

INTERFAITH DIALOGUE IN TANZANIA



THE ROLE OF FAITH BASED ORGANIZATIONS IN PROMOTING FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS

**INTERFAITH DIALOGUE IN
TANZANIA**

WORKSHOP PROCEEDINGS ON

**THE ROLE OF
FAITH BASED ORGANIZATIONS
IN PROMOTING FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS**

ISSUED BY

**Inter Religious Council for Peace Tanzania
&
Konrad Adenauer Stiftung**

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Abbreviations	v
National Anthem	vi
Quotations From Scriptures On Free And Fair Elections	vii
Appreciation	viii
Introduction	ix
PART A: Messages from IRCPT, KAS na FRG Offices:	1
Welcoming Speech by IRCPT Secretary General	1
Speech by KAS Team Leader	2
Official Opening Speech By Germany Deputy Ambassador to Tanzania	3
PART B: Paper Presentations on FBOs Role in Promoting Free and Fair Elections	4
First Paper: The Role of Faith Based Organisations (FBOs) in Promoting Free and Fair Elections	4
PART C: Paper Presentations on FBOs Role in Free and Fair Elections	18
Second Paper: The Role of the Faith Based Organisations in Promoting Free and Fair Elections: An Academic Point of View	18
Views/Suggestions Made by Representatives of Inter Religious Council for Peace in Tanzania (IRCPT)	33
- <i>Challenges to the Faith Based Organizations</i>	33
- <i>Advice to the Government</i>	33
- <i>Other Contributions</i>	34
- <i>The Constitution should look into the Rights of Elderly and Children</i>	34
- <i>Dealing with the Proplem of Street Children</i>	35
- <i>The Constitution</i>	35

PART D:	FBOs' Interfaith Dialogue Resolutions	36
	Before the General Elections	36
	After the General Elections	37
CLOSING:	KAS on the IRCPT's Future Meetings	38
	What is IRCPT	38
	Vote of Thanks	40
APPENDICES		41
Appendix 1: PAPER PRESENTED		
1. Paper Presented by Bernard Okok-Obuoga		41
- <i>Preamble</i>		41
- <i>Faiths and Faith-Based Organisations in the Society</i>		42
- <i>The Kenyan Experience</i>		45
- <i>The Role of FBOs in Electoral Process</i>		46
- <i>Conclusion: Call to Action</i>		49
Appendix 2: PAPER PRESENTED		
1. Paper Presented by Ebenezer Stafford Mshana		50
- <i>Introduction</i>		50
- <i>Free and Fair Election</i>		51
- <i>The Role of Faith Based Organisations in Promoting Free and Fair Elections</i>		54
- <i>Conclusion</i>		57
REFERENCES		58

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACRL-RfP	-	African Council of Religious Leaders-Religions for Peace
ACRL	-	African Council of Religious Leaders
BAKWATA	-	Baraza Kuu la Wailsamu Tanzania
CCT	-	Christian Council of Tanzania
CETA	-	Civics Education Teachers' Association
CPT	-	Christian Professionals of Tanzania
FOBs	-	Faith Based Organisations
FRG	-	Federal Republic of Germany
IRCPT	-	Inter Religious Council for Peace Tanzania
KAS	-	Konrad Adenauer Stiftung
NEC	-	National Electoral Commission
NIRCS	-	African Inter-Religious Councils
PCT	-	Pentecostal Council of Tanzania
SADC	-	Southern Africa Development Community
SIRCBs	-	Sub-Regional Inter-Religious Coordinating Boards
TAMPRO	-	Tanzania Muslim Professionals
TEC	-	Tanzania Episcopal Conference
TPDF	-	Tanzania Peoples' Defence Force
TADIP	-	Tanzania Development Initiative Program
UNO	-	United Nations Organization
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme
URT	-	United Republic of Tanzania

NATIONAL ANTHEM

Mungu Ibariki Afrika
Wabariki Viongozi wake
Hekima Umoja na Amani
Hizi ni Ngao zetu
Afrika na watu wake

Ibariki Afrika Ibariki Afrika
Tubariki Watoto wa Afrika

Mungu Ibariki Tanzania
Dumisha Uhuru na Umoja
wake kwa waume na watoto
Mungu Ibariki
Tanzania na watu wake

Ibariki Tanzania Ibariki Tanzania
Tubariki watoto wa Tanzania

QUOTATIONS FROM SCRIPTURES ON FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS

JUDAISM:

What is hateful to you; do not to your fellow man. This is the law: all the rest is commentary.” Talmud, Shabbat 31a.

“And what you hate, do not do to anyone.” Tobit 4:15

ISLAM:

“None of you [truly] believes until he wishes for his brother what he wishes for himself.” Number 13 of Imam “Al-Nawawi’s Forty Hadiths”

BAHÁ’Í FAITH:

“Ascribe not to any soul that which thou wouldst not have ascribed to thee, and say not that which thou doest not.”

*“Blessed is he who preferreth his brother before himself.”
Baha’u’llah*

CHRISTIANITY:

“So in everything, do to others what you would have them do to you, for this sums up the Law and the Prophets” Matthew 7:12 (NIV)

APPRECIATION

KAS and IRCPT wish to express their appreciation to all those who actively and tirelessly worked to ensure the fruition of dialogue objectives. Special appreciation is extended to Ndugu Ebenezer Stafford Mshana of the University of Dar es Salaam School of law and Ndugu Bernard Oko-Obuoga, the Director of Programs Coordination and Communication, the African Council of Religious Leaders- Religions for Peace (ACRL-RfP)

Special thanks should also be extended to Honourable Mr Hans Koepfel, Germany Deputy Ambassador to Tanzania for accepting our invitation to officiate the dialogue.

Acknowledgement should also go to Ndugu Richard Shaba, Erasto Ndeuka and Shamim Daudi for planning, preparation and coordination of the dialogue. Finally we wish to acknowledge the contribution of dialogue moderator Ndugu Zagar, rapporteur Ndugu Atilio Tagalile, all FBOs who sent their representative to the dialogue, without forgetting the participants.

INTRODUCTION

From October 11th to 13th 2010 representatives of Inter Religious Council for Peace in Tanzania (IRCPT) met at the Land Mark Hotel on the outskirts of Dar es Salaam to discuss on how they could contribute to ensure that the general election, three weeks away, could be free and fair.

To help them realize their objective, sponsors of the meeting, the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS) brought in two facilitators from Kenya and the University of Dar es Salaam who presented two thought-provoking papers related to the gargantuan task before the participants to the meeting.

The man from the African Council for Religious Leaders-Religions for Peace, ACRL-RfP, in Nairobi, Ndugu Bernard Okok-Obuoga presented a paper titled: The Role of the Faith Based Organizations (FBOs) in Promoting Free and Fair Elections (the Kenyan Experience).

Apart from giving the Inter Religious Council for Peace Tanzania tips on what it could do to realize its electoral goal, Ndugu Okok informed the participants at the meeting on the genesis of Kenya's post-election violence, the role of their Kenyan counterpart in the problem and how the violence could have been avoided.

In a nutshell, Ndugu Okok dwelt at length on the role of the IRCPT, as a religious institution, in handling Tanzania's political problems, and thereby ensuring that the country's elections were free and fair.

The Tanzanian facilitator, Ndugu Ebenezer Mshana, a lecturer from the Law School of the University of Dar es Salaam on the other hand used his paper, (which carried the same theme, but from academic standpoint) in giving tips to the participants on the benchmarks, which when fulfilled, constituted free and fair elections.

The meeting's atmosphere, especially on the first day was somewhat mixed, reflecting distrust and suspicions, which always tend to accompany a meeting of people from different faiths and brought together to discuss on how they could deal with their nation's problem through the use of their religious platform.

However, as the meeting wore on, it dawned on the IRCPT's representatives, especially after being guided by the two facilitators' presentations, on why it was important for them to focus on the momentous issue-Tanzania's general election.

The new-found spirit of camaraderie that pervaded throughout the meeting, finally helped to guide the representatives in engaging in very fruitful discussions, which at the end of the meeting, saw them coming up with numerous useful views and suggestions on the way forward in handling various issues related to elections.

Although they could not bring to bear both their impact and that of the institution they were representing, the IRCPT, on the general election (due to short time they had before the elections); however, one thing is certain.

They collectively managed to form the launching pad for handling future elections and other problems that may afflict their country, problems relating to conflicts resolutions.

It is for this reason that our readers will find this publication somewhat different, in its wording, from earlier publications. For instance, we have addressed all participants, except the Germany's Deputy Ambassador and the IRCPT Secretary General, with the Kiswahili word of Ndugu, which is a polite form referring to relative, closeness, friend.

The objective behind this is to capture both the letter and spirit that pervaded, during deliberations, in that historic meeting, the spirit of oneness in our approach to tackling problems afflicting humanity.

It is also in the same vein that we are not carrying, in the text of deliberations that transpired during the meeting, titles of the speakers.

We have however, reserved that for pages that carry participants' list.

It is our hope that you will find the content of what transpired in the three days meeting useful and refreshing.

PART A:

MESSAGES FROM IRCPT, KAS AND FRG OFFICES:

1. WELCOMING SPEECH BY THE IRCPT SECRETARY GENERAL, ALHAJ AYOOB OMARI

In his welcoming speech, the IRCPT Secretary General, Alhaj Ayoob Omari - in the presence of the Chief Guest, Deputy Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany, Ndugu. Hans Koepfel, stressed the importance of discussion (dialogue) in resolving differences and conflicts in the society. He did so by pointing out that the only way to build peace is to discuss issues...and that without peace there is no justice.



Explaining how failure by religious leaders to rise to the occasion in the event of conflict, which could lead to untold consequences for the nation, he referred to the March violent killings in Jos, a city in northern Nigeria, between the Moslems and the Christians, where the lack of initiative on the part of religious leaders to condemn the killings resulted into the senseless killings.

Recounting how it had all started he pointed out that Christians did not like Muslim traders who visited their town to ply their wares, and resorted to kill them. Alhaj. Ayoob argued that instead of condemning the callous act, the Christian leaders remained quiet, an act that sent wrong message to Muslims,

and therefore the Muslims revenged, hence triggering a cycle of killings which has continued unabated. Had the Christian leaders condemned the act, he went on, they could have sent a different message to their Muslim counterparts, and hence they could have averted the bloodbath. However, the Christians failed to realize that they did not have the monopoly of violence!

Drawing the moral lesson from that event, Alhaj Omar cautioned that any failure to take care of any of the election stages, from the party's organization to nomination of candidates, and from registration of voters to casting of votes, and from counting of ballots to announcement of winners and losers, could lead to many problems that included, among others, drawing up of wrong conclusions, with all the attendant problems of coming up with the false belief that one had been short-changed when it came to election results.

He concluded by saying that it was important for political leaders to realize that winning in elections involved many factors, and that the road to success or failure in general elections started at the grass-root level.

2. SPEECH BY THE KAS TEAM LEADER: RICHARD SHABA

The importance of dialogue in resolving conflicts was once again stressed by the KAS Team Leader in Tanzania, Ndugu Richard Shaba. He said although there had been 'sparks and frictions' here and there in the first dialogue meeting held last year, the dialogue still remained the most potent weapon for resolving conflicts.

Ndugu Shaba said it was his hope that the current meeting would also be conducted in the same letter and spirit and would therefore bring about the desired results.



3. OFFICIAL OPENING SPEECH BY THE DEPUTY AMBASSADOR OF GERMANY TO TANZANIA, HANS KOEPPEL

In his keynote address to the meeting, the Deputy Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to Tanzania, Mr Hans Koepfel stressed the importance of dialogue in the resolution of conflicts. Therefore, he paid glowing tribute to the KAS for organizing the meeting on the role of FBO's on free and fair elections. The Seminar was timely, he said, since it was barely four weeks to go before the General Elections 2010, and that political rhetoric and propaganda dominated the political scene in the run-up to the elections. It was important to discuss the role to play by FBO's in a democracy, and before elections in particular.



However, Mr Koepfel commended the historic nature of the forthcoming General Elections because of the fact that Zanzibaris would, for the first time, be voting for a Government of National Unity. He commented that this time there would not be “the winner takes it all”, but a novel element to the Tanzanian political system, a governing coalition in a power-sharing framework. As a matter of fact, he pointed out that the German Embassy has supported the visit of the Zanzibarian “Committee of Six” to Britain and Germany in order to study how coalition governments were formed and how they operate.

