation received support on the mainland, it was unacceptable in Zanzibar.

The CCM Central Committee recommended to the National Executive Committee (NEC) that the system in place, in deference to Zanzibar's opposition, should be retained. It was at this point that Nyerere aired his views, pointing out the problems that existed with the introduction of a multiparty system. The NEC, however, failed to deal with the issue and instead referred it to parliament, requesting a period of two years in which to consider the recommendation further.

In 1992, as political liberalisation became a reality, events in Zanzibar threatened the very nation which Nyerere had forged. A private newspaper, *Motomoto*, reported that Zanzibar had joined the OIC. Although the revelation sent reverberations around the government with regard to the making of foreign policy, President Mwinyi initially defended the Zanzibari position on the grounds that it was constitutional. However, when the Parliamentary Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committee investigated the allegations, it concluded that Zanzibar's actions were unconstitutional and recommended its withdrawal from the OIC.

In addition, the committee called for those officials who were involved to be punished for undertaking such an 'illegal' action. During the debate in the National Assembly where the parliamentary committee's report was being considered, the deputy speaker, Pius Mseka, cut short the debate when the National Assembly resolved to shelve the committee's report for

a year to allow the governments of Zanzibar and of the union to discuss the issue.

President Mwinyi, recognising the tensions within CCM, asked Julius Nyerere to mediate. At the very time that Nyerere was attempting to resolve the crisis, a number of mainland parliamentarians from the single-party CCM parliament tabled a motion demanding the establishment of a Government of Tanganyika.

Nyerere was finally able to convince Zanzibar to withdraw from the OIC, as well as to accept the Bomani Committee's recommendations regarding the procedure for electing the vice-president. However, the mainland parliamentarians did not withdraw the motion, but instead tabled a motion calling for a referendum to decide on this issue. Despite the previous opposition by the government, in a surprising turn of events, the parliament unanimously accepted the motion without debate. Nyerere explained this dramatic acquiescence:

*"It appears that what our Leaders were actually afraid of was the debating, for they would be forced to show their true colors ... So our Government simply fizzled out, like a punctured balloon. I think even the MPs who had tabled the original motion were amazed!"*

The issue was decided finally by a referendum of CCM party members in which nearly 40% of the total membership voted. The vote, as reported to the NEC of the party in 1994, was that 62% of the members wished to retain the existing system, while 29% favored a single government and only 9% supported a three government structure.

The transitional period coincided with the timetable for elections that were to be held in 1995. During this time, the CCM consolidated its position and controlled all institutions. It established the rules under which new political parties were to operate and frequently intervened in the ‘national interest’.

The CCM represented itself as the party that upheld Tanzania’s record of peace, stability and solidarity in contrast to the opposition that threatened the very fabric of the nation by articulating particular interests. In particular, it refused media access to the opposition by not relinquishing its hold on the sole national broadcasting agency, Radio Tanzania.

In addition, it refused both to repeal the 40 pieces of repressive legislation which made it difficult for the opposition to function, as well as to mount a democracy education programme. This allowed the government to intimidate the opposition. Critically, during the transition phase, the CCM remained dominant and the boundaries between the government and the party remained blurred.

The long transitional period meant that it was difficult for the opposition to maintain a coherent position. The initial euphoria of multipartyism waned as the opposition was unable to provide a viable alternative set of policies. A further problem for the opposition was that it found it extremely difficult to penetrate the rural areas where the CCM had its strongest support, making them largely an urban party.

By the time of the 1995 multiparty elections, 13 political parties were granted registration. The government’s rules prohibited any independent candidates from contesting either the presidential or parliamentary elections.

This stipulation was successfully challenged in the High Court, which ruled that these provisions were unconstitutional as they impinged on the rights of all citizens to participate in government. Despite the High Court ruling, the government successfully passed a constitutional amendment which made these provisions subject to the newly enacted electoral laws. The problems with such a tactic were highlighted by Nyerere who argued:

*“This is very dangerous. Where can we stop? If one section of the Bill of Rights can be amended, what is to stop the whole Bill of Rights being made meaningless by qualifications of, and amendments to, all provisions? I am saying that the basic Rights of the Citizens of this country must be regarded as sacrosanct. The right to participate in Government is essential to democracy. The Right to vote and the Right to stand for elective office are Rights of Citizenship.”*

The main opposition political parties included Chama Cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA), under the leadership of its founder Edwin Mtei. Mtei was a former CCM treasury minister who resigned after differences with Nyerere over adopting IMF policies. CHADEMA did not contest the presidential election, but established close connections with another opposition party, the National Convention for Construction and Reform (NCCR-Mageuzi), which had fielded a candidate. The two parties also agreed to an arrangement that they would form a coalition if they were called to form the government. The NCCR-Mageuzi was the party which gained prominence after Augustine Lyatonga Mrema, a former CCM deputy prime minister, took over the leadership.



The party with the strongest base in Zanzibar was the Civic United Front (CUF) led by Shariff Hamad. It was the most significant party in Pemba and most observers predicted that the CCM would find it difficult to compete with the CUF in the islands. Although it did not have much support in the mainland, it fielded a presidential candidate, Professor Ibrahim Lipumba. Some of the other major political parties included the National Resistance Alliance (NRA), the National League for Democracy (NLD), the Popular National Party (PONA), the Tanzania Democratic Alliance (TADEA), the Tanzania Peoples Party (TPP), the Union for Multiparty Democracy (UMD) and the United Peoples Democratic Party (UPDP).

A large number of opposition parties, as well as opposition disunity clearly favoured the CCM. Nevertheless, the opposition presented a potential challenge to the CCM and was able to point to the rampant corruption and economic mismanagement that had occurred under the aegis of the ruling party.

### **Leadership in the CCM**

While the multiparty elections heralded a new phase in Tanzanian politics, the most important political machinations remained within the CCM. President Mwinyi, under the stipulations of the constitution, was only permitted to serve two terms and this necessitated the identification of a presidential candidate by the CCM. In order to elect the CCM presidential candidate, the party established an elaborate procedure. Aspiring candidates' names had to be submitted to the party's Secretary-General who, in turn, submitted them to the Central Committee. The committee was empowered with the task of drawing up a shortlist of five candidates who were recommended to the NEC which could either

accept or alter the list. Finally, the NEC presented these names to the party congress which elected the candidate by secret ballot.

