LEADERSHIP AND DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE: THE CASE OF TANZANIA

Lenny B. Kasoga, Ph.D.

Abstract: The development of democracy in Tanzania can be traced to the struggle for independence between 1954-1961, when a multi-party law and constitution was inherited that in 1965 was changed to a single party system that lasted for 27 years. In 1992 the multi-party system was restored. The leadership principles that guide democratic governance in Tanzania entail transparency and accountability, while the democratization process is based on the moral principles of human respect, human dignity, equality, unity, justice and peoplecentred development. The paper analyzes and discusses the set of leadership principles that can guide democracy in Tanzania, a country in the Great Lakes Region (GLR) in the process of promoting good governance.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to analyze and discuss the set of leadership principles, which can guide democratic governance in Tanzania as one of the countries in the Great Lakes Region (GLR) and to examine the issues of corruption and transparency. The process of democratization in Tanzania can be traced to the independence struggle, which campaigned for national freedom (uhuru) on the moral principles of human respect, dignity, equality, unity, justice and people-centered development through peaceful methods. The Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) born in July 1954 was able to attain independence in 1961. From the outset TANU associated the freedom to choose as the essence of democracy. According to the late Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere, democracy is faith in a man's common sense, the will of the people and the faith in people whereby the majority elect freely their representatives with the freedom and habit of discussing issues to reach an agreement after debate.1

Before independence, Tanganyika was by law and constitution a multi-party state, thus in the

parliamentary elections held in 1958, 1959 and multi-party contest, in overwhelmingly defeated the multiracial United Tanganyika Party (UTP), AMNUT and the African National Congress (ANC). Finally, in the first 1962 Presidential election matching TANU and ANC, Nyerere a charismatic popular leader soundly defeated Zuberi Mtemvu who only obtained 2 percent of the votes. A few other political parties were formed, such as the People's Democratic Party (PDP), and African Independence Movement (AIM). However, Tanganyika became a de facto one-part state in 1963. In Zanzibar the political parties were the Afro-Shiraz Party (ASP), Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP), the Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party (ZPPP) and the short-lived UMMA Party. Both Tanganyika and Zanzibar inherited the British Westminister model of a parliamentary system of government. In Zanzibar three elections were held, in 1957 they were not controversial, but hostilities begun in 1958. Pre independence divisions of January/June 1961 and July 1963 demonstrated acute ethnic and racial divisions that led to the 1964 Revolution. Following the union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar in 1964, the interim constitution of 1965 provided voters with a choice between two

Lecturer, Department of Economics, University of Dar es Salaam.

candidates within the one party system. The dictum of the one party system prevented candidates from seeking to win the favors of voters by serving beer and banned speeches playing on racial or religious feelings. In February 1967 the Arusha Declaration marked a turning point as the policy of socialism and self-reliance or *Ujamaa* was adopted, as the most outstanding political and economic development programme for emancipating the country from exploitation, be it from feudalism or capitalism.² The intention was total liberation:

We have been oppressed a great deal, we have been exploited a great deal and we have been disregarded a great deal. It is our weakness that has led to our being oppressed, exploited and disregarded. Now we want a revolution — a revolution, which brings to an end our weakness, so that we are never again exploited, oppressed, or humiliated.³

The introduction of political reforms followed immediately after Mwalimu Nyerere's retirement in 1985. The IMF and World Bank conditions for structural adjustment were aimed at dismantling socialism by adopting liberalization or free enterprise, hence empowering a very weak private sector. Thus privatization opened the economy through the back door for foreign domestic investment, that ultimately shall lead to exploitation and foreign domination negating the essence of freedom and equality. The changes from one party to multi-party were necessitated by the following factors: the recommendation of the Nyalali Commission's proposal to change the political structure from one party to a multi-party system. Mwalimu Nyerere supported this proposal because he felt that a good opposition party capable of leading the country would force Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) leadership to clean up tendencies of dictatorship, corruption, the culture of fearing leaders, pomposity and arrogance that threatened real democracy within the party and government.4 Other factors include the 1989 collapse of the Soviet Union, the

development of un-polar system headed by the United States of America and the demand for good governance associated with multi-party (Westiminter model) system. Reforms culminated in the adoption of multi-party politics in 1992, which opened a new chapter in political, social and economic development in the country embedded in the liberal principles, namely, personal freedom, private property, right to organize, constitutional state and liberty, democracy, free market economy and the rule of law.⁵

OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The objective of this paper is to analyze the relationship between democracy and economic development and discuss the role of leadership with respect to qualifications, culture, the political system, freedom of speech, press and how they relate to corruption, lack of transparency, accountability and the rule law. The level of education, wealth, experience and morals or ethics; to what extent do they contribute to one's ability to demand justice and equality before the law? Can democracy thrive in a country full of illiterates? What is the relationship between poverty and democracy or lack of democracy? Can a multi-party structure guarantees democracy and unity while safeguarding the constitution and just laws?