In his conclusions he expressed the hope that this interfaith dialogue would be successful and will continue next year.

PART B:

PAPER PRESENTATIONS ON FBOS ROLE IN FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS

1. FIRST PAPER:

The Role of Faith Based Organisations (FBOs) in Promoting Free and Fair Elections

BY BERNARD OKOK, African Council of Religious Leaders (ACRL),
Nairobi, Kenya.

Ndugu Okok-Obuoga who had played a role in the formation of the interfaith youth organization in Tanzania, began by pointing out that no matter how strong one faith was, it was not possible for it to bring about, say, free and fair election in the country, without the support of other faiths. Illustrating this point, he caused laughter when he said if members of different faiths were to be locked in a place with a hungry lion in their midst, such a lion would kill any of them regardless of which faith the selected victim belonged to! Therefore the only solution for such a group, he said, would be to work jointly towards eliminating the cardinal threat they all faced in the room, the lion, before the animal had time to deal with any of them.



In the same vein, he explained, it was important that different faiths worked jointly towards elimination of different problems afflicting their nation through dialogue. For optimum result, he said it was crucial that different faiths worked not only with one another, but for one another. He said that was the only way if they wanted to succeed in bringing about peace and other socio-economic developments in the country.

On a more personal note, Ndugu Okok-Obuoga said he regretted telling Zimbabweans his country's post election problems and experience, since Kenya had not learnt from Zimbabwe's general elections and the formation of a coalition government, something which Kenya only realized later on, after Kenyans had gone through a violent bloodbath! Ndugu Okok-Obuoga, therefore, stressed the importance of being guided, in the course of peace seeking dialogues, by the truth. He said whatever case or problem an interfaith group handled, it was important that the leaders in the group were guided by honesty and truth.

Illustrating his argument, he likened mishandling of the principle of truth to a man who in his quest to win the heart of a young lady, indulged in a pack of lies, painting himself as a rich man. "There is a need to start from the right foundation. Truth shall set you free. We have to steer away from lies," he stressed.

Dwelling on what happened in Kenya during and after the elections, he said, what befell his country in which over 1000 lives were lost in mindless killings could have been avoided had religious leaders played their role effectively. Therefore, he said it was extremely important that Tanzanians picked a leaf from their Kenyan counterparts (religious leaders) before it was too late. Since religion was a conscience of the society, it was important that its leaders were above reproach or petty politics, despite political affiliations or connections, if they were to play a historical role in building and sustaining peace in the country they lived in.

However, in order to play such a role more effectively, he said, it was incumbent on religious leaders to adhere to the principles of engagement, truth and acceptance. He said without adhering to the foregoing principles, it was very unlikely that such leaders could succeed in their peace pursuits.

Explaining each principle, Ndugu. Okok-Obuoga pointed out the following:

- 1) The *principle of acceptance* derived from the fact that each faith was different from the other, and that it was important that such a living fact was not only recognized and appreciated but was also accepted as a diversity.

- 2) Adhering to the *principle of truth* led, in the process, to trust, something which can only be achieved by understanding and appreciating our differences.
- 3) The third *principle of acceptance* was actually that of the Golden Rule or the Principle of Reciprocity; which, simply put, says ‘Do unto others what you would like to be done to you’.

Adding a fourth principle, Ndugu Okok-Obuoga pointed out that this principle constituted the bedrock of the African Council for Religious Leaders (ACRL), namely-

- 4) the *principle of understanding and respect for other religions*. From this principle, he said unless followers of one faith understood and respected followers of another faith, the former would not win trust and respect from the latter.

Over and above the four principles, he also gave a fifth principle which is living *not only with one another, but also, for one another*. This principle engendered the protection of minority which may take the form of an individual, a people or faith.

Ndugu Okok-Obuoga illustrated this principle by referring to the popular biblical story in which a woman accused of having committed adultery was brought to Jesus by men who claimed they had caught her in the act. When Jesus asked the men what punishment was usually meted out to such people, they told Him the law required that such a person be stoned to death.

He said Jesus decided to side with the minority, in this particular case, the woman. He noted adherence to the principle of living for one another helped, quite considerably, in generating trust between and among different faiths.

Finally, he gave another equally important principle, namely that of *vision and leadership*. He explained that according to the principle, true leaders were those endowed with vision that enabled them to see the big picture whenever a problem requiring solution cropped up. However, he cautioned that for one to see problems, it was important that he or she stepped out of the frame. Quoting the writer, R.S. Trapp, he said “it is difficult to see the picture when you are inside the frame”. Therefore, for one to realize the changes one wants to see in the society, one must come out of the frame, he explained. The implication of the foregoing, he said, was that one must break the walls of division, mistrust and all factors that make us not treat others well.

On issuance of statements by faith based organizations, he said it was good to get the benefits of presenting such statements from a joint platform. Tactics such as these had the magic of endearing the group to what the statement was intended for, i.e. believing and owning the message.

Ndugu Okok who is a Catholic, narrated how his close working relationship with a Kenyan friend, Mussa Mwale, a Muslim since 1998 (after the simultaneous bombings of American embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam) tended to make him believe that Mwale was a Catholic. However Mwale was a devout Muslim, who prayed five times a day. He said Mwale's constant praying finally influenced him to do the same thing, and made him more Catholic. "I finally told Mwale that I had miserably failed to make him a Catholic, and he said the same thing to me, that he had failed to make me a Muslim," he said.

Revisiting *the principle of truth*, he recalled what the former Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, Desmond Tutu had said when he was appointed Chairman of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa. "For a wound to heal, it was important that one washed it with spirit, However, if one feared the pain caused by spirit and decided to bandage the wound without washing it, the wound would rot, leading to the amputation of the limb," he quoted Tutu as saying. Ndugu Okok-Obuoga said much as the truth sometimes pained, it was nevertheless important that one said it, adding that it had helped him resolve religious altercation in Nigeria.

He walked the participants through the volatile Kenyan politics which had however, finally culminated, in August 2010, into the birth of a peoples' drawn Constitution. Ndugu Okok-Obuoga said the culmination of the Constitution was a result of a long struggle which he said would not have lasted that long had faith based organizations in his country worked in unison. Kenyans had for a long time longed for the kind of Constitution they now have because they were convinced that that was the only instrument that could have steered them out of their continued misrule by their leaders. But instead of working jointly for good things that included the Constitution, he said, whenever they agreed to disagree, religious leaders went into their ethnic cocoons. These cocoons expressed themselves through FM radio stations, which fanned conflicts in the same way radio stations had done in Rwanda before the 1994 genocide. This misguided conduct led to Kenya's post-election violence. "However, we have in the process had to learn hard lessons," he said noting that it would now be very difficult for anybody both within and outside the country to convince them to go for each other's throat. He called on religious leaders in the country not to keep their ears off FM radio stations because such a conduct would be fatal. He

however, hastened to add that if well managed, FM stations were very good tools for unifying the people in the country.

Ndugu Okok-Obuoga who at one time, during his student days at the Nairobi University, tasted a rubber bullet from the crack General Service Unit (GSU) in the course of the struggle, said it was his hope that Tanzania religious leaders would steer away from the path treaded by their Kenyan counterparts.

On the role of FBOs in influencing free and fair elections in the country, he said it was important that religious leaders went beyond to include a look into political parties' manifestoes. He said it was important for religious leaders to find out to what extent such manifestoes were really out to bring about the desired change in the society. It is also important, he said, to make full use of the IRCPT platform for conducting numerous engagements aimed at bringing about socio-economic development and promote unity among the people.

Apart from promoting culture of fairness, he said religious leaders had the responsibility of promoting a win-win situation in whatever endeavour the country was involved in. Fortunately, Ndugu Okok-Obuoga said, "you (Tanzanians) are not short of role models when it comes to the realm of inspiration as you have the founding father of your nation, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere to look up. He said as he lived Mwalimu had rightly said: 'it can be done if you play your part'. What you simply ought to do is for everyone of you to play his or her part to the letter and all will fall in the right place," he concluded.

2. PLENARY DISCUSSIONS OVER NDUGU. OKOK-OBUOGA'S PAPER:

1st ROUND

The plenary discussion began with *Ndugu Riziki MNgwali* (Tanzania Women Interfaith Network) who wanted to know what Ndugu Okok thought about Tanzania's religious leaders' ability in engagement purposes.

Ndugu Hamis Kasongo on the other hand wondered if the IRCPT could issue any statement, in connection with the general elections, before the D-Day on October 31st this year.

Ndugu Pazi Mwinyimvua (TAMPRO) expressed his concern over what he described as the creeping in of religious bigotry in the on-going political campaigns. For instance, he spoke about an incident in Babati where he said a Bible was read during a political rally by an opposition leader. He said he had expected the

incident to be condemned by the Tanzania Episcopal Conference (TEC) and the Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT), in the same spirit of leaders standing outside the frame of the picture, unfortunately that was not done.

He cautioned that if such malpractice was left to continue, there was a likelihood of Muslims also conducting themselves in the same manner by reading Quran in political rallies with untold consequences for the country's peace and harmony. He therefore stressed the need for Christians to refrain from mixing politics with religion, arguing that if such trend was left unchecked, the situation would be worse in the 2015 general elections.

He claimed that the 2015 general elections was already fraught with many problems. He said apart from the ruling party looking for a new presidential candidate after the end President Jakaya Kikwete's ten years tenure, he said Zanzibaris would also want to field in their candidate for the Union Presidency. In the same way, he said, it was important to consider the unwritten code in which Christian denominations would say it was now their turn to field their candidate in the Union presidential seat.

Ndugu Hamza Mtunu (BAKWATA) said during what had come to be known as the Mwembechai saga, some Muslimus lost their lives in the fracas, but Christians had remained mum over the incident.



Ndugu Abdallah Tego (TAMPRO) paid glowing tribute to Ndugu Akok's paper. He said it was important that what he had raised in his paper was emulated by IRCPT leaders. Analyzing the political situation in the country, he said most of

the problems Tanzanians faced were a result of ignorance, fear and suspicions. He said there was a dire need of exposing the people to education, arguing that that would greatly help in reducing ignorance, fear and suspicions they harboured between and among themselves.

Reverend Sistus Mallya (PCT) called on Tanzanians to fear God, arguing that most of the problems they faced stemmed from lack of fear of God. He took issue with the booklet published by the meeting's sponsors, the Konrad Adenauer Stifting under the title: *The Role of the Faith Based Organizations in Good Governance*. He claimed without elaborating that the booklet had been a source of conflict and tension.



Turning to last year's IRCPT meeting held in Dar es Salaam and sponsored by the KAS, he said it had marginalized Christianity in favour of Islam. And on the national scene, he said the country was awash in nepotism, religious bigotry, ethnicity and avarice, all of which he said was being practiced at the national level leadership. He claimed that contrary to what it used to be in the past, recruitment of people in the army and other areas was dictated by know-who rather than know-how.

He said it was interesting to note that the same people who were complaining over Mwembechai killings were oblivious of the killings which have been going on in the country almost on daily basis, killings he claimed to be a result of injustices meted out by state apparatus.

On the other hand, *Ndugu Ramadhani Hamisi* (BAKWATA) had this to say: “it may have appeared just fine for the Christian politician to refer, during a political rally, to Bible verses during the political rally in Babati.” However, he said he shuddered at the thought of what would have happened had a Muslim done what the Christian politician had done, referred to Quran verses.

He claimed that there would have been a hue and cry from Christians, he said. But just at this point, *Ndugu George Kanga* (IRCPT) intervened and appealed on participants at the meeting to focus on what had brought them to the meeting.

3. NDUGU OKOK-OBUOGA RESPONDS:

Responding to some of the issues raised, Ndugu Okok-Obuoga reminded the participants on the delicacy and complex nature of issues related to faith.

a) Publication of 1st Dialogue proceedings:

Touching on what Reverend Mallya had raised in connection with the publication of the booklet with proceedings of the first dialogue meeting, he said such varied opinions were to be expected. However, he said much as they may have encountered problems related to distrust, it was important that they kept their cool and focused on the big picture. He cautioned against engaging themselves in the proverbial throwing of the baby and the bath water. He however, hastened to add: “but this does not mean that you should not speak out your mind or tell what you think is the truth, far from it. We must be frank in the spirit of love,” he stressed.



b) *Kadhi Court and Kenyan Constitution*

Ndugu Okok-Obuoga said the problem of whether or not the Kadhi Court should be included in the Constitution as had been touched on by some participants was not confined to Tanzania. He said they have also had a fair share of the problem in Kenya. For instance, he said, in Kenya, Christian denominations were totally against it so much so that they did not even want to talk about it. They said placing the Kadhi Court in the Constitution would elevate Islam above other religions. They however, suggested that it should be placed in the Parliament.