Although there were 17 candidates for the CCM presidential nomination, based on party's procedures, Benjamin Mkapa was elected by the party congress.

The influence of Julius Nyerere in the election was paramount. In May 1995, he castigated the CCM leadership for corruption and exposed major problems in the party. He made it clear that he would support a candidate who was untainted regardless of the political party which such a candidate represented.

Mkapa's election was endorsed by Nyerere in a speech at Chimwaga. Mkapa, a journalist by profession, had been Nyerere's press secretary and had served as foreign minister both under Nyerere and Mwinyi.

### **The multiparty elections**

The official election campaign was punctuated by confusion. The elections were conducted first in Zanzibar and then in the mainland. The separate Zanzibar elections, made problematic by the major debates over the way in which the union was to be governed, exposed major divisions on the island. The election process was plagued from the beginning by CUF complaints that it was being hindered and intimidated by the CCM. There was a general feeling among the opposition that a free and fair election was not possible.

The CUF campaign emphasised economic liberalisation and closer co-operation with the Arab Gulf states. It was precisely these close ties with the Islamic states that the CCM played

upon, arguing that this was an attempt to exert Arab control over the islands. On 25 October 1995, the CUF claimed victory. However, the final election results were delayed, and the electoral commission declared the CCM presidential candidate, Salmin Armour, as duly elected after attaining 1 565 more votes than the CUF candidate, Seif Shariff Hamad. In the parliamentary elections, the CCM was declared to have won 26 out of 50 seats.

Despite efforts to monitor the election process, it was apparent that the elections were fraught with difficulties when the number of votes counted in two constituencies exceeded the number of voters registered. It was not surprising, therefore, that international election monitors noted major discrepancies in the election process. CUF members have since boycotted the Zanzibar House of Representatives. The European Union and other donors cut aid in what was perceived to be fraudulent elections.

The union elections, held on 29 October 1995, were also disrupted by administrative disorganisation in Dar es Salaam where the elections were postponed and rescheduled for 19 November. The opposition argued that this was a means to promote disorder in areas where the opposition had a big support. In protest, the opposition refused to contest the presidential elections in the re-run in Dar es Salaam. This was an important mechanism for the opposition to gain legitimacy, given that provincial results ensured a CCM victory. Nevertheless, the opposition contested the parliamentary elections.

The election results witnessed the return of the CCM to power. In the presidential race, where four candidates had sought election, Mkapa received 62% of the vote while the opposition candidates

amassed 38%. The election results showed that the CCM was being challenged and that it could not attain the kind of popular support it enjoyed under Nyerere. In the parliamentary elections, the CCM won 186 of the contested seats with the CUF attaining 24 and the NCCR-Mageuzi 16. Because the National Assembly includes a number of nominated seats, the final configuration consisted of the CCM with 214 seats and the opposition with 60.

Although the ruling party, the CCM, retained power, it confronted an economy riddled with problems. There was rising unemployment exacerbated by SAPs, the collapse of infrastructure and poor industrial performance. The state was unable to provide even the most basic social services. This is reflected in the fall of life expectancy figures from 52 years in the early 1990s to 48 years in 2000, as well as the highest infant mortality rate on the continent. The decay of health services can be seen in the banning of x-ray services because of defective machines.

The Tanzanian government has faced an ever increasingly vigilant donor community demanding accountability and transparency. The most pressing concern for international agencies was the failure of the government to collect taxes and curtail the high levels of corruption. The World Bank's refusal to disburse funds was echoed by the donor community which refused the balance of support payments as a result of the Paris Club meeting in 1995.

In 2000, Tanzania held its second multiparty elections. These elections were seen as a foregone conclusion with President Mkapa assured of a second term in office. The opposition parties'

inability to field a single candidate meant that Tanzanians were highly sceptical of the electoral process.

For the average voter, the real issue was the continuing decline in their standard of living. Although the government adopted and met World Bank-IMF expectations, high unemployment, insufficient health services, lack of educational facilities and sheer poverty still remain.

The 2000 elections were not different from the 1995 elections with the CCM able to ensure that they were not operating on a level playing field. The abolition of state subsidies to political parties meant that the opposition was unable to fund their campaign adequately. The problem of the differentiation between the CCM and the state remained.

CCM was again able to intimidate the opposition through the use of police supervising political rallies. In addition, it denied the opposition access to the dominant government media. Although the private media had been permitted to operate, in general, it had little impact on the political agenda. Most significantly, the media, public or private, failed to raise the key issue of economic management.

The opposition, under the aegis of the National Convention for Construction and Reform-Change called for the resignation of Judge Lewis Makame, the chairperson of the National Electoral Commission, on the grounds that he favoured the CCM. Furthermore, the opposition was unable to make any significant electoral inroads. The same four presidential candidates ran for office and it appeared that the opposition had learned nothing from the previous election. International observer teams reported

that the election was relatively fair and free on the mainland. As expected, President Mkapa and the CCM easily retained power.

In the first multiparty elections in 1995, the CCM, with less than a 1% margin, claimed victory in Zanzibar. The opposition CUF claimed widespread rigging and boycotted the assembly. This led to the suspension of donor aid to the island. The 2000 election sadly mirrored the 1995 election. The 2000 election was marred by claims of electoral fraud and violence with troops patrolling the streets.

Although the constitution prohibits religion to be the basis of a political party, the ruling CCM accused the CUF to be an essentially Muslim party. Ironically, the label of an Islamic party helped the CUF to gain further support from the Islamic community. The detention of 18 CUF members without trial for treason exacerbated tensions further. These CUF members were declared to be 'prisoners of conscience' by Amnesty International.

The election was annulled due to irregularities in 16 of the 50 constituencies. The Commonwealth team of observers commented that the election was a shambles. Despite the opposition's demand that a new election should be held, the CCM rejected this, leading to further violence on the island. The re-run was boycotted by the CUF and Amani Abeid Karume was sworn in as Zanzibar's President and the Vice-President of Tanzania. In an attempt to forge unity, Karume's first act was to release the 18 CUF members.

