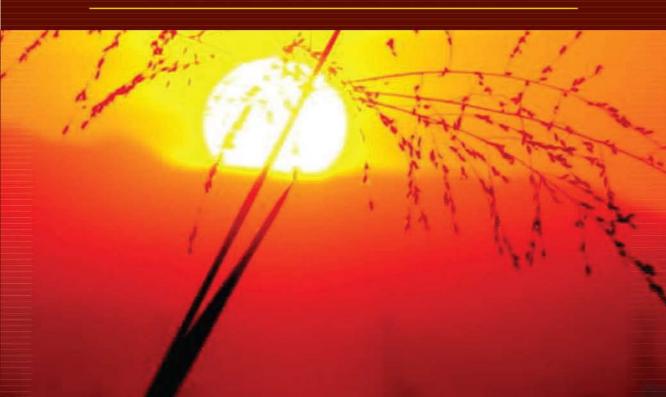


# THE ROLE OF FAITH BASED ORGANIZATIONS IN GOOD GOVERNANCE



### INTERFAITH DIALOGUE IN TANZANIA

## THE ROLE OF FAITH BASED ORGANIZATIONS IN GOOD GOVERNANCE

#### January, 2010

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#### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACRL African Council of Religious Leaders
BAKWATA Baraza Kuu la Waislamu Tanzania
CBO Community Based Organization
CCT Christian Council of Tanzania

**CSSC** Christian Social Services Commission

CSO Civil Society Organization
EAC East African Community
EMB Election Management Body

**ESRF** Economic and Social Research Foundation

**FBO** Faith Based Organization

**GIGA** German Institute for Global and Area Studies

HBS Household Budget Survey ISI Islamic Financial Systems

IRCPT Inter Religious Council for Peace Tanzania

**KAS** Konrad Adenauer Stiftung

**KKKT** Kanisa la Kiinjili la Kilutheri Tanzania

LGALocal Government AuthorityMDGsMillennium Development GoalsMDFMuslim Development FundMPMember of Parliament

**MUM** Muslim University of Morogoro MoU Memorandum of Understanding

NCA Norwegian Church Aid

NEC National Electoral Commission
NGO Non Governmental Organization

**NPI** New Partners Initiative

OIC Organization of Islamic Conference
PCT Pentecostals Council of Tanzania
TEC Tanzania Episcopal Conference

**TOR** Terms of Reference

TWIN
Tanzania Women Interfaith Network
TYIN
Tanzania Youth Interfaith Network
UNDP
United Nations Development Program

URT United Republic of TanzaniaVICOBA Village Community Bank

**WCRP** World Conference on Religion and Peace

**ZEC** Zanzibar Electoral Commission

#### QUOTATIONS FROM SCRIPTURES ON GOOD GOVERNANCE

#### Islam: Quran: 6:151-2

Say: Come, I will rehearse what God hath realy prohibited from you: Join not anything as Equal with God; Be Good to your parents; Kill not your children on a plea of want; We provide sustainance for you and for them; come not nigh to shameful deeds, whether open or in secret; Take not life, which God has sacred, except by way of Justice and Law; Thus doth God Command you, that you may learn wisdom.

And come not nigh to the orphan's property, except to improve it, until attaining the age of full strengh; give measure and weight with full justice; no burden do God place on any soul, but that which it can bear; whenever you speak, speak justly, even if a near relative is concerned, and fulfil the convenant of God; Thus do the God command you, that you may rembember.

#### **Christian:** Deuteronomy 16: 18-20

**18** Judges and officers shalt thou make thee in all thy gates, which the LORD thy God giveth thee, throughout thy tribes: and they shall judge the people with just judgment. **19** Thou shalt not wrest judgment; thou shalt not respect persons, neither take a gift: for a gift doth blind the eyes of the wise, and pervert the words of the righteous. **20** That which is altogether just shalt thou follow, that thou mayest live, and inherit the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee.

#### Hinduism:

"The world looks to the religious bodies for PEACE, BROTHERHOOD, AMITY, TOLERANCE, FAIRNESS AND GUIDEANCE.

Let us stand united to provide a lead to the government on the above matters."

#### **PREFACE**

In a country reeling under the weight of grand corruption (ufisadi) the, governance agenda is not only inevitable, but necessary. Governance simply means management of public affairs.

Good governance has the following indicators:

- Constitutionalism
- Effective Public Administration (that is to say efficiency and effective service delivery)
- Rule of law
- Transparency and accountability
- Respect of private property
- Observance of human rights
- Judicial independence
- Independent civil society
- Free media

(All these are interconnected)

On the other hand, poor governance is characterized by:

- Lawlessness
- Poor service delivery
- Rule bending
- Corruption
- Discrimination- on gender, race, ethnic, tribal or religious differences
- Violation of human rights
- Secrecy (limited and selective information to public)
- Red tape in the bureaucracy

- Irresponsive to public demand
- Tampering with the constitution
- Lack of development

Since independence in 1961, Tanzania has been preoccupied with three development problems: poverty, ignorance and diseases. Although initially development efforts resulted in a significant improvement in par capita income, easy access to both education and health services, today most of the people are worse than they were 48 years ago. One half of all Tanzanians today are considered to be basically poor, and one-third live in abject poverty. If this is not enough, 26 per cent of the population cannot read or write in any language; while one woman dies every hour from pregnancy or pregnancy related causes. Given the abundance of natural resources, it is clear here is something wrong with governance.

Against this background KAS and WCRPTZ convened a three day interfaith dialogue from 24 to 26, November 2009 in Dar es Salaam to discuss the Role of Faith Based Organizations in Good Governance in Tanzania.

Dialogue organizers expected an open and constructive discussion on practical ways as how they could contribute to political education beyond narrow rhetoric by building political competence among Tanzanians, specifically in crafting citizenship in state leadership based on local values, ethos and culture. This book is the outcome of that dialogue.

#### **APPRECIATION**

AS and WCRPTZ wish to express their appreciation to all those who actively and tirelessly worked to ensure the fruition of dialogue objectives. Special appreciation is extended to Professor Palamagamba Kabudi of the Faculty of Law, University of Dar es Salaam and Ms. Zakia Stephano from the office of Registrar of Political Parties for their thought provoking papers.

Special thanks should also be extended to Honourable Clemence Hach, Germany Deputy Ambassador to Tanzania for accepting our invitation to officiate the dialogue. Acknowledgement should also go to Ms. Anke Lerch, KAS representative to Kenya and Tanzania who traveled all the way from Nairobi to take part in the dialogue. Finally we wish to acknowledge the contribution of dialogue moderator Mr. Zagar, all FBOs who sent their representatives to the dialogue, without forgetting the participants.

#### INTRODUCTION

SEVENTEEN years after the adoption of multiparty political system in Tanzania, a culture of multipartyism is still far from ideal. There are several indicators to show that the country is multiparty only in name and by law, but in practice it is still a one party-state.

Regarding distribution of powers among institutions of governance: Horizontally, the power tilts heavily in favor of the Executive Branch of government over the Parliament and Judiciary. Vertically, the power also tilts heavily on the side of Central Government at the expense of Local Government Authorities, which exists only as agents of the Central Government, rather than governments in themselves.

With regard to the democratic political competitive environment, the electoral system is not fully agreed by all political actors. There are those who advocate for the current system of Single Member Plurality System, commonly known as the First-Past-the-Post (or winner takes all), while others are advocating for the Proportional Representation System, and few others agitating for Mixed Member Proportional, which is a mixture of the first two electoral systems. There is also unresolved debate on the set up and composition of Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs).

On the governance side of equation, the behavior of institution of governance is characterized by the following:

- Most do not adhere to the set norms and practices (rule bending)
- Being not readily accessible to ordinary people
- Having a great deal of red tapes
- Permitting the public limited or selective information
- Having limited accountability to the public
- Having no consultation with the people when making decisions that affect them.