Democracy Defined

The question of good governance is directly related to democracy that requires sound economic and social policies for sustainable development. The development of democracy entails sovereignty and human dignity in a system of government with power vested in the people who freely elect their representatives. Good governance means that responsibility and political power is discharged in an effective, efficient, transparent, and accountable manner

on behalf of the public/citizens or electorate. Therefore, democracy and good governance are intertwined and constitute the rule of law, respect for human rights, equal opportunity, respect for different views of opinion, freedom of speech and association and freedom of the press. The concept of democracy is based on a consent given freely or through persuasion but not coercion. According to Locke (1966: 49)

When any number of men have so consented to make a community or government, they are thereby presently incorporated, and make one body politic, wherein the majority have the right to act and conclude the rest.'6

A democratic system exhibits the following features: a constitution that has checks and balances between the Executive, Legislature, the independent Judiciary, a civil service ready to serve any elected political party, a degree of political openness; all accountable to the public in order to prevent corruption and enhance accountability. Therefore the government is freely elected by the people, under the provision of holding regular elections as a barometer for measuring the performance by those in power whether they are able to execute and implement their election manifestos. Hence encompassing the definition of Abraham Lincoln a 'Government of the people, by the people, for the people'. According to John Stuart Mill, participation by the citizens in the political life leads to the highest harmonious expansion of individual capacities. His vision was one of a representative government in which the maximum freedom of the citizens required a limitation on the scope of the state's activity.7

Tanzania's Leadership and Democratic Record

Good leadership is very critical for building democratic processes, which are relevant to a young developing. Tanzania was fortunate to have Nyerere, whose style of leadership was antiauthoritarian and one which encouraged a degree of collective leadership and participation by the people. As a TANU leader and President, he ensured that his own actions and that of the party proclaimed ideals such as democracy, equality and non-racism. The TANU/CCM constitution abhorred corruption, which was described as the enemy of justice and members were expected not to bribe or take bribe. He enshrined them in the constitution as a meaningful part of a 'National Ethic' and built the political culture that promoted unity, justice, human respect and human dignity that emerged in Tanzania.8

Nyerere had a deep nationalistic spirit and a desire to initiate the liberation of the economy from what he believed was foreign domination by capitalist interests maintained through neocolonialism. He fulfilled his desire with the Arusha Declaration of 1967, the goal was developing a state in which all people were workers, a classless society in which the incomes derived from different types of work were not grossly divergent.9 To him democracy was equated to equity and justice. Liberating the economy from foreign domination and empowering the masses was paramount during Nyerere's leadership who wanted the nation to run while the West (capitalist countries) walked. The government developed a distinct pattern of leadership that emphasized central planning and collective/cooperative ownership to improve the welfare of the masses. Education, health and other social services were provided by the government, however due to internal and external factors (not the focus of this paper), the goal of building socialism was abandoned following Nyerere's retirement.

Restoration of the Multi-Party System

The political reforms culminated in the adoption of multi-party system following the Political

Parties Act that came into operation on 1st July 1992. The first multi-party elections were held on 29th October 1995, in which thirteen political parties participated.10 Rigid conditions for registration were specified for parties not to be based on tribe, religion, gender or race and were required to recruit their members from both sides of the Union. Many newspapers sprang up with various radio stations and TV stations as part of the freedom of press. The process was rather different from what Mwalimu Nyerere had envisioned regarding organizing democracy on the basis of a large number of parties.

....It is absurd that democracy is to be based upon the number of parties, of course we are learning. And we have some clever leaders in Africa – they will give you the parties and remain in power....We tried to build democracies without democrats.11

The political parties in Tanzania were started for the following reasons:

a) Donor-funded or promoted;

b) Some were encouraged by CCM as agents;

c) Some as genuine alternatives to CCM;

d) Some because of long time opposition to Mwalimu Nyerere.