But Muslims were against the suggestion, saying if it was placed in parliament, it could one day be easily jettisoned from once the Parliament had adequate number of MPs against the Kadhi Court.



Ndugu Okok-Obuoga said he consulted top-flight lawyers in the country, Christians included, on what would be the position of Muslims if safeguards to protect Kadhi Court in Parliament were introduced so that no one could remove it. He said all bought the idea, safeguard was introduced and the problem was solved amicably. The same tactics, he said, could be employed in solving touchy political-cum-religions issues in Tanzania. What was however, important was to continue engaging on such issues.

c) *Using the Bible in political rallies*

Referring to the claim over the use of a Bible during a campaign rally in Babati, he said, if the Holy Book was used in the context narrated at the meeting, then that was wrong. He however, cautioned that it was important such issues were handled with utmost care.

For instance, in this particular case, he said, it was important to consider the context with which the Bible was handled. “It sometimes depends on how one presents his or her facts...if facts are well presented, even what may on the face of it appear volatile, could be transformed into a harmless incident,” he said.

d) *Incident in Morogoro with youths on HIV/AIDS prevention*

Ndugu Okok-Obuoga then proceeded to narrate an incident at Hotel 88 in Morogoro. He said had he not handled the seminar on the prevention of HIV/aids maturely, it could have easily got out of hand.

He said just when he was preparing to deliver the lecture on the matter, he was told by his hosts that a large group of Muslim youths had gathered outside the hotel to monitor the proceedings inside the hotel.

Ndugu Okok-Obuoga said that what was running in the youths’ minds outside the hotel was that he would be preaching to the participants in the hotel on why they should use condoms as protection against the spread of the disease.

“Little did these youths know that I had handled such a volatile subject in Sierra Leone and Senegal where I had easily disarmed their counterparts,” he said.

He said the crowd of Muslim youths outside the hotel had apparently ‘planted’ their people inside the seminar room. “The planted men and women had specific instructions to pass on information to the youth once I preached what in their belief was a taboo,” he said.

As expected, he said, the planted men and women in the seminar room started to question him over methodologies that could be used to check the spread of the disease. He said in the course of the lecture, he asked one Muslim youth who had confronted him whether his religion allowed him to engage in sex at a tender age. He said the youth responded that he was not allowed. At that point, he said, he told the youth that in that case he did not need anything to protect himself against the disease because he was not going to engage in sex as per the teachings of his religion, Islam.

As for the grownups, he said, they equally did not require the use of any protective measure against the disease because Islam just like Christianity did not allow them to engage in adultery. “In the end, their expectations that I was out to introduce participants at the seminar on the use of

condoms as a protective measure against the spread of HIV/aids did not materialize,” he said.

On the following day, he said, the lecture room was full to the brim. “Most of the youths who had elected to camp outside the hotel now came in to attend the seminar after apparently being told that the seminar conducted by Ndugu Okok-Obuoga was very useful to their lives,” he said.

In a nutshell, he said, the first day lecture had helped him in transforming the minds both in and outside the seminar room. He said his success in the Hotel 88 seminar could be easily attained by the IRCPT leaders if they continued to engage both within and outside their platform.

He said in order to succeed, they required to strengthen their structures within the IRCPT in the same way, he said, they had done at continental level through the African Council for Religious Leaders, ACRL.

“For instance, at the ACRL-RfP, the vision and mission rests with senior religious leaders who in turn facilitate mobilization of their communities towards their accomplishments. In this case, they take charge in developing policies, making decisions in terms of the organizational direction and mapping key partnerships.” He however, stressed the need to own whatever they wanted to work on in their quest to bring change. He said the *modus operandi* revolved around identifying issues of concern and then dealing with them.

2ND ROUND

In his interjection, *Ndugu Abdallah Tego* said present interfaith complaints revolved around accusations, say, against the present Kikwete’s administration that it was biased towards Muslims when it came to appointments of cabinet posts and other equally important positions in the government.

He said interestingly, the problem the present administration was being blamed for had existed even during the first phase government of the founding father of the Tanzanian nation, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere. He cited cases of important cabinet portfolios such as defense, finance, foreign affairs, being held by Christians. But Muslims, he said, did not then complain or question Mwalimu on such appointments.

When *Ndugu Camillus Kassala's* turn came, he said he had actually wanted to leave the meeting. The main reason for that was very simple: the meeting was drifting away from its agenda, how faith based organizations could bring about free and fair elections.

Ndugu Kassala said past elections had, to some extent, been free and fair adding that the present challenge was to make the forthcoming general elections free and fair. He said the starting point revolved around the involvement of ethical candidates and the electorate. Because one cannot, for instance, separate ethics from leadership.



He said whoever sought elective office, it was important that he or she met all ethical requirements in accordance with our faiths. He said it was also important that adherence to ethics was prevalent in all electoral stages starting from nomination at party level to casting, counting of votes and announcement of winners and losers. Unfortunately, he said, what Tanzanians have been reading, viewing and listening from the media painted very gloomy pictures that ranged from peddling of ethnicity to religion bigotry and from corruption to incitement and committing injustices.

He said: “if we think what we have been reading, seeing and hearing in the media is bad, then we should say so,” he said. “And having done that, we should now chart a way of how these problems could be dealt with,” he added.

Fortunately for us, he added, Tanzanians had a national anthem which spelt out clearly what they were required to depend on, namely Hekima (wisdom), Umoja

(unity) and Amani (peace) which, according to the anthem, “are our shields against our enemies,” he said. Ndugu Kassala argued that for many years, it was Tanzanians’ decision to uphold wisdom, unity and peace, as expressed in their national anthem, that had transformed their country into a politically stable and peaceful country.

However, lately, he said, things had changed. Tanzanians have now somewhat faltered. And this because they decided to seek and embrace questionable shields! He named the false shields as money, corruption, ethnicity and blind promotion of classes (the haves and have not).

He said the second thing that had helped to bring about the much harped about peace in Tanzania was the upholding of human rights. Ndugu Kassala called on religious leaders to look at the forthcoming elections, in terms of free and fair, on the basis of the two factors.

Contributing to the discussion, the IRCPT Secretary General, *Alhaj Omar* bemoaned opposition parties’ lack of preparedness for the elections. He gave the example of Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo, Chadema which had entered the electoral race with only 75 percent of constituencies having already lost 25 percent before the elections! What was more he said, most people had come to know of the opposition party’s potency just recently, arguing that that would be a source of a big problem later.

Although the soft spoken secretary general could not elaborate, however, his message meant that if Chadema lost, heavily in the elections, few would remember that the party’s defeat started even before the electorate had cast their votes.

Ndugu Steven Andrew (TADIP) on the other hand said it was important for the faith based organizations to recognize their roles in ensuring free and fair elections. He said it was also important for the IRCPT to find out their impact in bringing about change in the country. Some of the questions religious leaders could ask themselves is to what extent have their pronouncements been implemented. “To what extent are our religious leaders involved, say in the quest for a new Constitution,” he asked.

He said it was indisputable that Tanzania lacked an independent National Electoral Commission, hence the dire need to start working out modalities that would bring about an independent NEC. He said massive problems had been noted in the run up to the present general elections from registration of voters in the voters register to nomination of leaders within political parties in the

primaries. He said if the IRCPT decided that it had the capacity to work on the foregoing anomalies, then it should stick to the decision.

But *Ndugu Imelda Maboya* (PCT) said the attainment of free and fair elections was nothing but an illusion as long as the country continued to rely on an outdated Constitution. She said free and fair elections could only be guaranteed constitutionally, and that the absence of such a Constitution meant that whatever efforts towards bringing about free and fair elections would come a cropper.

She said religions had large followings and it was their followers that formed the biggest chunk of the electorate. *Ndugu Maboya* said if the government of the day was not ready to conduct civic education, then it was only fair that religious leaders through the IRCPT stepped in to fill in the void. She said after listening to the participants at the meeting, she had realized that the problem did not lie in the different faiths they had come from. “They (religious leaders) are not different from the people they led,” she said adding, “they reflected the very people they led, they were tired and frustrated.”

Consider this, she said and paused: “How can suspects and criminals be allowed to take part in the elective office.”

Ndugu Frederick Bomani (CETA) said it was his considered opinion that there was no level playing field in the elections, hence attaining free and fair elections was nothing but a mirage. “Can our religious leaders observe the elections,” he asked. He told the participants that nothing reflected problems inherent in the country’s electoral system than nominations during the primaries. For instance, he gave an incident in which eight graduates were left in favour of a class seven leaver for parliamentary elections.

He said what was more disgusting was that civic education had been brought in at a time when the elections were almost around the corner.

The session was concluded by *Reverend Mallya* who called on religious leaders at the meeting to ensure that they observed and monitored elections. He said it was also time they started looking critically on how they could raise funds for the IRCPT.

For instance, he said the meeting they were attending was a result of funding from outside the country. He said that was a challenge to them they needed to deal with if they were to get anywhere.

PART C:

PAPER PRESENTATIONS ON FBOS ROLE IN FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS

1. SECOND PAPER:

THE ROLE OF THE FAITH BASED ORGANISATIONS IN PROMOTING FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS: An Academic Point of View – Ndugu. Ebenezer Mshana.

On the second day of the meeting of representatives from Inter Religious Council for Peace in Tanzania (IRCPT), the ball was set rolling with the presentation of the second and last paper by a law lecturer from the School of Law of the University of Dar es Salaam, Ndugu Ebenezer Mshana.



Ndugu Mshana divided his paper, titled The Role of Faith Based Organizations in Promoting Free and Fair Elections (an academic perspective), into two parts:

In the first part, he dwelt at length on what constituted free and fair elections.

And in the second, he looked critically at the role of faith based organizations (FBOs) in ensuring that the concept of free and fair elections was fulfilled to the letter.

Ndugu Mshana said Tanzania was relatively religious since two thirds of its 40 plus million population are practicing one kind of religion or another. Apart from providing spiritual guidance, the religions in Tanzania play a major role in the provision of health and education services to the population. In a nutshell, the provision of spiritual guidance, health and education had in the process, earned religions, a niche in the form of adherents (to various faiths) which if well utilized, could ably serve as a vehicle for bringing solidarity and unity in the country.

However, he cautioned that if misused, religions could easily serve as Tanzania's deathbed just as it had done in many countries in the world including neighbouring Rwanda where over 800,000 minority Tutsis and moderate Hutus were in 1994 slaughtered in massacres.

He pointed out that religious worship was recognized by the state as enshrined in Article 19 (2) of the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania. The Article states (in Kiswahili):

“Bila kuathiri sheria zinazohusika za Jamhuri ya Muungano, kazi za kutangaza dini, kufanya ibada na kueneza dini itakuwa huru na jambo la hiari ya mtu binafsi, na shughuli na uendeshaji wa jumuiya za dini zitakuwa nje ya shughuli ya Mamlaka ya Nchi”.

He gave a background to the changes that took place in 1992, that finally led to the re-introduction multi-party politics in Tanzania. However, the Constitution was not changed, but slightly altered here and there in order to bring in the multiparty aspect and new codes of conduct for political parties.

The country's socio-economic policy of socialism and self-reliance was left intact in theory, although in practice, the country has since then pursued market economy policies.

In connection with FBOs, the codes of conduct included, among others, putting politics out of bound of houses of worship, exclusion from politics of religion, ethnicity, gender, regionalism, racism and professionalism in politics. The objective behind these codes was and still is to ensure that peace that had prevailed during the one party state was maintained.

Ndugu Mshana touched on local, regional and international legal instruments which gave Tanzanians the right to elect and be elected. He cited custodians of such rights in the 1977 URT Constitution, Tanzania's regional association (through Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) and international covenants under which Tanzania had accessed through its various Acts in its Parliament.

