

DO NOT QUOTE- THIS VERSION NEEDS CHECKING ONCE MORE WITH LIPUMBA

Challenges for the opposition and democratization in Tanzania – a view from the opposition

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In the period after 1990 a massive return to liberalized forms of politics has taken place largely centered around the dismantling of one party-regimes, the termination of a large number of military-led or dominated governments, the embrace of a multiparty political framework, the introduction of an independent media, the restoration of some basic freedoms to the people of the countries concerned and the convening of multiparty elections. This development was so widespread and overwhelming that it by many observers was seen as the beginning of Africa's second liberation (Olukoshi, 1998; Bratton and van de Walle 1997; Ake 2000). However this development took place at a time of harsh economic conditions for most African countries leading to rescue operations by the international communities, the so-called structural adjustment programmes. These operations came only into being after certain serious conditions for economic and political reform was undertaken often leading to situations of non-democracies (Melber 2003; Gyimah-Boadi 2004; Villalón and VonDoepp 2005; Mkandawire 2006). Potential gains to the peoples from the liberalization of their national political spaces were thus undermined by the conditions set by outside suppliers of necessary resources, in combination with all the internal challenges in terms of weak institutions, civil society and media as well as lack of a tradition of multiparty democracy and general poverty. Matters appear to have been worsened by the fact that in many African countries the promise which the opposition once represented as the bearer of the hopes and aspirations of the people has substantially faded away (Ottaway 2003; Salih 2003; Villalón and VonDoepp 2005; Mbaku and Ihonvbere 2006; Salih, Nordlund et al. 2007) In some African countries the democratisation process has even been reversed in recent years, e.g., Ivoary Coast, Uganda to name a few. In others, like Tanzania, semi-authoritarian rule under the umbrella of formal multiparty system persists. Today, few dispute the need for a well-functioning multi-party system to promote democracy, even if the presence of a formal multi-party system in itself does not guarantee a deep, broad and substantial democracy (Abrahamsen 2000; Randall and Svåsand 2002; Ottaway 2003; Ayers 2006; Törnquist 2006; Basedau, Erdmann et al. 2007; Tar 2009; Zuern 2009). There are several factors which have acted together to weaken and in some cases, discredit the opposition in much of Africa's ongoing experience with multiparty politics. In a study of the politics of opposition based on seven country case-studies edited by Adebayo Olukoshi the following explanations are given for this deterioration:

- Incumbent governments did only very reluctantly concede to the multiparty framework and stopped at nothing to obstruct, weaken, harass and divide the opposition
- As part of the strategy employed to weaken the opposition, public sector patronage was withdrawn from anyone that was sympathetic to or identified with the opposition, something that was particularly important for the private business sector representatives. This acted to weaken the financial base of the opposition parties and limiting their

19 March 2010

organizational capacity at the same time as the incumbents freely availed themselves of state resources to finance their bids for remaining in power

- The opposition did not enjoy a level playing field with the incumbents against whom they contested. Official, publicly funded media organizations as well as various state organizations, including especially the security services, were deployed against opposition parties and their activists. Incumbents did also take the opportunity to rig elections both structurally and physically. In spite of the presence of international and local observers
- The electoral system operated in most African countries, namely the British first-past-the-post, winner-take-all model worked to the detriment of the opposition. The number of seats won was not proportionate to the share of the vote
- In articulating their demands for multiparty politics, many opposition parties were too quick to allow themselves to be hurried by incumbent into elections without first insisting on the implementation of the far reaching constitutional changes that were necessary for governing post electoral political activity.
- In several African countries opposition political activity came to depend heavily on donor/external support for its sustenance (Olukoshi, 1998:29-33).

As the development of a healthy and vigorous opposition is a major part of a democratic framework this is a serious development that has to be investigated further. We will here see how the situation in Tanzania has emerged over the past 17 years of multi-party developments by making a specific study of the life of an opposition leader of one of the major opposition parties of Tanzania, Professor Ibrahim Lipumba from Civic United Front (CUF).

The political structure in Tanzania¹

Tanzania is still in transition from a one-party to a fully-fledged multi-party system. The formal and informal institutions of democracy are still weak, even if efforts have been made to strengthen them. This section analyses the party system in order to identify some of the major challenges for the opposition.

Tanzania has 18 registered political parties, of which five is represented in the Parliament. The ruling party Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) has a well-developed organisation with elaborated procedures and structures for (relative democratic) decision-making. But it also contains strong central authority and personal networks, with close links to the administration at different levels (Mmuya 1998; Hyden 1999; Hyden 2005). The one-party culture still to a large extent defines parts of the party, the administration and the political culture — not least on local level. But changes are taking place.

In 2000 CCM was divided in three major factions. The basis for the factions was not strongly related to different political vision, policy or ideology, but rather to the power struggle involving

¹ This section is based on a number of interviews made with different political parties representatives, media, civil society, researchers and the donor community for Jonas Ewald forthcoming doctoral dissertation Ewald, J. (2010 forthcoming). Challenges for the democratisation process in Tanzania. Göteborg, Göteborg University. As well as earlier writings Ewald, J. (1996). Tanzania och Sydafrika. Demokratisering på vems villkor? Demokratins utmaningar. B. Kaufman. Göteborg, Peace and Development Studies, Göteborg University, Ewald, J. (2001). The interface between Democracy and Economic change. The case of structural adjustment and democracy in Tanzania. Göteborg University in Africa. Africa at Göteborg University. A. Närman and J. Ewald. Göteborg, Centre for Africa Studies, Göteborg University.

19 March 2010

three charismatic leaders and their factions. All three had been among the major presidential candidates since the election 1995. The first, Benjamin Mkapa the ruling President, chairman of the party and Nyerere's man in the 1995 election; The second was Jakaya Kikwete, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, representing a new generation and pragmatic policies, considered by Nyerere to be too young (45 years) and inexperienced in the 1995 election; The third challenger was John Malacela (Vice-chairman of CCM, former Prime Minister and not favoured by Nyerere in 1995 and regarded to represent the "old hardliners" and elders in the party). Some political differences were ascribed to the candidates, related to the views on the reforms, where the Malacela fraction criticised the neo-liberal aspects of the reform policies implemented by the Mkapa government and claimed to represent a more socialistic tradition. But in practice the competition between the factions within the party turned out to be limited, as could be expected in an election in-between the first and the second of the two presidential periods allowed by the constitution. In CCM's internal nomination to the presidential election 2000, Mkapa in the end was the only candidate presented to the party's national congress for election.

The nomination of a new presidential candidate and MPs in 2005 was a much more open, unpredictable and competitive process, even if the three major factions describe above remained. This time the Kikwete factions presented itself as standing for a new era and a representative for the youth. The internal nomination process within CCM is well elaborated, institutionalised and fairly democratic. Nominations start from the party branches. CCM's Central Committee selects five candidates. The National Executive Committee (NEC) recommended three of these to the CCM's National Congress, which elects the party's presidential candidate. Mkapa at an early stage announced that he would follow the constitutional rules and not attempt to change the constitution to obtain a third term, unlike the situation in several other African countries, like Museveni in neighbouring Uganda. But there were widespread allegations that the internal nomination process was more corrupt than the elections process itself, in particular as regards MP candidates - even if the party set up teams to monitor the process both at national level and at local levels. This issue was raised in almost all the interviews we conducted with political contestants both from CCM and from the opposition, as well as from outside observers and the media. After Kikwete won the presidential election in December 2005, he has strengthened his position in the party. Mkapa announced that he would resign prematurely from the post of party chairman. At an extra ordinary party congress in June 2006, Kikwete was elected the new chairman of CCM.