On the other hand, the society's equation is characterized by a culture of silence and a constrained civil society.

In Tanzania people show relatively little interest in politics largely because so many social groups are denied access to the benefits of any political change. The democratic transition is being held hostage by a few urban and rural elite who are out to see the continuation of the existing order. A clear example is the dominance of CCM in Parliament with the opposition having only 47 seats out of a total of 320 MPs. The same picture is repeated in Local Government Authorities throughout the country.

For historical reasons and due to political incompetence, the majority of the people still practice passive politics, in that they are unable to use existing political institutions to influence government policies. This is because of a political culture inherited from the one- party rule that tended to emphasize on obedience and obligations over competence and rights of citizens.

Apart from high degree of political incompetence of the citizenry, there is very weak and fragmented opposition while the civil society is still excluded from the political process by law. The incumbent political party has not only refused to provide civic education and barring civil society organizations from political activities, but has always depicted the opposition parties as potential sources of civil strife in a country which places a high premium on tranquility.

In ideal situation civil society organizations supplement political parties by aggregating and articulating their members' interests. In their education role, civil society organizations are training grounds for democratic citizenship, develop the political skills of their members, recruit new political leaders, stimulate political participation and educate the broader public on a wide variety of public interest issues. In their watchdog role, they serve, along with the press, as checks on the relentless tendency of the state to centralize its power and to evade civic accountability and control.

Unfortunately, the work of the civil society organizations in the country is far from ideal. One inherent problem is the tendency to work in isolation and the fact that they are compelled by law to remain apolitical. The term apolitical as used under the non- governmental policy of 2000, means not to seek political power or campaign for any political party, in other words, staying out of all political activities.

This is undemocratic because in reality democracy is not just the right to vote in a government or merely secure legal provisions in state constitution or the right to skeep, freedom of association etc. Democracy is about all set of concerns that afford the citizenry the capacity to control their destiny.

Currently the country is grappling with religious intolerance never experienced since independence, mostly because of the emergence of social stratification, that is, social differentiation based mostly on income disparity. Religious intolerance has been strengthened in the context of declining economic resources and in a situation where modern institutions and their corresponding values and regulations are ignored by officials who man state apparatus. Mwalimu Nyerere's ideology of building a community with common political values has been torn asunder following a paradigm shift from socialism to individualism characterized by ethnicity, petty rivalries, corruption (*ufisadi*) and demoralization.

The policies of liberalization have created the conditions for greater social differentiation and hence the emergence of social classes as well as religious, ethnic, race and political factions. As the economic crisis intensifies and competition for resources becomes more acute, people have revived old and traditional structures to give them support. Thus religious revival, fundamentalism, witchcraft and ethnicity or tribalism has gained ground.

Furthermore, religious revival has begun to penetrate politics and political alignment. Similarly, ethnic symbols, language and alliances are assuming a more political significance and becoming symbols of ethnic solidarity. Ethnicity does not mean that people want to go back to their tribal way of life and should not be seen as rejection of modernity; rather, it provides a structure through which scarce resources can be secured at the expense of other ethnic groups. With the economic crisis having punctured many illusions and national myths, and with the failure of the state to ensure reasonable conditions of reproduction, religion and ethnicity have become important political issues in the country and especially when it comes to elections of political leadership.

When it comes to general elections it has been a practice for FBOs since 1995 to conduct civic education for their followers.

The importance of civic education in transitional democracies where majority of the people participate in politics passively as subjects (onlookers) rather than citizens cannot be underestimated.

Civic education can be defined as "the purposeful and systematic effort to develop in adults the skills and dispositions to function effectively as citizens in their communities as well as in the larger world" (Bogg D.L 1991).

Civic education should facilitate adult citizens to meaningfully and effectively participate in social, economic, political and development decisions of their communities and the country at large from informed point. It also highlights the roles and responsibilities of citizens, government, political and social interests, the mass media, the private sector, and civil society which includes faith based organizations.

The purpose of civic education is basically to:

- Develop understanding and judgment about issues and contribute to guided and informed decisions;
- Develop competence and motivation to engage actively in public problem solving;
- Facilitate citizens learn how to use the aid of experts and professionals in making public policy decisions while limiting it to citizen review and control.

In Tanzania civic education guidelines related to elections have also been produced and distributed ahead of the 1995, 2000 and 2005 general elections. During this period, the practice has been to conduct civic education programs in isolation. This has raised suspicision and counter - suspicion, especially between Muslims and Christians.

One argument is that, each camp was working hard to front its own leadership in the saddle of political power, thereby having a say in political decisions and by keeping a rival group out of power. Even their contribution to political education is hemmed in that narrow interest. Such tendency however, is misguided and may be a source of political instability and decline of democracy and good governance if left unchecked.

Equally important, there is a myth to say religion is, and must remain apolitical. Simple logic dictates that politics exists everywhere. All religions are for peace, but peace can never be attained without tackling the challenges associated with peace namely poverty, ignorance, diseases, social injustice and inequality. The latest household budget survey report on poverty by the Bureau of Statistics shows that one third of the country's population is below the poverty line and Tanzania is even off track to achieve the income poverty within the MDGs.

In simple language, below poverty line simply means people who live on less than a thousand Tshillings or one US dollar per day. According to HBS 2007survey report, 1.3 million people have fallen into poverty in the past five years, that is, from 2001 to 2007. Equally important is that there is no change in inequality. Available data indicates that there is a huge variation in income distribution with the lowest 20% owning only 25% of the national wealth while the richest 20% owns 41% of the national wealth. This means even if there is growth, it will be meaningless unless the wealth is distributed widely and equitably.

Such development calls for a major political debate on social justice and inequalities and the role of FBOs cannot be over-emphasized. There is need for political debate on governance, that is, the management of public affairs.

In this regard, to say religious bodies and other civil society organizations should remain apolitical is a myth. What is needed is not politics of exclusion but inclusive politics, which leads to good governance and democratic development. It is important to discuss openly the disjunction between increased demand for political freedom and participation and the insufficient supply of these political goods and identify the main impediments to democracy and good governance.

Against this background and considering the immense influence religious institutions poss in political elections, KAS and WCRPTZ organized a three day Interfaith Based Organizations in Dar es Salaam to engage them in a 'Constructive Interfaith Dialogue'.

The dialogue held from 24 to 26 November 2009 was among others, geared to discuss how they could collectively produce a single civic education document and practical ways of imparting civic education in the country continuously. Dialogue participants were equally expected to set a common agenda on how to influence political direction in non discriminative and religious harmony, also dwell on practical ways of empowering voters to make rational political choices notable in electing national and local political leadership based on local values, ethos and culture.

Dialogue Organizers expected open and constructive discussions with a common agenda on how they could practically contribute to political education beyond narrow rhetoric, by building political competence among Tanzanians especially in crafting citizenship and state leadership.

#### CHAPTER 1

#### **OFFICIAL OPENING**

The official opening was graced by His Excellence Clemens Hach, Germany Deputy Ambassador to Tanzania.

Mr. Hach lauded the good work done by Faith Based Organizations (FBOs) in Tanzania saying the country had a reputation of being a peaceful partly because of good work done by FBOs.

He however, cautioned that greater effort was required to preserve the current peace.

The Deputy Ambassador underscored the importance of interfaith dialogue, saying the idea of the dialogue was focused on deliberating on issues that are relevant to political and economic development of the country; that is to say, governance in its wider meaning.



Mr. Hach emphasized the importance of joint values in a society, citing his own country, Germany. German society according to him, was built on norms and values based on the Christian religion. He noted that unlike Germany where values were based on Christianity, in Tanzania there was no clear borderline because the community was based on a multiple religious background, and it was here that interfaith dialogue becomes necessary.