Internationally, he said Tanzania was bound by the United Nations' Universal Declarations of Human Rights of 1948. Under the Declaration, two things stood out very clearly, namely universal and equal suffrage and the organization of, during elections, of secret ballot. Under universal and equal suffrage, the government was duty bound to ensure that all Tanzanians who had attained the set adult age (in Tanzania 18) were afforded the opportunity of being elected and electing leaders of their choice.

Those foregoing rights fell under the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which enunciated the following:

- 1) That free citizens should have the right of voting and being voted, and that there shall be freedom of association, assembly, movement and speech.

On the speech aspect, Ndugu Mshana stressed that it was important, especially during political campaigns, for those involved to refrain from use of abusive language. He said it was fine to differ in substance, but stressed that during all the while they should maintain civil language.

- 2) That the state was required to afford the foregoing to candidates (including use of the media, and especially so, public owned), the electorate, election supervisors, monitors and observers.

At the continental level, Ndugu Mshana cited the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance which also placed demands on African states which include Tanzania.

He later proceeded to point out requisite factors for free and fair elections. First and foremost, he said the country's political environment must be conducive for free and fair elections. And for that to be attained the following were extremely important:

1. Absence of any form of intimidation-by word or action
2. Well designated polling stations
3. secret ballot
4. transparent vote counting
5. Presence of independent, fair and impartial bodies that include the National Electoral Commission (NEC)
6. A fair system of nominating leaders both within and without political parties. Apart from toeing the political parties' codes of conduct, such nomination processes should also be free from vices such as corruption

7. Fair and impartial media outlets, especially public owned, which are financed by tax payers
8. Equitable use of state resources-financial and others, by political parties before and during the campaign period.
9. A civil service body that is fair and impartial to all players in the elections from the start of the process to the end

In a nutshell, he said, free and fair elections started from political parties' grass root organization to registration of voters, voting, counting of the votes and pronouncement of winners and losers. However, he said that a random survey of the requisite factors for free and fair elections and their application in Tanzania showed that their fulfillment was wanting.

For instance, he said, it was clear to all and sundry that from the first multiparty elections in 1995 to 2005, Tanzania had, in the course of the exercise, been marred by many problems. He named the problems as weak and undemocratic nomination procedures, corruption, an unequal access to public resources, partial media coverage, especially in favour of the ruling party, and pro ruling party civil service.

He named others as intimidation at individual, party and national level and the creeping in of politics of ethnicity, religion, racism and regionalism.

Ndugu Mshana enumerated some of the roles of faith based organizations in ensuring free and fair elections as the provision of complimenting the National Electoral Commission (NEC).

He explained, in between, that NEC had been empowered, by law, to provide civic education to Tanzanians. It had later transpired, during discussions, that much as the NEC was legally empowered to provide civic education in the country, others which now included members of IRCPT, could equally do it after being cleared by the Commission.

He named other roles that could rightly be played by faith based organizations as participation in the electoral process as monitors and observers.

He said although civic education was presently being taught in schools, however, there was a need to ensure that the education embraced the entire population, including adults, especially in the rural areas. He said timely and adequate provision of civic education would go a long way towards empowering the electorate in making informed choices when it came to electing their leaders.

Ndugu Mshana said the populace's continued lack of civic education even on their basic fundamental rights, invariably led to what he described as the birth of an ignorant nation, wallowing in an ignorant process.

“What would such people be voting when they know nothing?” he asked.

He said it was utterly shameful for a nation of Tanzania's stature to continue to depend on foreign donor agencies for funding civic education for their people. Indeed, such chronic foreign dependence on matters central to who should be elected to the leadership and how a people wanted to be led ran counter to the very letter and spirit that had led to the shedding of colonial yokes by both Tanganyika and Zanzibar through independence and revolution on December 9th 1961 and January 12th 1964 respectively.

Apart from promoting democracy, he said, free and fair elections minimized conflicts before, during and after the elections. He named other positive developments brought about by free and fair elections as contribution to the country's political stability which in turn enhanced the country's socio-economic development. The most important aspect is the peaceful transfer of power, after the end of one presidential/leadership tenure, as the baton was passed from one leadership to the next.

2. PLENARY DISCUSSION

Ndugu Camillus Kassala stressed the need for faith based organizations to do what he strongly believed they were more qualified to do, namely fast and pray that the Almighty God could give His Blessings to the elections. He argued that it was only fair that religious leaders at the meeting added the spiritual part in the otherwise very good presentation. He said in the past general elections, Tanzania had a custom of praying for the general elections so that the exercise could be held both successfully and peacefully.

“Jesus Christ fasted and prayed...many faiths I know of in this country are not new to fast and praying,” he said. He also touched on the importance of upholding moral ethics, particularly in relation to leaders running for various elective posts.

He said religious leaders had a historic mission to appeal to their followers to come out in full force on the Election Day and elect morally upright leaders. He said there was a need for faith based organizations not only to give advice to

those directly involved in the elections as organizers, voters and candidates, but also to reprimand wayward candidates.

Ndugu Kassala said history clearly showed that such roles had been played in the past by religious leaders such as America's civil rights leader, Dr Martin Luther King Jr, South Africa's Chief Albert Luthuli and retired Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and India's Mahtma Gandhi.

The meeting was however, temporarily plunged into some dispute when *Reverend Sistus Mallya* (Pentecostal Council of Tanzania) once again raised what he strongly felt was a misrepresentation of facts, in the published booklet by the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung. He said what was published in the booklet was not what had transpired in the first meeting held in Dar es Salaam last year.

Reverend Mallya had raised the same issue during the opening of the workshop on the previous day, Monday October 11th, 2010.

Fortunately both incidents were well handled by the Moderator, Ndugu Salim Zaggar who had himself, at some point, experienced the unpleasantness of being set within the shooting range of the fiery Reverend.

One participant (from Bahai Faith) said there was a need to have a common manual for all religious institutions on civic education. Secondly, he called for training of trainers who would in turn provide civic education course to the populace.

Ndugu Pazi Mwinyimvua (TAMPRO) had a number of questions and suggestions. The first was the NEC's failure to involve opposition parties on issues related to printing of ballot papers. And like the participant from the Bahai Faith, he also wanted a common curriculum for civic education training in the country. Ndugu Mwinyimvua wanted to know two things: a) the main difference between monitoring and b) observation during elections, and benefits that could be drawn from a coalition government (*serikali ya mseto*).

Ndugu Imelada Magoya's (PCT) contribution was more of statement/opinion rather than a question. She said listening randomly to what was being said by many people in the country in relation to the forthcoming general elections it was clear that the people wanted committed leaders.

The IRCPT's Secretary General, *Alhaj Ayoob Omar* revisited the political parties' codes of conduct. He cautioned that if they were not careful especially now during

the run up to the general elections, top religious leaders could find themselves allowing, the use of their houses of worship for political ends.

Reverend Sistus Mallya generally wanted to know the role of the armed forces, and in particular, the Tanzania Peoples Defence Forces, (TPDF), during the peace time like the general elections. He wondered whether the pronouncement made by the TPDF Chief of Staff, Lt General Abraham Shimbo that the army would, in the conjunction with the police force, deal with those bent on stirring trouble during the general elections was proper. Reverend Mallya also complained bitterly about the exclusion of his religious constituency from various training programmes organized by the IRCPT.

He said he did not like what was increasingly becoming a habit on the part of the so called mainstream religions of describing other religions as minorities. “Where does minority start and end? Are leaders of such mainstream religions not aware of the fact that their religions were once minorities?” he asked.

One participant raised a very interesting question that momentarily forced participants to dig deep into their mental dictionaries. The participant argued that Tanzanians have never elected their leaders during general elections. He claimed that on the contrary, their leaders have always been elected by other machineries. He explained that electing a leader through the ballot box was getting the person one wanted. “This is not what we have been doing...somebody else has been doing that for us. *Tumekuwa tukipiga kura, hatuchagui.* (We have been voting but not electing)

Another participant questioned the logic of Presidential votes being out of bound for litigation, he said “what would happen if the elections were not free and fair? Will the announcement on the President’s victory continue to stand unchallenged?” he asked. He said he was more than ever convinced that the system (the government of the day) was all out to ensure that civic education was not taught in Tanzania.

“The point is, the system wants the people to remain ignorant so that it can continue to manipulate them through farce elections,” he said. He said he can vouch for what he had just said because he had solid evidence, “I have personally seen it practiced in villages I have been to,” he said. “If you tell them (government authority) that you would like to give people in the village civic education, they derisively ask you, after you have done that, what do you want to attain?” he said. He said he had personally come across District Commissioners who had the habit of issuing threats to those involved in civic and voters education.

The participant also turned to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), which has its offices in Dar es Salaam, and accused the UN agency of having a hidden agenda against Tanzania. “How come they sat on the money until election time? For instance, this year they started releasing money in elections-related projects in September,” he charged.

Ndugu Hamis Kasongo (BAHAI FAITH) on the other hand said there was immense space for conducting civic education for the people. He said there was no need of waiting to conduct civic education courses until close to the election time.



Ndugu Kasongo said the IRCPT had the opportunity of designing a sustainable civic education programme for the people that could be implemented years before the advent of general elections.

Just then *Dr Kassala* came to the aid of the UNDP, noting that the UN agency was simply contributing toward the country’s efforts to have good elections but it was not their responsibility to do what they were doing. “Giving civic education to our people is our responsibility and not UNDP’s responsibility,” he stressed. He said the responsibility of providing civic education to Tanzanians lies with the NEC.

“My problem is how long we should allow ourselves to become dependent on foreign aid...provision of civic education to our people is our responsibility,” he said leaving no doubt the seriousness he attached to what he was saying. “But the question is how can we make civic education sustainable?” Ndugu Kassala asked.

Responding to his own question he said: “I expect religious leaders to be in the driving seat as far as the provision of civic education to the people. Let us sit together and work on this issue,” he said.

3. NDUGU MSHANA’S RESPONSE

Responding to some of the questions, Ndugu Mshana said as far as he knew, there was no problem in securing training for trainers of civic education or getting any training related to the subject as long as those in need of such courses networked with others. He, however, did not go into detail about the army’s statement on political parties duty to accept the results of the elections. However, he said the law was very clear on the issue, that the police were involved in the security while the army’s role was confined to the defence of the nation.

He then proceeded to seek the assistance of Ndugu Kassala in responding to the question of the main differences, between *monitoring* and *observation* during elections. Ndugu Kassala said **monitoring** involved close follow up on the election process and finally one came up with a report. However, **observation**, he said was a follow up but based on existing standards, a kind of effort aimed at finding out whether or not the set objectives had been met.

Some of the issues that are, for instance, critically looked into in the course of observation, are whether the elections are free and fair, and what implication could be brought by the announced election results.

The Zanzibar question:

Responding to the question of what benefits could be earned from a coalition/government of national unity, Ndugu Mshana said it was indisputable that Zanzibar had experienced numerous problems whenever her people were involved in general elections. The situation was so serious that there have been a school of thought that has had the temerity of arguing that Zanzibar has never had an election!

Yet others had said that more than once the ruling party, CCM had actually lost the elections to their arch-rivals, the Civic United Front (CUF). What is more, people were killed in Zanzibar during elections (in 2001, 23 people were killed in post election violence in Pemba).

Ndugu Mshana’s conclusion was that if through the recently worked out reconciliation (muafaka), Zanzibaris would this time around be assured of a peaceful election then let that be and certainly that would be one of the benefits of the coalition government.

The Constitutional Issue:

A question was directed to the FBOs: How are we as FBOs contributing in the present problems? Let us as FBOs educate the people on how they can extricate themselves from the problems facing them, starting with the need to come up with a new Constitution.

Ndugu Mshana however, said a lasting solution to many of the Tanzania's socio-economic problems lay in coming up with a new Constitution which could easily address many many problems. Many questions raised by the participants during the three-day meeting revolved around the appointment of officials in the National Electoral Commission and constitution.

Ndugu Bomani said it was time human needs like housing, water and health were included in the Constitution just as it was being done in certain African countries like South Africa in order to force the government to make such services are freely available to its population,



Bomani said Tanzania had a lot of natural resources in the form of minerals that made the country very rich contrary to the argument that was daily presented by the leadership. He said the current telling poverty experienced in the country was nothing but a result of bad governance on the part of continuous crop of leadership.