Although CCM is formally detached from the governmental structures, the old ties between the party and the administration still exists, both formally and informally (Mukandala, Mushi et al. 2005). An example of the formal ties is that all key government functions down to District Commissioners and judges are directly appointed by – and thus dependent upon – the Presidency. As most "political opportunities" arise within the government administration – rather than the political structures or the private sector – incentive exists even for strong leaders from the opposition parties to join CCM. This could be observed during the preparation and campaigns for presidential and parliamentary elections both in 2000 and 2005. Dr. Lamwai's defection from the National Convention for Construction and Reform-Mageuzi (NCCR-Mageuzi) to CCM in May 2000, might illustrate this point. Dr. Lamwai was among the few prominent persons that were remaining in the opposition camp at that point, apart from CUF's Ibrahim Lipumba, Chama cha Maendeleo na Demokrasia (CHADEMA) Edward Mtei (a former Minister of Finance),

19 March 2010

who had resigned as party chairman in 1998, and Tanzania Labour Party (TLP)s Chairman Augustine Mrema, a former Minister of Home Affairs and a few others.

With a high degree of fungibility of funds, economic support to the government may be indirectly or directly diverted to the ruling party. The opposition is therefore weakened by CCM's control of the government, administration and media, not least at the local level. The strong donor interests in the managerial issues of the public sector may undermine the efforts to build a strong political community and opposition, due to the informal interlinkages of the ruling party with central and local government administration.

The Opposition

No real challenges exist to CCM, in particular in rural areas, as the opposition parties neither have the organisation nor the resources to fully develop structures at all district/local levels in the vast country. No strong and well organised nationwide opposition has emerged – as in most other African countries (Olukoshi 1998). Zanzibar, and in particular the small island of Pemba is an exception, here CUF is a real challenge for CCM, based on the turbulent history of the islands. It is also on Zanzibar the political conflicts has been most intense and at times fiercely violent, with 45 people killed in the peaceful demonstration for rerun of the elections in January 23th 2001.

Most opposition parties lack a comprehensive and realistic political programme, with the exception of CUF and CHADEMA, and to a lesser extent NCCR-Mageusi and TLP. All parties are to a large extent based on charismatic individuals, have a relatively narrow social base, and are mostly urban biased (Mmuya 1998). After the election in 1995 the opposition parties disintegrated and were even weaker in 2000 than during the previous election. After the election 2000 the situation changed slightly for the majority of the parties. The CUF, CHADEMA, NCCR-Mageuzi and to a lesser extent TLP and UDP, might be considered more fully developed parties. The remaining 12 parties are very small. The lack of comprehensive policy alternatives to CCM was also one of CCM's critique against the opposition in 1995, 2000 and 2005 election. A critique shared by media, CSO, key informants and voters interviewed.

A large part of the parties' time and energies are devoted to internal power struggles, quite naturally for newly started parties in newly introduced multiparty context. Not the least the struggle over who should be chairman and/or presidential candidate, as demonstrated by, e.g., the struggles within NCCR-Mageuzi and TLP. But also struggles and rivalry with other parties in the opposition. Where influential individuals could be attracted to leave a party that do not give what he (most often) think is the best opportunities and move over to another party, with followers. One example is the strongest and most prominent opposition party during the 1994-1999 period, the NCCR-Mageuzi. It was splintered in 1999, however, when Augustine Mrema, a strong and popular former Minister of Home Affairs, who left CCM and joined the NCCR in 1995 to run for the presidency on NCCR ticket, left with the majority of the followers to join TLP. As a result both NCCR and TLP became preoccupied by internal power struggles, weakening both parties – and most likely the opposition as a whole. Seldom have these struggles related to which faction of the party that has the right to the government subsidies to the parties or other assets – or who should be the presidential candidate, MP/councillor-candidate or other functions/position in the party. The struggle within TLP continued after the election 2000, and the did not managed to reorganise itself to its former strength before the election 2005.

19 March 2010

With NCCR and TLP preoccupied with internal struggles, CUF emerged as the strongest opposition party during the 2000 election. It continued to improve its organisation and policies in the period up to the 2005 election. The CUF is often accused of being mainly an Islamist party, with its strong base being in Pemba/Zanzibar and along the Coast. This is strongly denied by the party². Several of its leading cadres are Christian and the party also had one of the most developed programmes among the opposition parties. CHADEMA developed its organisation and changed leadership prior to the elections in 2005. Its presidential candidate, the young and dynamic businessman Freeman Mbowe, attracted young and aspiring businessmen and woman during the election campaigns. He was the first politician in Tanzania to use a helicopter in his election campaigns which drew an enormous attention in the rural areas. For most visited villages and small towns it was the first time something like a helicopter, symbolising modernity and technological development, was seen. Policy wise, TLP and NCCR-Mageuzi define themselves as left/social democratic parties, while CHADEMA call itself a conservative party and is also a member of the African and International conservative alliance.

The challenges for the opposition parties are clearly displayed by the election result from the elections since the multiparty system was introduced in 1992.

The Union Presidential elections 1995, 2000 and 2005
(% of total votes, mainland + Zanzibar)

	1995	2000	2005
CCM (Benjamin Mkapa 1995&2000, Jakaya Kikwete 2005)	61.8	71.7	80,3
CUF (Ibrahim Lipumba (1))	6.4	16.3	11,7
TLP (Augustine Mrema) (2)	27.8	7.8	0,75
UDP (John Cheyo)	4.0	4.2	-
CHADEMA (Freeman Mbowe)		- (1)	5,9
NCCR-Mageuzi (Mvungi Sengondo (2))			0.5

Source: NEC 2001, 2006

1) I. Lipumba was a joint candidate for CUF + CHADEMA 2000

2) A. Mrema was the Presidential candidate for NCCR-Mageuzi 1995, crossed over to TLP from 2000)

The parliamentary election results of 2000 show an even more crushing defeat for the opposition. On the mainland, the opposition only managed to win 14 constituencies (6,1% of the 181) while the CCM won in 164. In the union as whole, the opposition won 29 seats (12,5% of the 232 constituencies) and the CCM 198 seats. In 2005 the loss of the opposition on the mainland continued. The opposition only managed to get seven seats on the mainland (3,8% of the 182 constituencies on the mainland) and 26 in total (11,2% of the 232 in the union). 19 of the opposition seats derive from Zanzibar, and more over 16 of these from the small island of

² Personal interviews with CUF National Party Secretary and Information Secretary, mainland October 2000, June 2001, May 2002, and District Party Secretary, and District Chairman Pangani October 2000, August 2002. December 2005 and May 2006. CUF Chairman in 2003, 2006 and 2007.

19 March 2010

Pemba. From the 46 directly elected seats the opposition got in 1995 it just remained with 26 in 2005. In percent that equals a fall from around 20% of the directly elected seats in 1995 to around 11 percent in 2005.

In the following text we focus on the largest opposition party, CUF, its structure and the challenges it has faced in order to understand why the opposition has been more marginalised in Tanzania, 18 years after multipartism was introduced.

Civic United Front (*Chama Cha Wananchi*)

CUF identify itself as a social-liberal party, opposing the ruling “revolutionary” party. CUF is a member of the Africa Liberal Network (ALN).³ It was formed in May 1992 through a merger of KAMAHURU, a pressure group for democratization in Zanzibar, and the Civic Movement, a human rights organization based on the mainland. The party has its strongest support in Pemba and Zanzibar, along the coast and in the lake region, as well as in Dar es Salaam. Several CUF leaders had a background in the ruling revolutionary party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) and had been expelled or left CCM over disputes about party and government policy, in similarity with many countries in transition from one to multiparty systems. CUF was registered as a party on 21 January 1993 and participated in all elections since opposition parties were allowed in 1992, i.e., in 1995, 2000, 2005 – and will participate in the upcoming election 2010.