With regard to governance, the Deputy Ambassador said FBOs had a moral duty to discuss seriously about corruption; noting that as one of the leading aid donors in the country, Germany was yet to see religious institutions condemning corruption in the strongest possible terms.

He would like to see religious institutions doing what it takes to ensure a well functioning government. In this regard, he advised the Dialogue participants to deliberate on what religious institutions could do about fundamental issues relevant to the function of government and come up with a common voice.

Likewise, the Guest of Honor underscored the importance of social cohesion. Urging participants to debate and chart out a practical way forward that could drive the country forward.

Earlier, in her brief remarks Ms. Anke Lerch, KAS country representative to Tanzania said KAS was always interested in supporting FBOs because of historical links.

She said KAS is affiliated to the Christian Democratic Party of Germany, but works with partners in civic education programs with the aim of promoting freedom and liberty, peace and justice.

She expressed her hope that the Interfaith Dialogue would live to its expected objectives of building a sound democratic society in Tanzania.

As to welcome remarks from the leaders of executing agents for the Interfaith Dialogue, Mr. Ayoob Omari, Secretary General, World Conference on Religion and Peace /Tanzania (WCRP-TZ) and Richard Shaba, Team Leader, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS) see appendix 1.

#### CHAPTER II

#### PAPER PRESENTATIONS

Two papers were presented on the "Role of Faith Based Organizations in Good Governance in Tanzania", but with specific areas of reference.

Professor Palamagamba .J. Kabudi from the Faculty of Law, University of Dar es Salaam addressed himself to the following TORs:

- > Reflect the historical background and realities of FBOs in Tanzania
- ➤ Link them to Good Governance
- > Establish moments when FBOs would assume the role of "defender" of the community

Ms. Zakia Stephano from the Registrar of Political Parties addressed herself to the following TORs:

- Reflect the historical political role of FBOs in Tanzania in the struggle for independence
- Link them to efforts today to demarcate the boundaries between FBOs and political parties
- Establish cross-cutting areas where FBOs meet and/differ with political parties
- > Establish moments when political parties would want to 'use' the channels of FBOs to advance their objectives

In his presentation, Professor Kabudi explained that although currently the topic on "the Role of FBOs in Good Governance in Tanzania was laden with sensitivities and could easily slip in emotive polemics and divisive platitudes, it still remained important and critical in a country in the transition of building a strong and sustainable democratic society.

Faith diverse as it has continued to be is an essential value to humans and it has inspired and informed many on how they viewed the society and state, he observed.

Professor Kabudi informed participants that **faith** had played a critical role in shaping political, economic, social and cultural views and opinions of many people throughout history. He reminded them the fact that at some point in history, there has been episodes when faith had been used to cause untold sufferings to people of different persuasion, resulting in war and killings. It had been used by some to justify injustice and dictatorships.



Revisiting recent developments in which involvement of FBOs deliberation of political had drawn criticism issues from some political leaders and commentators: that religious institutions should remain apolitical, the Law Professor was clear to the effect that constitutional provisions did not prohibit FBOs from participating in strengthening good governance, nor in participating in the provision of civic education aimed at creating a united, peaceful and democratic Tanzania.

Article 19(2) of the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania states:

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

Professor Kabudi took his time to make it very clear that the Constitution through Article 19(2) prohibited the state from involving itself in matters of worship, or running of religious organizations. Put differently, what this meant was that, while FBOs could freely discuss or participate in politics, the state could not involve itself in religious matters. It was prohibited.

And as per Article 21(2) of the Constitution, the message from Professor Kabudi was loud and clear, "Every citizen has the right and the freedom to participate

fully in the process leading to the decision on matters affecting him, his well being or the nation".

With regard to essential characteristics of a democratic society, the Law Professor listed the following principles that he described as relevant to the role of FBOs in fulfilling their responsibility:

- ✓ Participatory democracy
- ✓ Dignity of human person
- ✓ Visionary leadership
- ✓ Integrity and credibility
- ✓ Promotion of a cohesive society
- ✓ Equitable distribution of resources among the people
- ✓ Right to vote freely
- ✓ Respect to God
- ✓ Promotion and protection of the family
- ✓ Sharing of power

In her paper, Ms. Zakia Stephano took participants through the political history of FBOs in the struggle for independence in Tanzania. The story was long, going back to pre-colonial days.

According to her, the historical development of FBOs was traceable to precolonial societies. Indigenous beliefs were common, and observed in various traditional societies political settings. She cited the *Maji Maji* resistance against the German rule as a case, in which belief in magic inspired and galvanized indigenous communities to rebel against foreign occupation of their land.

The rule, however created an environment whereby FBOs developed a working –relationship with the colonial power of the day. The working relationship was more with Christian leaning FBOs, mostly of which were involved in offering social services, especially in education and health sectors. The output from FBOs was more often than not the 'input' for the colonial administrative machinery, that is, employees.

Interestingly, education imparted by FBOs combined with other factors contributed in rising of nationalism thinking, hence did assist in speeding up the attainment of juridical independence.

Ms. Zakia went on to explain that in Tanzania the relationship between the government and civil societies (to which FBOs belongs) had been shaped by the history and peculiarities of the country. One key factor, according to her was the body of policies and laws regulating civil society organizations. The regulations not only shaped civil societies but also reflect the strength of organized civil society *vis-à-vis* the government.

An important aspect of the regulation of civil society organizations related to how far, if at all, the organization could be political, or embark on political programs, whether by mere civic education or direct partisan politics.

Much as the colonial era was characterized by liberal attitude towards civil society organizations, that attitude changed when indigenous Africans in the then colonial Kenya started the *Mau Mau* resistance against the expropriation of the best agricultural land by British settlers. The colonial government responded in a very repressive manner, turning the colony into a police state by among other measures enacting the societies ordinance with an elaborate mechanism to have a strong control on groups and associations.

Fearful of similar anti-colonial protest in the then Tanganyika, the British authorities also enacted the societies ordinance into law under which the government retained unfettered discretion to withdraw registration at any time and required the group or association to disband. The approach was geared to deny, rather than give effect, to freedom of association.

It is interesting that even after independence in 1961 the Societies Ordinance was retained on the statute books.

The events of January 1964 (revolution in Zanzibar and army mutiny in Tanganyika) made state security a top priority for the government of Tanzania, and the state sought to control all virile civil society organizations. Thus all free and autonomous civil society organizations were all absorbed and affiliated to the sole ruling party by 1968.

Even after the re-introduction of multiparty system in 1992 the Societies Ordinance was not repealed as recommended by the Nyalali Commission. Instead in 2000 a policy on NGOs was adopted. The policy was very categorical, "NGOs are organizations that do not seek political power or campaign for any political party" (paragraph 5.0 (v). This meant that civil society organizations were supposed to remain apolitical.

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With regard to cross-cutting areas where FBOs and politics meet or differ, Ms. Zakia noted that both FBOs and political parties served the citizenry. Conceptually, they would be different poles when it comes to commanding loyalty of the citizen's to determine who should control and divide the national cake; and who should manage the state affairs on behalf of the citizens.

By nature, she explained both FBOs and political entities promoted love, unity, progress, development and peace. However, methodologies towards the stated objectives did vary. Depending on the outcome, the meeting between FBOs and political parties might be peaceful, hostile or simply at loggerheads due to misconceptions.

She noted that by their very nature, FBOs could not support corruption, poor governance, poverty, income disparities and inequalities.

"When their members suffer any of the above mishaps, it was inevitable that the leaders of the FBOs would become vocal. Amazingly it was the political entities that promised the citizens the opposite of the above mentioned ills.

"Thus when the promises were not met, the pressure built up for the political entities. Once under pressure, they could misconstrue statements made by leaders of FBOs".