Ndugu Mshana explained that putting such needs in the Constitution would legally bind the government to fulfill such needs. He explained that any government under the sun can only keep such needs in the Constitution if it has financial capability of fulfilling such needs.

At this point, the Moderator, *Ndugu Salim Zaggari* gave the example of Egypt which had provided in its Constitution provision of free bread to each of its citizen.

He said a few weeks ago when bakeries in Egypt tried to increase the price of bread, the army seized bakeries and for three months baked bread for Egyptians, hence averting price rise in bread.

The general consensus was that the way officials were appointed to work in the NEC constituted a hindrance to free and fair election rather than a solution. *Ndugu Mshana* said if the country finally decided to draw a new constitution then NEC should form one of the issues that would have to be looked into very critically in the formation of the new Constitution.

He said the decision that once the victorious man/woman for the Presidency of the United Republic of Tanzania has been announced by the NEC no one can contest it in any court of law was arrived at in order to ensure that there is no vacuum.

He said because of the seriousness attached to the office of the President, in other countries the swearing in of the President was delayed for a certain period of time so that those against his or her election could contest it in a court of law. For instance in the United States of America, the President is sworn in two months after his/her election.

Ndugu Mshana said Tanzanians elected their leaders contrary to the argument that electoral political posts were decided by some machinery on account of the prevailing system.

One of the participants, an old lady, spoke bitterly over what she described as the ruling party's manner of operation which normally saw provision of certain services like water when general elections was around the corner. She said at Vingunguti on the outskirts of Dar es Salaam when residents had water in their taps it was always a month or two close to the general elections!

“As I speak to you now, water is flowing freely in the taps at Vingunguti...we had the same thing in 2005 and this is happening now. But once the elections are over, we would, as usual be left with dry taps until one to two months close to another election,” she said.

But Ndugu Kassala thought differently. He said there was no point complaining, he challenged the participant to share with the meeting what she did about the situation. In other words, what action did she take to address the situation?

Ndugu Kassala said it was time faith based organizations acted in order to avert the possibility of the country slipping into anarchy as a result of perpetration of injustices. He said history showed that it was when societies were afflicted by injustices that apostles and prophets came out in full force to provide spiritual leadership out of the problems.

He said if elected leaders cannot implement social and economic needs of its population then such leaders are not required. He said he disagreed with leaders who said the government could not provide freely such social and economic needs because he had personally had free education from primary to university level. Moreover, during the time, they also had clean water in their village because the country had good leadership, a quality that made it possible for the government to make good use of little available resources.

However, he said things had since then not only changed but the country was being afflicted with numerous problems as a result of free political and market economy.

What was worse he said even during the present political campaigns, he had not heard a single candidate from any political party making a review, in his or her speeches about the country's 2025 economic vision. "If you cannot talk of or review the country's 2025 Vision then where do you intend, as a politician, to take this nation to without a roadmap?" he asked.

He said as leaders of the IRCPT, it was important to look into this problem critically with the objective of coming out with a solution on leadership problems afflicting the nation.

Ndugu Abdallah Tego (TAMPRO) had a bash on the media which he accused of sometime painting a gloomy picture which did not exist.

He had recently been in the Sudan where he discovered that President Omar al-bashir who is currently charged by the ICC in the Hague of having committed crimes against humanity in Dafur, south western Sudan is actual not the criminal that international media have made him. He said the Sudanese President was very popular in his country, especially in the north, because he had during his tenure brought developments that his predecessor had never achieved.

He said he had also discovered that the problem between the south and north in the Sudan which had always been blamed on religion, Christianity against the Arab north as painted by international media was not true. He said the problem between the two parts which have had the longest war between them in Africa lay in colour and not religious differences. “That is why those behind religious propaganda suddenly find themselves with a loss of words in Darfur where the majority of the population are both black and Muslims,” he said.

He said because of the propaganda nature of the media, he had personally stopped reading newspapers.

In between, a participant spoke bitterly about a would be mother who lost her new born baby in the course of delivery because of delay in conveying her to the hospital. She said the disturbing incident which occurred at Kibaigwa, in Kongwa District had been caused by lack of transport. Finally, she said, they were forced to carry the woman in a cart but it was already too late. She said it was shameful that these despicable incidents were afflicting the people several years after independence.

There was a general consensus among the participants on the need to take a lead in designing and delivering civic education to the people instead of waiting until election time.

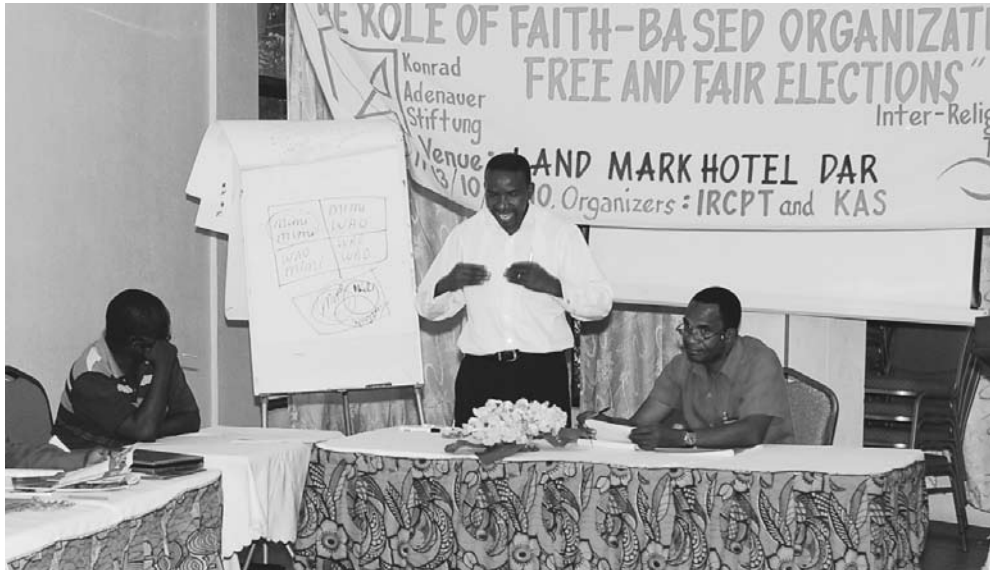
One participant said that could be ably done by the already existing platform, the IRCPT.

Ndugu Erasto Ndeuka, an official from the KAS asked the participants to what extent each one was responsible in one way or another responsible for the various problems in the country.

Ndugu Ndeuka’s call for soul searching coupled with the need to educate the people on the Constitution before coming up with a new one was apparently a result of a remark made earlier by one of the participants to the effect that it was very unlikely the majority of Tanzanians especially in the rural areas did even know about the existence of the Constitution.

How do you call on the entire population in the country to agitate for a new Constitution when most of them don’t know even the content of the existing one, one of the participants had argued.

He stressed that once the majority of the people were educated on the content of their Constitution, it would be easy for them to know what changes should be made where and why when it came to their participation in drawing up a new Constitution in the same way their Kenyan counterparts had done recently.



The KAS official said there was an urgent need for the IRCPT to engage in forward planning in relation to their involvement in matters related to election observation and monitoring. This engagement should look into strategic IRCPT's strategic planning in civic education delivery and participation in election observation and monitoring in the next 20 years.

“As religious leaders you know who are corrupt in the political and other arena. After all some of these people are your own followers, hence easy to deal with them,” he said. He added through the IRCPT's platform, “we can bring the desired change in the electoral process”.

Ndugu Pazi blamed some of the leaders in the IRCPT for lack of initiative which he said was reflected in their non-participation in issues related to the council. He was apparently responding to complaints by some of the council's leaders that they were always being left out of the loop when it came to issues such as provision of training and so on.

Ndugu Mwinymuvua appealed to religious leaders to make full use of their existing network in their dealing with their colleagues and donors instead of complaining of being left out.

He said it was only through close cooperation and networking between and among themselves that they would, in the end, be in a position to face the government over whatever undesirables they had witnessed during the electoral process.

Claims of being by-passed by donor agencies coupled with favoritism and issuance of tenders on the basis of know-who rather than know-how figured prominently in the discussions. One of the participants contributing on the debate said that the complaints were not new. He said the same complaints had surfaced during a meeting he had in Tanga in September this year (2010). He said the tendering process was lately very transparent and that those who thought were being deliberately left out had on the contrary been knocked out technically. He said this problem could be solved if the alleged victims sought assistance from their colleagues who were technically more knowledgeable and experienced in the tendering process.

Reverend Mallya on the other hand accused the NEC of partiality towards certain faith within the IRCPT. He called on the IRCPT to complain in writing to the NEC over the conduct. It should be recalled that it was Reverend Mallya who voiced his concern over the content of the booklet titled: Interfaith Dialogue in Tanzania-The Role of Faith Based Organizations in Good Governance, on the first day of the dialogue meeting.

He claimed that Christianity had been marginalized in the booklet in favour of the Islam. One of the participants in the meeting asked the Reverend whether what was contained in the booklet was not discussed in the Inter-faith dialogue meeting held last year. However, two of the participants rose to confirm that all that was contained in the book had been discussed in the meeting under review.

At that point, Ndugu Kassala suggested that the Reverend should point out what was wrong with contents in the booklet so that the problem could be dealt with. “Alternatively,” he said, “whatever was wrong in the booklet should be corrected and the correction printed in the subsequent publication.”

VIEWS/SUGGESTIONS MADE BY REPRESENTATIVES OF INTER RELIGIOUS COUNCIL FOR PEACE IN TANZANIA (IRCPT)

When representatives of the IRCPT met at the Land Mark Hotel on the outskirts of Dar es Salaam for three days meeting, they put down, in writing, several views/suggestions both to the IRCPT and the country's Constitution. The views/suggestions were being generated by the participants, daily, at the end of the meeting. The views/suggestions were collected from October 11th 12th and 13th.

CHALLENGES TO THE FAITH BASED ORGANIZATIONS

1. Since religious institutions that are involved in health and education delivery services get tax exemptions in imports related directly to their social services, they should be advised to reduce charges in their social services so that the people, most of whom are poor, can benefit from such services.
2. It is high time the FBOs changed their attitude by discharging their social services with more wisdom, unity and peace. For it is important for the FBOs to realize that, that is the only way of endearing themselves to the people they serve; and as we all know, the voice of the people has very big impact to the society, and what is more, it reverberates far.

ADVICE TO THE GOVERNMENT:

- (a) The government should make efforts to involve FBOs in preparing programs for civic education in the country.
- (b) FBOs should be involved in drawing up criteria for a good leader. And such criteria should be included in the schools' curricular.
- (c) After no. 1 and 2, have been successfully implemented, the government should look into the possibility of organizing elections without electoral campaigns. Such elections without campaign can for instance, start from the Village level, as unit, upwards to the Ward, Division, District, Region and later at National level. Such a procedure would not require electoral campaign since those seeking elective posts will be well known to the electorate in terms of their characters and moral ethics.

- (d) There are several pastoral letters which have been issued by religious institutions in relation to the general elections. There is a need for the IRCPT to go through such letters, and suggestions which are found to be useful should be included as people's contribution to voters' education in the country.
- (e) Religious communities should be given an opportunity to sit together and come up with a list of criteria on what, spiritually and physically, constitutes good leadership. Having done that, they should go further and suggest modalities that can be used in getting such leaders.
- (f) Religious communities could for instance, decide that corruption suspects are not allowed to contest for any elective post when their cases are still in courts.
- (g) The President should be made to disclose his or her properties after the end of his or her leadership tenure. What is more, the people should be allowed to question him or her on the legality of his or her property.

OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS:

- (1) Most of our leaders in the country lack patriotism and generally, love for the people they claim to be leading. This is best reflected by their lack of seriousness in providing basic needs such as water, electricity and infrastructure-roads, rails etc. These basic needs are important if the people are to make any meaningful progress in whatever endeavour they are involved in, in their quest for socio-economic development.

THE CONSTITUTION SHOULD LOOK INTO THE RIGHTS OF IMPORTANT GROUPS-THE ELDERLY AND CHILDREN:

- 1. The elderly have completely been forgotten in our Constitution. If you consider the fact that each one of us may, if all goes well, grow into old age, the question is what would become of us when we finally reach such an age, if we don't today make any preparations for our elderly citizens? Apart from dealing with problems related to old age, it is very unfortunate that it is the same old men and women who are currently caring for thousands of our orphaned children. As representatives of the FBOs, what are we telling the government of the day about the state of the elderly in this country?