The Leadership of CUF

Ibrahim Haruna Lipumba is the national Chairman of CUF. He made an academic career before starting the political one. Lipumba received a PhD in economics from Stanford University, USA in 1982. In 1983, he returned to the University of Dar es Salaam to teach economics and conduct research. He took active part in the national policy debates. He was appointed as Economic Adviser to President Hassan Mwinyi in 1991. In 1993-1995, Lipumba was a Visiting Professor of Economics at Williams College, Massachusetts, USA and was part of a team evaluating the crisis of aid donors and Tanzania. In 1996-98, Lipumba worked at the United Nations University World Institute of Development Economics Research (UNU WIDER). Lipumba has held the position of Chairman of CUF from 1995, and was re-elected in 2009. He has contested in the presidential elections in Tanzania since the country instituted a multiparty system in the early 1990s. Professor Lipumba is a respected economist and regarded as a skilled orator drawing large crowds to CUF's rallies. He continues his career as a freelance economist on a smaller scale.

Seif Shariff Hamad, is Secretary-General of CUF since 1999. He had a long career within CCM in Zanzibar during the single party era. Hamad was Minister of Education in the Zanzibar government 1977 – 1980 and member of the National Executive Committee and the Central Committee of the ruling party 1977 – 1987. He headed CCM's Economic and Planning Department for five years 1982 – 1987. In 1984, Mr. Hamad was appointed the Chief Minister of Zanzibar. He was popular among ordinary people in Zanzibar. He retained the same position until a cabinet reshuffle in January 1988. An outcome of power struggle within CCM between “liberators” defending the Zanzibar revolution and “reformers” which were accused of being representatives of the deposed “Arab” oligarchy and Pembans. (Bakari 2001) In May 1988

³ ALN is made up of 17 parties from 15 African countries and is an associated organisation of Liberal International. ALN aim to spread Liberal values across the African Continent and to facilitate the development and growth of Liberal parties, organisations and individuals in all African countries. Liberal International

19 March 2010

Hamad was expelled from CCM, together with six other members. He was imprisoned for 30 months (May 1989 – November 1991) on charges of organizing an unlawful assembly, which were later changed to that of being found with government classified documents. Due to lack of sufficient evidence, the case was finally dismissed by the Tanzanian Court of Appeal in January 1993.

Hamad was one of the founders of CUF. He was elected its first National Vice Chairman, and elected as the Secretary General at CUF's National Congress in 1999, a position he still retains. Hamad was the CUF's candidate for the Presidency of Zanzibar in the elections in 1995, 2000 and 2005.

Election results

In the 1995 national election, as emerged above, CUF Presidential candidate Ibrahim Lipumba got 6.4% of the vote, third behind Benjamin Mkapa of the CCM and NCCR-Mageuzi candidate Augustine Mrema. In the National Assembly, the party won 24 of 232 elective seats, making it the largest opposition party in the legislature. In Zanzibar CUF presidential candidate Hamad was narrowly defeated by CCM candidate Salmin Amour, winning 49.8% of the vote to Amour's 50.2%. Observers noted serious irregularities in the poll and the CUF rejected the result as rigged. CUF boycotted the House of Representatives and refused to recognize the Zanzibari government as legitimate. In November 1997, eighteen leaders of the CUF were arrested and subsequently charged with treason. These charges were later dropped.

In the October 2000 national presidential election, Lipumba was a joint candidate for CHADEMA and CUF. He got 16.3% of the vote, second to President Benjamin Mkapa. The party maintained its status as the largest opposition party in the National Assembly by winning 17 of 231 elective seats. In Zanzibar Seif Shariff Hamad won 33% of the vote against 67% for the ruling party's Amani Abeid Karume in elections for the presidency of Zanzibar. In the Zanzibar House of Representatives, CUF won 16 of 50 elective seats. The 2000 elections were considered largely free and but not fair on the mainland. However, observers noted serious irregularities in the Zanzibar polls citing widespread irregularities and instances of intimidation of opposition supporters by the security forces. CUF accused the government for rigging the election and called for a complete re-run of the polls. When the electoral commission nullified the results in only 16 constituencies, CUF announced that it would boycott the new elections conducted on 5 November 2000. In January 2001, forty-five CUF supporters were shot by Tanzanian Security Forces in peaceful demonstration for a rerun of the election. The even led ruling CCM party and opposition CUF to have a dialogue that resulted in signing of a peace accord named MUAFAKA II, designed to ensure electoral and constitutional reforms. Most of the planned reforms were not implemented by the government, including, crucially, an agreed credible voter's register prior to the elections of October 2005

In the 2005 national election Ibrahim Lipumba placed a distant second to CCM candidate Jakaya Kikwete, winning 11.7% of the vote. CHADEMA had its own Presidential candidate. Out of the 232 National Assembly seats filled through direct election, the CUF won 19. In 2005 elections for the Zanzibar Presidency and House of Representatives, Seif Shariff Hamad placed second to incumbent Amani Abeid Karume, winning 46.1% of the vote. The party won 19 seats in the House of Representatives. International and domestic observers heavily criticized the conduct of the Zanzibar polls, again CUF disputed the election and refused to recognise Karume as President. The United States boycotted the swearing-in ceremony of Abeid Karume as President.

19 March 2010

The story of an opposition leader Ibrahim Lipumba

The following account is based of a series of interviews over a ten year period with Ibrahim Lipumba by Lennart Wohlgenuth and Jonas Ewald at different occasions. It is a testimony from a politician in action with all its pros and cons.

After a long carieer as an academic and researcher you are now involved in politics in Tanzania. What makes a senior and prominent researcher enter the arena of politics?

I believe that politics is too important for development in poor countries such as Tanzania to be left to professional politicians. I entered the Presidential race in 1995 to initiate development policy debate. My party was strong in Zanzibar and was expected to win the elections in that part of the country, but weak in mainland Tanzania. I believed that being a mainlander I would provide a unifying link if my party won the elections in Zanzibar and the ruling party won the elections in mainland Tanzania. The main opposition candidate in mainland Tanzania was not providing a principled challenge against the past policies of the ruling party and was using the tactic of blaming the Indian business community for the economic problems affecting the majority of Tanzanians. I believed it was my civic duty to accept the challenge and debate the past policies of the ruling party that hindered individual freedom, freedom of expression and deliberately curtailed opportunities for self-advancement and the establishment of a broad-based market economy. I also articulated a socially inclusive market oriented development strategy that had confidence in Tanzanians' ability to manage their own affairs and establish a vibrant economy.

I did not expect to win the presidential election. My objective was to strengthen democracy by debating and supporting policies that promote an open society, the rule of law, and establishing a socially inclusive competitive market economy. To promote growth requires institution arrangements that clearly define and protect property rights and encourage the establishment of transparent and accountable government that prioritises its expenditure on education, health, infrastructure and agriculture. As one of the members of Professor Gerry Helleiner's team that evaluated the donor government relations I had realised that the levels of corruption had reached an astonishingly dangerous level that was threatening political and economic stability. By raising the corruption and governance issues in the campaign I believed they would be included in the policy agenda by whoever won the presidential elections. After the elections, I returned to the University to teach but I was expelled from the University for Political Reasons. The official reason was that I had gone to Washington for short-term research without permission from University authorities.

Have you tried to combine your research capabilities with political work?