Regarding moments when political parties 'use' the channels of FBOs, Ms. Zakia informed participants that during political campaigns, political entities tended to develop political manifestos that detailed the promises and plans the party had to better the lives of the citizens, if voted in. Once voted in, the citizens await the fulfillment of the promises for a better life. In the event of failure on the part of the political entity to fulfill the promises for whatever reason, the communication between the political entity and the citizens is constrained. In such circumstances the political entity shall try to use the traditional leaders or leaders of FBOs to maintain the communication lines to the citizens.

Likewise, in moments when political entities fell into disgrace in the eyes of the citizens, they try to 'cleanse' themselves through the support of traditional and/or leaders of FBOs.

#### CHAPTER III

#### PRESENTATION FROM GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Participants were divided into four groups with specific guide questions for which they were to discuss and report back.

The guiding questions included:

- I. Specific Interfaith Dialogue Objectives;
- II. The Role of FBOs in promoting Good Governance in Tanzania;
- III. The written views/opinions of KAS Team Leader, Richard Shaba, KAS country representative Anke Lerch, WCRPT Secretary General Ayoob Omari, and the German Deputy Ambassador to Tanzania, Clemence Hach;
- IV. Several phrases or paragraphs conveying messages that related to dialogue objectives
- V. The need of forging a common agenda on civic education
- VI. The issue of building the capacity of FBOs and their followers for effective participation in elections and determining the qualities of elected leaders; and
- VII. The Way Forward.

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The main issues brought out during group discussions were as follows:

#### FROM GROUP I: MIXED FAITH BASED GROUP

- 1. FBOs need to forge a common agenda on civic education;
- 2. Given the social composition of the Tanzania society, FBOs and leaders should be provided with civic education on continuous basis



- 3. Civic education should be provided to every citizen not only because it is a human right, but more important, to enable them participate fully in politics
- 4. Considering the current Constitution, it is still grounded on Democracy and *Ujamaa*. There is need for a new national vision to give the country a clear direction
- 5. FBOs should be in the forefront in denouncing all forms of corruption;
- 6. There is a need to put in place a policy to ensure equitable distribution of resources
- 7. FBOs have a key responsibility in ensuring good governance
- 8. FBOs should through WCRPTZ form an Interfaith Religious Council because currently Tanzania does not have such important forum to enable FBOs speak with one voice. Already 26 African countries have formed Interfaith Religious Councils
- 9. WCRPTZ should be restructured to win the confidence of FBOs

- 10. FBOs should have a common voice in determining the destiny of the country during general elections
- 11. Minority FBOs should neither be neglected nor marginalized; they should be respected, understood and involved just as the major FBOs

#### FROM GROUP II: MUSLIMS

Main issues brought up were as follows:

- 1) Appreciated the role of FBOs in ensuring peace, tranquility, political and economic stability in the country;
- 2) FBOs should provide civic education as foundation to informed choice, watchdog role, to enforce rule of law and good governance;
- 3) The country's greatest challenge is leadership commitment towards good governance;
- 4) The common opinion among the Muslim community is that Muslims lag behind because the system deliberately (not accidental) works against them by design.
- 5) The "Kadhi Court" could have enforcement powers only if it operates within the country's legal system;
- 6) Muslim Presidents have always come under fire from the Christian religious leadership;
- 7) FBOs are essential in determining the qualities of good leadership they are able to ensure equitable distribution of resources;
- 8) The greatest challenge in ensuring equitable distribution of resources in this country is political will and leadership commitment;
- 9) The government is not responsive to the needs of Muslim communities;
- 10) The problem of socio-economic inequality between Christians and Muslims should not be blamed on Christians, but rather be tackled collectively through a new national vision;

- 11) Expressed concern over lack of development in predominantly Muslim Coastal districts/towns, notably Mafia, Tanga, Temeke and Kigoma.
- 12) Any Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the Government and Christians like that of 1992 on CSSC, should be exposed to clear public doubts that the government was serving the interest of Christians at the expense of Muslims;
- 13) The common position of Muslims was that WCRPTZ was a Christian baby and that the few Muslims working there were mere puppets/sellouts;
- 14) There was need for a probe commission on the Mwembechai killings;
- The common position among Muslims was that they (Muslims) were being treated as second class citizens by their own government;
- 16) Civic education should be provided to every citizen; not only because it was one of their rights, but more importantly, to enable them participate actively in politics;



- 17) There was need to establish a National Vision because currently there was confusion without clear direction, even though the Constitution was still grounded on Democracy and *Ujamaa* pillars;
- 18) Given that currently the country was boggled down with corruption, FBOs should be in the forefront in denouncing corruption, and the fight against political graft (bribery);
- 19) There was need to have a policy of ensuring an equitable distribution of resources:
- 20) All documents fomenting intolerance in the society, including the 1992 MoU on CSSC should be withdrawn by the government.

#### FROM GROUP III: CHRISTIANS

Main issues raised included the following:

- 1) FBOs were absolutely important organs in leadership formation because there were no authorities formed outside the domain of God;
- 2) The Ten Commandments of God, especially on Peace and Love were essential for FBOs in advocating for good leadership and adhering to ethics by the believers;
- 3) FBOs had the responsibility of educating their followers in all political; socio-economic and cultural aspects of development;
- 4) FBOs ought to denounce all wrong-doings and advocate for protection of all Human Rights as embodied in the country's Constitution;
- 5) There was need for FBOs to prepare guidelines for their mutual coexistence and co-operation:
- 6) FBOs were major stakeholders in the National Civic Education Programme;
- 7) Good leaders ought to be elected based on the following criteria:
  - I. Honesty / intergrity

- II. Transparency
- III. Accountability
- IV. Caring the interest of the downtrodden
- V. Residents of a given constituency for not less than 10 years;
- VI. Elections ought to be conducted during week days, that is, between Monday and Thursday to allow time for people to engage in religious activities (Friday, Saturday to Sunday)
- 8) Given political apathy reflected in the recent local grassroots elections, there was a need for FBOs to mount massive civic education campaigns in preparing citizens to participate in the forth coming General Elections;
- 9) There was need to review the Constitution as it confers enormous power to the President. He can misuse the power at his disposal.

During the afternoon plenary session participants deliberated on the following areas:

- 1) Civic Education
- 2) Polarization along religious lines
- 3) Political will
- 4) National Vision
- 5) Principles of Governance
- 6) Separation of power-checks and balance among the three pillars of government-Executive, Judiciary and Parliament
- 7) Peace and the future of Tanzania
- 8) Election Management Bodies (EMBs)
- 9) Recall powers to tame irresponsive elected leadership
- 10) The 2010 General Elections

#### **CHAPTER IV**

#### **DISCUSSIONS IN PLENARY SESSION**

The main issues raised in the plenary session were as follows:

- 1) Good governance depends on Human Rights, Peace and Security and Good Will;
- 2) Other important issues for FBOs advocacy work should include supporting vulnerable groups, sharing of power, political and religious tolerance;
- 3) There was need to carry out enough civic education for all leaders of FBOs;
- 4) Respect of Articles 19 and 21(2) on Civil and Political Rights in terms of citizens inclusion in political decisions, is an important issue for FBOs in civic education programmes;
- 5) There was need for the government to respect the above mentioned constitutional rights;
- 6) Government leaders should never temper with these constitutional rights;
- 7) Harmonious relations among FBOs was absolutely important
- 8) FBO leaders should protect their places of worship from being abused/misused by politicians for their political ends;
- 9) There was need to restructure WCRPTZ so as to maintain harmony and win the confidence of FBOs;
- 10) There was also need to publicize and market WCRPTZ activities and programs to all key stakeholders;

- 11) Citizens should be provided with the necessary information and knowledge on economic benefits by joining international economic organizations, like Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) and Financial Institutions working on the basis of Islamic Financial Systems(IFS);
- 12) More education and awareness campaigns on the role of Kadhi Courts is needed to avert religious polarization;
- 13) The agenda on Kadhi Court should be handled by Muslim communities outside the government machinery to avoid other religions penetrating their faith interests into the government machinery;
- FBOs ought to build economic capacity of their followers geared towards poverty alleviation;
- There was need for KAS and WCRPTZ to convene this kind of dialogue annually and convene emergency forums when peace is threatened;
- 16) FBOs out to develop a common Election Guide for the forthcoming General Elections;
- 17) WCRPTZ ought to strengthen its VICOBA project as part of poverty denting among poor communities;
- 18) There was need to restructure both the Elections Management Bodies namely: National Electoral Commission(NEC) and Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC) and to review the electoral laws
- 19) Religious leaders ought to remain non partisan in order to ensure successful civic education programmes
- 20) There was need for FBOs to protect the rights of minorities
- 21) Education was a key entry point to ensure equitable distribution of resources; and
- 22) Muslim FBOs should explore possibilities of putting in place a single organizational structure to aggregate and articulate their interests.