- For instance, how is the government dealing with our old people in the streets? There is a need, on the part of the government, to look for a lasting solution on old people.

DEALING WITH THE PROBLEM OF STREET CHILDREN:

2. We are yet to know the role of a woman in our Constitution, especially with regard to the important question of decision making. There is therefore a need to look critically into this problem and how it can be addressed by our Constitution when we finally decide to work on a new Constitution for the country.

THE CONSTITUTION:

1. In the Constitution of the IRCPT, which is still being worked on, special groups like women and children will be given opportunity in the governing board (that would be involved in, among other thing, in the decision making).
2. We also suggest the formation of a Truth, Reconciliation and Peace Commission. This commission could help whenever we get stuck in socio-economic problems that threaten the country's peace and political tranquility.

PART D:

FBOs' Interfaith Dialogue Resolutions

After deliberations for three days, representative of meeting of religious leaders who met at the Landmark Hotel, Riverside, Ubungu on the outskirts of Dar es Salaam from October 11-13 on the theme *The Role of Faith-Based Organizations in Promoting Free and Fair Elections* in this year's General Elections, passed the following resolutions:

BEFORE THE GENERAL ELECTIONS ON 31, OCTOBER, 2010:

That Inter Religious Council for Peace in Tanzania, IRCPT,

1. *Issue* a statement, before the General Elections scheduled for October 31, 2010, that calls on Tanzanians to use their votes, judiciously. in electing morally ethical leaders.
2. *Appeal* across the board to candidates seeking elective office, to stop using in their campaign provocative speeches, religious bigotry, ethnicity references, racism, and derogatory regionalism and distance themselves from corruption.
3. *Appeal* to the electorate to refrain from accepting bribes and distance themselves from being used by candidates in dirty campaigns, violence etc,
4. *Keep* vigilance on FM stations and media in general lest they use their outlets in fanning hatred now and after the General Elections,
5. *Promptly deal with* unpleasant development in the form of incitement/use of abusive language cropping up during election campaigns, problem through issuance, jointly, of statement on the issue,
6. *Deal*, without fear or favor, with erring politicians even if they are from their own religion.
7. *Should call* on its adherents (followers), especially those involved in politics, to refrain from reciting Holy Books, such as Bible and Quran during their political meetings as such acts could easily be misinterpreted by the audience/media in the course of their coverage,
8. *Should cast* itself above reproach (in the letter and spirit of the leader staying out of the frame of the picture in order to see the big picture), since religion is the conscience of the society.

9. *Should refrain* from peddling politics in their respective Houses of Worship.

AFTER THE GENERAL ELECTIONS ON 31, OCTOBER, 2010:

- (a) In order to reduce corruption during the race for parliamentary seats, the IRCPT should work towards the possibility of getting members of the cabinet from outside Members of Parliament,(?)
- (b) Initiate a dialogue with the newly elected government towards writing a new Constitution,
- (c) Review the present set up of the National Electoral Commission (NEC), with the express purpose of getting an independent body that would ensure free and fair elections in future general elections,
- (d) Because of the importance of human needs such as housing, water, education and health, it is the IRCPT's considered opinion that these should be imbedded in the Constitution, as opposed to its preamble, in the same way it has been done in other countries such as South Africa (housing) and Egypt (bread). In that way, it would be easy to make the government of the day, legally, accountable for the provision of the services,
- (e) The IRCPT should jointly work towards a common curricular for civic education in the country,
- (f) Since the need to provide civic education to the people, especially in the rural areas, has always cropped up close to the General Elections, the IRCPT should come up with a sustainable civic education program that would be carried out continuously,
- (g) The IRCPT should seriously start to work on fund raising program for funding its meetings, civic education program etc instead of continuing to depend on foreign donor agencies,
- (h) The IRCPT should organize more meetings for religious leaders so as to afford them the opportunity of working for problems afflicting the nation more doggedly.

OFFICIAL CLOSING

KAS ON THE IRCPT's FUTURE MEETINGS:

Speaking on behalf of the meeting's sponsors, KAS, the KAS Team Leader, Ndugu Richard Shaba thanked the participants for taking part in the meeting.

He said in his opinion, the meeting had succeeded in attaining the objective for which the meeting had, in the first place, been established for.

He said although he disliked giving promises, however, KAS will look into the possibility of organizing more such meetings.

WHAT IS IRCPT?

Before the curtain on the meeting was finally brought down, the Moderator, Ndugu Salim Zagar welcomed the IRCPT Secretary General, Alhaj Ayoob Omari to give participants at the meeting an appraisal of the IRCPT.

From the outset, Alhaj Omari said, he would not dwell in detail, on the profile of the IRCPT as the institution had already a well documented brochure.

The other thing which he did not touch on, but which supported his stance was the fact that most of the participants represented religious leaders under the IRCPT and as such, they were supposed to know the platform and what it stood for.

Alhaj Omari used the opportunity afforded to him by Ndugu Zagar to respond, subtly, on numerous, delicate issues raised by some participants during the three days meeting.

For instance, on the issue of Muslims/Christians in successive governments since independence, Alhaj Omari said the problem was historical.

He said there were very few educated Muslims in the country after independence and that the problem was compounded by the fact that most schools then had been owned by Christian denominations with all its implications.

As years rolled on, the number of educated Christians did not only increase, but continued to outnumber that of Muslims.

Apparently it was this growing inequality that had forced the founding father, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere to nationalized a number of schools that had been owned by Christian denominations, the aim being to allow children from other religions other than Christian denomination to get education.

Giving an example of himself, he said when he was first appointed by the Government as a Chief Executive Officer of parastatal organization, his own close relative who was a Christian and had grown together under the same roof wondered how he had managed to get such a post!

Alhaj Omari said his relative's surprise did not mean that he was not fit to head the institution, "but the fact is, it was not usual...the country was not used to this kind of development..." he said adding, "expressing surprise did not mean that one disapproved of the appointment."

He said that much as such developments were sometimes very delicate, it was important that people became used to it especially when they are (appointments) made on the basis of merit.

Another issue he touched on was the yawning difference between adherents to various faiths in Tanzania and developed nations.

He said in one European country he had lived in, about 80 percent of the population who were adherents of a given faith, were very strict when it came to adhering to moral ethics yet most of them hardly attended mass in their Houses of Worship.

He said his experience in Tanzania was that although the number of adherents to various faiths was more or less similar to what he had found in the given European country, the difference was to be found on matters related to adhering to moral ethics!

He said the situation in Tanzania left a lot to be desired yet the majority of the people who adhered to different faiths were very good when it came to praying in Houses of Worship.

He said it was time our commitment to various faiths was matched with deeds if Tanzanians were to take their nation to next level.

VOTE OF THANKS:

The vote of thanks on behalf of participants at the meeting was given by Ndugu Kassala who spoke philosophically in his attempt to explain why people sometimes faced many problems in the endeavour to accomplish certain, things.

“What is logical is not always practical and what is practical is not always logical he said,” and added that the same thing could be said about ethics.

“What is practical is not always ethical...and what is ethical is not always desired...it is important that we always take this into account,” he said.

In a nutshell, he said, if people are opposing you, one should not forget that it could be the case of what such a person desires is not practical.

Ndugu Kassala paid glowing tribute to the KAS for organizing the meeting which he said had helped, in the process, to bring closer understanding between representatives.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: PAPER PRESENTED

Paper Presented by **Bernard Okok-Obuoga**, the Director of Programs Coordination and Communication, the African Council of Religious Leaders — *Religions for Peace* (ACRL—RfP) on October 11, 2010

At the Forum on the role of Faith Based Organisations (FBOs) in promoting Free and Fair Elections held at Land Mark Hotel, Dar-Es-Salaam, October 11-13, 2010 Convened by the Inter-Religious Council for Peace, Tanzania (IRCPT)

1. Preamble

All Protocol observed

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is my pleasure to be present in this meeting which aims at streamlining actions among the faith based structures in enhancing free and fair elections in Tanzania. I would like to appreciate the efforts put by the leadership of the Inter-Religious Council for Peace, Tanzania.

I bring you greetings from the African Council of Religious Leaders — *Religions for Peace* (ACRL—RfP), and let me, on behalf of the leadership and staff, express our heartfelt appreciation to Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Tanzania Country Office (KAS-Tanzania) for the trust they have in IRCPT and giving financial assistance towards this, among other events for religious communities. It is my hope that this event will open floodgates for more collaboration in future.

The African Council of Religious Leaders—*Religions for Peace* (ACRL—RfP), for those who are getting to know us for the first time, is the largest and most representative multi-religious platform in Africa. Our mission is to mobilize African religious communities and their leaders to build peaceful, just and harmonious societies in common action. To achieve this, we have set the objectives that include transforming conflicts and advancing sustainable development; promoting peaceful co-existence and respect for religious diversity; facilitating and promoting mediation and conflict resolution within and outside faith communities; facilitating cooperation among African National Inter-Religious Councils (NIRCs), the Sub-Regional Inter-Religious Coordinating Bodies (SIRCBs), Women of Faith and Religious Youth Networks in responding to pan-African challenges. ACRL—RfP takes action within African states in times of

emergency or crisis, and advocating for, and promoting human rights, justice and the rule of law.

I have noticed that you have very few days to the elections. In this case, as you deliberate on the role of FBOs in free and fair elections, it is worthwhile to take note that you may not do much towards this election but there is a lot you can do after. Additionally, you must know that your role should not only be confined to the election as an event but as a process which begins with actions such as voters and political parties registrations, campaigns and political parties' policies. In other words, FBOs should look at the whole electoral process.

In deliberating on issues of elections and the role of faith communities, I have noticed that you have greatly highlighted the issue of civic education and the role of faith communities through FBOs. At the African Council of Religious Leaders — *Religions for Peace* (ACRL—RfP) we uphold the notion of mobilising religious leaders and their communities to build peaceful, just and harmonious societies in common action. These elements include common action in setting the agenda for a society and hence, promotion of free and fair elections is one such demand. We find this forum to be very key.

In giving my presentation on the subject of the role of FBOs in promoting free and fair elections with case of Kenya's experience, I will, first highlight what is expected of the FBOs and then analyse what is existing. In this, we shall be able to draw the gaps and see how these gaps contributed to what came to be known as Kenya's Post-Election Violence. I want to believe that people have learnt a great deal out of our experience. The Inter-Religious Council for Peace, Tanzania (IRCPT), being one of the 23 National Inter-Religious Councils across the continent that is affiliated to the ACRL—RfP can then take this challenge and act proactively through mobilisation of religious leaders, their communities and organisations for common action.

2. Faiths and Faith-Based Organisations in the Society

Please allow me for the sake of my presentation to use faith and religion interchangeably knowing very well that they have slight conceptual differences and understanding. I want to start by saying that religion is the conscience of the society and hence must always guide and ensure that human-based values are promoted. Based on this demand, religious or faith based organisations become instrumental in the pursuit of realisation of these values. Let me indicate that as far as this is true, no single Religion or FBO in Tanzania or anywhere in the world can boast to, in isolation, be able to provide solutions to the problems and

challenges facing humanity today. There must be collaboration and cooperation across the board.

Formation and operationalisation of a bilateral or multilateral network of FBOs faces diverse challenges. One key challenge here is lack of understanding of what cross-religious network is or what people have come to know as inter-religious dialogue. While this is a subject of another day, I would like to highlight some of the key concepts that should be articulated in the framework of cross-the-faith network.

Acceptance – People of faith must accept the fact that we shall always be different. In this case, for us to bear the burden of being the conscious of the society, we must understand, accept and appreciate our religious and cultural differences and make them strong points of working together. All our Religious Sacred Books are full of such instructions.

For example in Islam, Quran instructs all the Muslims thus:

O mankind! We created you from a single soul, male and female, and made you into nations and tribes, so that you may come to know one another. Truly, the most honored of you in God's sight is the greatest of you in piety. God is All-Knowing, All Aware (49:13)

The essence of good neighbourliness calls upon all people of faith to live in peace and love and complement one another and not annihilate each other. This is a fundamental value in FBO cooperation.