Yeas I have spent as an example three months as a guest researcher at the Nordic Africa Institute in late 2002/early 2003 in Uppsala reviewing and rethinking development policy in Tanzania. I started by reviewing the levels of poverty in Tanzania. The Household Budget Survey 2000/2001 has reported that the people living below the poverty line decreased from 39 percent in 1991 to 36 percent in 2000. These estimates have been derived by using an extremely austere poverty line. An adult spending Shs 330 per day in Dar es Salaam is considered to be non-poor. I have re-estimated the incidence of poverty using an internationally accepted poverty line of spending one purchasing power parity dollar. My estimates indicate that poverty has increased from 48.5 percent in 1991 to 75 percent in 2000. The main cause for the increase in poverty is that growth has been modest; an average of 4.2 percent per year during 1995-2000 and income distribution

19 March 2010

has worsened. The fastest growing sector is mining but it is capital intensive, does not generate employment and has displaced artisan miners. The agricultural sector has been neglected. The growth of agricultural value added has hardly kept pace with population growth rate. Although the agricultural sector employs 70 per- cent of the labor force, in the past seven years the government has allocated only four percent of its total expenditure in this sector.

An appropriate development strategy in Tanzania must focus on transforming the agricultural sector and promoting labor intensive industries and services. The government has been successful in reducing inflation from 34 percent in 1994 to 4.5 percent in 2002. The success in reducing inflation is largely the result of stringent use of the cash budget to contain aggregate government expenditure. Reducing inflation to single digit levels by itself will not mobilize domestic saving and increase investment. Financial sector reforms that included the privatisation of state owned banks have not improved the availability of financial services. Households with bank accounts have decreased from 18 percent in 1991 to six percent in 2000. The percentage of households that had access to bank loans decreased from 1.2 percent in 1991 to 0.6 percent in 2000. The interest rate spread (the difference between the lending rate and the deposit rate) is very high ranging between 15 and 17percent. With such inadequate financial services, limited access to credit and the prohibitively high cost of credit sustained high growth rate of output cannot be achieved. There is an obvious market-failure in the financial sector that has to be tackled by government intervention.

In order to address mass poverty, Tanzania needs to move beyond the Washington consensus policies to focus on an agriculture-led development strategy based on enhancing the democratic rights of the rural population and empowering smallholder farmers to increase their productivity. We need to deliberate on the appropriate institutional and policy framework for promoting broad-based development learning from our past mistakes and successes.

I also continued to work on globalization and Africa's development. In this research I attempted to answer key questions on globalisation. Is sub-Saharan Africa being marginalized in the global economy because of bad domestic policies, or because of unequal and exploitative terms of integration into the global economy? Does globalisation give the poor African countries an opportunity to leapfrog several decades of development if they combine their low wages with basic education, technical skills and export led growth to take advantage of the rapidly opening global markets? Can globalisation be managed to promote pro-poor growth that utilises abundant labor, generates employment and avoids ruthless growth that increases income inequality and the ranks of the poor?

Even in the era of globalisation, development is a do-it-yourself process. Africa needs policies to integrate into the global economy while promoting poverty reducing growth. Broad participation of the population in the market economy by utilizing Africa's comparative advantage in agriculture is an important initial step. Policies that support smallholder farmers to participate in a market economy and protect rights of peasants, including women, to access land, credit and improved technology are particularly important for broad-based development. African countries' mineral resources have not been fully utilised. Foreign investment is indispensable for the exploration and exploitation of these resources. It is however important to adequately tax the rents to support human development that is an end in itself but will also create new areas of more rewarding comparative advantage. Special efforts are however needed to attract FDI in

19 March 2010

export-oriented manufacturing. Investment in infrastructure including telecommunications, power, water supply, roads and ports is a pre-requisite. The private sector may provide part of this investment particularly in telecommunications, but the public sector will have to be responsible for the other investments particularly road infrastructure. A minimum basic level of human development in the form of universal basic education, health, nutrition and housing is necessary for a sustained integration into the global economy.

How do you see the development in Tanzania in the immediate future? As an opposition politician, do you see a development towards a 'real' democracy?

After forty years of independence, 75 percent of Tanzanians are poor spending less than one euro a day. Life expectancy at birth has decreased from a peak of 52 years in 1991 to 48 years in 2000. Infant mortality is 104 per 1,000 live births. Tanzania needs to initiate a broad-based growth of output of eight percent per year, invest in agriculture and rural infrastructure and improve the delivery of education and health services. Agricultural transformation is the key to long-term development and poverty' eradication in Tanzania. In the past seven years the government has allocated less than four percent of its total budget directly in the agricultural sector. Tanzania is lucky. It has plenty of land. Land grabbing is on the increase and the government has unfortunately ignored the key recommendation of the Shivji Commission, the recommendation on its land policy particularly providing security of access to land by peasants.

Tanzania has important characteristics that make it feasible to establish a democratic society and a broad-based socially inclusive market economy. First, there is a common lingua franca, Kiswahili that provides a cultural and communication bond. Second, in many rural areas of the country almost all households have access to land and we do not have a landed gentry and a landless peasantry. Third, the potential of promoting economic growth based on smallholder agriculture and labor intensive manufacturing has yet to be fully exploited. The mineral potential that is just beginning to be exploited can provide government revenues to support human resource development including investment in education and life-long learning, and improvement in health services. Fourth, the potential of increasing living standards by concentrating public resources on basic health and education is enormous. Fifth, Tanzania does not have a history of civil violence and political extremism and the people have a tradition of tolerance and compromise. It is possible to encourage competitive political processes based on policy issues rather than ethnic, racial or religious chauvinism and character assassination. Establishing a democratic system of government with free and fair elections and where democratically elected governments are transparent and accountable to the electorate will, however, not be easy. The single party system had entrenched itself. The machinery of government was answerable to the ruling party.

The coercive machinery of the state including the army, police and the security (secret police) were under the party authority. The judiciary was only nominally independent of the government and the party. The present constitution does not allow independent candidates to contest any elective office at all levels from village government, municipalities, and parliament to the presidency.

How is this influencing you practically as an opposition party?

19 March 2010

We are constantly harassed and stopped in our work on reaching the electorate. Problems occur in the period leading up to elections, during the elections and between elections. This becomes most evident at times of elections as the following examples among many shows:

In Kigoma October 2002 we were stopped from holding a public rally. The rally was called according to the rules but 30 minutes before the start thereof police came and stopped the meeting on the pretext of meningitis was spreading in Kasulo. (But meningitis does not spread in open areas). We then went to our elected party leaders to have a meeting with them outside their office. We put chairs outside to discuss. Immediately two land rovers with field force units drove in and arrested the chairmen of the District and one supporter on the pretext that we attempted to hold a public meeting despite they had not given their decent.

In September in Tabora District we had a good meeting in a village. After the meeting some supporters and local leaders were arrested on the pretext that they had abused the vice ministers of land (who was elected form the area). No such abuse was made, the ministers where never discussed. They were arrested for three days and then brought to court.

Such behaviours do strangle the opposition and it is no doubt meant to. And what is the evidence that this behavior is aimed at strangling the opposition?

After the 2005 election after having obtained some 85 per cent of the electorate the CCM still did its utmost to bribe newly elected members of the opposition to join their party. An example is the prominent member of our party from Dar es Salaam Taboiza, who was a candidate in 2000 and 2005 for the Temeke constituency in Dar es salaam. After the election we had a small reshuffle of the members of the secretariat of our party. He was a publicity secretary of the Party. He continued to be a member of our Governing Council. But he was seduced by CCM. He was running a small business of wheat meal and depending on loans and on suppliers. CCM promised to help him with the loan. Why should in a thriving democracy a party that has gained 85 per cent of all parliamentary seats work so hard to win over the few people from the opposition after the election. Our candidate from Kondoa constituency was very strong. He has now been solicited and is now party secretary for CCM in Bokuba Urban. I had a very strong member in Kabeba district who is now taken over by CCM. And so on. This does not only relate to our party but also the other opposition parties. The vice chairman of Chadema was solicited and has now an important position in CCM. These are examples that there are no commitments by the ruling party for a real well functioning democratic system in our country.

