

### **CIVICS AND GENERAL STUDIES**



- Democratic Election
- Presentation & Discussion on 45 Years of Zanzibar Revolution Day
- Mzee wa Uraia

# **JOURNAL**

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CETA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE September, 2009

Acknowledgement iii

## PART

Sometimes, campaigners focus on candidates' personalities and popularity and therefore allow their campaigns to be dominated by criticisms directed to their opponents, rather than dwelling on pertinent issues.

#### **DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS**

#### THE CONCEPT OF ELECTIONS:

The term "election" is closely associated with the growth and development of representative democracy.

In representative democratic government; elections are regularly held, and they are considered to be the single most important indicator of the presence or absence of a democratic government.

In a wider sense, election is to have a choice regarding representatives to fill a vacant position, which can be political or public office through voting. However, elections are not confined only to political parties or organizations, but apply to different organizations, ranging from small non-formal groups such as voluntary clubs and commercial enterprises to the choosing of national leaders.

In some elections, people would vote for political parties, while in other cases they vote for individual candidates. Also there is a voting system whereby some people vote 'for' or 'against' specific issues. This kind of voting is termed "referendum".

#### WHAT ARE DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS?

An election is democratic if it is held in a tolerant atmosphere. Participants are willing to listen to the political views of the opponents, and when the electoral laws, rules and procedures are fair and equal for all contestants.

#### What is political tolerance?

This means that people are allowed to speak out, campaign, assemble and share ideas with supporters and opponents of any given ideology.

Sometimes people, political parties or the government do not tolerate the political activities of the opposing side. In such cases there can not be free and fair participation by all. Political intolerance often leads to violence and therefore makes democracy difficult to work.

### WHAT MAKES ELECTIONS DEMOCRATIC (FREE AND FAIR)?

For an election to be declared democratic, the following conditions should be observed:

#### [i] Equal opportunities to all parties

Candidates and parties which are contesting in the election should be treated equally. In different places, sometimes people in the area do not allow opposing parties or candidates to campaign. As a result only one point of view from a ruling party is heard. In democratic elections all point of views from all parties must be given equal opportunity to be heard during political campaigns.

#### [ii] Free and Fair Campaigns

Campaigns are political meetings where candidates present their views, manifesto and programs. Potential voters are given a chance to ask questions to the candidates who are contesting for various posts. These views can be heard or read from the electronic media such as radio, TV, video or internet. They can also be read in print media such as newspapers, posters, fliers and pamphlets.

During campaigns the citizens hear many differing views to enable them to make informed choices at the election day. In a democratic state the government should allow freedom of expression. Candidates, parties and voters should not be intimidated, threatened, bribed or prevented from voting.

### [iii] Campaigns focus on political and socio-economic issues

In every election, parties and candidates have political and socio-economic issues to address. They may focus on poor access to primary, secondary and tertiary education, economic crisis, inadequate health services, poor transport and communication network, low prices of agricultural products and excessive taxation, et cetera. Party candidates speak out on how they will solve social and economic problems their voters face, or how they intend to improve social services.

Sometimes, campaigners focus on candidates' personalities and popularity and therefore allow their campaigns to be dominated by criticisms directed to their opponents, rather than dwelling on pertinent issues.

#### [iv] Equal access to the mass media

The mass media which include (radio, television, posters, newspapers, leaflets, banners, stickers & internet) influence the way people vote. In democratic elections all candidates and parties are supposed to have equal access to the media. The existing government or the party in power should not dominate the media or suppress the freedom of the press when it senses it is losing ground during election campaigns.

#### [v] Abiding by agreed code of conduct

A code of conduct for a democratic election is a set of rules and regulations that are set by the Electoral Commission and have to be adhered to by all political parties, as well as the candidates who are contesting for various political positions. All contestants are supposed to conduct their campaigns in accordance to the provisions of that code of conduct.

### ADHERING TO THE "CODE OF CONDUCT" IN DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS

- 1. All parties shall have access to all potential voters. No party shall have an exclusive control of any area.
- 2. There shall be no use of inflammatory or derogatory language during campaigns.
- 3. There shall be no use of intimidation in any form, including death threats and arson.
- 4. There shall be no interference or disruption at public meetings during campaigns.
- 5. All parties shall commit themselves to a secret ballot, and respect voters' rights to keep their votes secret
- 6. There shall be a ban on the carrying and displaying of all weapons during election campaigns and on the voting day
- 7. The security forces shall not take sides or interference with the election process
- 8. Election campaigns shall be conducted fairly, the parties and voters shall be tolerant of each other's point of view.

- 9. There shall be no tempering with or interference with voters, or ballot papers on the election day
- 10. All political parties shall undertake to accept the results of the elections if the electoral process is declared "free and fair"

#### PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS

There are four basic principles of democratic elections:

#### (i) Universal voting

This is a condition which allows all citizens of the state who have legally met voting qualifications, to vote and be voted for, regardless of their sex, race, language, income, profession, education, religion or political beliefs. This condition is also known as universal suffrage.

#### (ii) Equality of voters

When an election is democratic, each voter carries one vote. This means that the votes should not be valued or counted according to property, income, education, religion, race, sex or political beliefs.