In order to develop a concrete multi-faith format of FBOs' approach to issues of good governance in the society such as promotion of free and fair elections in the country, people of faith must develop *trust* among and between themselves. This is achieved when we fully understand and appreciate each other and their ways of life. The easiest way of doing this is through putting into use the Golden rule of or religious teachings some of which are:

Judaism: *What is hateful to you; do not to your fellow man. This is the law: all the rest is commentary.*” Talmud, Shabbat 31a.
“*And what you hate, do not do to anyone.*” Tobit 4:15

Islam: “*None of you [truly] believes until he wishes for his brother what he wishes for himself.*” Number 13 of Imam “Al-Nawawi’s Forty Hadiths”

Bahá'í Faith: *“Ascribe not to any soul that which thou wouldst not have ascribed to thee, and say not that which thou doest not.”*

“Blessed is he who preferreth his brother before himself.”
Baha'u'llah

Christianity: *“So in everything, do to others what you would have them do to you, for this sums up the Law and the Prophets”* Matthew 7:12 (NIV)

Through these, we shall develop and realise positive relationships and hence harness our energies and synergies to address common concerns through common action. In ACRL—RfP, we promote, among other principles, the *understanding and respect* for religious differences and acting on *deeply held and widely shared moral concerns and values*. In Tanzania, you have together identified the importance of free and fair elections as a concern and hence the need to come together and develop a common action.

Faith communities and by large, the Faith Based Organisations, need to develop a *culture of living for one another* and not merely ‘with one another’. This can be achieved by standing on the truth and protecting each other in spite of religious differences. In Islam, the concept of *Dhimmi* comes to mind while in Christianity; the story of the woman who was ‘caught in the act’ bears the challenge for you and I to defend the weak and the meek in the society. I am sure that if Muslims in Tanzania, for example, would stand against any negative treatment towards the Bahá'í, they (the Bahá'í) will trust and consider the Muslims as true brothers. The Faith Based Organisations should mirror this.

Vision and leadership of the faith based organisations rest with the faith leaders. Hence platforms that bring together these bodies and their communities such as the IRCPT must ensure that religious leaders take charge of its vision. This implies that such institutions must be fully-led, owned and driven by religious leaders of the country. At the ACRL—RfP, the vision and mission rests with the senior religious leaders who then facilitate the mobilisation of their communities towards their accomplishments. In this case, they take charge in developing policies, making decisions in terms of the organisational direction and mapping key partnerships. For example, the leaders had to endorse development of the 2010-2014 Strategic Plan and they had to adopt it when it was finished. In this same framework, religious communities and their leaders must fully take charge of its vision. In this case, these FBOs cannot become observers to the day-to-day

running of IRCPT activities. There must be structural basis of engagement and the IRCPT leadership must ensure that this is done.

The above picture indicates what the FBOs are supposed to practice in order to generate cooperation for wider impacts. However, most FBOs find themselves in intricate situations and, as one writer, R.S. Trapp once wrote; “it is difficult to see the picture when you are inside the frame”, for you to realise the changes you would want to see in the society, you must come out of the frame. This implies, you must break the walls of division, mistrust, and all factors that make us not treat others well.

3. The Kenyan Experience

Sharing with you the Kenya post-election experience especially in relation to the role of faith communities is one of the tasks for this presentation.

On May 31, 2009, I was called to address a forum on the *The Role of Religious Leaders in Post-Election violence, peace building, reconciliation, resettlement and reconstruction*, with a purpose of identifying negative roles the religious leaders played to and during the violence. In my presentation, I clearly stated that religious leaders and their communities should not always struggle to remain neutral but must endeavour at providing alternative space for people’s constructive engagement on national matters. I further said that they must provide a well-acceptable human-based space where issues are openly discussed, hard questions are asked and solution-based responses provided. In order to realise this, a mutually-acceptable forum must be built and led by reputable religious leaders through which mobilisation can be done. Unfortunately, in Kenya, in spite of several interfaith structures, religious communities could not agree on the best way of standing for truth. In 2005, the then Ufungamano initiative broke down due to differences on matters of religion and constitution. One faith community walked out of the process indicating that they were betrayed by others. This is where the rain started beating us – the faith communities and entire Kenyan population. From here, it was, within the religious or faith communities, a series of accusations and counter-accusations whose ultimate consequence was the realisation of suspicion and mistrust.

The issue of religion and constitution making reared its head again during the last exercise. Based on the suspicion, those calling for the entrenchment of Kadhis Courts in the new constitution indicated that they would ‘rather die’ than not realise their goal while those against it swore that ‘over our dead bodies’ will it

be done. These were extreme statements of intent, maybe characteristic of the politics that surrounds an event like Kenya's constitutional referendum. Without a mutually acceptable body to mediate and offer a platform for engagement, these extreme positions went all the way to the referendum. Though the constitution was passed by the majority, the interfaith relations in Kenya were fully damaged.

Electoral processes in Kenya have always born struggle between two groups.

- The first group would vote in a particular manner in the hope (whether real or not) that a new regime would tackle their age-old grievances
- The second group would go to the poll and vote in a certain pattern to maintain the status quo ostensibly to guard against the imagined negative repercussions.

The development of these two groups were informed by historical-ethnic and political-economic arrangements of the country. The weak social-cultural and religious fabrics of our society coupled with irresponsible media strengthened the thoughts and positions of the two groups. This situation was worsened by the media and researchers who gave impressions that one particular candidate was always in the lead and hence there was no way his supporters would have accepted anything less than his victory. Religion and religious bodies including respective media FM stations did not offer any solution. Religious leaders went into their ethnic cocoons and blatantly spoke against those perceived to be against 'their own'. They ceased to be the 'conscious of the society'. Painfully, they found themselves in the 'frame' and could not see the picture neither could they lead their communities in finding solutions. Religious or faith based institutions and their leaders should always be beyond any reproach and should stand on truth. Standing on truth simply means being ready even to differ with 'one of your own' at the time such as elections.

I have always pointed out that religious leaders, through joint forums, must be engines or facilitators to the creation of responsible political leadership where, while the majority have their way, the dignity and the rights of the minority are safeguarded within the law.\

4. **The Role of FBOs in Electoral Processes**

Having analyzed, in less detailed format, the foundational principles of operations of FBOs and having seen the contribution of such bodies including their leaders in Kenya's electoral violence situation, the question should then be asked, what

then is the real role of FBOs in electoral processes including promoting free and fair elections?

Identification of common issues without considering self-interests is the first step of FBOs to initiate mutually acceptable role. In brief, the role of FBOs can be stated as Mediators, Facilitators and Advocates of truth.

- The FBOs, through inclusive platforms, can facilitate communication between parties by helping them to acknowledge existing challenges and, together with them, navigate through such situations. The FBOs can only do this by seeing themselves above those issues. Remember, you cannot see the picture if you are inside the frame. The frame here simply means having vested (whether personal or institutional) political and other interests. So first remove yourself from such a frame and then see the bigger picture. The facilitative role must be structured and has to gain and enhance acceptance by all.
- As religious people, we must engage in determining the future of the country through offering steadfast advice to the citizens while promoting the culture of acceptance and mutual respect. These can be done through worship times, linking good citizenship and prosperous society to religious teachings and identifying the roles of respective faith adherents in ensuring that principles of truth and love are practiced.
- Use the religious principles. During each and every election times, such as the one you are experiencing in Tanzania today, each political party and candidates would unveil their manifestos and principles of development they would implement if elected. These keep on changing and sometimes, they are copy and paste. On the other hand religious principles do not change. If something was considered inhuman thousands of years ago, it is still not right today.
- It is important for FBOs to encourage co-operative problem-solving and discourage the parties from taking entrenched positions. People in the society tend to become emotional and sometimes lose focus given positions taken by their political leaders. This is normal. However, it becomes dangerous if these issues touch on their very nature of life such as religion, economics and systems of justice. FBOs must find ways of offering platforms for discussions and not debates and leadership for inclusive approach.

- Look and work for common good of the society. We must endeavor, at all costs, to determine where the differing parties or persons have common, compatible and conflicting interests and where appropriate, selectively share information with all.
- The roles of FBOs in elections do not start during the electoral processes such as campaigns. It should start well before. In this case, religious leaders, through respective and joint platforms, must engage policy experts to examine and challenge various political portfolios of different political structures and personalities. These will ensure that the political party that comes to power holds values that would promote unity, positive relations, and peaceful coexistence between and among people.
- Promoting ‘win-win’ situation. Since it is the desire of religious communities to have a well-structured meaning to the lives of people in the society, FBOs must ensure that competitive electoral process produce the ‘win-win’ situation between the competing parties. This can only be achieved if the enmities between them are addressed beforehand rather than after. You, leaders of FBOs, are therefore called upon to stretch your hands of friendship and invitation for dialogue to all parties involved and streamline national agenda either beyond or within respective political agenda.
- Play the ‘trust-go-between’. Religious leaders and FBOs must not leave this role to political players since they (political players) would not look beyond self-achievements and glorification. Sometimes we leave to them this role very unknowingly. Consider a prayer meeting called to dedicate a day for peace for the nation or during a burial service of a villager who has died of treatable disease and a politician appears. More often than not, we give them an opportunity to address the crowd and pass the ‘development’ message to the people. At that particular moment, he/she will push his/her political agenda (*Story of the preacher and the Queen*)
- Speak and act in unity. Religious leaders and FBOs when addressing issues of national importance such as promoting free and fair elections must ensure that they send the right messages to people across the board. This must also be done in unity and, sometimes, together. When top religious leaders of a country issue or read a statement on particular matters together, people tend to align themselves with each other as they consider the leaders as pillars of guidance. This is different from when they, the leaders, speak and issue statements in their respective locations. *This is where religious leaders*

in Kenya did not do well before the elections and they have not done so till now. People tend to lose faith in you when there seems to be open antagonisms.

5. **Conclusion: Call to Action**

My brothers and sisters, as the founding father of this nation, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere once said, “it can be done, play your part”, I say to you that achieving free and fair elections is achievable, just play your part. As members of FBOs in this country, you command a lot of respect and you faith leaders have strong mobilisation power. Faith institutions are found everywhere even where government offices are malfunctioned. Let us use these opportunities not only to promote free and fair elections at national levels but also advance the concept of responsible citizenship and leadership at the grassroots levels through advocacy and capacity building. This, however, cannot be done in isolation. We must endeavour to build a strong unite that can bring our minds, thoughts and action together for common action. Let us break the walls that continuously divide us, dismantle differences that keep us apart, and address factors and structures that daily make us not confront the same challenges.

In another dimension, we should ensure that as we ‘get out of the frame’ to address challenges of election, we must be wary of internal factors. Just like a leaking ship surrounded by pirates in which the seafarers face double calamity of internal problem (the leaking) and external challenge (the pirates), in the religious arena, we must be ready to address internal problems as well as external challenges. More often than not, we pay more attention to the external issues than internal matters.

This forum provides a good platform for all of us to engage with one another and honestly isolate internal and external problems and challenges that daily jolt our ability to work together, map out our possible strategies for common action and ascertain step-by-step action plan. At ACRL—RfP we are always ready to work with you in bringing solutions to the problems facing the country and continent at large.

It is my hope that the Forum will provide a platform for you to learn from the past (such as Kenya’s situation), engage in your present, and prepare for the future. In this, it is my expectation that you will come out with the ‘simple-to-implement’ action plan not only towards promoting free and fair 2010 election but also creating an environment of peace and peaceful resolution of differences. This must be foundation for engagement towards future electoral process. For this, we must start with ourselves.

Appendix 2: PAPER PRESENTED

ROLE OF FAITH-BASED ORGANIZATIONS IN PROMOTING FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS: AN ACADEMIC PERSPECTIVE

By **Ebenezer Stafford Mshana**
University of Dar es Salaam School of Law

A Paper Presented at KAS and IRCPT Workshop on the Role of Faith-Based
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“...true democracy means much more than holding free and fair elections based on adult suffrage, at periodic intervals. The basis of democracy should be social justice for all in society. Democracy demands an unvarying respect for human rights of all.”
[Carlo Fonseka, **True democracy means much more than holding free and fair elections at periodic intervals.**]

1. Introduction

Tanzanian society is relatively religious and today more than two thirds of the population identify themselves as belonging to one religious group or the other. It can be noted that religious institutions play a dominant role in the lives of millions of Tanzanians in terms of spiritual guidance as well as provision of social services such as health services and education (Mukandala, R. et al, 2006:1).