The registered political parties so far include:

1. Tanzania Peoples Party (TPP)

2. Civic United Front (CUF)

3. Chama Cha Demokrasia Na Maendeleo (CHADEMA)

4. National Convention for Construction and

Reform (NCCR-MAGEUZI 5. The Union for Multiparty Democracy (UMD)

6. National League for Democracy (NLD) 7. United People Democracy Party (UPDP)

8. National Reconstruction Alliance (N.R.A)

9. Popular National Party (PONA) 10. Tanzania Democratic Party Alliance Party (TADEA)

11. Tanzania Labor Party (TLP)

12. The United Democratic Party (UDP) and 13. Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) the ruling party.

There were several political parties that obtained provisional registration, namely: Demokrasia Makini; Democratic Party (DP); while Harakati za Mabadiliko Sahihi (HAMASA) and SAFINA or JAHAZI from Zanzibar failed to meet the criteria for permanent registration. The opposition parties that won parliamentary seats, hence representation in Parliament receive government subsidies.

Ali Hassan Mwinyi was elected in 1985 as President. In order to please the masses, he allowed excessive freedom as a license (ruksa), which led to an increase in corruption, mismanagement, tax exemptions, tax evasion, and excessive reliance on the donor community. He flip flopped on the constitutional issue regarding the Government of Zanzibar's move to join the Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC) and yielded to an attempt to form a federal state constituting three governments. Therefore, the Union Government faced a constitutional and leadership crisis compounded by economic decline as donors withdrew aid concerned about the Government's inability to collect taxes.

Leadership qualifications were also eroded as contesting for parliament seats and other government posts were no longer monitored for good qualities of leadership, but rather one's financial ability to bribe his/her way to get elected to office. The Zanzibar Resolution of 1992 eliminated the Arusha Declaration leadership guidelines, that among others placed emphasis on patriotism, commitment, honesty, objectivity and acceptance of the rules and regulations of CCM that objected to the association of a leader with practices of capitalism or feudalism that promote corruption.12

POLITICAL LIBERALIZATION AND RULE OF LAW

The political climate in Tanzania has changed considerably in the past twenty years, as the political transition headed by the old generation of political leaders are reforming, while trying to maintain the old status quo by clinging on to power. The advocacy of multi-party structures is important for good governance, only if it ensures that necessary changes are made to the constitution and other laws in order to protect and preserve the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Among the critical areas that require constitutional amendments include an independent electoral commission and voters' register to prevent election irregularities and riggings.

Constitutions of political parties are never adhered to during elections, thus denying members a level playing ground and transparency, which are essential for candidates and voters democratic rights. The problem of secrecy, intimidation, fear and lack of transparent procedures for nominating candidates demoralizes party members and negates the essence of democracy, which requires a level playing ground for all aspirants to compete openly for any post based on their credentials and appeal. Democracy within political parties has continued to deteriorate due to lack of the culture of open debates, arrogance and fear for offending party leaders, whom without their support one's chances for getting elected may wither away. In Mwalimu Nyerere's words "To oppose leaders with a common stance needs great courage, because whoever dares to do so appears like a heretic or traitor.'13

Although the existence of political parties is seen as a basic requirement for multi-party democratic process, the internal party squabbles, factions, lack of funds and fights over government subsidies appear to have diminished the strength of multi-party democracy, which has considerably

weakened the opposition parties. The aspect of political competition and citizen's ability to express their preferences for the opposition is more pronounced in Kilimanjaro Region, Kagera, Kigoma, Bariadi and Zanzibar where opposition members of parliament seats are numerous. Harassment by the police either involving journalists or opposition leaders or lack of access to the media discourage free participation and dynamism of democracy. Ignorance, lack of civil/ ideological education, greed, patronization culture, opportunistic behavior, poverty and concentration of power hamper liberty, thus the organizational structure merely pay lip service to democracy. Bribing voters with kangas, vitenges, pilau, money and other inducements have led serious people to consider Tanzania's democracy as not based on issues, but rather what candidates can offer when seeking election or re-election. Within parties there are those who consider themselves as the owners, hence the tendency towards nepotism, tribalism, religious affiliation and opinion makers who market candidates who have money or closely related to them. Consequently, the concept of leaders being the servants of the people may rapidly vanish.