In undemocratic states, for example South Africa during the apartheid regime; Africans' votes were counted under village basis, i.e. a total voting population of one village was counted as a single ballot.

#### (iii) Secret ballot

Secret ballot simply means voting secretly. This condition requires that the voting act should not be known by a third party. Casting of the votes must be secret.

#### (iv) Direct elections

This is when the voters decide for themselves who their leaders will be. That action of casting a vote against or for a candidate means that the voters are directly electing their leader.

#### THE IMPORTANCE OF DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS

## (i) Democratic elections help/gives the opportunity to voters to choose good leaders:

People (voters) believe that electing a different party or candidate can be an alternative dose to solve their problems and improve their lives. This is an important thinking because leaders represent the voters. Elected voters make laws or by-laws that have a direct impact to peoples day to day life. Good leaders are instrumental to peoples development.

#### (ii) To ensure good governance:

When good leaders are voted into office by the people through democratic voting, they form a good and effective government. Free and fair elections ensure that people make informed choices of parties and candidates.

#### (iii) To make the government accountable for its actions:

The party which is voted in office, must serve well the voters. Rejecting corrupt parties or candidates in an election, it means building a responsible government. For the ruling party not to loose support of the voters, it should deliver what it promised the voters during election campaigns, be able to account for all of its actions and defend its policies.

(iv) To place in office a government of people's choice:

Through elections the voters show acceptance, rejection or dissatisfaction with the ruling party and its government. Democratic elections are vital in forming a new government. If a new party wins, it means the voters are not satisfied with the government under the previous party.

#### (v) To improve the political system:

Any ruling party which comes to power makes effort to prove to the electorate that it is capable of forming an effective government. Opposition parties, on the other hand, try to convince the electorate that they can do better than the ruling party. They strive to be voted into power. As each party tries to convince the voters of its ability to rule, the political system is bound to improve.

#### SHORTCOMINGS IN THE DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS

- (i) It is costly. The whole process towards election day is expensive. The procedures include scrutinizing candidates, publicity, dividing electoral constituencies, registering voters, monitoring the campaigns, counting the ballots, and verifying the ballot papers when necessary.
- (ii) Elections are time consuming; because the outlined steps have to be followed precisely by all contestants and their supporters.
- (iii) The concept that the majority is always right, is not always true. The reasons for choosing candidates could be right or wrong irrespective of whether they command the majority

of voters. In certain circumstances, some candidates may influence voters to vote for them through bribes, deceit, tribalism, religion, personal wealth, nepotism or social status.

#### FREE AND FAIR ELECTION IN TANZANIA

The organ responsible for making sure that elections are held freely and fairly, is the National Electoral Commission. This commission is appointed by the President of the United Republic of Tanzania, and it is expected to carry out its business without interference and impartially.

Elections are said to be free in the sense that anyone qualifying for voting is allowed to do so without any external influence or interference. Fair elections imply that every candidate is granted equal chance to compete.

It is therefore unlawful for any contesting party or candidate to use Government facilities or resources for the purposes of campaigning. It is again very necessary that, all candidates be given equal access to state owned media, secured areas for public rallies and political speeches.

The following actions have been taken to ensure that elections are truly free and fair in Tanzania:-

(i) The Parliament passed an electoral law to facilitate lawful administration of the National Electoral Commission. The law stipulates detailed instructions and gives the National Electoral Commission the power to:

- Design, print and control the use of ballot papers
- Create polling stations
- Promote civic education on voting procedures
- Accredit any non-partisan individual or a group or an institution or an association to carry out voter education
- Demarcate constituencies
- Determine a polling day
- Keep and maintain voters register
- Ensure that transparent vote counting is exercised
- Announce the election results
- (ii) Provision of election monitors and observers. These are experts who are responsible for ensuring equal fairness and justice to the candidates or parties. Each candidate has to be given an equal opportunity to say what he/she has to say and respond to questions.

Observers act as checks and balances on the conduct of the entire election process and are supposed to report any irregularities or non compliance with the provisions of the election's law to the Electoral Commission.

In the Tanzanian multiparty elections of 1995, 2000 and 2005 various NGO's including Church Organizations like TEC, CCT and Tanzania Ecumenical Monitoring program [TEMP] participated both as monitors and observers.

(iii) Allow international election observers whose functions are to oversee that the elections proceedings are in order

and that the whole exercise maintains a free and fair approach.

International observers also add credibility to the election exercise, and thereafter to the results themselves. They also act as a watchdog to those who would otherwise attempt to derail or side track the elections process.

The 1995, 2000 and 2005 multiparty General Elections in Tanzania invited International Observers from the European Union, United Nations, African Union, SADC and other countries.

### WHO CAN VOTE IN FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS IN TANZANIA?

In democratic elections, every citizen who has the required qualifications has the right to vote. In Tanzania, a person with the following qualifications has the right to vote:

- a) Age requirement any citizen of the United Republic of Tanzania who has attained the age of 18 years has the legal right to participate in the election process.
- b) Citizenship He or she should be a Tanzanian by birth or acquisition.
- c) Any citizen wishing to vote should be sane with a sound mind.
- d) Any citizen wishing to vote must officially be registered before the polling day.
- e) Any citizen who is not barred to register as a voter by the Act of Parliament.