The opposition to CCM rule on Zanzibar nevertheless continued with clashes between the opposition and government. The repression of the opposition resulted in the fleeing of a large

number of Zanzibaris to Kenya, including 14 CUF members of parliament. This crisis represented the biggest challenge to the Tanzanian government, which has always prided itself as a peace loving nation. It is clear, however, that the events in Zanzibar represent the repressive nature of the system that continues to exist in the country.

While most sub-Saharan African countries have endured a great deal of instability - marked by ethnic rivalry, military takeovers, regional and religious conflict - Tanzania has been, until recently, a stalwart of stability.

Tanzania has been at the forefront of the liberation struggles, a haven for refugees from neighbouring countries, and has played an important role in fulfilling the ideals of pan-Africanism. These achievements are in no small measure a testament to the legacy of its founding father, President Julius Nyerere who died on 14<sup>th</sup> October 1999. Although obituaries from all sides of the political spectrum praised Nyerere's achievements, there have been dissenting voices such as that of R.W. Johnson who portrayed him as a flawed hero. The neo-liberal agenda epitomized by Johnson fails to recognise Nyerere's achievements primarily because of his vehement opposition to Western domination.

In the 2000 IMF review of its loans to Tanzania, the IMF commended the Mkapa government for implementing macroeconomic reform. The World Bank and the IMF, that have become the major proponents of contemporary modernisation theory, currently set not only the economic but also the political agenda for sub-Saharan Africa.

The chief executives of the IMF and the World Bank recently travelled to Tanzania to set the economic and political agenda.

It is clear that policy makers in these institutions have the power to determine what counts as knowledge by setting the agenda — whether 'basic needs', 'sustainable development' or 'good governance' - which in turn legitimises their very authority.

Although Tanzania has escaped the more overt political turmoil that its neighboring countries have endured, in the aftermath of the 2000 multiparty elections, the country appears to be open to inter-ethnic rivalry due largely to the Zanzibar question which threatens the union itself.

Zanzibar is the site of the greatest opposition to the ruling CCM party which has been in power since independence. The challenge faced by the current President Kikwete is to deal with the dysfunctional economy and to meet the ever growing demands of its population which has seen a rapid decline of social services. The ideal of self-reliance which was espoused by Nyerere is no longer a choice, but increasingly a necessity.

### **Democracy in Tanzania**

It can be traced back before the attainment of independence in 1961 and even the Union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar which merged to form Tanzania in 1964.

Tanganyika (Tanzania Mainland) had a multiparty political system, The Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), established in 1954 was the overwhelmingly a dominant political party in pre independence Tanganyika. Other political parties were United Tanganyika Party (UTP), the African National Congress (ANC) and All Muslim National Unity of Tanganyika (AMNUT).

In Zanzibar (Tanzania Islands) there were three important political parties prior independence. These included ZNP-Zanzibar Nationalist Party, ASP-Afro Shiraz Party and ZPPP-Zanzibar and Pemba Peoples Party.

The multiparty general election in Tanganyika prior to independence took place in 1958, 1960 and 1962 when Tanganyika became a republic and Mwalimu Nyerere as the first President.

Although all the political parties struggled to bring independence in Tanganyika, soon after the attainment of independence, the ruling party (TANU) under the Chairmanship of Mwalimu Nyerere, denounced opposition parties and introduced the single party system in 1962.

Tanganyika united with Zanzibar in 1964 which led to the birth of The United Republic of Tanzania in which TANU became the only political party in Tanzania Mainland and ASP in Zanzibar after the dissolution of other political parties. This was followed by the introduction of the single party constitution in 1965.

All general elections since 1965 to 1990 were held in a single party system, though they were competitive in nature.

The single party political system didn't give the citizens freedom to join in or form the political parties, even though they were not pleased by the ruling party. The presidential position had one candidate and a shadow or blank, in which the electorate is required to vote for YES for a candidate or NO for a shadow. This system violated the citizens' rights of electing the leader they wanted.

On February 5, 1977, TANU and ASP merged to form Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) a revolutionary state party. It became the sole legal political party in Tanzania.

All candidates had to be approved by CCM and were permitted to campaign only under the CCM platform. Elections within a single party framework were competitive. For example in October 1985, there were 328 candidates competing for 169 elective seats in the National Assembly.

The multiparty political system was officially reintroduced in 1992 after the collapse of the USSR in 1980s and pressure from the donor countries (USA and Europe) the World Bank and International Monetary Fund conditionalities forced the less developed countries including Tanzania to adopt the multiparty system in order to get financial assistance in terms of loans, grants and aids from the donors and financial institutions.

Surprisingly, the majority of Tanzanians refused the introduction of multiparty due to the fear that the political parties will lead to civil wars and disruption of the long existing unity and peace.

The late Mwalimu Nyerere played a major role in educating the Tanzanians on the importance of multiparty system. Surprisingly, he was the one who banned the political parties soon after independence. He realized his mistakes and because of his influence and reputation as the father of the nation, multiparty system was officially signed on 1<sup>st</sup> July, 1992. This marked the era of true democracy in Tanzania, where many political parties registered, including the ruling party (CCM) which was the first party to get the certificate of registration, followed by CUF,

CHADEMA. There after other parties followed suit. These were: NCCR-Mageuzi, UMD, NLD, TPP, UNP, TLP, TADEA, NRA, UPDP, PONA, PPT-Maendeleo etc

In 1995 there were 13 political parties that participated in the general election; however there were a number of irregularities.

Although Tanzania amended her constitution in 1992 to become a multiparty state, CCM still controls the government till today (2011).

### **Challenges of Practising Democracy in Tanzania**

The implementation of democracy has faced a number of constraints in Tanzania, as follow;

#### **Historical challenges;**

Tanzania had a multiparty political system before the attainment of her independence in 1961, the political parties were TANU, ANC, UTP and AMNUT, but soon after independence Mwalimu Nyerere who was TANU Chairman and the first President of Tanganyika, announced a single party political system in 1962 and banned other political parties although they all struggled for independence. Hence a Single Party Constitution was introduced in 1965 and TANU became the only party. All citizens were forced to join TANU whether they liked or not. The first monoparty election was held in 1965, and Mwalimu Nyerere won the presidency.