More examples of harassments.

The opposition is not getting any chances to develop and expand. Here is an example from a recent by-election in Tondoro district in Ruvuma region. We are very strong in that district. In 2005 election we believe that we had won the majority. Officially our candidate received 45 per cent of the vote. Recently we had a by-election in that district- the former member died. A by election does not receive the same attention as a regular election. However in Tondoro the by-election attracted a lot of people. We could see that in number of public rallies that we participated in. Because there were critical issues such the conditions of the roads (the roads in

19 March 2010

that district are just unimaginary bad) and the official price of the major cash crop cashew nuts. Our candidate was driving these issues over the whole district. In addition the CCM candidate did not have full support in his party and the district commissioner was opposed to him. He was not considered to be a local person and not popular in his constituency. So we had high expectation.

But the election campaign led by the CCM party secretary general and the vice chairman changed all our expectation. All important observers were owned by CCM such as the representative of the election council, the district officials and the Police – this was explicitly stated by the CCM election campaigners. The condition for us to campaign became impossible. Our supporters when they heard that we were there they were waiting for us. The police told them to disperse. When they did not do that they were tear gassed and when we arrived there we found that the whole place was surrounded by police. And many of our supporters had been taken to prison. We had to go to the District Commissioner and negotiate the release of our supporters from prison. So there were as lot of use of police force. If they would lose this seat CCM would still have 85 of the members of parliament but they were still using all forces to win this only mandate also. They were using state resources. They were using government vehicles with changed registration plates. Otherwise how could they muster so many vehicles? What was even worse was we found that very few voters actually voted during the Election Day and when we investigated with our supporters we were told that they had been threatened severely. We saw that there were very few people at the polling stations. We found out that representatives of CCM were buying identity cards from voters. The ten cell leaders of CCM also threatened people particularly people in vulnerable positions that they would register the numbers of the identity cards of the voters and that they had their way to know everyone who voted for CUF. So in spite of a very high public interest in the campaign because of the important questions on the table and a distrust of the CCM representative, participation in the election were less than 50 per cent of the registered voters. And the issue of registering the identity card numbers of the voter is illegal. We reported it to authorities. But as they were connected to the CCM the electoral commission did not investigate the issue. Our candidate who got 37 287 votes according to the official tally in 2005 did only obtain less than half of that 18 182 in the by-election. He got 45 per cent in 2005 of the total vote and now he got only 37 per cent. This is certainly circumstantial evidence. There is no reason that our candidate should have fewer votes than in 2005. If anything he had a better campaign and should have had more votes in 2007.

A very good example of harassment of opposition parties in Tanzania today, is a case before the election when we tried to do our party building exercises. In 2000, we went to Newala, a district bordering Mozambique i.e. as far away from Dar es Salaam you can go. We wrote a letter to the police that we intend to have a public rally. Because of communication problems our local party secretary did not send his letter to the police at least 48 hours before a public rally is to be held as required by law. The police received the letter 24 hours before the scheduled rally. When we arrived in Newala the police said that we could not hold our rally because we had not notified the police 48 hours before the rally. So we proposed to postpone the rally for another 24 hours to allow 48 hours to elapse. They did not accept that and requested us to write a new letter. Then

19 March 2010

we had to wait for another 48 hours. Waiting for two days in Newala would disrupt our other scheduled meetings. So we decided to have an internal meeting which legally does not require the notification of the police. We hired a place in a school – a hall – that we had to pay for, so our members could come there to discuss policy issues and our political program. We used our vehicle which had a public address system to announce and inform the public that we were going to have an internal party meeting. As our vehicle moved around Newala inviting members to attend our internal meeting, a police land rover full of armed policemen stopped us. They informed us we not allowed to invite people to attend our internal meeting using a public address system. If there is an internal meeting we only inform members by letters. Public announcements are not allowed for an internal meeting, the police told us. We asked the police which law prevented political parties from using public address system to invite members to an internal meeting? They threatened to beat and arrest us if we continued publicizing our internal meeting using public speakers. I tried to call the Commissioner of Police in Dar but the telephone connection was too bad. So we ended up going all the way to the border of Mozambique but unable to hold a public rally with the people of Newala.

Thereafter, we went to the regional head quarters in Mtwara. We also wanted to hold a public rally on the 10th of January. Our Party Secretary wrote a letter to the police but was told that we could not hold that rally because 12th of January was the Revolutionary day of Zanzibar and all the police and armed forces in the country were on a standby so there was no police available to come to our rally - to provide security. We told them that there were no problems that required police security, but that they did not accept. So I went to the Nsa Kaisi, the Regional Commissioner to appeal to be allowed to hold a rally. He told me that a regional commissioner today could not interfere with police decisions. I insisted saying how could revolution day celebrations in Zanzibar, affect the security situation in far away Mtwara. With a straight face he responded by saying that the situation in Mtwara could easily be unstable because it is so close to the border of Mozambique and you cannot easily distinguish who is from Mozambique and who is from Tanzania. So we could not hold any rally in Mtwara. Amazingly we now consider Mtwara Region as one of our strong areas. We did well in the 2009 local elections.

During the 2005 election campaign we tried to reach as many places as possible. We could not afford to hire helicopters and therefore only used motor vehicles. In the campaign trail you cannot reach or stop at every village. Sometimes you are stopped to greet people. Most roads are in poor conditions and therefore sticking to time schedule of political rallies is extremely difficult. We travelled to Sumbawanga in Rukwa region after completing our campaign in Mbeya region. We arrived in Sumbawanga late because of the long distance and the bad conditions of the road. I could only start addressing the rally around twenty to six. Sumbawanga is in the western part of the country the sun sets rather late, so there was no problem of darkness. At six the police came telling us that the law states that we had to stop at six sharp in the evening. I tried to continue to complete my speech. The police threatened to arrest me if I continued. This was around 6.10. It is clear that the police did not believe that I was a potential president in waiting. This law however only pertained to the opposition parties. The CCM candidate was well known to be extremely weak in observing time and schedules. He regularly continued addressing meetings as late as eight in the evening.

19 March 2010

This rule that limits campaign rallies to six in the evening makes it extremely difficult with the long distances and the bad roads. It always takes longer time to travel than you have scheduled and you always arrive late and then the police stop you. We have 60 days of campaign and have to cover so much ground. So this happens again and again. In some cases police allows you to go on to 6.30 but in most cases they do not. We try to appeal to the National Electoral Commission. In most of the areas in the Western part of the country there is sunlight up to seven. The law is set to ensure peace and security but most political rallies are generally peaceful. During the campaign you have to give your campaign schedule to the electoral committee and then follow it. If your vehicle breaks down on the road and you are delayed for one reason or another you still have to keep to that schedule. Adjusting your schedule even if it does not conflict with schedules of other candidates is usually not allowed. For example we were late for our campaign rally in Meatu, Shinyanga region. We could not have our rally as scheduled. We tried to have the rally next day because there was no any other political party scheduled to have a rally in Meatu that day. The police intervened and refused us to have the rally because it was not in our official schedule. We explained that we were late the day before but the police insisted that the new date was not in the schedule so that they could not accept that the meeting took place. In some cases the police understand your predicament and accept to reschedule. But often the District Commissionaires who are members of the ruling party and head of government operation in the district pressure the police to make the environment as difficult as possible for opposition parties. My NCCR colleague who was a parliamentary candidate for Ngara constituency informed me that Kikwete, the then CCM presidential candidate, arrived in Ngara late in the evening. He had a campaign rally at eight in the evening and another one in the morning. So the ruling party does not have those schedule limitations.