#### **ELECTION PROCEDURES**

The election process has to undergo a number of stages. These are:

- The selection of candidates for elections
- Organization and management of campaigns
- Voter identification and targeting
- The announcement of a polling day
- The counting of votes
- The announcement of the voting results and the winning candidate

The first three steps are carried out by the respective political parties, the last three are done by the National Electoral Commission.

#### (i) Candidates Selection

In Tanzania each party has its own way of choosing its candidates to contest for Councilors, Members of Parliament and the Presidential positions. Every party is supposed to identify candidates who are likely to win. Good credentials for winning include: personal ability, intergrity, personality, eloquence, and above all, with no criminal record.

#### (ii) Organisation and Management of campaigns:

All party candidates are given equal opportunities to address the public and auction themselves to the voters. They comment on polices and how they should be implemented. However everything should be done orderly in line with laid out norms and procedures.

#### (iii) Voter identification and targeting:

This follows immediately after campaigns. The respective parties identify their supporters. They also set out strategies to get as many pro-party voters as possible. And also to ensure their supporters are properly registered in the Vote Register.

### (iv) The polling day, vote counting and announcing the results.

The voting is done through secret ballot, each party being represented at the polling stations. Counting of the votes follows immediately after completion of the voting and each polling station reveals its results to the public. All polling stations results are sent to an official appointed by the National Electoral Commission, who subsequently announces the results to the public.

### SHORTCOMINGS IN THE MULTIPARTY GENERAL ELECTIONS IN TANZANIA

Though Tanzania is regarded as a democratic state and running her General elections in a condition which is thought to be free and fair, there had been several anomalies in the preparations and conduction of both general and by-elections. These include:-

(i) Poor preparations done by the National Electoral Commission, a national organ which is responsible for making sure that elections are held smoothly and fairly.

Poor preparations range from poor registration of voters to unsatisfactory voting conditions on the election day. A striking evidence is the first multiparty election of 1995,

whereby all the constituencies of Dar es Salaam City had to be postponed for two weeks.

Again in the 2005 General Election, many voters who had registered themselves in a permanent Voters Register, did not see their names in the voter's list on the election day.

- (ii) There had been unequal access to media coverage, especially by the state owned media which seems to favour candidates from the ruling party. Also under certain circumstances the ruling party has constantly been accused of using state owned resources, such as vehicles to facilitate election campaigns. There is also an element of corruption during election campaigns whereby party vanguards dish out items like khangas, hats and t-shirts to allure voters. It is claimed that money used to purchase such items come from rather dubious sources.
- (iii) Opposition parties have been facing constant intimidation and threat before, during and after general elections from different authorities. These include raiding and interrupting opponents campaigns, sponsoring acts of thuggery conducted by youths, even the police. In the recent incidence of March 2008 a CCM campaigning agent interfered in the CHADEMA campaign during a by-election campaign in Kiteto Constituency. This was tantamount to intimidation.

The government under the ruling party has sometimes banned political meetings and peaceful demonstrations that were planned by opposition parties.

(iv In some cases the ruling party in Tanzania deploys excessive force to suppress opponents. Such cases were evident during campaigns held in 2000. Although the mainland voting was a clear-cut win for President Benjamin William Mkapa – by 71% of the votes, accusations of vote rigging and other irregularities in Zanzibar led to a refusal by the most prominent opposition party, CUF, to acknowledge the results. CUF boycotted both Mkapa's new Parliament and the Zanzibar House of Representatives.

Frustration at the 2000 election results triggered violent demonstrations and accusations against the police. CUF claimed to have been victimized in the arrest of 40 of its members accused to be involved in bomb attacks.

A series of rallies in Zanzibar calling for new elections degenerated into violent clashes between CUF and the ruling party (CCM) leaving over 40 people killed by the police and many injured.

#### AFTER ELECTIONS

#### Acceptance of defeat

After a free and fair election, both winners and losers must accept the results.

This is a democratic phenomenon which must be respected.

#### Political tolerance

This is acceptance to be governed by the winning party although you differ in ideology and the way things should be run. After a democratic

election, the losers should accept to be governed by the winners. They can play an important role by proposing alternative but constructive ideas to the party in the power.

Democracy fails when, elections results, are fraudulent and the loosing party/parties decide to take up arms and fight for their rights.

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## PART 2

Karume had to lead the country in a dictatorship way due to the political and country's situation at that time, he couldn't do otherwise because he took the country by force from the previous rulers.

### PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSIONS ON REVOLUTION DAY SYMPOSIUM.

#### ZANZIBAR AND DAR ES SALAAM 2009

In the syllabus of Civics and General Studies for secondary schools in Tanzania, Zanzibar Revolution is one of the topics of study. CETA, in collaboration with Konrad-Adenauer Stiftung, organized two symposia for the purposes of assessing students' level of understanding about the Zanzibar Revolution of January 12<sup>th</sup>, 1964.