All Tanzanians were much influenced by the good leadership of Mwalimu Nyerere and the single party system as a unifying factor. The monoparty system lived for more than thirty years (1962 up to 1995) where the first multiparty election was held. It took a long period of time for Tanzanians to be in monoparty system, it was therefore difficult to change them. This can be evidenced in Nyalali Commission of 1992. The public opinion on the reintroduction of multiparty system, revealed that the majority of Tanzanians voted for the single party. Some Tanzanians still fear other political parties that they can be the source of chaos, as a result, they continue voting for the ruling party CCM. The multiparty system is still young in Tanzania, that's why it has not yet received enough public support.

#### **Nature of the citizens;**

The majority of Tanzanians are illiterate and most of them live in rural areas. This is a great challenge for the practice of democracy, as democracy grows quickly in a literate society which has a wide awareness on pertinent issues. Also most of Tanzanians, especially those living in villages don't have access to the mass media like televisions and newspapers, therefore they are less aware of what is happening in the country and the world at large. Furthermore, they do not command civic education because of their low level of education. All these act as an obstacle for the implementation of democracy, since they are most easily tricked and they can't make firm decisions or held their leaders accountable, or be aware of their rights and responsibilities.

#### **The ruling party and government leaders;**

The ruling party (CCM) does not want any criticism or challenges from the opposition parties, and it always tries to create a negative image towards opposition parties so as to

diminish their public support. Also the ruling party has enough resources. It is therefore capable to run many political campaigns to bind and convince its members, compared to other political parties. Some of them can't afford to rent an office. This can be compared as a struggle between an elephant and a bull, where a winner is always the elephant. There must be a fair distribution of resources in order to have a fair play in a political ground. One party should not accumulate many resources while others are not even able to hold a public rally. Also most government leaders strongly support the dominancy and supremacy of the ruling party as opposed to opposition parties.

#### **Public perception to opposition parties;**

The public still has a negative attitude towards the opposition parties as majority of citizens assume that opposition parties will fuel civil wars and ruin the long existing unity among the Tanzanians. That's why they are still supporting the ruling party, which claim to embrace peace and unity. Some of the opposition leaders are referred as traitors (betrayers), this made them lose hope of bringing changes in the government, others were completely disappointed and they decided to return to the ruling party, while some are still dreaming of bringing changes.

#### **Opposition party leaders;**

Most of the opposition party leaders came from the ruling party and some of them had leadership positions, others joined the opposition because they lost their positions in the ruling party. Therefore some didn't join the opposition for the desire to bring changes. Some of the opposition leaders are disorganized, this is seen when an opposition leader is found supporting the ruling party and defaming his fellow opponent. Other factors that

contribute to poor opposition, is lack of good leaders who are able to bring changes, internal conflicts, and lack of commitment among the opposition leaders.

#### **The level of development of a country;**

Tanzania is a developing country, this is a challenge in practising democracy, since it is difficult to implement democracy in a poor country. Democracy goes hand in hand with the dissemination of knowledge, civic education and awareness rising. All these issues require both human and material resources. Sub-Saharan countries are less developed, therefore they encounter constraints in the implementation of authentic democracy.

#### **Other challenges;**

They include, lack of transparency and accountability by the government officials, different ideologies of political parties, corruption and bribery during general elections, fear to join opposition parties among the civil servants, little involvement and participation of citizens in decision making, gender inequality, nepotism and favoritism in leadership positions, unequal distribution or ownership of resources between the political parties, vote fraud, geographical constraints due to poor transport and communication, absence of an independent National Electoral Commission (NEC).

*National debates and people's participation prize open democratic spaces for struggles and organizations of the oppressed and exploited classes – and people become the main defenders of 'their' constitution.*

**A SYMPOSIUM ON  
THE CONSTITUTION OF  
THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF  
TANZANIA.**

Presentation By:

**Prof. Issa G. Shivji**  
Professor of  
Pan-African Studies  
University of Dar es Salaam



*Prof. Issa Shivji*

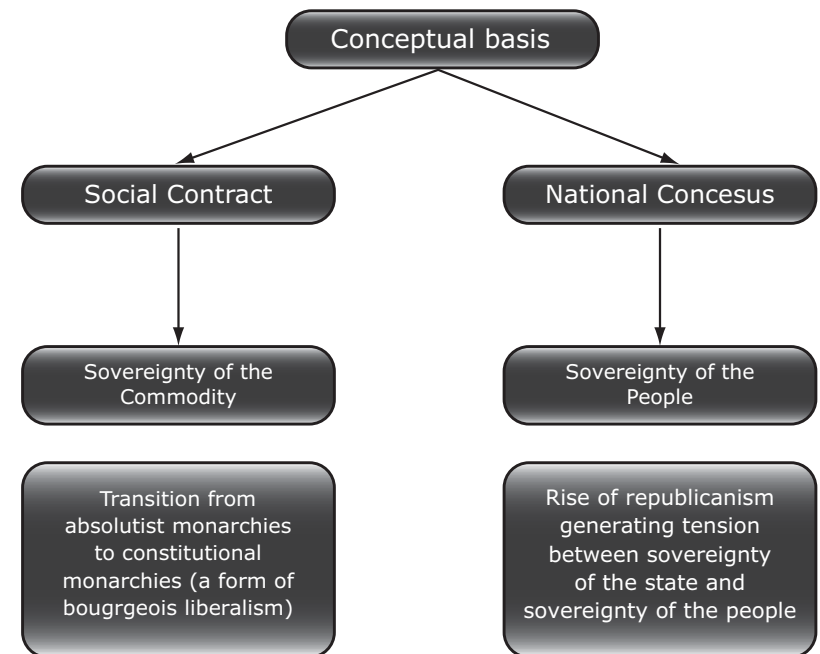
**TOPIC: Constitution-making in Tanzania: Historical and Contemporary Processes.**

**OUTLINE:**

**Framework of analysis**

- i. 50 years of making Tanganyika and Zanzibar constitutions
- ii. Proposal for a people-centered, civil society-based process in making the new constitution
- iii. The role of teachers in the national debate.

**FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS: CENCEPTUAL BASIS**





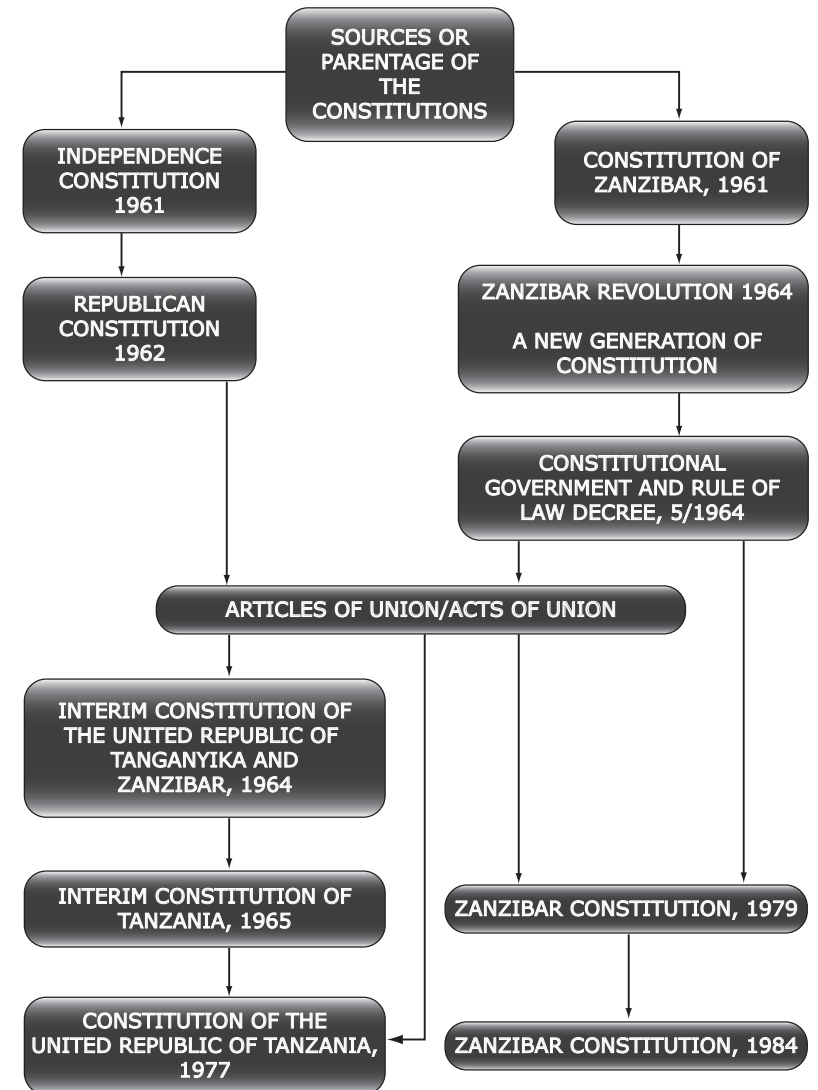
## Framework of Analysis: Political Legitimacy and Legal Authority

- **Political legitimacy:** accepted and respected by the people.
- **Legal authority:** deriving from effective legal process and organs.
- Terrain of building political legitimacy is not always legal/constitution. During Mwalimu's time, it was the party/ideological.
- What is legitimate may not always be legal and what is legal may not always be legitimate. Only when legality and legitimacy coincides, that is when you get hegemony.



*A welcome speech by CETA Director*

## LEGAL SOURCES OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANGANYIKA AND ZANZIBAR



YEAR	NAME	MADE BY	MAIN FEATURES
1963	Independence Constitution	Constituent Assembly (under British tutelage)	Morarchy under the Constitution with the Sultan as the Head of State with some Executive Power exercised on advice of the Cabinet. Parliamentary Executive headed by the Prime Minister.
1964	Republican Constitutional Decrees	Revolutionary Council	A number of Decrees giving the Revolutionary Council legislative and executive powers as an interim measure pending appointment of the Constituent Assembly of the People of Zanzibar within one year. This was indefinitely postponed & constitutionalism and rule of law abandoned.
1979	First Constitution (after the revolution)	Revolutionary Council + Central Committee of CCM	Modeled on 1977 Union Constitution with Executive presidency (directly elected) and House of Representatives with indirect representation through

YEAR	NAME	MADE BY	MAIN FEATURES
1962	Republican Constitution	National Assembly converted into Constituent Assembly	Executive Presidency, Head of State and Head of Government - President
1964	Interim Constitution of the United Republic	President	Two Government Union
1965	One Party Constitution	Parliament Act of Parliament (NO. 43/65)	One Party System. TANU on Mainland & ASP in Zanzibar, TANU (party constitution) made part of the State Constitution.
1977	Union Constitution	Constituent Assembly under	Imperial Presidency Two

**Political Legitimacy and Legal Authority of the Constitution- Making Process so far in Doubt**

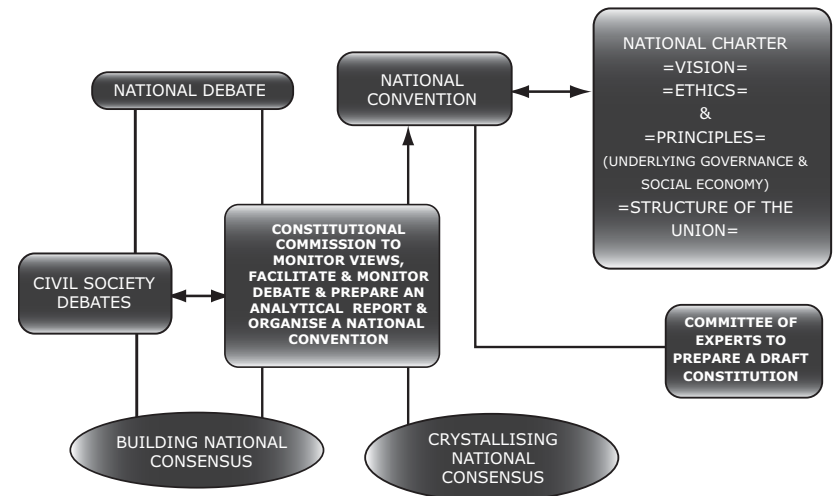
- Constitutional processes so far have lacked meaningful people’s participation, and has put its legal authority in doubt.
- Therefore: Lacks political legitimacy and legal authority and genuine ‘ownership’ of ‘WE THE PEOPLE’, particularly in relation to the Union question . Hence the weak link of our constitution has been a Union concern.
- The reasons why it worked so far relatively smoothly with the exception of the Union, are:
  - (a) Mwalimu’s leadership – popular, trusted and dedicated;