#### **CHAPTER V**

#### MAIN ISSUES RAISED

In the course of presentations and discussions, several issues were brought to light that in the opinion of interfaith participants needed to be addressed. These could be summarized as follows:

- 1) The emerging social stratification and inequalities where an ideal breeding ground for social insecurity, injustice and religious intolerance;
- 2) FBOs are duty bound to revoke and condemn openly all injustices done by the government, its agencies or individuals in order to build a peaceful and just society;
- 3) Faith would continue to shape politics in Tanzania in the foreseeable future. It was important to encourage Interfaith Dialogue on anything touching people's welfare;
- 4) The cosmopolitan nature of the country(composed of about 150ethnic tribes) compels religious bodies to learn to tolerate each other;
- 5) Any dichotomy between political parties and religion was a myth as both religion and political parties work for peace and justice;
- 6) Currently the country is boggled down by corruption. BFOs had a duty to discuss and condemn political corruption in the strongest possible terms, as it was a hindrance to development and social justice;
- 7) All FBOs ought to work in collaboration towards elimination of injustices, poverty, social inequalities and diseases;
- 8) Both Civil Societies Ordinance (1954) and Non Governmental Organizations Act (2002) should be reviewed extensively as they encroach on people's basic rights specifically on sections requiring NGOs to remain apolitical;

- 9) Tanzania was littered with unfulfilled promises by elected leaders because laws did not give power to people to remove incompetent and irresponsive leaders in between elections. This has to change by empowering voters with recall powers;
- 10) FBOs ought to develop and produce a single document on civic education for the aim of empowering voters to make informed choices on the type of political leadership they want. They ought also to organize joint programs;
- 11) The common position amongst Muslim communities is that, they are being treated as second class citizens by their own government, and that the present governmental system was designed deliberately to work in favor of Christians;
- 12) Christians feel injustice done to them when their hospitals and schools were nationalized for the welfare of all religions during the Arusha Declaration;
- 13) The Muslim community should blame the government for all of their grievances;
- Agenda on Kadhi Court should be dealt with by Muslim religious communities outside the government system so as to avoid other religions penetrating their faith interests to the government:
- The government should refrain from making statements that trigger hatred between Christians and Muslims;
- Tanzania lack visionary leaders with national interest, that is why they are easily imposed with external policies by bilateral agencies;
- 17) Political will is key entry point in ensuring equitable distribution of resources;
- 18) Religious leaders have a duty of defending national interests first and foremost;
- 19) WCRP-TZ should champion for the establishment of an Inter-Religious Council for Peace Tanzania

#### CHAPTER VI

#### RESOLUTIONS

At the end of the interfaith dialogue the following resolutions were adopted:

#### Preamble:

Aware that Faith Based Organizations have a duty to defend societal ethics and denounce unethical behavior in society, participants to a three day interfaith dialogue on the Role of FBOs in Good Governance in Tanzania resolve as follows:

- 1). THIS Interfaith Dialogue on the Role of Faith Based Organizations and Good Governance has been an eye opener. Given the fruitful deliberations, it is recommended to make it an annual event and KAS and WCRPTz are called upon to continue with the initiative and coordination;
- 2). Considering that Politics is a natural phenomenon among human beings that arise in social groupings as a way of expressing and protecting social interests and sentiments, especially on matters related to "bread and butter" issues, any dichotomy between political parties (politicians) and civil society is a myth that should be dismissed outright;
- 3). Tanzania is currently experiencing religious intolerance mainly because of social stratification which is fueling inequalities. There is a need for collaborative efforts by FBOs in working for peace, including the elimination of injustices;
- 4). In view of the influential position religious leaders occupy in society, there is need to acquire civic education on the broader meaning of good governance, that is, management of public affairs;
- 5). Religious institutions should have a common agenda and take a common position on national issues of public interest and work together for peace and the elimination of injustices, insecurity, poverty and diseases.

- 6). Given the passive nature of the Tanzanian society and the manner in which holders of political power were behaving, and for the sake of good governance, FBOs should take up the challenge to transform the populace from subjects into citizens so that they can meaningfully and effectively participate in social, economic and political development decisions from an informed point, and hold leaders accountable.
- 7). Presently there is political power imbalance in favour of the Executive arm of the government at the expense of the Parliament and Judiciary, it is recommended to agitate for constitutional reform so that there is effective separation of power; checks and balances.
- 8). Since the Constitution of 1977 still stipulates that Tanzania is a country based on democracy and *ujamaa* pillars, there is need to put in place an appropriate National Vision.
- 9). All FBOs should take an active role in the war against political graft which remains the root cause of social insecurity and intolerance at all levels
- 10). Since FBOs have powerful communication tools for advocacy and sensitization, they can resist empty promises made by political entities and self –serving politicians during elections through capacity building their followers.



- 11). There is need for FBOs to embark on a deliberate strategy of integration, networking and opening up their doors through the proposed Inter Religious Council for Peace Tanzania in order to tape available resources for capacity building and poverty reduction.
- 12). With the 2010 General Elections around the corner, there is an urgent need for review of the legal framework guiding both the electoral process and the election management bodies (EMBs) in the country.
- 13). For effective social cohesion, there is need to collectively produce a single Civic Education document.
- 14). Religious institutions should never allow worship premises to be used by politicians to propagate their political ends.
- 15). In view of the fact that to some politicians, politics is "business", there is need to set time limit of tenure of office and set qualifications standards for both MPs and Councilors in Local Government Authorities (LGAs) and empower voters with recall powers to all elective posts.
- 16). Both the Civil Societies Ordinance (1954) and Non Governmental Organizations Act (2002) should be extensively reviewed since they encroach on people's basic rights.
- 17). There is need to restructure WCRP-Tz in order to attract the confidence of FBOs.
- 18). The government and its leaders should not impose decisions that foment hatred and disharmony among FBOs

#### CHAPTER VII

#### OFFICIAL CLOSING

The three day interfaith dialogue on the role of FBOs in good governance was closed after the adoption of conference resolutions.

In his closing remarks, the Secretary General of WCRPTZ, Mr. Ayoob Omari made the following points:

- 1) The WCRPTZ and KAS should consider the possibility of inviting upcountry participants during next years' conferences of FBOs.
- 2) The Muslims should not blame Christians for their problems because their problems originate from the post colonial and missionary activities which were not properly addressed by the first phase government. Also Muslims should not be told that it is their fault for going to Madras and refraining from attending formal education.
- 3) The government should not make statements that escalate hatred between Muslims and Christians.

On her part, Ms. Anke Lerch, Regional Director, expressed her pleasure that the meeting had successful results as anticipated. She said it was important for all political stakeholders to understand that one can never separate religious activities from politics. According to her, since everything relates to politics, there is need to work and live together without prejudices.