The main objectives of these symposia among other things, was to enable the students who are the leaders of tomorrow, to have a clear picture and understand of that event, so that they can use that understanding to analyze social, economic and political issues, and use them to achieve developmental goals. Students from Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar participated in the two symposia held in Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar. Participants were encouraged to speak freely and contribute ideas. At both events, the main speaker was Mr. Shafi Adam Shafi, a renowned scholar.

A symposium held in Dar es Salaam was attended by students and teachers from Dar es Salaam secondary schools. The presentation traced the history of Zanzibar Revolution and lessons to be learnt from that historical event. The following is a summary of a paper presented by Mr. Shafi Adam Shafi:-



Mr Adam Shafi (right) presenting his paper

#### BACKGROUND TO THE ZANZIBAR REVOLUTION

#### By Adam Shafi.

The history of Zanzibar's traditional rule dates back to 975 when a merchant from Shiraz, Hassan bin Ali arrived in East Africa with his six children and anchored at the island of Tumbatu.

By 1500 the structure of Zanzibar's local administration was divided in to different districts and each district had it's own King. The Island of Tumbatu had it's own King too. There after, Mwinyi Mkuu became the sole traditional ruler of the island of Zanzibar.

The Arab rulers led by Seyyid Said bin Sultan arrived in Zanzibar in 1828. It is stated that the Arab rulers ware called into Zanzibar by it's local rulers so as to protected them from the Portuguese invaders, but there is so far no historical evidence to prove that..

After their arrival in Zanzibar, the Arab rulers extended their rule to cover the entire island and ultimately overthrew the local ruler, Mwinyi Mkuu.

The Arab rule in Zanzibar consolidated itself in 1832 when Seyyid Said bin Sultan decided to transfer the headquarters of his kingdom from Oman to Zanzibar.

Thereafter, Zanzibar became an important trading centre that attracted the attention of big European powers and the United States.



Teachers from Zanzibar listening to the presenter

#### ZANZIBAR UNDER THE BRITISH RULE

- Following the decline of it's economy as a result of the abolition of slave trade, compounded by a terrible cyclone that swept the Island in 1872 and destroyed virtually all the clove trees, in 1890, the Sultan of Zanzibar, Seyyid Ali bin Said, agreed to keep Zanzibar under British protection. Since then, Zanzibar was under a two-fold colonial rule, the Anglo-Arab colonial rule.

#### REPRESENTATION STRUCTURE

- Although Zanzibar's traditional administrations had their own representation structures, an official representation structure was started by the British colonial rulers. The representation structure started in 1926 when the British colonial authority declared the *order in council* which established the Legislative Council and the Executive Council.
- When this structure was established, it had official members and nominated members.
- As the British colonialists had divided the people of Zanzibar into racial groupings, nominated members of the Legislative Council were nominated by the Sultan of Zanzibar from the lists submitted to him by the Arab and Indian Associations.
- For twenty years, the Legislative Council did not include a representative from the African Association, although Africans formed the majority of the people of this island.
- The first African representative member of the Legislative Council joined the council in 1946. He was **Sheikh Ameir Tajo**.



Students from Zanzibar listening to a presenter

#### FORMATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES

- Zanzibar's peoples struggle for independence gained momentum after the formation of political parties. Before this new impetus, the struggle was undertaken by tribal associations.
- The first political party, the Zanzibar Nationalist Party, was formed in 1955. It was followed by the Afro-Shirazi Party which was formed in 1957. The Afro-Shirazi Party was formed following a merger of two tribal associations, the African Association and the Shirazi Association.
- Later, these two political parties were involved into internal conflicts that caused their split. The splinter group from the Afro-Shirazi Party formed the Zanzibar and Pemba People Party in 1959 and the splinter group from the Zanzibar Nationalist Party formed the Umma Party in 1963.

#### ZANZIBAR'S GENERAL ELECTIONS

As a result of the surging political struggle for independence the British Government called the first general election in 1957. The election was held following recommendations contained in the report by Walter Coutts, a British Government adviser appointed to advise the Government on how un-official members of the Legislative Council could be obtained. The elections were for six un-official members of the Council, while the other six were to be appointed by the Sultan.

The election was contested by political parties and tribal associations, but the main rivals were the Afro-Shirazi Party and the Zanzibar Nationalist Party.

During the election, the Afro Shirazi Party won 5 out of 6 contested seats. The Muslim Association an association representing Indian Muslims won 1 seat.

#### THE POLITICAL SITUATION AFTER THE ELECTION

After the 1957 general election, the political situation in Zanzibar changed drastically. Politics were dominated by emotions, hatred and enmity. As a result, in 1960 the British Government appointed Sir Hillary Blood to become it's constitutional adviser with a view to suggesting appropriate constitutional measures suitable for Zanzibar. Among the constitutional recommendations made by the adviser was the holding of the general election in 1961.

#### THE JANUARY 1961 ELECTION.

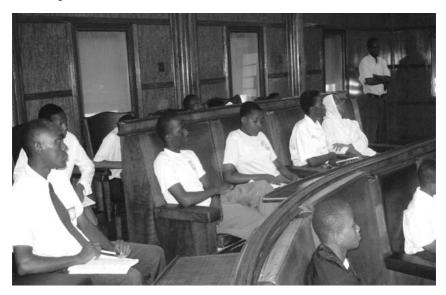
The January 1961 general election was the first general election to be held following constitutional recommendations made by Sir Hillary Blood. During the election, Zanzibar was divided into 22 electoral constituencies. Zanzibar had 13 electoral constituencies while Pemba had 9.