The Multi-Party Elections of 1995 and 2000

The first multi-party election results of 1995 gave the CCM candidate B.W. Mkapa who ran against three opposition candidates a resounding victory of 61.8% of all Union votes cast, while NCCR's candidate, A. Mrema came in second with 27.8%. However, both the 1995 and 2000 elections exposed Tanzania's vulnerability to multi-party democracy, especially in Zanzibar where the hostilities that had been forced underground under the one party system resurfaced with vigour. The electoral contest between the ruling party, CCM and the major opposition party CUF in the 1995 and 2000 general elections, based on official results, the

CCM presidential candidate won by a narrow margin of 50.2 percent, while CUF candidate received 48.8 percent. CUF refused to recognize Dr. Salmin Armour as President of Zanzibar, and CUF elected members of the House of Representatives and Local Councils boycotted their respective bodies. The high-water mark of the political conflict was the January 26/27 killings. Government sources put the figure of those killed at 23 CUF members, or supporters/ demonstrators. CUF sources claimed that over 70 people were killed, hundreds injured, and more than 2,200 fled to Mombasa, Kenya as political refugees. This episode under President Mkapa's leadership threatened the political stability of Tanzania.14

Among the causes of the crisis are a complex interplay of historical, socio-political, economic and legal factors. According to the Presidential Commission of Inquiry into the January 26/27 killings, one of the key causes was the mistrust between CCM and CUF leaders on the Isles. Historically, ASP and ZNP opposed each other based on race, while a number of the prominent leaders of the latter were of Arab origin and had in the past fully identified with the Sultan's family and maintained ties with the Arab world. Therefore, CCM fears the possibility of revenge, while CUF fears that CCM leaders do not and have no intention of surrendering power. 15 The Possibility of another round of conflict resulting from the forthcoming 2005 elections may destroy the "Muafaka"/Accord II," some of which has not been implemented and may not, before elections. For example, compensation to those who lost relatives and those who fled to Mombasa, Kenya and lost property as a result has yet to be implemented.

Other arguments include the Union Constitution of 1977 and the Zanzibar Constitution of 1984, that the Exercise of State Authority of the United Republic Act No. 15 of 1984 regarding Union and Non-union matters

provided in Article 4(3) curtails the autonomy of the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar. in dealing with non-Union matters. 16 Professor Haroub Othman points to the merger between TANU and ASP that formed CCM as a panterritorial party that render Zanzibar representation, not decisive. Example imclude Aboud Jumbes's forced resignation in 1984 by the National Executive Committee (NEC) members (the majority from Mainland) and the appointment of Ali Hassan Mwinyi as an Interim President and later nominated as the President of Zanzibar - the forum was not from Zanzibar. Other incidents that were employed by the Mainland as a trump card, was the dismissal from CCM of Seif Shariff Hamad, Khatib Hassan. Shaban Mloo and others accused of planning to break up the Union as among the unresolved issues which are:

- 1. Whether the 'Articles of Union' of 1964 provided for a federation, that is three governments (of Tanganyika, of Zanzibar, and a federal) or only two governments as presently exist;
- 2. Since the Union Government is also the government for the Mainland in non-Union matters, does this not give the impression that Mainland is the Union?
- 3. Does Zanzibar get a fair share in the distribution of benefits coming from the Union?
- 4. Is Zanzibar well represented in the diplomatic service?
- 5. Does Zanzibar get a fair share of foreign aid coming to Tanzania?
- 6. Since the people of Zanzibar were not consulted at the time of the formation of the Union, should there not be a referendum now to ascertain whether the people wanted the Union or not?

Mwalimu Nyerere considered the Union as a remarkable achievement when he observed that:

Tanzania is a very rare pearl in the history of free Africa...we constructed it (the Union) ourselves, voluntarily, and without being forced into doing so by anyone. There are some very strange Tanzanians who say that that decision, or the means employed to implement it, or the process used – or all of these things were not legal. They have no doubt about the legality of Tanganyika, which was created by the Germans and split up later by the British and their allies (Rwanda and Burundi). Who can fail to see that, when the need arises to change the structure of our Union of Two Governments, the history of our Party will lead us to a structure of One Government?¹⁷

Mwalimu felt that so long as the real problems of the Union were neither discussed nor given any attention, ill-intentioned people of the Mainland and Zanzibar who wished to be used to break up the country could continue to be used to that end. He took pride in the fact that all of the youth were born during the Union and therefore knew nothing but the Union under which they grew to adulthood. The country is respected the world over, inside and outside Africa. However, in the absence of good leadership, cohesion and direction, the vacuum and vacillation regarding Union problems could be filled with rotten corpses, inviting hyenas and flies to cause bad fruits of leadership to restore tribalism, religious differences, and racism.