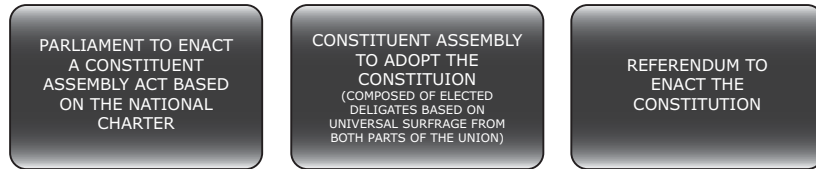
*KAS personnel listening to students’ contributions*

- (b) The terrain of building political legitimacy was not legal or constitutional, but ideological (Arusha Declaration);
- (c) One – Party System – With single party in both parts of the Union.
- These conditions don’t exist now Since 1983/84 in the case of the Union, and since 1995 with introduction of multi party system, we entered a situation of constitutional crisis.
- Hence we need to rebuild a national consensus and place the Union on a firm political and legal foundation.
- “The time is now - Tomorrow will be too late”

**POLITICAL PROCESS**



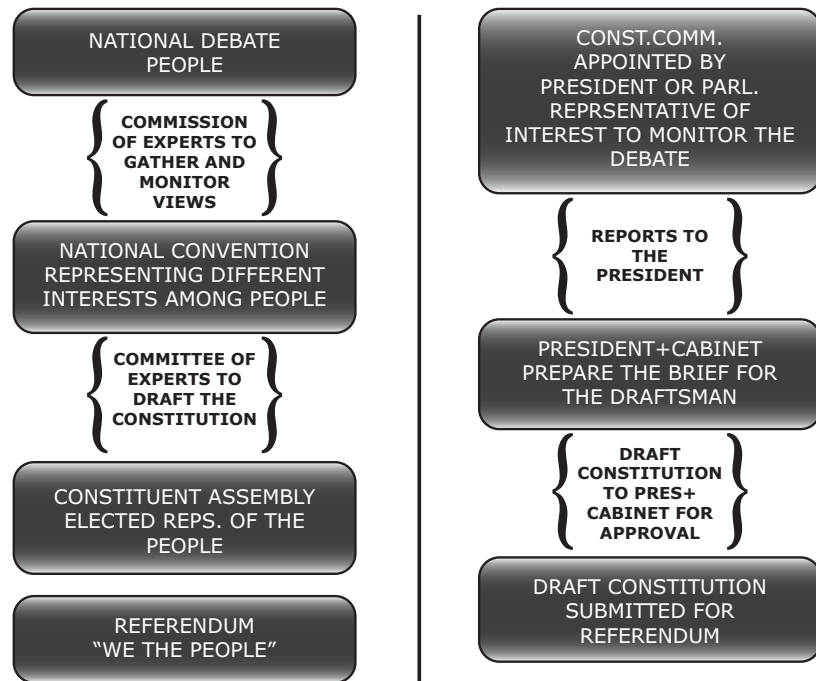
## LEGAL PROCESS



## Comparison of Salient Features

- Political process precedes and circumscribes the legal process-
- Legal process precedes controls and circumscribes the political process.

## PEOPLE - CENTERED VS. POWER - CENTERED CONSTITUTION - MAKING



- National Debate and National Convention bring out in the open contestations in a transparent manner and consensus (compromises are made in the open)

- Contesting interests remain 'hidden' and compromises are reached behind closed doors of the commission and cabinet deliberations and behind the backs of the people.

- Open debates and people's participation helps to build National consciousness, pride and the sense of ownership of the constitution, as 'OUR' constitution made by 'WE THE PEOPLE'- and this is the only way to recast our Union on a firmer foundation.

- The end product remains alien to the people and it is unlikely to resolve the Union question.

- National debates and people's participation prize open democratic spaces for struggles and organizations of the oppressed and exploited classes – and people become the main defenders of 'their' constitution.
- Under the pretext of expert, representative bodies ruling elites and classes continue to dominate and circumscribe spaces for the expression of the lower classes while creating an illusion for proxy participation.

## Role of Commission for Human Rights and Good Governance

- A constitution is a legal and political document. It is a national document and should not be captured by a particular section of a society, political or economic interest, or politicians and their parties.
- A constitution is an instrument which people can express their hopes, it is a guardian against rulers and organs of the state that are bent on usurping power.
- Therefore: The current move for a new constitution is very important for the people of Tanzania. It is an opportunity to put in place a document which reflects the wish of the majority.
- One of the major ways of ensuring this, is to have a national and meaningful debate on this issue. People's views must be taken abroad.
- Both teachers and students should be encouraged to participate in the debates. They are an important section of the entire society.



*KAS Resident Representative for Tanzania addressing the Participants*

## DISCUSSION

### Participants' Responses

At the end of Prof. Shivji presentation, participants were invited to ask questions that the Professor was requested to respond to.

- A student said that the professor had at one time indicated that it was not necessary to have a new constitution, arguing that the old constitution could simply be amended. He asked for his current position on this matter.
- A teacher raised the issue of Article 46 (i) which says that all citizens were equal under the law, yet the President was not liable for prosecution. The participant wanted to know whether this was not a contradiction to the constitution.
- Another participant, Elias Mutagera, was of the view that debates on the new constitution should start immediately, rather than to wait for obvious turmoil such as what happened in Egypt and Tunisia.

### Prof. Shivji's Responses

Responding to the comments and questions raised by the participants. Prof. Shivji clarified that the interview had dwelt on the discussion on the need of a new constitution, and his argument had focused on the fact that the current constitutions had their weaknesses.

On Article 46 (i) regarding suing a sitting President, Prof. Shivji said if a Head of State was required to serve a prison term, a government would not be able to function anymore and that is why it was not pragmatic to sue a sitting President.

On the Zanzibar question, Prof. Shivji said there was a need for cooperation between the mainland and the isles parties regarding the way forward on the formation of a new constitution.

### More questions to Prof. Shivji:

- Student Endesha: Today's leaders appear to have run out of morals, is there any need for a constitution?
- Mr. Omani: As regards basic human rights, do the citizens have legal rights to sue the President under the current constitutional dispensation?