During the election, ASP won 10 seats, ZNP won 9 seats while the ZPPP won 3 seats.

In a situation like that the ZPPP was in a good position of being courted by both the ASP and the ZNP. Ultimately its 3 representatives were divided, 2 merged with the ZNP and 1 with the ASP.

Under that circumstances the two major political parties the ZNP and the ASP could not form a government as there was no single party with majority seats to be able to stand on it's own.

After a long discussion between the ASP and the ZNP, the two parties agreed to form an interim coalition government and the government was approved on 23<sup>rd</sup>. February 1961. The Chief Secretary became the Chief Minister of the Government. Another general election was to take place in June 1961.



Students from Dar es Salaam listening to a presenter

#### THE JUNE 1961 ELECTION

During this election one new electoral constituency was created in Pemba. The Mtambile constituency.

The election was held on the 1<sup>st</sup> of June 1961. During this election the ASP won 10 seats with 49.9 percent of the total votes cast, the ZNP won 10 seat with 35.0 percent of the total votes cast and the ZPPP won 3 seats with 13.7 percent of the total votes cast.

The results were not to the satisfaction of the ASP because it had won the majority of the total votes cast. The dissatisfaction had caused complaints that resulted into a violent riot that caused 68 deaths and 400 people were wounded. More than 1000 people were arrest as a result of the riot and foreign troops had to be called in to suppress the riot.

#### THE LONDON CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE

After the political turmoil had cooled down, a Constitutional Conference was held in London between 9<sup>th</sup> March and 6<sup>th</sup> April 1962. All political parties with representatives in the Legislative Council attended the conference.

Following the conclusion of the Constitutional Conference, Zanzibar attained a Responsible Government on  $24^{th}$  January 1963 and on  $24^{th}$  June 1963 Zanzibar attained it's Internal Self Government. A general election was held on  $8^{th}-11^{th}$  July 1963 with a belief that the election will be the one to take Zanzibar through to total independence.

#### THE 1963 ELECTION

This general election was held in July 1963 and 31 seats were contested. Three political parties contested the election, they were Afro Shirazi Party, Zanzibar Nationalist Party and the Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party. The ZNP and the ZPPP had agreed not to oppose each other during the election.

Before this general election, a group of youths led by Abdulrahman Mohammed Babu pulled out of the ZNP and formed the Umma Party. This new political party however, did not field any candidate during the general election, instead declared its support to the ASP.

The results of this election were that the ZNP/ZPPP alliance won 18 seats and the ASP won 13 seats. As was the case during the previous elections, the ASP won the majority of the votes cast but not the majority of the seats. The ASP won 54.3 percent of the total votes cast while the ZNP won 29.8 percent of the total votes cast and the ZPPP won 15.9 percent of the total votes cast.

It was this general election that determined who will lead Zanzibar towards total independence.

From 20 to 24 September 1963 another Constitutional Conference was held in England. The main objective of the conference was to deliberate on the constitution of Independent Zanzibar. The conference was attended by representatives from the ZNP/ZPPP alliance and the ASP.

The conference deliberated on important issues related to the constitution and set the 10<sup>th</sup> of December 1963 as the day for Zanzibar's independence by Britain handing over Zanzibar to the Sultan so that the Sultan becomes the Head of State.

The independence to hand over Zanzibar to the Sultan by Britain was therefore attained on 10<sup>th</sup> December 1963 and Seyyid Jamshid bin Abdalla bin Khalifa became the Sultan and the Head of State. Explaining about this independence in his book "*Oman Sultans in Zanzibar*", Ahmed Hamoud Al-Maamri wrote and I quote.

"Thus the shelter of the British protection which had lasted for 73 years was brought to an end."

This means by this independence, Zanzibar managed to get rid of only one of the colonialists who colonized Zanzibar, that is Britain, while remaining with the Arab colonialism that existed in Zanzibar since 1828.

#### THE ZANZIBAR 1964 REVOLUTION

Following a long struggle by the people of Zanzibar to liberate themselves and bring about total independence of their country, they were forced to take up arms and overthrow the government in place and remove the Sultan so as to completely wipe out the remnants of foreign colonialism in Zanzibar. The people of Zanzibar were forced to take up arms after all peaceful and constitutional options to realize their goal were frustrated.

Although the Zanzibar revolution was described as being racial, that is Africans verses Arabs, the truth remains that the revolution was a class revolution, an uprising of workers and peasants against the capitalists and feudalists.

The first major step taken by The Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar was to nullify the so called The Independence Constitution of 1963 and to ban all political parties with the exception of the ASP

and to proclaim *Constitutional Decree* establishing a constitutional rule and the rule of law and order.

It should be understood that among the political parties banned by the Revolutionary government of Zanzibar, the Umma Party was not among them. This party was banned by the ZNP/ZPPP government soon after it took power.

The Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar was led by the Revolutionary Council whose members were nominated by the President, and soon after assuming power it took various measures to improve the quality of life of the people.

Such measures included distribution of land among the peasants, free education, free medical treatment, construction of old people's home, construction of better houses for the people, construction of various industries, rural electrification, rural water supply system and other measures aimed at bringing about equality among the people.

Beginning 1964 to date when we celebrate 45 years of the revolution, many positive leadership and governance changes have taken place. For example instead of being led by the Council nominated by the President, now the country is led by the President who is elected by the people and the House of Representatives whose members are elected by the people.

- Instead of a one party rule, now we have a multi-party system.
- While soon after the revolution freedom of expression was very limited, now people are enjoying a broad freedom of expression.

- While soon after the revolution the question of human rights was virtually non-existent, the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar now to a certain extent respects human rights and is trying hard to provide education by involving non-governmental organizations so that people and state organs attain full understanding of human rights.
- While soon after the revolution all economic activities were undertaken by the state, people are now free to participate in such activities and the private sector's involvement is expanding very fast.
- In conclusion, I would like to state that a revolution is a continuous process. Thus, when we say "Revolution forever" it is not meant that people should continuously take up arms and fight, but to uplift the spirit and objectives of the revolution. Which is to bring about progress and to improve the quality of life of all the people.

Long live the Zanzibar Revolution.

#### QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON REVOLUTION DAY SYMPOSIUM.

#### ZANZIBAR AND DAR ES SALAAM – JANUARY 2009

#### Students from Dar es Salaam

Question:

It is believed that the Zanzibar First President Mr. Karume's leadership was a dictatorship one. So, why are we celebrating the Karume Day every year? Is it necessary?

Answer:

Karume had to lead the country in a dictatorship way due to the political and country's situation at that time, he couldn't do otherwise because he took the country by force from the previous rulers. He had to use a lot of force to strengthen his leadership! For example, there was a time when cloves price worldwide was very low, he then ordered that they should not export anymore. They should wait for a price to rise. As a result, all the go downs were full of cloves. He then ordered to close down all the schools in order to store the cloves. After some time foreign buyers went to see him to request for cloves purchase and exportation. He told them that if they want they want to do so, they should agree to whatever price he will tell them. They agreed. Then Karume ordered the cloves to be sold at a very high price. This made Zanzibar to be among the richest countries in Africa.

So there is a justification to celebrate the Karume Day, even if in some cases he went wrong, but he did a lot of good things also.

Question: Karume was assassinated. Why? Aand what happened

to the killers? What steps were taken against them?

Answer: Some people were not happy with his leadership, so they decided to kill him. Hoping that they will take over the leadership. But that was not the case. Some of the suspects were killed, others were jailed.

#### Students from Zanzibar

Question:- It is said that, after that revolution, the Revolution Government constructed houses for low income people at Michenzani and other places in Zanzibar. But funny enough, these houses are now occupied by rich people. You can see expensive cars parked around the area. How cay you explain this? [Enock, Nyuki Secondary School]

Answer:- I was born in Michenzani. That is my permanent home, yet I have never seen many expensive cars around. But if some of the dwellers have managed to own expensive cars, that is a sign of achievement of the Zanzibar Revolution.

Question:- Do you think that those who took up leadership after Zanzibar Revolution were legal leaders? What I know, from the reign of Prime Minister Mohamed Shamte and other leaders who followed him, were illegal. That is why even after the revolution, many countries, including Kenya did not recognize it. [CUF representative]

**Answer:-** It is not true to say that Kenya did not recognize the Zanzibar Revolution. Actually, Kenya was the first

country to recognize it. As far as legality of leadership in Zanzibar is concerned, it is important to know that the Zanzibar Revolution aimed at removing the minority from power and replacing them with the majority [the poor]. From 12th January 1964, the Zanzibar Revolution Council has been working hard to uplift the welfare of all Zanzibaris, particularly the poor.

**Question:-** Why the Revolutionary Council of Zanzibar claims to work for all Zanzibaris, while at the same time demands education fees from poor families? If it seriously wants to help children of Zanzibar, it should provide free education and stop the current education fees which is at 40,000/=, plus another 40,000/= as examination fees.

Contribution:- It is difficult at present for the government to provide free education by hundred percent, because it has to implement other development activities. If people could contribute a certain amount of money for children education, this is good. [Mwanahamisi Bakari Pandul.

#### Answer:-

It impresses me to hear students talking about the need for free education. If it is really true that students are so committed to education, this is great achievement in our society. I am saying this because many students have lost the spirit of studying, including reading of books. They prefer to listen to musics eg. [Bongo Fleva]. With this trend, in twenty years to come this country will be a country full of fools.

Question:- Since the Zanzibar Revolution it is now 45 years. But I wonder why many Zanzibaris still do not comprehend the meaning and importance of that revolution. Even myself I witness people in a mourning mood by dressing black dresses during the revolution day. What I want to recommend to our government, is to educate people about this event and its importance. Otherwise the majority of Zanzibaris, especially the young ones, will continue despising it. [CUF representative]

Answer:-

Coming back to the Zanzibar Revolution, this was a process aimed at toppling the exploitative behaviours made by the minority class and directed to the majority. So we had two groups, the losers and the winners. Those who lost are still there, so they can mourn, while others are celebrating.