Another story from the 2005 elections is from my campaign rally in Kilwa. We were travelling from Liwale, a district that contains a large part of the Selous National Park. We were given a police escort using a vehicle that belonged to Kilwa district council that was driven at a very slow speed. Most members of my campaign team wanted our driver to overtake the escort vehicle so that we can arrive in Kilwa in time. I insisted that we should respect the police and not overtake the escort vehicle. We arrived in Kilwa around five forty-five. I immediately started addressing the rally. Kilwa is a CUF stronghold and there were many supporters at the rally. At six o'clock they stopped me. I did continue to six-twenty and my supporters escorted us to our guest house. Some of our supporters including our district chairman were arrested and charged for illegal demonstration. We then found out that the reason that the police delayed our entry to Kilwa was that the former President and the ruling party central committee member Ali Hassan Mwinyi, who was not even a candidate, had been in town and giving a speech in support of the CCM presidential candidate. All other police vehicles were used to provide security to the retired President. In fact we discovered later that our police escort vehicle was driven slowly purposely so that we arrive late in Kilwa to sabotage our campaign rally and create a pretext for arresting our local leaders and supporters who were jailed and charged for participating in an illegal demonstration.

19 March 2010

A final example: My colleague was running for president. He went to cast his vote with the whole family (six persons) in 2005. When the votes were counted he got one vote in his polling station so he said to me that this result would imply that even his own wife did not vote for him. So they are experts on rigging elections.

This is how it is to work as an opposition in Tanzania. We have to devote a lot of time and money to get lawyers to represent us. When I am touring the country so much time has to be spent on negotiations with the police and administration. It varies from case to case whether the police act locally on their own initiatives, if they lack knowledge of the rules of the game or whether the central government or CCM support these acts.

Furthermore the Radio is totally CCM dominated. Never brings out our messages. We can buy time in the smaller private stations but we do not have the resources. And even if we get the resources they at times refuse to broadcast. For instance in January 2001 we liked to send a program on our view of the Zanzibar massacre. But we were refused, even if the stories had been in the papers. Printed media is better but reaches too few people.

Actually the situation is deteriorating. The 1995 election was a more level playing field. We got resources for the campaign and there was no harassment during the campaigns. In 2000 election there was much more unequal access to resources and a lot of more harassment and in 2005 even more so. No rally was permitted after 6 (security) but the distances are long between rallies, sometimes you arrive 5.45 and then you are not allowed to address rallies. This in spite of the fact that in the western regions the sun is up much longer.

The most serious problem is that the opposition has no recourses to follow up the elections and the counting of the votes.

Can you give examples on how your financial situation affects you?

In 1995 when I entered into the Presidential race in the last minute I was not very well prepared. My colleagues were also not very well prepared particularly in financing the campaign. At that time, I had just returned from my teaching at Williams College in the USA. I had US \$ 40000 of savings from Williams College. So I used all my saving for the campaign. This was not much but with the help of supporters who provided food and shelter for us during the campaign we managed. After 1995, the government started providing subsidies to parliamentary parties in proportion to the number of seats. The bulk of the government subsidy, more than three quarters go to CCM. The government subsidy is the most dependable source of financing. In 2000 General Election, we had saved some of the subsidy to finance election activities. During 1996-1998 I was a Senior Researcher at WIDER in Helsinki so I had a small saving from there which I also used for to finance our party campaign. So we managed but with minimum resources. As a presidential candidate I had only one vehicle - a two door short chassis Land Cruiser, that was packed with a public address system, campaign materials, personal luggage and five persons campaign team. We travelled around the whole country with this vehicle. So we really lived on a shoestring budget. The most discouraging part of the campaign was that although we attracted huge crowds of supporters and discussed pertinent policy issues facing the country, we received limited media coverage. Many days could pass without any mention of our campaign in the media despite many journalists being present in our campaign rallies.

19 March 2010

In 2005 we were a little better organized but we also had some luck. We had been underpaid of our government subsidy. We obtained a sum of 400 million shilling as arrears just before the election campaign. The subsidy is not for the election but rather for the period in between elections and is supposed to help the party in its operations. The subsidy arrears helped us finance our campaign. Although we continued having the problem of not receiving adequate media coverage, we had an effective campaign and trained polling agents for more than half of the 45000 polling stations. Unfortunately the vice presidential candidate of CHADEMA died only a few days before the election date. The elections were therefore postponed. If we had an independent electoral commission, only the Presidential election should have been postponed, but the parliamentary and council elections should have taken place as planned. But they postponed all elections for 45 days. That allowed the CCM to be better organized because they had financial resources. For us it was a disaster because we had no more money left to travel around the country campaigning. We had budgeted money for allowances of polling agents. The money had already been transferred to parliamentary candidates. These candidates had to continue with campaign activities for another 45 days and ended up using the money budgeted for the polling day activities. So we really did not have effective polling agents in most of the 45,000 polling stations. This was true for all opposition parties, although, CHADEMA seem to have been somewhat better financed even after the elections were postponed. The ruling party CCM spent more money after the election was postponed and had more campaign activities.

How influential are you in Parliament with your 32 mandates? Possibilities to act in parliament for an opposition party in Tanzania today?

The Civic United Front is the largest opposition party in parliament with 32 MPs. We have formed an alliance with other opposition parties in parliament and established an official opposition in parliament. The official opposition has done an excellent job in parliament such as exposing grand corruption involving the external payments account of the Bank of Tanzania whereby, phony companies acting as agents of external creditors collected USD 113 million from the Central Bank. The power of the opposition in parliament to hold the government to account is however constrained by the parliamentary rules that have vested authority and powers to the speaker of the Parliament. The speaker has to agree before a private motion of a Member of Parliament is brought up for discussion in Parliament.

In August 2007, Dr Slaa a CHADEMA member of parliament and Deputy Leader of the official opposition in parliament prepared a private motion requesting the parliament to establish a select committee to investigate allegation of misuse of public funds in the Bank of Tanzania including stealing of 113 million dollars from the Central Bank External Payments Account, the use half a billion dollars in the construction of Bank of Tanzania twin towers and its office in Zanzibar, providing tens of millions of dollars of guarantees to private companies commercial debt that increased contingent liabilities of the Central Bank, Bank of Tanzania providing commercial credit to Mwananchi Gold Company, a registered private Company contrary to the Bank of Tanzania Act. The motion was planned to be tabled in parliament on August 7 2007. All parliamentary requirements were met but at the last minute it was blocked by the Speaker and was not tabled.

The Opposition in parliament has contributed to the establishment of the Parliamentary Select Committee to investigate the TANESCO tendering of emergency power generation in 2006 that was awarded to Richmond Development Company LLC of Houston, Texas, USA. Hon. Habib Mnyaa, a CUF Member of Parliament from Zanzibar who is an engineer and has worked for TANESCO was the first to raise his suspicion of a fraudulent contract awarded to Richmond that did not have the capacity to implement a power generating project. He wanted to table a private motion for the formation of a parliamentary select committee to investigate the process that led TANESCO award the contract to Richmond. But members of parliament from CCM told him that if you table the motion, it will be blocked. They suggested that it should be sent as a recommendation of the Minerals and Energy Parliamentary Committee. And so they did. And then the speaker accepted the motion by the committee to be tabled in parliament. For the first time since the multi-party parliament started in 1995, a parliamentary Select Committee was established chaired by Hon. Dr. Harrison Mwakyembe and included Hon. Habib Mnyaa to investigate the Richmond saga. The Mwakyembe Committee Report showed that the selection of Richmond Development Company to implement a 100 MW emergency power generation project violated the Public Procurement Act and did not follow the legal advice provided by Public Procurement Regulatory Authority-PPRA. The Report was tabled in parliament and led to the resignation of the Prime Minister and two other ministers. After the resignation of the Prime Minister, the President had to dissolve the cabinet and select a new prime minister and cabinet. For the first time the parliament showed that it has powers to hold the government to account.