*Giving a vote of thanks to the participants*

- Ali Juma: (from Kawe Secondary School): Is the Child Labour issue addressed under the current constitution? If not, how could we ensure that it is adequately addressed in the proposed constitution.
- Rajab (a teacher): We have two constitutions, one for the United Republic of Tanzania another for the Isles: He proposed that if a new constitution is created, it should be the only legal document. Two constitutions are confusing.
- Another student proposed that constitutional matters should be taught in Civics Education and copies of the constitution be made available to all students.

### **Prof. Shivji's Responses:**

On basic human rights and constitutionalism, Prof Shivji said basic human rights do not make sense in poor socio-economic situations like in Tanzania. For instance, he said, a poor peasant cannot sue the government. In short, he said, human rights are a process and constitutionalism cannot be addressed through the context of basic human rights.

Prof. Shivji said educational issues like curriculum, syllabus, language to be used as a medium of instruction and what direction the education sector should take could be resolved through the constitution. He cited a case in Kenya where their recently promulgated constitution had decided on the required number of cabinet ministers.

### **Remarks from Mr. Shaba**

The KAS team participated in the symposium and Mr. Richard Shaba; a team leader gave his remarks about the ongoing debate on constitution.

Mr. Shaba was invited to address the participants. He said that the whole process of leadership and governance had been left to government bureaucrats, hence making it to lack people's participation and input.

He pointed out that people should be sensitized to know that all elected leaders like Councilors, members of parliament and other officials were elected by the people in order to serve them, not to serve themselves.

He called on participants in the symposium to remember the history, from selfless leaders like Mwl. Nyerere and Bibi Titi who had displayed true patriotism and noble service to the people.

He also urged participants to be aware of their constitutional rights and to know their roles in the government programs, like "Kilimo Kwanza".

## CHAPTER 4

*Today CETA is a nationwide operating organization. It's members are dedicated ambassadors of civic education and democratic values.*

### CETA'S ACTIVITIES: JANUARY, 2011 – JUNE, 2011.

Between January and June, 2011 CETA has implemented two major activities aimed at developing awareness of the students on constitutional issues and general knowledge. The aim is to enable them participate fully in the democratization process going on in the country. The activities include: inauguration of the second edition of the General Studies Text book, and a symposium on a new constitution in Tanzania.



*CETA Publications: Civics and GS Journal vol. 1 – 8*

### A: INAUGURATION OF A GENERAL STUDIES TEXT BOOK.

There were many complaints from General Studies teachers and the students all over the country that there was no text book for General Studies in the country. The Government issued the new syllabus without teacher's guidance. CETA took it as a challenge and after consultation with KAS, it was agreed to come up with a project of General Studies publication. The book is now in circulation and CETA has made it open that the users are free to make their comments about the text so as to open room for further improvement.



*Mr. Hans Koepfel, Deputy Head of Mission, Germany Embassy cutting a tape as a sign of inauguration of a book*



CETA invited Mr. Hans Koeppel, Deputy Head of Mission German Embassy in Dar es Salaam whose country through Konrad Adenauer Stiftung supported the project.

The following is a speech from the chief Guest to the students and teachers from Dar es Salaam secondary schools during GS book inauguration ceremony at New Africa Hotel.

**Book Launching Ceremony,  
Speech for Mr. Hans Koeppel,  
Deputy Head of Mission, Germany Embassy**

Dear Friends of CETA and Konrad Adenauer  
Stiftung,

Dear Teachers and students,

Dear Journalists,

Ladies and Gentleman,

I feel specially honored to present and launch officially the second edition of the school book “General Studies, Supplementary Book for A-level and Colleges”. I accepted the invitation of CETA (Civic Education Teachers Association) and KAS (Konrad Adenauer Stiftung) with pleasure because we share the strong conviction that education is the

key factor for social development and democracy in Tanzania.

We also believe strongly that democracy is the basis of a sustainable development and the best way to distribute the fruits of its economic results among the people. But democracy is not a fixed structure or a system which, once established, stays forever without working on it. Democracy depends on the participation and commitment of the citizens. It must be filled with life day and every new generation must be convinced and / or engaged again for democracy.

Education, specially civic education, plays a decisive role in winning the new generation for democracy. Only educated citizens, who are aware of their rights, duties and their responsibilities are able to take part in democratic public decision making. A basic knowledge of the most important problems, opportunities and challenges of the society, they live in, is as important as a common understanding of the principle and values that hold a society together.

The “General Studies book” contains many of the mentioned issues that are vital for creating self confident, active citizens who are aware of their civil responsibility; to thrive. And CETA is one of the strongest players in the never-ending-game of civic education.

We in Germany had once the experience of democratic system without democrats, educated and committed citizens. This was after the First World War, the so called “Weimar Republic”. It ended up in the period of the NAZI’s under Hitle’s dictatorship and the catastrophe of the World War II. After the experience of this disaster and the economic devastation; the war-torn Germany had to build up not only the destroyed country, but also a true and sustainable democracy. A conerstone of this enterprise was the furthering of institutions dedicated to civic education to make sure that the democracy would never lack democrats again.

Different political foundations we have in Germany, like Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, till today dedicate a great part of their resources to civic education in Germany, and of course they support similar efforts in their international work.

This is why we were happy to see this partneship between CETA and KAS flourish. The cooperation started in 2003 and after a successful start a few years later a further partnership between CETA and the German Development Services DED, now GIZ was established.

Today CETA is a nationwide operating organization. It’s members are dedicated ambassadors of civic

education and democratic values. We as German embassy happily support our German institutions - KAS and DED in their cooperation with CETA and we are happy to present today a further, valuable fruit of this close relationship between CETA and KAS the second edition of the “General Studies book”.

Now I have the honour to launch officially the new “General Studies Book” . May it support as many students as possible on their way to become educated, active and committed citizens - for the further improvement of the Tanzania democracy and future development.

It was a pleasure to be with you. Let me thank CETA and KAS for the kind invitation.

Thank you very much, ahsanteni sana!

The inauguration of the GS book was also covered by the media; among the media that reported the event, was The Express newspaper.



