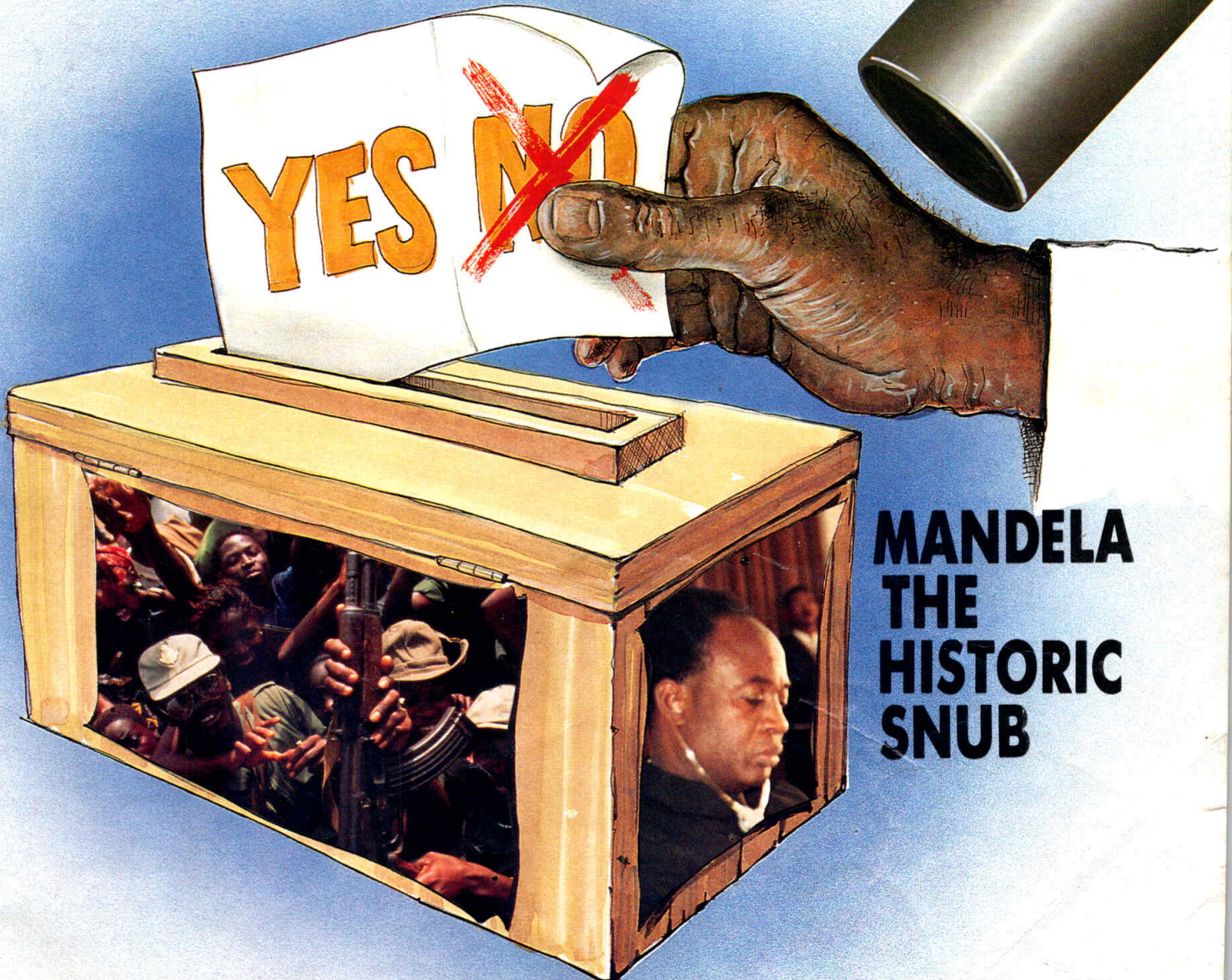


AFRICA EVENTS



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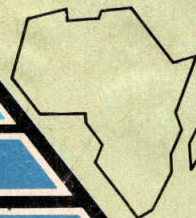
THE ONE PARTY SYNDROME