Question:-

It seemes as if the Zanzibar Revolution was a revolution of Zanzibaris against their fellow Zanzibaris.

Answer:-

It is true. But mind you, in Zanzibar there was an exploitative class led by the Sultan and his supporters. This class was not serving the ordinary people, but their masters in Britain. That is why the majority of Zanzibaris decided to topple this class by revolting.

Question:- I want to congratulate the Zanzibar Revolutionary Council for providing students with many books, I commended it for this. My question is to know the reality of the Zanzibar Revolution. Some people say it took place during the day, others say over night. Which is which? What about Pemba, was it included? Did the late Abeid Amani Karume took party in the revolution? [Hamis – Zanzibar Commercial School]

Answer:-

The Zanzibar Revolution was a process, it did not occur one day or over night. Preparations were made for a long period, e.g. Recruitment of people, acquisition of weapons and other logistics. The late Sheikh Abeid Aman Karume was part and parcel of the process. So what happened that day was to implement what was planned earlier. The people of Pemba Island participated and provided full support of revolution, because they were also the victims exploitation and oppression led by the Sultan and his henchmen.

### Question:-

If people of Pemba Island supported the Revolution, why are we withnessing an umbalanced treatment between Wapemba and Waunguja today? This is demonstrated in the provision of social and economic services. Unguja is more favoured than Pemba. [A teacher from – Pemba]

#### Answer:-

If there is a crack and favouritism, this should be mended. It is important to know that both Wapemba and Waunguja are one, and all cooperated in a war to liberate ourselves from British and Sultan exploitation, which resulted in a Zanzibar Revolution of 12<sup>th</sup> January 1964.

### Contribution:- [Fatuma Majid – Zanzibar University]

She insisted that Zanzibaris fail to distinguish between socio-economic development and politics. Neither Waunguja nor Wapemba are thinking seriously on how to foster socio-economic development in Isles. Most of them spend a lot of their time thinking about who will be their next leaders whenever an election is over. This time wasting gossiping makes people ignore their obligation to bring about social and economic development of Zanzibar. What is needed now is to change this attitude.

### **APPENDIX**

# PART 3

It is difficult at present for the government to provide free education by hundred percent, because it has to implement other development activities. If people could contribute a certain amount of money for children education, this is good.

## PHOTOS SHOWING SOME OF THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE "ZANZIBAR REVOLUTION" SYMPOSIA



Students from Tambaza Secondary School, Dar es Salaam

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Students from Jitegemee Secondary School, Dar es Salaam



Students from Elimika (ETC), Dar es Salaam



Students from Kamene Secondary School, Dar es Salaam



Students from Kawe Nkwamani Secondary School, Dar ea Salaam

Photos 35



Students from Emet Secondary School, Dar es Salaam



Students from Juhudi Secondary School, Dar es Salaam



A group photo showing teachers from Zanzibar, CETA and KAS officials



A teacher from Zanzibar contributing to the discussion

# PART 4

I am very
optimistic
that under the
leadership of
President Jakaya
Kikwete, justice
will take its
course.

# COME ACROSS "MZEE WA URAIA" IN STUDENTS CHAPTER

**XEE WA URAIA** is an advisor for Civics and General Studies in secondary schools and colleges. He attends to the students' chapter in the Civics and General Studies Journal owned by the Civic Education Teachers' Association-CETA. This chapter is an arena where students can give comments, critique and ask questions on any issues that have direct impacts on national development.



Mzee Wa Uraia

### Dear students,

I am very happy to tell you that the Government through the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training has introduced a new syllabus of General Studies that fulfils the current needs of students and society at large. I would like to take this opportunity on behalf of CETA to congratulate the Ministry.

This shows the seriousness of the government to bring about socio- economic and political changes in our society. Having said this I should now say something about our chapter. In the last issue of civics and General studies Journal volume 5 I requested you students to write and bring your views, ideas and comments on various issues concerned your studies. But response was very low. It might be our copies of Civics and General Studies did not reach many students. If that would be the case, I hope this time many students will take part as some more copies will be distributed or sent to many schools. For any issues that you want to share with your colleagues contact Mzee wa Uraia through the following contacts:

Having said this, I should now say something about our chapter. In the last issue of the Civics and General Studies Journal, Volume 5, I requested you students to write and bring your views, ideas and comments on various issues concerning your studies. But the response was very low. It might be our request did not reach many of you. If that is the case, I hope this time many students will take part, because more copies will be printed and sent to all schools.

Any issues that you want to share with your colleagues, please contact Mzee wa Uraia through the following contacts:

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0764-827126

2. Landline:- 022401410

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4. Postal Address:- Mzee wa Uraia

P.O.Box 54095

Dar es Salaam.

### Questions and Answers.



"Mzee wa Uraia" My name is David Nkya. I am a student in form 5 at Kamene High School. May I take this opportunity to thank you for allowing me a space in students' chapter so that I can give my views about our beloved country Tanzania. Mzee, it really pains me to see how rich our country is in terms of natural resources but its people are extremely poor. It reached a point I contacted my fellow

friends from Botswana to ask them how their country had managed to make use of their resources e.g. gold to bring fast development in their country. I received the answer from my colleagues that their Government is very serious about the country's natural resources.