Are there any formal or informal limitation to act as an opposition today in Tanzania? Any major changes in the past years?

After the 2000 election, President Mkapa stated that CCM had won in a big way; it should be given the opportunity to implement its manifesto. Opposition parties should stop political rallies and demonstration until the next election campaigns in 2005. In January 2001 we held political demonstration to demand an independent electoral commission, a new democratic constitution and a re-run of the Zanzibar election. Before the demonstration I was beaten up, arrested and imprisoned. My arrest did not prevent the demonstration to take place. During those demonstrations more than 45 people were killed by the armed forces in Zanzibar. In October 2001, CCM and CUF reached a political accord (MUAFAKA) on Zanzibar. For the first time since the 1995 Presidential debate in 1995, I met president Mkapa face to face in October 10 2001 during the MUAFAKA signing ceremony. Since then significant changes have taken place. The major one is a significant decrease of harassment of the top leadership of opposition parties. As a leader of the largest opposition party I have been invited to major events such as national ceremonies, state banquets and festivities and meetings with visiting heads of government and states. When we had foreign visitors in the country, President Mkapa organized for opposition leaders to privately meet them. I met President of Germany, Prime Minister of Ethiopia, President of Kenya and Prime Minister of Denmark. We freely discussed with these leaders political, governance and development problems of Tanzania. Most of these improvements took place during the last two years of the Mkapa presidency. After 2005, with President Kikwete at the helm, opposition leaders meetings with visiting heads of government and states stopped. I have been invited twice at state banquets in honour of visiting Head of State. One was for the President of Burundi and the other was for the President of China.

19 March 2010

At the local level there are still big problems with the ruling party and government accepting the legitimacy of opposition political parties.

For example in August 2009 we went to Kisarawe district some 40 km from Dar es Salaam. We participated in a number of political rallies in the district and then we went to Msanga a larger village to spend the night there. That evening we were informed that, our local party leaders in Vilabwa village who had organized the activities during the day had been harassed and arrested by the village and ward executive officer and remanded in prison. We returned to that village to investigate what had happened. We went to the home of the village executive officer who lives with her parents. We were told that she was not at home as she was meeting with the ward executive officer. We later realized that she actually was inside her house. There was a heated debate. When we were leaving the mother of the executive officer pretended she has been possessed by spirits and held tightly the leg of one of my party officials. It was a struggle to force her to let alone my party official. Apparently our party leaders had been arrested by the local militia who were given the order of arrest by the village executive officer and taken to a Division Executive Officer some 10 km from the village. They were not imprisoned but were told report again the next day. We told our party functionaries not to worry about reporting to the Division Executive Officer. It was their constitutional right to participate in our political activities. As we were leaving a young sister of the village executive officer threw a stone and broke a window of my vehicle. We stopped. The girl who broke our vehicles was taken away on a motorbike by one of his relatives. We took the father of the sisters who had instructed her daughter to throw a stone to our vehicle to the Kisarawe police station to report what had happened. I explained what happened and showed the car widow to the police. The police appeared to be sympathetic, detained the person we had taken to the police and instructed my driver to report the next day to write a statement. When my driver and Deputy Secretary General of our party returned to the police station to write a statement, they were arrested on the charge of having participated in causing havoc and breaking the peace at the house of the village executive officer of Vilabwa village. Our party leaders in Vilabwa village were also arrested. They were taken to court. We sent people to post bonds for them to be released. When the police found out that one of the people arrested was CUF Deputy Secretary General, he was immediately released and not charged. But my driver who never left his vehicle when we visited the home of the village executive officer was charged for committing a criminal offence. Since September my driver has been reporting to court every month. They do not charge the top people but in order to disrupt local activities they use court cases to harass our local leaders. In this particular case the prosecutor knows there is no case to answer but wants to be given some money to dismiss and close the case. We had a journalist with us and she wrote a news report but there is no follow up of the issue.

For the leadership the situation has thus improved but for the local cadres nothing has improved.

In Parliament also some changes have taken place. The public accounts committee has been chaired for a long time by a Hon. John Cheyo a member of parliament for UDP. A common principle among Westminster parliamentary system is for a member of parliament from the opposition party to chair the public accounts committee. Tanzania observes the principle of a member of the opposition to chair the Public Accounts Committee but does not give the opposition members the right to select who will chair the Committee. All members of parliament vote. CCM account for more than 80 percent of all members and they decide who will be the Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee. Since 1997 they have voted Hon. John Cheyo to

19 March 2010

chair this important committee. Recently he has been extremely supportive of President Kikwete to the extent of discouraging opposition parties not to contest the presidency in 2010. Also the parastatal sector committee is chaired by an opposition member this time from CHADEMA and by this the committee is able to raise a number of important issues.

Members of Parliament can speak freely within the parliamentary rules on basically any policy issue. During the budget session our members can give comments on and give alternative ideas on the budget. Their questions, comments and speeches are usually covered by the media particularly radio and television. It is possible for members of parliament to challenge the government and to bring up our new ideas. The parliamentary Hansard is posted in the Bunge website. The Tanzania parliament website is among the best in Africa. It shows the number of questions and comments contributed by each Member of Parliament. The major problem of most members of parliament is that they lack a professional staff to do research and provide relevant information that can be used to challenge the government.

What about availability of strategic information for the opposition?

We really have major problems in terms of obtaining high quality information. Tanzania statistics are still very poor. National accounts indicate that annual GDP growth averaged around 7 percent in 2000 – 08, but head count poverty has decreased from 36 percent in 2001 to 33 percent in 2007. Recorded growth seems to have an insignificant impact on poverty. The new national accounts show the share of agriculture in total GDP in 2005 was only 27.6 percent compared to 46.1 percent in the old accounts. This 18.5 percentage point reduction in the share of agriculture is supposed to have been absorbed by an increase in the share of services. This is not plausible. The 2007 Integrated Labour Force Survey still show that 75 percent of the labour force depends on agriculture as the main source of income. Other information we get particularly through our member of parliament and the parliamentary web site.

In order to control aggregate expenditure, the government continues to use the cash budget system except for priority sectors. Budgeted expenditure may vary greatly with actual expenditure and it is difficult to get the correct information. The website of the IMF and the World Bank contain a lot of information on economic policy. The letter of intent to the IMF contains most of the macroeconomic and financial policies the government intends to implement.

Dr Slaa, a CHADEMA member of parliament and the deputy leader of opposition in parliament has been excellent at getting sensitive information particularly related to the Bank of Tanzania. Foreign newspapers that are now available on the web have been a good source of information. We were first informed about possible corruption in the purchase of the BAE radar through reading the UK Guardian newspaper on the web.

What about press coverage?

The media was basically bought by CCM in 2005. The press was almost only covering CCM and particularly Kikwete. CHADEMA got some press but the other opposition parties hardly any. We felt as if our campaign activities were boycotted. It became even worse after the election were postponed. The Zanzibar election took place on 30th of October 2005 as scheduled. The results announced by the Zanzibar Election Commission did not match with the results we received from the polling stations and we protested vehemently. We just did not accept the Zanzibar

19 March 2010

results. When the results came out there were a lot of demonstrations at our head-quarter in Dar es Salaam demanding that we should do something to get the correct results in the Zanzibar election? We had announced a press conference in our Dar es Salaam headquarters. Journalists came as requested. They came in the midst of a heated demonstration outside our offices and some journalists were beaten up. I went to see one particular journalist that was wounded to apologize, and he told me that the person that beat him and kicked him probably was not a CUF member. The perpetrator had worn army boots and he suspected that he was from the security services. I apologized to the journalists and the media house but after that sad incident, the media particularly the IPP media which is the largest media house in the country, with television station that has widest coverage in the country, radio network and numerous newspapers completely boycotted us. We were only covered when there was something negative to report. For example they did report that my laptop was stolen although it was not my laptop but a flash disk.