MANDELA THE HISTORIC SNUB

ALGERIA	AD8	ETHIOPIA	EB4	LIBERIA	£2.00	MIGERIA	N1.50	TANZANIA	Tsh20
ANGOLA	KW60	GAMBIA	D3	MALAWI	MK1.50	SEYCHELLES	SR15	UGANDA	Ush400
BELGIUM	FR60	W.GERMANY	DM4.50	MALTA	C45	SIERRA LEONE	Le2	UK	80p
BOTSWANA	P1.50	GHANA	C20	MAURITIUS	MR25	SOMAIA	Ssh15	USA	\$2.50
CANADA	C\$3	KENYA	KSh20	MOROCCO	MD8	SUDAN	SE1.50	ZAMBIA	ZK1.50
EGYPT	EE1.00	LESOTHO	M1.5	MOZAMBIQUE	MT60	SWAZILAND	E1.50	ZIMBABWE	Z\$1.30

AFRICA EVENTS



- 3 Contents
- 4 Editorial
- 5 Grapevine

●CONTINENT

- 7 Tanzania: Stepping into Nyerere's Shoes
The Challenge Ahead
- 9 Kenya: Yet Another Rumpus
- 11 South Africa:
Mandela Spurs Pretoria's Offer
- 14 Whizz Kid is Zaire's Top Diplomat

●SPECTRUM

- 15 The Trust That is Islam
- 17 There is More to Vision
Than Meets The Eye
- 19 Ugandan Women Organise

●COVER STORY

- 20 The One Party Syndrome
Leader Knows Best
- 22 Zimbabwe: The One Party Road
- 24 Ghana: In Search of Democracy
- 26 Is Democracy Inevitable in West Africa?

●SPECIAL REPORT

- 32 Cameroon:
Trauma in the Land of Shrimps

●ECONOMY

- 36 Somalia Bows to IMF
- 37 A Matter of Taste
- 38 Britain's Best Face
- 39 Sudan Holds Out the Begging Bowl
- 40 Closing the Gulf
- 41 Shop Talk

●MAMBO

- 42 The Ball and The Circle
- 45 Dikko Kidnap: The Inside Story

●SPECIAL REPORT

- 48 Africa's Cricketers Face the Test

●ENVIRONMENT

- 51 Rwanda: Time Runs Out
- 52 Disasters: Acts of God & Acts of Man

●MEDIA

- 53 West African Press Under Seige

●SANAA

- 54 Poetry: We Hunger While You Plunder
- 55 Literature: Interview with Eldred Jones
- 56 Books

- 58 Ethiopia Fights For Its Lost Heritage

●BABU

- 62 Make Africa a Nuclear Free Zone

●GUEST COLUMN

- 64 Affluent Absconders

●HUMAN RIGHTS

- 66 Africa Tortures, Canada Heals



●Babu p.62



●Cover Story p.20



●Salim p.7



●Vision p.17

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HEIRS AND INCUMBANTS

Old Mzee Jomo Kenyatta didn't wrestle with the summons when it was served upon him. He took it in his octogenarian stride. Unlike his peers he had lived to an ancient age. Power and fame he has had a plenty and there was little the world could offer that he couldn't reject without as much as a second thought. So when a heart surgeon, a friend of a friend, sent word thru' that the next heart attack might be his last he in turn summons a farewell family gathering. And the issues came from near and far to look upon the Old Mzee before he takes the long journey to his ancestors.

A few years earlier, Kenyatta had loftily stood back when the issue of who succeeds him came up. Influential not to say ambitious MPs had launched a well-girded campaign to block his Vice President for twelve years from automatically becoming Kenya's second head of state. Partly out of raw envy that masquerades so often in political contests as noble intention and also partly out of deeply held convictions that one of their number would perform the office infinitely better.

Kenyatta's attitude scotched the initiative by referring to the provisions of the constitution. His Attorney-General weighed in with appropriate schedule of penalties for those who persisted. The heirs inapparent put down their heads, and the path was paved for perhaps one of the smoothest transfer of power Africa ever saw. Not that second and third attempts weren't made. They were but they were all pre-empted.