Finally KAS Team leader, Shaba thanked all delegates for their active participation in both group and plenary sessions, and hence the fruitful ending. He called upon FBOs to be involved in the debate on all pertinent issues related to good governance such as adherence to the principle of separation of powers among Executive, Judiciary and Parliament. He reasoned that there is need to appoint Ministers outside the Parliament to ensure the workability of checks and balances.

### **APPENDICES**

Appendix 1: Welcome remarks from the Executing Agents

# Mr. Ayoob Omari, Secretary General WCRPTZ

World Conference on Religion and Peace-Tanzania (WCRPTZ) is a locally registered affiliate of the World Conference on Religion and Peace (WCRP International), which is the largest multi-religious organization dedicated to reaffirming the shared moral commitments of religion to peace, and translating those moral concerns into practical effective action.

WCRPTZ, initially registered as a Trust in August 2000, has progressively been transforming itself into a members based Inter-religious Council for peace Tanzania (IRCPTZ). Secretary Generals of FBOs in Tanzania in collaboration with WCRPTZ Trustees have completed ground work for its formation, and the council will be launched soon.

The vision of WCRPTZ is a peaceful country in which religions practice both respect and tolerance, contributing in practical ways to the equity and security of all people;

It has its mission to work for the realization of a peaceful country by encouraging multi-religious dialogue for the purpose of discerning commitments to comprehensive peace that is broadly shared and deeply held by the country's religious communities.

WCRPTZ was registered with the following objectives:

- To promote the sharing among religious communities of their respective traditions, principles and values that can be related to the building of peace
- To identify and examine in depth major threats to the comprehensive realization of peace
- To facilitate the planning and implementation of collaborative action programs for building peace and poverty reduction.

# Guiding principles:

- Respect of religious differences
- Act on deeply held and widely shared values
- Preserve the identity of each religious community; and
- Honour the different ways religious communities are organized.

# Programs undertaken from 2000 to 2009.

To improve the country's capacity to foster peace for sustainable development, WCRP-T, in collaboration with various development partners has accomplished a number of undertakings.

With financial assistance from the Ford Foundation, he said WCRPTZ undertook the first institutional support from 2000 to 2005.

With financial assistance from UNDP, WCRPTZ participated in Voters' and Civic Education Program in 2005.

With support from PACT Tanzania, WCRP participated in a Project titled: PACT Community –reach Program: "Understanding and Challenging HIV Stigma Toolkit for Action" in selected areas of Tanzania.

Currently, there is an ongoing five year program with the Norwegian Church Aid (NCA), which took off in November 2005. Being a core- funding Partner, NCA supports WCRPTZ in the following collaborative interfaith areas:

- 1. Formation and promotion of a Tanzania Religious Leaders Interfaith Body (the Inter-Religious Council for Peace Tanzania). Ground work for its formation is complete, and its launching will take place soon.
- 2. Formation and promotion of Tanzania Women Interfaith Network (TWIN) at the National and District Levels.
- 3. Formation and promotion of the Tanzania Youth Interfaith Network at the National and District levels.
- 4. Maintenance and support of the Interfaith Secretariat of WCRP-TZ, which serves as a hub for co-ordination of the interfaith promotional activities

5. Formation and support of INTERFAITH VICOBA (Village Community Banks). These are grassroots action groups that teach people how to effectively organize and manage their own assets to solve their problems, without having to resort to external aid. They are developed to become "Community Foundations for Economic and Social Justice". INTERFAITH VICOBA are also intended to act as vehicles through which community social services can be channeled.

# The Way Forward:

With a team of staff and volunteers headed by the Secretary General WCRPTZ will, focus on its core purpose and concentrate on five thematic areas; aspire to form a very strong teamwork/partnering between WCRPTZ, FBOs, Donors and other partners at all levels, based on well articulated Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) that explicitly spells out expectations, roles, responsibilities and commitments whose aims are:

- ✓ To ensure that interfaith policy decisions and programs are consistent with stated goals with respect to faith-based and other community initiatives
- ✓ To coordinate civic education activities designed to mobilize public support for interfaith initiatives through volunteerism, special projects, demonstration pilots, and public-private-civic partnerships
- ✓ To advocate for the elimination of unnecessary legislative, regulatory and other bureaucratic barriers that impede effective faith-based efforts to solve critical problems in Tanzania Society
- ✓ To facilitate and support the efforts of faith-based organizations in interfaith dialogue and action, so that they meet high standards of inclusion, excellence and accountability
- ✓ To develop lead, and coordinate the interfaith policy agenda affecting faith based programs and initiatives; increase their capacity through actionresearch; capacity development for empowerment of rights holders and advocacy for engaging and challenging duty bearers, and expand the role of interfaith efforts at all levels, but especially in grassroots communities and districts

✓ To provide education on interfaith dialogue and action to community, district, zonal and national-level policy makers and officials in faith based organizations, seeking ways to empower faith based organizations and groups for interfaith initiatives, and to improve the opportunities, capacity, and expertise of such organizations and groups.

# Mr. Richard Shaba, KAS, Team Leader:



"Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS) is a German political foundation. It operates in more than 120 countries worldwide. The Foundation's headquarters are situated in Sankt Augustin near Bonn in Berlin. KAS started operations in Tanzania in 1964.

"Konrad Adenauer's first Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany. His name and principles are our guidelines, duty and obligations.

"To meet our objectives we work with partners, who are registered Tanzanian NGOs. Our civic education programs aim at promoting freedom and liberty, peace and justice. We focus on consolidating democracy as

well as on development cooperation. As a "think tank" and consulting agency, our soundly researched scientific fundamental concepts and current analyses are meant to offer a basis for possible political action."

Mr. Shaba observed that Tanzania was still struggling for multiparty democracy saying much as the country was multiparty by law, in reality it was still a mono-party state; citing the tendency to monopolise politics by sections of the population and marginalizing the rest.

In Tanzania, he said, we have passive citizens and hence passive democracy, whereas multiparty democracy demands much more than passivity.

With regard to dichotomy between politics and religion, the KAS team leader said that was a myth, because basically politics is everything, adding that religion is for peace just like political parties. To say that religion must remain apolitical did not hold water as "politics was everything".

He underscored the need for both political and religious bodies to work for peace and to eliminate poverty, diseases and injustices in the society. Equally he called for collaborative effort towards peace by eliminating injustices, poverty, insecurity and inequalities.

The emergence of social stratification that leads to inequalities and social insecurity in his view, was a breeding ground for political intolerance. It is important therefore, to practice politics of inclusion rather than exclusion, Mr. Shaba emphized.

He challenged the participants to understand good governance in its broader sense and respond accordingly.

# Appendix 2/ Paper presented

#### THE OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Subject: The Role of Faith Based Organizations in Good

Governance

Date: 24-26 November 2009

Venue: ESRF Hall- Uporoto Street/ Urisino Estate

Presented by: Stephano Zakia

#### 1.0 Introduction

This paper attempts to explore and discuss critically the existing interrelation between politics and faith based organizations with the main focus on the following aspects; historical perspective, the role of faith based organizations in the struggle for independence, the interrelation between the two, the cross-cutting areas where faith based organizations conflict with politics, the moments when political parties want to use the channels of faith based organizations to advance their objectives, and lastly the summary.

# 2.0 Historical Perspectives

Tanzania is known to be an "oasis of peace" on the troubled African continent. With strong political stability, the country can look back on forty years of relative internal peace and stability. No civil wars, no military coups, no state-collapse, no warlords, neither ethnic nor religious, neither political nor social clashes have tormented the country and its people.

The historical development of faith based organizations can be traced back as far as before colonialism. In most pre colonial societies in Tanzania the indigenous beliefs were common and observed in various traditional societies. The first faith to dominate in most parts of coastal areas was the Muslim faith which came with trade between the Middle East and the East African coast residents. The driving force was the Arab traders who came to East Africa.