So how do you meet these challenges

It should be a concrete effort to level the playing field for the opposition and other countries should be aware of that and assist. And we in the opposition have come to the conclusion that without an independent electoral commission and a constitution that calls for an independent electoral commission and an independent anti-corruption board it would be extremely difficult to have a real democratization process to take place. And now we are focusing on that how to obtain such a better democratic constitution and an independent electoral commission. And we have started by forming a committee because we have been striving for that for a very long time without success. This committee is not only consisting of political parties but also of NGOs, human rights groups to draft a constitution taking in views from the population. Drafting a new law for the electoral commission that will be independent and mobilize local population and then present it to government. But they do not even respond to our request. As was the case in Tunduru where we wrote to the local representative of the electoral commission and they did not even respond.

We have to organise locally. Provide our members with simple messages they can inform their fellows. Human rights issues, right to food, basic health and education. We tell our members that in a day maybe you meet 6-8 people if you managed to give them CUF main points we can reach a lot of people. Tell them what CUF stands for. Tanzania is independent in 50 years and what has the common man got out of it. We receive a lot of aid and where is all that money gone.

It is extremely expensive to keep up the party organisation all over the country. We lack infrastructures, transport and communication. To have meetings with chairmen's of the Districts is a major logistical problem. And to have congresses of the party is an effort that is immense. The number of these meetings as well as the number of delegates has to be constantly reduces.

What is your forecast for the election of 2010? Will it be fairer than earlier elections?

We have still problems with the National Electoral Commission. We still think that it is very biased in favour of CCM the party in power. NEC is not transparent in its operations. As an example we had received tips that voting identification cards had been burned in one of the Government warehouses. I did not believe it so I went with my party functionaries and journalists to investigate the issue. We found a heap of voting identification cards that had been burnt. Some of them were only half burnt so we collected them. Some were from Zanzibar; some

19 March 2010

were from 2005 others from 2008. We had not been informed that the National Electoral Commission would burn voting identification cards. The journalists telephoned the chairman of the Commission but he was not aware of the burning any voting identification cards. They called the executive secretary of the commission who was also not informed that voting identification cards were being burned. He was more interested to know how we had received that information. When the journalist told him that we had seen with our own eyes a heap of burned voting identification cards in the Government warehouse, he was furious and wanted to know who allowed us to go there. The journalist told him that how we entered the government warehouse was not the issue but rather the burning of the voting identification cards without informing key stakeholders. After some time, the National Electoral Commission gave a press statement they checked and they explained that they were burning old voting identification cards which were exchanged with new cards. We are suspicious that there were many CCM supporters who have been registered more than once. The burned voting registration cards were part of excess double registered cards. The National Electoral Commission had not provided the required information to political parties. They do not provide us with information that they are supposed to according to the rules and regulations. Most serious opposition parties have no confidence whatsoever of the commission and we have called for the resignation of the chairman. It is a problem that the Chairman is selected by the president without any consultation. But the key problem is not the Commission itself but the fact that it does not have any independent structure at the district, constituency and ward level. The officials representing NEC at the regional, district and ward level government executive officers working under the instructions of District and Regional Commissioners who are CCM party cadres. Therefore we have a lot of problems all over the country. We are not competing with CCM but with the state machinery. President Mkapa was an old fashion autocrat and had no commitment to laying the foundation of a democratic polity. President Kikwete has enormous political skills but is completely uninterested in thinking about a development vision that includes building democratic structures for Tanzania.

A case in point was when we had local elections recently – October 2009 - elections for street and village committees. The guidelines for these elections were distributed to us only very short before the elections. They introduced many changes and ideas difficult to implement. These regulations required for example that you had to write the names and the party for each candidate you voted for. You have to elect in some cases up to 25 members to the committee. And you have to write exactly right. Many people have difficulties in writing in general and remembering up to 26 names and spelling of them is very difficult. Also the contesters had to have a seal in their application form from a branch and without that you could not vote. We had contesters in 110 villages who were removed because they had not such a seal. So in all those villages CCM candidates was voted uncontested. In some cases we had obtained seals from a ward and not from a branch, which had been the practice before and we had not been informed about the new procedures in time. The new rules were thus very complicated and the CCM contesters had been informed far in advance. In fact I discovered of the presence of the new regulation when I visited the Finnish Embassy. In the cause of our discussion I was told of the new guidelines of which they had received a copy two-three weeks ago. And we as a political party had not been informed or received them. Finland was one of the funders of the reforms of local Government so they had received them and of course they were surprised to hear that CUF had not seen them so close before the elections. We raised hell so the minister said that they had sent them to the party registrar so you have to go and collect them. We had not been informed. So in the end we got twenty copies and this was for the whole country. One – two weeks before the elections. CCM

had known in advance so they could train their people in time. So in all, the playing field is far from leveled and we want to see another Election Commission in place.

Concluding discussion

This paper is an effort to present the situation of the opposition in Tanzania – a country that by many is seen to be well under way towards a consolidated democracy. Methodologically it is questionable to base any conclusion on interviews of only one, however so important and trustworthy, person. We do however by this paper wish to catch the opinion of one of the most important representatives of the opposition in Tanzania while still in office. And we use this mainly to illustrate his subjective feelings and understandings of what has been his findings over a long period of years. Firstly his testimonies do very well coincide with many others documented experiences. Secondly Jonas Ewald has for his PHD thesis (forthcoming) done many similar interviews with other members of the opposition in Tanzania, which give similar testimonies. While our first and foremost ambition is to add to the empirical evidence of the situation of the opposition in many African countries in general and Tanzania in particular, we also feel that some of the findings have more general values.

The most important finding is the feeling of hopelessness of a longstanding and active opposition politician of whatever effort is put into making a dent on the political map it is hindered by the ruling party with the help of state resources both manpower such as police and the legal system and budgetary means – as well as lack of all kinds of resources to build a strong organisation that could compete with the well organised ruling party. This feeling - subjective or not - is a very important limitation for building up long-term and strong opposition parties that can compete for power and thereby act as a on check on abuse of power by the ruling party. This is of particular importance in a relative homogenous country such as Tanzania lacking broader social groups which compete for power in more diversified societies such as Kenya or Zambia. Parties in Tanzania must therefore be active and obtain support in many parts of the huge country. The prevailing rudimentary infrastructure in combination with the limited resources of the parties makes it more demanding for the opposition to build the required organisation and to campaign. Lipumbas description on how the opposition is failing in its work for a more level playing field for the political parties in opposition is therefore of utmost importance. Tanzania has also been one of the larger receivers of development aid, not the least from the Nordic Countries. Among the objectives the last 20 years has been to support a democratic development. Many steps forward has been taken in that direction, but at the same time, the ruling party's grip on the state-apparatus is stronger than in 1995, at the first multi-party election. It might be that unintended side effects of large budget support, and public sector reforms has strengthened the executive power, and hence the party controlling the executive, relatively more than other institutions of democracy.

The testimonies also confirm most of the points made from the literature referred to in our introduction: The difficulties to campaign, the harassment on all accounts and all levels of the opposition both in its party organization work and particularly in connection with elections; The asymmetry in information and of financial resources; and again the non-neutrality of the state when it comes to politics. Here again Tanzania is particularly influenced of the very long period of one party state during which the ruling party and the state became intertwined in a way that is very difficult to change.

19 March 2010

The testimonies presented above – however subjective in nature – are very important and must be taken seriously if ever Tanzania will develop a democracy worth its name and which will serve the Tanzania citizen and help Tanzania to develop in a way conducive for the whole population.

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19 March 2010

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