For a while, Kenya was held up as a hard act to follow. But then Leopold Sedar Senghor and Abdou Diouf came on the scene and upstaged the Kenyans. It is churlish to suggest, as it had often been suggested, that neither Kenya nor Senegal would have managed such a delicate manoeuvre without a little help from friends. Even if that were so, it shouldn't necessarily detract from their success. Of course, there have been more. The most spectacular being that of Somalia and Mauritius. In both cases the ballot was allowed to be the final arbiter. Before it Aden Abdullah Usman and Sir Sewoosagur Ramgoolam bowed out in honour and dignity. They showed that it is quite possible for one to show less appetite for power without being written off as some kind of fainthearted *je ne sais quoi*. Today they are cheered when they come out in public. These object lessons come especially to mind in this season of successions.

More by coincidence than design at least 7 African states are this year already looking past the incumbent. Who will take the place of the founding

father in Tanzania, the Comoros, Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast or Liberia is a moot question.

But things have begun to stir in Tanzania. Julius Nyerere has said quite categorically that he is stepping down come October. He has always been saying that he has little taste for kingdoms and has little intention to found a dynasty. President Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast, on the other hand, has been holding his cards close to the chest. But he too has been making pregnant gestures he is about to leave - his own way. Houphouet-Boigny has been disposing family assets. In Comoros, the matter will be decided between the Merchants of Moroni and a brood of mercenaries. Siaka Stevens is saying one thing and another that suggests Sierra Leone is in for a long farewell of the type that Ahmadou Ahidjo tried to mount but couldn't quite pull off in Cameroon because Paul Biya didn't let him.

Succession is not easy even in countries with a hard won tradition of peaceful transfer of power. Western Europe, the US and India, for example, promote the illusion of automatic ease. In fact it is a drawn out affair and much more complex than the external ceremonial drills indicate.

A number of factors compound the problems of automatic power-hand-overs in Africa. Too often incumbents overstay their welcome and having missed the chance of leaving while there was still time, find there is no time and none in the future.

Quite familiar is the hesitant leader who at the beginning was unwilling to handle power, who has to be persuaded to do so, who got addicted to it, who having been elected by men, became quite convinced he is in fact God's own vicar on earth. Such incumbents are irremovable except "with a bullet through their head" as the hapless Zambian son memorably observed.

A much more convincing deterrent against timely hand-over is the fate awaiting the incumbent without a crown. African leaders may not have had high regard for Emperor Jean Bedel Bokassa, but they must recognise sense whoever utters it. When the French were talking him out of his palace he said he would be last to collude in his removal. Why? asked the French presidential emissary. Because I don't want to end as the Fulbert Youlou the prelate-President who passed his last days as the paripatetic tenant of airport benches. Ever since the line has been repeated with reverence people reserve for pearls of wisdom. It carries with it the fear of all men who must live their lives in the loneliness of power and powerlessness●

STEPPING INTO NYERERE'S SHOES

The question in the mind of every Tanzanian is what will happen when President Julius Nyerere steps down this year. The president has firmly indicated that 1985 is going to be his last year as president of Tanzania.

He has been in power since 1961, when the mainland part of the United Republic of Tanzania gained independence from Britain. At 63 he is not so old and still has the physical and mental power to carry on. If one recalls that there are countries being run by people in their 70s and 80s, then he is a mere sapling; and as the Koreans say, youth starts at 60.

No one yet knows who the successor will be. There is much speculation and many names are being tossed back and forth. It is obvious that Edward Moringe Sokoine, the late Prime Minister who died in a road accident in April 1984, was the heir apparent. Since his death, predicting his successor has not been easy. If the example of Zanzibar is anything to go by, we might be in for a surprise. Last year, when Sheikh Aboud Jumbe resigned all his political positions in both the party and the union and Zanzibar governments, a meeting of the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) chose the most unlikely person to replace him. This person was Sheikh Ali Hssan Mwinyi, the only compromise candidate available who could bring together the different factions of the Zanzibar leadership.