Even when they export their minerals like gold there is tight military security. This is to ensure that no one can temper with such resources. That is one side of the coin, the other side, the government ensures that the available income goes direct to improve social- economic development of the Tswana people. This is the reason why Botswana is a shining example among African countries South of Sahara with viable socio-economic development.

Mzee wa Uraia, my advice to our Government is to learn from that country. We can even ask them to assist us to get credible mining companies to extract minerals in our country for the benefit of Tanzanians. This will help our country to get rid of fake and exploitative companies that are rooting our resources without shame.

**Dear Student**. Your advice to the Government is a commendable one. I hope the message has reached the concerned people, including Ministers, Members of Parliament and other stakeholders. If Botswana can do it, why not Tanzania.?



"Mzee wa Uraia" My name is Neema Mlay. I am a student in form four at Tabata Secondary School. My question is to ask about the way the government is dealing with sensitive issues like that of "white colar criminals" (mafisadi). I do not believe the Judiciary is willing to do justice to Tanzanians who are being robbed of their wealth.

My worry is that corruption may hinder our Judiciary system from doing its sacred duty of dispensing justice. This will leave the Tanzanians in a dilemma. Now Mzee wa Uraia, what is your advice on this issue?

**Dear Student:** It seems you are very keen to know what is happening in your society regarding dispensation of justice. I am very optimistic that under the leadership of President Jakaya Kikwete, justice will take its course. But at the same time Tanzanians should not become passive on such sensitive issues. They should pressurize their government through pressure groups, to make sure the government machinery functions properly, efficiently and judicially.



"Mzee wa Uraia" My name is Luka Simon. I am a form three student at Jitegemee Secondary School. I am so happy to get this chance so as to express a very screwing issue in my mind. It is about the Union of Tanzania. For a long time, the majority of our fellow Tanzanians in Zanzibar seem to be unsatisfied with this union. But this is not a big problem because as human beings every one is born with a certain degree of "egoism," [i.e. this is

mine, that is ours etc]. If the government of today allows Wasukuma, Wachaga, Wameru, Wahehe, Wapemba, Waunguja, Wahaya etc to declare their independence because of egoism, this country would be ungovernable.

Coming back to the issue of union, I would like to remind those with a strong "ego" to refer to the speech of the late Mwl. Nyerere when he said one can talk of being a Zanzibaris while there is a union. But outside the union he/she will talk about being a Mpemba, Muunguja and Mzanzibara". Some people may criticise my point of view, but it is a reality.

My suggestion is that ordinary Zanzibaries and Tanzanians in general do not know what actually is happening during in the debates. Is this done deliberately by political leaders to win cheap popularity? If so, then these people are dismantling our long established union by condoning tribalism or religious rifts. Mzee wa Uraia, please help me and my fellow Tanzanians, What should we do with these people? Should we call for a union referendum and ask the citizens whether they are interested to maintain the union or to undo it?

**Dear Student**. I agree with your views on the importance of Tanzanians to uphold the Union. Even our forefathers used to say that "Unity is Strength". I also acknowledge that most of the Tanzanians are confortable with the Union. I am saying so because I conducted a survey in Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar on this issue. I found out that ordinary Zanzibaries are busy with their usual activities. They do not want to hear this rubbish of breaking up our unity. They want existing problems to be solved amicably within the union for the advantage of all Tanzanians. For those who want to know more about our Union, they should refer to the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania [1997]. Lastly, I would like to advice all Tanzanians that many people around the world admire our Union which has now [2009] attained the age of forty five years.



"Mzee wa Uraia" My name is Salum Tamim. I am a form five student at Al-Muntazir Islamic Secondary School. I congratulate you for having this students' chapter because we can use it to express some of the burning issues. I have a question regarding democracy in the local governments. First of all, I am very much surprised to see how the government handles local government elections. It does

not consider it as an important exercise. People are not mobilized at all to take part in local government elections. It is an open secret that democracy begins at village level up to the national level. If people do not elect good leaders in the local government, the nation will have weak leaders, hence a weak foundation.

So I would like to advise the government to realize this fact. It is unfair to ignore such a sensitive task, or to leave it in the hands of the Civil Society Organizations. Coming back to my question, I want to know more about democracy in reference to the local governments.

**Dear Student**. Many thanks for the congratulation directed to the students' chapter. It is true that local government elections need to be given high attention by the government and other stakeholders. It is from these local governments that we expect to get well functioning Councils and Committees. These local governments have the responsibility to uphold social development and provide public services within their jurisdiction, such as provision of education, health, safe water and roads. When we talk of local government, we mean a local authority [a governing body of a county or a districts, or a town, or a municipal, or a city, or un urban area in a country] [TIE, 2002:89]. Due to the importance of local governments as discussed above, the Central Government has a duty to ensure they are facilitated to function properly and efficiently.

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

#### ORIGIN

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



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

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

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

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

**JOURNAL** 

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