Therefore the six issues raised by Professor Othman can be discussed democratically, in order to strengthen the Union, in terms of the distribution of resources based on endowment, experience, qualifications, population and other relevant factors. Indeed, it appears that the country has adopted capitalism without stating it openly, because the constitution recognizes socialism. Is capitalism experimental and how does one justify building socialism when the economic system, policies and laws are enacted to protect what under socialism would be regarded as exploitation, has abandoned

planning, equity and regulatory functions that would otherwise guarantee social fairness?

IMPACT OF ECONOMIC FACTORS ON DEMOCRACY

Democracy depends on economic development, which entails growth in GDP accompanied with equitable distribution. Increasing production of goods and services creates employment, hence the flow of income enabling people to exchange their produce thus improving their standards of living in the long run. Various sectors are involved and require coordination, in particular the availability of human resources, technology, institutions and capital. The availability of infrastructure such as roads, clean water, schools, clinics, banks and equipment are essential for creating a conducive environment for economic development. The culture, socio-political and historical background determines the outcome based on the objectives and goals desired.

Achieving independence according to Nyerere, was equivalent to regaining one's right to his land. The next step was to develop that land, a process that required good leadership, good policies, the people and land all of which entailed hard work. Nyerere was at the same time preoccupied with Africa's liberation struggle, coordinating the frontline states to crush the vestiges of colonialism from the continent of Africa, an undertaking that cost the country dearly. During his rule, he emphasized education which was provided free of charge to eliminate ignorance, poverty and disease. International and internal events compounded by lack of foreign exchange as stated above caused economic problems. Following his retirement, the government accepted IMF conditions under Mwinyi's presidency.18

The privatization, liberalization and marketorientation accompanied with globalization and multi-party democracy based on free trade and competition, have totally dismantled socialism resulting in selling off gold, diamond, and Tanzanite mines, parastatals, banks and hotels etc, to foreigners who are now milking the economy of Tanzania. This process has enhanced corruption that cannot be traced because of commissions, poverty eradication NGOs etc, consequently patriotism has declined, while the gap between the 'haves' and the 'have not' continues to widen. This is a new chapter in the history of Tanzania.

Nyerere said 'whoever pays the piper picks the tone,' the people of Tanzania desire development, but given the current state of Tanzania's infrastructure, both in physical and in institutional terms, getting rid of government from promoting public investments and instead relying on private foreign investment and the infant poverty stricken domestic private sector is clearly not the answer. Ensuring collective leadership and preventing any individual from monopolizing the economy and political power is important for creating a functioning economy that can provide development for the people, rather than taking pride in GDP growth rates that enhance foreign exploitation of mineral resources and the people.

The failure on the part of the Mkapa regime to implement the recommendations of the Warioba Report on the Commission on Corruption issued in November 1996 indicates how difficult it is to stump out corruption in Tanzania. The report was very specific and indeed mentioned government procurement procedures (a) direct purchase (b) quotation (c) tendering (d) construction contracts (e) taxation departments (f) lands and the loopholes as requiring transparency in order to combat corruption. The sale of government parastatals and mining operations may in the future require revisiting to uncover what really occurred.

The current liberalization policies are creating classes within Tanzania, increasing crime and immorality that have planted seeds of tribalism,

religious bigotry, regionalism and racism. Public parastatals could have been allowed to earn their legitimate place in the economy by competing with private businesses. However providing monopolies to foreign-owned corporations without any possibility of facing internal competition is a negation of democracy and amounts to self-marginalzation in the face of globalization. As Nyerere said, foreigners will eventually install candidates of their choice in power to guard their interests. The leadership in Tanzania should concern itself with the situation in which the centres of political power. economic power and real power are not in the hands of foreigners. Developing the country ought to be inclusive, rather than focusing on GDP growth rates that may reflect exploitation, which is embodied in capitalism.