However, if not used appropriately religion can be divisive and can lead to sectarian politics that would be detrimental to efforts of holding the nation state together (Mallya, E.T., 2006). Consequently, if used appropriately religion can assist in forging national unity.

Article 19(2) of the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania provides for freedom of worship and prohibits the state from involving itself in matters of worship or running of religious organizations. The article states:

Bila ya kuathiri sheria zinazohusika za Jamhuri ya Muungano, kazi za kutangaza dini, kufanya ibada na kueneza dini itakuwa huru na jambo la hiari ya mtu binafsi, na shughuli na uendeshaji wa jumuiya za dini zitakuwa nje ya shughuli za mambo ya Mamlaka ya Nchi.

However, the exercise of this freedom of worship is subject to other laws and to the exercise of similar freedom by other persons. Therefore, one cannot conduct his religious affairs in a way that infringes the rights and religious freedoms of others or public interest. In short, the Constitution demands for religious tolerance.

Tanzania reintroduced multiparty system in July 1992 through amendment of the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania. The Constitution allows freedom to form political parties provided that no political party can be registered unless “its membership is voluntary and open to all citizens of the United Republic without discrimination on account of gender, religious beliefs, race, tribe, ethnic origin, profession or occupation”. Further, the Constitution provides that, no political party shall qualify for provisional registration if by its constitution or policy “it aims to further or advocate the interests of any religious belief or group; any tribal, ethnic or racial group; or only a specific area of the United Republic”.

As such there is no room for forming a political party based on, among others, religious beliefs.

In addition, the Code of Conduct for Political Parties, the Government and the National Electoral Commission expressly states that political parties should not use religious premises for holding political events and they should not promote ethnic, religious, racial or gender hostility through their campaigning. Likewise, religious leaders are prohibited from using their positions to campaign for political parties or candidates during worship.

2. Free and Fair Elections

Elections are a basic precondition for good governance. Good governance espouses a critical democratic norm, namely popular sovereignty that envisages that government can be legitimated only by the will of those whom it governs. This will can be secured through frequent competitive popular elections. Competition in politics demands election rules and procedures that offer voters an effective way to change through the ballot box a government that has not lived up to their development expectations (Chaligha, 2000:519).

An international consensus has more or less emerged in recent years on the necessary elements of democratic elections, and elections that meet those standards are often referred to as “free and fair.”

International law imposes certain obligations on states and electoral authorities regarding the conduct of elections. The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and other international instruments establish two essential conditions for democratic elections: (1) universal and equal suffrage, and (2) a secret ballot. International conventions banning discrimination based on race or gender further reinforce the right to participate in elections on the basis of “universal and equal suffrage.” To be “free and fair,” however, elections also must meet a number of other standards.

A ‘FREE’ electoral process is one where fundamental human rights and freedoms are respected, including:

- Freedom of speech and expression by electors, parties, candidates and the media;
- Freedom of association; that is, freedom to form organizations such as political parties and civil society organizations;
- Freedom of assembly, to hold political rallies and to campaign;
- Freedom of access to and by electors to transmit and receive political and electoral information messages;
- Freedom to register as an elector, a party or a candidate;
- Freedom from violence, intimidation or coercion;
- Freedom of access to the polls by electors, party agents and accredited observers;
- Freedom to exercise the franchise in secret, and
- Freedom to question, challenge and register complaints or objections without negative repercussions.

A ‘FAIR’ electoral process is one where the ‘playing field’ is *reasonably* level and accessible to all electors, parties and candidates, and includes:

- An independent, impartial and non-partisan electoral management body to administer the whole electoral process;
- Guaranteed rights and protection through the Constitution and electoral legislation and regulations;
- Political parties and individuals must have reasonable opportunities to stand for election;
- Equitable representation of electors provided through the legislation; clearly defined universal suffrage and secrecy of the vote;
- Equitable and balanced access and reporting by the media;
- Equitable opportunities for the electorate to receive political and voter education and information;
- Accessible polling places;

- Equitable treatment of electors, candidates and parties by elections officials, the government, the police, the military and the judiciary;
- An open and transparent ballot counting process,
- Election process not disrupted by violence, intimidations or coercion;
- No misuse of public resources for campaigns; and
- There must be prompt and just resolution of election-related disputes and grievances, before and after Election Day.

With increasing international and regional interest in elections since the 1990s, a number of international and regional organizations have attempted to better define “free and fair” elections or to articulate the standard’s many components. In 1994, the Inter-Parliamentary Union formally adopted a *Declaration on Criteria for Free and Fair Elections*, which declared a broad range of rights of citizens, candidates, parties, and states as necessary for free and fair elections. The Declaration provides, *inter alia*, that: ‘states must recognise and make provision for:

- The right of the individual to vote, on a non-discriminatory basis.
- The right of the individual to access an effective, impartial and non-discriminatory procedure for the registration of voters.
- The right of every eligible citizen to be registered as a voter, subject only to disqualification in accordance with clear criteria established by law, that are objectively verifiable and not subject to arbitrary decision.’

At the regional and sub-regional levels, the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance; and the SADC Principles and Guidelines on Elections, respectively also have provisions that concretize the conduct of free and fair elections.

In Tanzania, the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania underlines the importance of free and fair elections and these constitutional guarantees are given detailed interpretation under the National Elections Act.

However, in order to determine whether elections are free and fair, one needs to look at both law and practice and not merely international, regional, sub-regional instruments or statutory provisions. Moreover, even though substantial consensus on international norms governing the legitimacy of elections has emerged, an agreed-upon set of specific practical criteria for judging whether elections are free and fair remains elusive.

As such some international organizations have attempted to expand the fundamental criteria to include such requirements as “equality,” “transparency,”

and “accountability.” The principle of equality requires that one citizen’s vote be given equivalent weight to that of other. To be transparent, an election must have predictable procedures, have published results, and ensure security against fraud. Accountability would require that those elected be duly installed in office and recognize their accountability to the electorate. Others have developed elaborate, highly detailed checklists of requirements for free and fair elections.

Unfortunately, such expanded formulations and detailed lists identify benchmarks that are rarely fully met in elections in the real world. By describing the ideal rather than the minimum elements of an acceptable election, they provide neither a satisfactory theoretical definition of the free and fair standard nor a practical guide for election observers. The various formulations and criteria provide no help with the task of determining whether a given test has been met, how to deal with criteria that are ambiguous or conditions that have been only partially fulfilled, or what relative weight should be given to various criteria. Indeed, given these challenges, some elections monitoring organizations now generally avoid using the phrase “free and fair” as too definitive or judgmental.

3. The Role of Faith Based Organisations in Promoting Free and Fair Elections

Faith-based organisations can play a significant role in promoting free and fair elections through conduct of civic and voter education programmes, promotion of morals and ethics and election monitoring and election observation.

Provision of Civic and Voter Education

The role of civic education including, but not limited to voter education, in promoting a free and fair election cannot be underestimated. Democracy requires informed participation of the electorate, but before this can happen, and to lessen conflict and confusion about the democratic process, citizens must remain informed and engaged. The electorate in any given situation needs knowledge, information and understanding of the competing political forces to make informed decisions about policy choices and avenues to voice their concerns. This is necessary because true democracy means much more than free and fair elections.

Civic education is the process by which the public is made aware of social and political rights and responsibilities, as well as the principles and practices of action. Civic education, therefore, creates awareness of the electoral process, allowing political parties and competing candidates to set out their policies, thereby helping the electorate to make an informed choice.

Civic education is used to create awareness of the various issues posed by politicians and candidates during an election, but more than that it, empowers voters and community actors with the tools, information, mobilization skills and understanding of the political dynamics necessary to influence change during the electoral process. Both state and non-state actors have a significant role to play in ensuring that civic education is provided to the citizenry. In Tanzania, civil society organizations including FBOs also provide civic education to large segments of the population using various creative methodologies. Civic education enables various interest groups – both state and non-state actors – to engage in a non-partisan education of voters using various methodologies, ranging from seminars and discussions to plays, poetry and drama.

It is appreciated that since the first multiparty elections in 1995, FBOs have conducted civic education programmes. But for these programmes to be effective there is need for making them coordinated, sustainable and continuous.

FBOs should not operate in isolation and different agenda in conducting civic education. This call for FBOs to work together in order to achieve same objectives for the benefit of all. An FBO will, of course, not effectively conduct civic education if it mobilizes its followers to elect a candidate from their religious affiliation for the sake of such affiliation and not on qualities of a good leader. In most cases an incompetent leader affects the whole society and not merely those who are not of his religious affiliation.

Moreover, it is important to conduct training of civic education trainers as trainers may sometimes produce positive or negative changes in democratic orientations. One cannot be expected to provide training to others if he does not sufficiently understand the subject matter.

FBOs should live up to their responsibility to educate and enlighten their members on the sacrosanct nature of the franchise and commit themselves to playing the role of democracy stakeholders.

Promotion of Morals and Ethics

FBOs have a primary duty to promote morals and ethics in society. As far as promotion of free and fair elections is concerned, FBOs should ensure that the principles of honesty and peaceful relations they preach are extended to the political terrain. Specifically, by sanctioning their members who engage in corrupt or violent practices, they can play a major role in promoting the culture of free and fair elections.

Election Monitoring and Observation

One way in which FBOs could promote free and fair elections is by participating in election monitoring and observation. Although the terms ‘monitoring’ and ‘observation’ are often used interchangeably it is worth noting that the two processes are, in fact, fairly distinct, albeit intertwined.

Observation refers to information gathering or on-site fact-finding and making an informed judgement about the credibility, legitimacy and transparency of the electoral process. It can be carried out by either internal or external agencies who cannot intervene in any material way in the voting and counting operations. The role of election observation is to help reduce irregularities and also offer impartial advice to election officials where necessary. Election observers, therefore, should assess a comparably broad range of substantive issues, including the administration or conduct of the election; the legal and institutional framework for the election; and the political context and environment in which the election takes place.

Monitoring refers to information gathering and examination and evaluation of the electoral process. It is often carried out by domestic agencies who are able to draw the attention of the presiding officers to observed deficiencies in the voting and counting operations.

Election monitoring and observation may take two main forms: (a) long term, covering all the phases of the electoral process and (b) short-term, covering mainly polling day activities. In a long term election observation, observers monitor all phases of the election process, including the pre-election period, including the formal or informal campaign period; the balloting and initial counting on Election Day; and the post-election phase, including the aggregation and tabulation of votes, the adjudication of complaints, and the formation of a new government. More than often, the legitimacy of an election process is often determined well before Election Day, or it may be compromised by events afterward.

Election monitoring and observation are key instruments for evaluating and assessing whether or not the electoral process in any given country has been conducted in a free, fair, transparent and credible manner. In addition, monitoring and observation can assist a country holding elections to prevent, manage or transform election-related conflicts through impartial and timely reporting as well as identifying strengths and possible weaknesses of the election process as a whole.

In playing their role as election monitors, FBOs should ensure that laid down election rules and procedures are followed and that election meets local, regional and international standards of free and fair elections.

FBOs in Tanzania have always been part of election observers since the first multiparty elections in 1995. As local observers, it is hoped that even in the forthcoming general elections, FBOs will contribute immensely to managing peaceful elections and help to reduce or deter fraudulent election practices.

Again, FBOs should play a watch dog role in ensuring that electoral processes are conducted freely and fairly without fraud, intimidations, manipulations and corruption.

Faith-based organizations, therefore, have a crucial role to play in governance generally and in promoting free and fair elections in particular because, among others, they are stakeholders and not spectators in the electoral process. And this role can be achieved if FBOs work together to achieve the same objectives.

4. Conclusion

Free and fair elections assist in entrenching a democratic culture, minimise conflicts, contribute to political stability and peaceful development, allow citizens to determine the political makeup and future policy directions of their nation's government and increase the likelihood of a peaceful transfer of power. They also help to ensure that losing candidates will accept the validity of the election's results after fair contest.

However, as Carlo Fonseka says "true democracy means much more than holding free and fair elections based on adult suffrage, at periodic intervals. The basis of democracy should be social justice for all in society. Democracy demands an unvarying respect for human rights of all".

Lastly, but by no means least, FBOs have an important role to play in promoting free and fair elections by conducting coordinated, sustainable and effective civic education programmes, promoting morals and ethics and acting as 'watch dogs' in the electoral process through election monitoring and election observation.

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