*A section of students listening to the the chief guest during a book launching ceremony.*

## **B: A SYMPOSIUM ON A NEW CONSTITUTION IN TANZANIA:**

CETA in collaboration with KAS planned a symposium on a new constitution in Tanzania for teachers and secondary schools students. This was among the requests CETA received from the teachers that there was a need for such a programme because teachers as well as students needed to develop more understanding on constitutional matters. Therefore, CETA invited Professor Issa Shivji whose long experience in constitutional matters could be shared with teachers and students.

## **CHAPTER 5**

*It is true that corruption has become rampant in our country and we need to stand firm to fight it.*

## **COME ACROSS “MZEE WA URAIA” IN THE STUDENTS’ CHAPTER**

Mzee wa Uraia is an advisor for Civics and General Studies in secondary schools and colleges. He attends to students’ chapter in the Civics and General Studies Journal which is owned by the Civic Education Teachers’ Association (CETA). This chapter is an arena where students can give comments, critique and ask questions on any issues that have direct impact on socio – economic and political development in the society.



**Dear students,**

May I take this opportunity to express my sincere thanks to you all and other colleagues for the maximum cooperation you are extending to this chapter. Many students have now realized the importance of this chapter because your comments, suggestions and critiques are now being sent direct to the Government through relevant ministries or departments for necessary actions. The answers to the questions raised by you will appear in the next issue of this Journal. Please be patient.

Best regards to you all.

**Dear Mzee wa Uraia;** My name is Hodhan M. Adam. I am a student in form five at Al-Muntazir Seminary. I have one serious comment about transport problem in our major cities in Tanzania. Question! Is this problem facing Tanzania only? What about our neighboring countries? Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda etc.



The comment I want to make in this chapter is to inform the government leaders to be creative while attending to people's problems. We should get rid of seeking for temporary solutions and start dealing with permanent ones. My advice to the government is to plan for alternative means of transport instead of relying only on roads. God has blessed us with ocean, make use of it, and invite private investors to provide the services. Another means of transport is to initiate city railway trams, make use of available infrastructure e.g railway line from Ubungo bus terminal to "Station" city centre and vice versa. If the Government is not ready to embark on these projects, I will not understand it.

**"Mzee wa uraia"** Thank you very much for your constructive ideas. I hope the concerned authorities will get the message.

**Dear Mzee wa Uraia;** My name is Samoe Saidi. I am a student in form one at Mabibo Secondary School. I feel very comfortable



today to get a chance to appear in our beloved students' chapter in this CETA Journal. My complaint to the government is about the education offered by the Community Secondary Schools. I know the Government had a good intention to start these schools.

Funny enough, since their establishment, very little efforts have been taken to improve them. E.g. increase teachers and teaching materials etc. I am not blaming the government, but I am reminding it to speed up its promise of improving the Kata secondary schools. Otherwise, those who are studying in these schools will end up with division zero.

**"Mzee wa Uraia"**

You are very right. The government ought to do the needful before things become worse. The President admits that the situation in these schools is pathetic, but the government will improve the situation because the first phase was to see that students who passed get chance to join secondary schools. The second phase which is now the focus will be on strengthens those schools. This includes providing them with enough teachers, classrooms, laboratories etc. Let us be optimistic that the government will fulfill its promises.

**Dear Mzee wa Uraia,** My name is Filbert Akaro. I am a student in form two at Loyola High School. First of all let me thank you a lot for allowing me to air my views through the students' chapter. Today I have one complaint to the government. This is about power cuts which has affected my academic performance. If the government has failed to deal with this problem should privatize TANESCO like it did with TTCL. Even the staff in TANESCO has become problematic to customers. The main reason is that there is no competition.



**“Mzee wa Uraia”** Sorry for performing poor in your examinations because of regular power cuts. I hope the government has already put it clear that the issue of power cuts in Tanzania from 2013 onwards will remain the history, so be patient.

**Dear Mzee wa Uraia;** My name is Angela Michael. I am a student in form two at Manzese secondary school. I want to express my concern about the issue of traffic jam in Dar es Salaam. Our Parents have lost jobs because of regular late arrival at work places and students have been affected a lot by poor transport. If we are experiencing this problem at this moment, what will happen in 50 years to come? I am worried whether the government has feasible long plan to solve transport problem in Dar es Salaam and other business centres in the country.



**Mzee wa Uraia.**

Thank you Angela for your comments. As I advice Hodhan, I am sure the government authorities concerned with transport infrastructure will act accordingly.



**Dear Mzee wa Uraia;** My name is Deepen Kalidas. I am a student in form five at Al- Muntazir Seminary. This is my first time to appear in this chapter, I find it very nice for us students to express our views and share experiences. What I want to comment in this chapter is about poverty. I am joining our Prime Minister who once said that “I don’t know why Tanzanians are poor”. If I understood him well, he meant Tanzania is blessed with a lot of resources that could be used to make us rich. If there is a problem of corruption, this is a thing to be dealt with by all means. The genesis of our poverty lies within corruption which has perpetuated siphoning out of huge amount of country’s resources. I am advising all Tanzanians to stand firm against corruption.

**“Mzee wa Uraia”**

It is true that corruption has become rampant in our country and we need to stand firm to fight it. Thank you for your advice.

The Civic Education Teachers' Association (CETA) is the first NGO to be founded by Civic Education Teachers in Tanzania. It was formed on 24th June, 2003.

## ORIGIN

The idea of forming CETA originated from Civics and General Studies Teachers. That was after realizing the prevailing economic and political changes in our country and the desire for a new focus on Civic Education. Circumstances which contributed to development of the idea included:



- Lack of Civic education knowledge - observations have indicated that many Tanzanians have never even seen the National Constitution and Government Gazette.
- Shortage of Civic education material - many teachers and students complain about this problem.
- Globalization process - Tanzanians must be well informed about globalization as it has a great impact on their economic, political, social and cultural life
- Ideological vacuum - before liberalism, Tanzanians were guided by a clear ideology which guided the Tanzanian society
- Lack of political self-confidence among the youth/students

Tanzanians need a well interpreted civic education that will entice them to develop a spirit of love and patriotism towards their nation. This will enable Tanzanians forget their political differences in matters of national interests. Some individuals tend to interpret civic education to suit their personal interests at the expense of national ones.

Therefore, CETA aims at bringing together civic education teachers and offer them a platform to demonstrate/develop their potential –

- In issues of national development
- In improving their professional skills
- To write well researched books, journals and articles on civic education

# JOURNAL

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