CONCLUSION

This paper set out to discuss the role of a set of leadership principles, which could guide democratic governance in Tanzania a country in GLR, by examining issues of democracy and good governance, corruption and transparency. It traced the historical and political perspectives from independence to date. The quality of good leadership as discussed above depends on patriotism, commitment, dedication and collective leadership, which is the essence of democracy that requires free and full participation of the majority to choose and elect representatives who are accountable and transparent.

Democracy depends on economic development and growth, which requires democratic pluralism and tolerance. The experience in Tanzania shows that dependence has negated democracy by denying the masses the right to decide what ought to be done with their mineral resources, hence the invitation of foreign ownership that will ultimately lead to loss of freedom to elect leaders who can protect their interests.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Corry, J.A. and Hodgetts, J.E. (1963); Democratic Government and Politics, University of Toronto Press, Totonto, Canada.
- ESAURP, The Road to Democracy, Tema Publishers Company Ltd. Dar-es-salaam, Tanzania.
- Kasoga, Lenny B. (1990), "An Evaluation of Ujamaa Village Policy: A Case Study of Musoma Vijijini District in Tanzania." Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI, USA.
- Lumbuka, Land Mtaki, C. (1996), Liberal Principles for Tanzania, Free Market Development Society (FREMADESO) AMREF, Dar-es-salaam, Tanzania.
- Maliyamkono, T.L. (1995); The Race for the Presidency, Tanzania Publishing House Ltd., Dar-es-salaam, Tanzania.
- MNF, (2001); "Muafaka wa Kisiasa Baina ya CCM na CUF wa Kumaliza Mgogoro wa Kisiasa Zanzibar,." Dar-es-salaam, Tanzania.
- Nyerere, Julius Kambarage. (1968); Freedom and Unity, Oxford University Press, Dar-es-salaam.
- Nyerere, Julius Kamabarage. (1995); Our Leadership and the Destiny of Tanzania, African Publishing Group, Harare, Zimbabwe.
- Obasanjo, Olusegun and Mosha, Felix G.N.(1993); Africa: Rise to Challenge, Africa Leadership Forum, New York, USA.
- Othman, Haroub and Mlimuka, Aggrey, (1990); "The Political and Constitutional Development of Zanzibar and Case Studies of the 1985 General Elections" Dares-salaam University Press, Dar-es-salaam, Tanzania.
- Othman, Haroub. (2004), "Fourty Years of the Union: Is it Withering Away?" Institute of Development Studies, University of Dar-es-salaam.
- TEMCO, (2000); The 2000 General Election in Tanzania. TEMCO, Dar-es-salaam, Tanzania.
- Presidential Commission of Inquiry Against Corruption, (1996) "Report on the Commission on Corruption Vol. 1 and 2." Dar-es-salaam, Tanzania.
- Svendsen, Knud Eric and Teisen, Merete (1969), Self-Reliant Tanzania, Tanzania Publishing House Ltd. Dar-es-salaam, Tanzania.

END NOTES

- Nyerere, Freedom and Unity p. 27
- Svendsen & Teisen, Self-reliant Tanzania p. 135, 139, 148.
- ³ *Ibd.* P. 187.
- Nyerere, Our Leadership and The Destiny of Tanzania p. 89.
- 5 Lwambuka & Mtaki, Liberal Principles for Tanzania p. 1.
- Corry and Hodgetts (1963), Democratic Government and Politics. P.49.
- ⁷ ESAURP, The Road to Democracy. p.1
- 8 Svendsen & Teisen, Self-reliant Tanzania. p. 135
- Yasoga, "An Evaluation of the Ujamaa Village Policy in Tanzania, 1974-1987" p. 32.
- 10 Lwambuka & Mtaki, p. 29
- Obasanjo & Mosha, Africa: Rise to Challenge. p 256.
- Maliyamkono, The Race for the Presidency p. 28-29.
- Nyerere, Our Leadership and the Destiny of Tanzania. P. 87.
- 14 TEMCO. The 2000 General Election in Tanzania.
- 15 MNF 2001: 5-6
- Othman, H. and Mlimuka, "The Political and Constitutional Development of Zanzibar and Case Studies of the 1985 General Elections."
- Nyerere, Our Leadership and the Destiny of Tanzania. P.79, 81.
- Sahn, Adjusting to Policy Failure in African Economies. P. 272.
- 19 Presidential Commission on Corruption, "Report on the Commission on Corruption 1 and 2.".