Although the primary aim of the Arab traders were the products to be found in the area; none-the-less they did contribute to the spread of Islam and Arab culture – especially among the coastal communities. Thus Islam has been in existence in East Africa since the eighth century. With Islam, the slave and ivory trade, emerged the lingua franca, Kiswahili. The language needed then to facilitate trade; is today spoken throughout East and Central Africa and the Swahili culture which is mostly associated with Muslims is dominant along the East African coast. About two-thirds of East Africa's Muslims reside in Tanzania which is the most populous of the East African countries.

During this period the Arab rule did develop trading centers and some basic governing infrastructure.

Between 18<sup>th</sup> - 19 Christianity, was introduced by early missionaries as a new religion in Tanzania. Christianity, although was resisted by Muslims right from the beginning, persisted and spread rapidly in various parts of the country. This rapid spread was possible mainly because Christianity 'started' in areas where the Arab-driven trade had not taken root or never existed. However, there were some exceptions to the rule – Unguja, Tanga, etc.

With the arrival of Christian missionaries most of whom, at the beginning, located themselves mainly in areas with attractive weather to Europeans, Christian converts in those areas had an earlier access to western education and modern economy. Christianity came with the colonial powers of the day – the Germans and after the First World War the British. The co-existence between the colonizers and the colonized was not always a peaceful one.

For instance, the Maji Maji Rebellion, sometimes called the Maji Maji War, was a violent African resistance to colonial rule in the German colony of Tanganyika, an uprising by several Africa indigenous communities in German East Africa against the German rule in response to a German policy designed to force African peoples to grow cotton for export,

lasting from 1905 to 1907. The Germans had a relatively weak hold on German East Africa, but they did maintain a system of forts throughout the interior of the territory and were able to exert some control over it. Since their hold on the colony was weak, they resorted to using violently repressive tactics to control the population.

The insurgents turned to magic to drive out the German colonizers and used it as a unifying force in the rebellion. A spirit medium named Kinjikitile Ngwale claimed to be possessed by a snake spirit called Hongo. Ngwale began calling himself Bokero and developed a belief that the people of German East Africa had been called upon to eliminate the Germans. German anthropologists recorded that he gave his followers war medicine that would turn German bullets into water. This "war medicine" was in fact water (*maji* in Swahili) mixed with castor oil and millet seeds. Empowered with this new liquid, Bokero's followers began what would become known as the Maji Maji Rebellion.

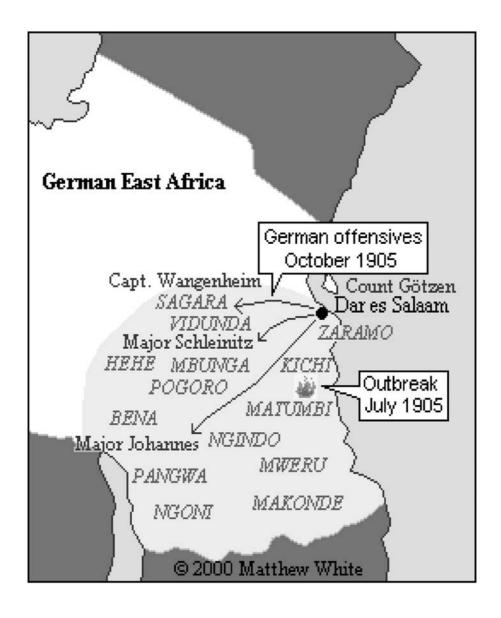
# Maji-Maji Rebellion - German East Africa, 1905-07

The Maji Maji Rebellion was one of the few documented attempts by indigenous people to resist foreign occupation of their land. It did not however, indicate the role played by indigenous beliefs that could be considered the faith based organizations of those days!

The colonial rule however, created an environment whereby faith based organization developed a working-relationship with the colonial power of the day. It must be noted that the working-relationship was more with faith based organization with Christian leaning rather than with non-Christian ones. In general faith based organizations were mainly to be found offering social services – hospitals/clinics; schools; vocational training centers. The output from faith based organizations was more often than not the 'input' for the colonial administrative machinery i.e. employees.

As elites who mastered the colonial master's language and somehow attempted to assimilate his culture, these employees of the colonial administration, who were indigenous, considered themselves 'different' from their fellow indigenous brothers and sisters. At times the 'feeling-of-being-different' assumed over proportionate levels, in cases when the employee [with or without his/her family] were 'awarded' a chance to visit/study in Europe.

The 'training' imparted by the faith based organizations and the opportunities to visit Europe – few as they were - did assist to 'speed up' the nationalistic thinking among the elites. The same was accelerated by the World War Two returnees who had developed a totally different outlook of the world and a different relationship with the colonizers. The two groups could 'communicate' because they were in most cases 'molded' by similar faith based organizations.



# 3.0 The role of faith based organization in Tanzania in the struggle for independence

In my presentation, political struggle is used as a theoretical term; it is not supposed to allude to specific institutional form or a certain political agenda. Struggle is a process, a result of mobilization provoked by some form of resistance. Nevertheless, using terms such as resistance and struggle clearly requires some normative judgement. In our case, the notion of struggle is based on sympathy for mass politics rather than elite politics, widening political participation, and the promotion of socio-economic equality. Consequently, struggle alludes to political mobilization and organization to express and promote demands that are in keeping with these sympathies. Struggle is not used to refer to processes associated with the struggle for spoils.

I shall deliberately avoid the academic distinction between the faith based organizations [FBOs]; non-governmental organizations [NGOs]; and community based organizations [CBOs] – I shall consider all as part of the civil society organizations [CSOs]. I am aware that faith-based organizations is a term encompassing a wide range of institutions that link religion (whether Christianity, Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, or others) with development of the human being. I define faith-based organizations broadly to include the range from places of worship to development organizations with a mission of faith.

Tanzania was a German colony from the 1880's until 1919 under the treaty of Versailles. World War I put an end to all German experiments. The British advance into German territory continued steadily from 1916 until the country was fully occupied. The country subsequently became a British mandate until its independence in 1961, with Julius Nyerere as its first Prime Minister and later the first Tanzanian President. Luckily, there has never been bloodshed in Tanzania as a result of struggle for independence like it was in Kenya and many other African countries.

In 1964, Tanganyika and the Zanzibar Island united forming the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar and later the name was changed to United Republic of Tanzania. To this day, Tanganyika and the Island of Zanzibar are considered as one country. Zanzibar is the collective name of two islands, Unguja and Pemba.

Government-civil society relations – to which the faith based organizations belong - in Tanzania have been shaped by the history and peculiarities of the country. One key factor is the body of policies and laws regulating civil society organizations. These policies and laws are made by the government and accepted – or at least acquiesced to – by the populace. Thus, the regulations guiding civil society not only shape civil society, but also reflect the strength of organized civil society (as the embodiment of non-state actors with their various leanings) *vis-à-vis* the government. An important aspect of the regulation of civil society organizations relates to how far, if at all, the organizations can be political or embark on political programs, whether by way of mere civic education or direct partisan politics.

For much of the colonial era, there was a liberal attitude to associations. As in many other British colonial possessions in Africa, the Lands Perpetual Succession Ordinance liberally facilitated the registration of trustees to hold property on behalf of formally organized associations.

By the early 1950s, the indigenous Africans in the then-British colony of Kenya had begun violent protests – the mau mau rebellion – against alien rule and the expropriation of the best agricultural lands by British settler-farmers. The colonial government responded in a very repressive manner, turning the colony into a police state and enacting the Societies Ordinance. Through the Ordinance, the government imposed elaborate controls on groups and associations. Groups and associations could not be established or operated unless registered by the government, and the government retained unfettered discretion to withdraw registration at any time they require the group or association to disband. The approach was intended to deny, rather than give effect to, freedom of association. Fearing that the violent anti-colonial protests in Kenya could spill across the border into the trust territory of Tanganyika (Mainland Tanzania), the British authorities in 1954 also enacted the Societies Ordinance into law there. In keeping with the mood of the times, the authorities in 1956 repealed the Lands Perpetual Succession Ordinance and replaced it with a more restrictive Trustees Incorporation Ordinance.

After independence in 1961, the Societies Ordinance – an instrument for the oppression of colonial subjects that was clearly unfit for a free and independent people – remained on the statute books. Indeed, by amendment in 1962, the scope of the law widened. So did the ambit of the government's discretion to dissolve any "society" – which now

included any company, partnership, or other association set up to conduct lawful business – where the Home Affairs Minister concluded that the organization was conducting activities predominantly for a purpose other than lawful trade.

The events of January 1964 (revolution in Zanzibar and army mutiny in Tanganyika] made state security a top priority for the Government of Tanzania, and the state sought to absorb or control all virile civil society organizations. All of the country's free and autonomous trade unions, that had come together under the umbrella of the Tanganyika Federation of Labour (TFL), were proscribed later in 1964, and in their stead the Government set up the National Union of Tanzania Workers (NUTA), which was promptly affiliated with the ruling party. By constitutional amendment in 1965, the one-party system was introduced and other parties were proscribed. The Arusha Declaration of 1967, which formally adopted *ujamaa*, a brand of African Socialism, as the path for the country's development, brought further impetus for the absorption of civil society organizations into the party-controlled state. In 1968, all voluntary and independent cooperative societies were proscribed and merged into cooperative movements affiliated with the ruling party. The same fate befell independent women's organizations.

In response to loud demands, in February 1991 a Presidential Commission was set up under the leadership of then-Chief Justice Francis Nyalali to collect the views of citizens and make appropriate recommendations on whether the country should adopt a multiparty system. In a final report submitted in January 1992, the Nyalali Commission recommended the adoption of a multi-party system, as well as (among other things) the repeal of the Societies Ordinance and 39 other laws that it considered impediments to a multi-party system and to human rights. Several of these laws have been repealed or amended, but many observers believe that the Government is reluctant to let go of the sweeping powers conferred by these laws.

In response to demands by activists and the quieter inputs of donors, the Government organized a consultative workshop in May 1996. Attended by representatives of donor agencies, the major NGO umbrella bodies, and Government officials, the workshop set up a National Steering Committee for NGO Policy Formulation. By 1997, the Committee had developed a first draft of the Policy. Other drafts were to follow, with each debated in consultative workshops. It was

the fifth draft, developed in 2000, which was eventually adopted. While critics have questioned the credentials of some NGO representatives who took part in developing the policy, they concede the importance of the fact that NGO representatives participated at all. Remarkably, this was evidently the first major Government-civil society collaboration in policy development in more than 30 years. Accordingly, it probably helped move the Government toward accepting the right of civil society to contribute to policy formulation, and helped civil society actors to build the confidence to engage the Government on other issues.

The Tanzanian NGO Policy indicates that NGOs shall be "non-political," which is explained as follows: "NGOs are organizations that do not seek political power or campaign for any political party." (Paragraph 5.0 (v)).

During the various stages of political development of Tanzania, faith based organization have been playing a vital role - in most cases 'behind the scenes' and not so loud. It is difficult to imagine that the political struggle and mobilization could succeed without the tacit support of leaders of the faith based organizations. At the beginning of the struggle, the citizens were organized around the faith based organizations. It was the form they were familiar with. Being organized around a political entity was not only alien, but also considered dangerous! They could only have left the secure comfort of the known and venture into the 'unknown – i.e. political entities' if assured by the leaders of the faith based organizations of the day. At times, the faith based organizations were the source of moral stability for the respective citizens.

# 4.0 The cross-cutting areas where faith based organizations and politics meet and differ

Faith based organizations and the political entities serve the citizen of Tanzania. Conceptually they will be at different poles when it comes to command loyalty of the citizen; to determine who should control and divided the 'national cake': and who should manage the state affairs on behalf of the citizen [i.e. rule].

By nature both faith based organizations and political entities promote love, unity, progress, development and peace. Methodologies towards the stated objectives do vary. In the process of heading for the objectives intended and unintended outcomes are encountered. Depending on the

outcome the meeting between faith based organizations and political entities might be peaceful; hostile or simply at logger-heads due to misconceptions.

The faith based organizations' communication machinery is a powerful advocacy and sensitization tool. The faith based organizations leaders are aware of this fact. They are also aware that political entities are drawn to it irresistibly. To date the faith based organizations have successfully, to a very great extent, managed to resist the 'advances' by political entities.

However, whenever the leaders of faith based organizations make use of the communication machinery; the political entities perceive it as 'interference' by faith based organizations into the political domain! By their very nature, faith based organizations cannot support corruption, poor governance, poverty, great income disparities, inequality etc. When their members suffer any of the above ills, it is inevitable that their leaders would become vocal. Amazingly, it is the political entities that promise the citizens the opposite of the above-mentioned ills. Thus, when the promises are not met, the pressure builds up against the political entities. Once under pressure, they might misconstrue statements made by leaders of faith based organizations.

# 5.0 The moments when political entities 'use' the channels of faith based organizations

During political campaigns, political entities tend to develop political manifesto, which become their beacon. The manifesto details the declarations and plans a political entity has to better the lives of the citizen, if voted in. Once voted in the citizens await the fulfillment of the promises made by the politicians. In the event of failure on the part of the political entity to deliver what was promised; for whatever reason – the communication between the political entity and the citizens is constrained. In such circumstances the political entity shall try to use traditional leaders or leaders of faith based organizations to activate the communication lines.

At occasions when political entities fall into disgrace in the eyes of the citizens; they usually try to 'cleanse' themselves through the support of traditional leaders and/or leaders of faith based organizations.

# 6.0 Summary

This paper attempted to explore and discuss critically the existing interrelation between politics and faith based organizations in Tanzania. It noted that the historical development of faith based organizations can be traced back as far as before colonialism. The first faith to dominate the most part of the coastal area was the Muslim faith which came with traders playing between the Middle East and the East African coasts. The driving force was the Arab traders who came to East Africa.

Between 18<sup>th</sup> - 19 Christianity, was introduced by early missionaries as a new religion in Tanganyika. Christianity came with the colonial powers of the day – the Germans and after the First World War the British. The co-existence between the colonizers and the colonized was not always a peaceful one - For instance, the Maji Maji Rebellion.

The colonial rule however, created an environment whereby faith based organizations developed a working-relationship with the colonial power of the day. In general, faith based organizations were mainly to be found offering social services. The output from faith based organizations was more often than not the 'input' for the colonial administrative machinery i.e. employees.

Tanganyika subsequently became a British mandate until its independence in 1961. Luckily, there was no bloodshed in this country as a result of struggle for independence.

As clearly stated Government-Civil Society relationship – to which the faith based organizations belong - in Tanzania have been shaped by the history and peculiarities of the country.

Finally, of great interest is the observation that in the event of failure on the part of the political entity to make good campaign promises; for whatever reason – the communication between the political entity and the citizens is constrained. In such circumstances the political entity shall try to use the traditional leaders or leaders of faith based organizations to maintain the communication lines between them and the citizens.

Similarly, in moments when political entities fall into disgrace in the eyes of the citizens; they shall try to 'cleanse' themselves through the support of traditional leaders and/or leaders of faith based organizations.

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# WORLD CONFERENCE ON RELIGION AND PEACE TANZANIA (WCRPTZ), IN COLLABORATION WITH KONRAD ADENAUER STIFTUNG (KAS).

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS WHO ATTENDED INTERFAITH DIAOLOGUE ON ROLE OF FAITH BASED ORGANIZATIONS IN GOOD GOVERNANCE IN TANZANIA, HELD AT ESRF CONFERENCE CENTRE, IN DAR ES SALAAM 24 – 26 NOVEMBER, 2009.

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