The speculation in Dar es Salaam is that Prime Minister Salim Ahmed Salim, the dynamic diplomat who once contested for the post of United Nations secretary-general, is the likely successor to Nyerere. Salim has vast international experience. He is young by the standards of world statesmen, energetic and he can command the respect of the youth in the country.

There was concern that because of the diplomatic life of caviar and champagne in New York, he would not be able to understand the problems of underdevelopment. However, in the few months since he became Prime Minister, he has shown a fair grasp of the essentials of the African countryside. In the few visits that he had made to the regions so far, he has surprised his aides by the energy he shows, the willingness to learn from the people and his readiness to stay in rough conditions.

The problem is whether being a Zanzibari, he will be accepted on the mainland, where most of the leaders have powerful relationships going back either to their school days at Pugu, Minaki, Tabora and Makerere, or to clan, tribal and religious affiliations. In fact at the session of parliament in Dodoma last year, which discussed constitutional changes, a group of parliamentarians insisted on a clause being inserted in the constitution which would stipulate that the prime minister be an elected MP. This was seen as directed against Salim personally since he is in parliament by virtue of being nominated by Nyerere.

The clause was rejected and Salim has since then confounded the doubting-Thomases by showing them that he has mass support and a very strong political base. On a recent visit to Pemba, his birthplace, there was a big turn-out to welcome him and in every constituency he visited, people urged him to stand as their candidate in the coming parliamentary elections, promising him a massive



●Salim: has a gauntlet to run

vote. It is understood that the same kind of treatment awaits him when he visits Zanzibar later this month.

It is difficult to place Salim on the Tanzania political spectrum. Definitely, and unlike Nyerere, he is not an ideologue or visionary. It will be difficult for him, or anyone who succeeds Nyerere, to radically change the country's direction. Outsiders who have been coming to Dar es Salaam of late have been speculating that the country might come to terms with the IMF or might see a radical shift to the right, à la Sadat, once Nyerere goes.

However, those who have made a close study of Tanzanian society feel that there are very strong forces within it that favour the policy of socialism and self-reliance. Nyerere is only the spokesman of those forces, being in a position to articulate their aspirations most effectively. These forces are mostly found within the party and, since the party is supreme and above the government, and Nyerere has indicated that he will continue as CCM chairman until 1987, there is no way that anyone who succeeds him as President of the Republic will be able to shift the country from its avowed position.

The other person being talked about is John Malecela, the Minister for Transport and Communications, who, like Salim, was a diplomat and served in the Tanzanian mission at the UN. He is an effective speaker who can easily rouse people's emotions.

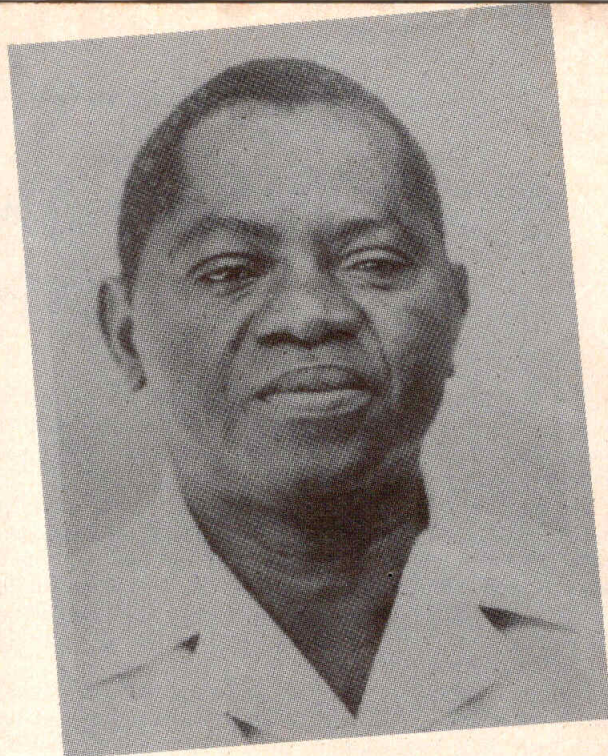
His only problem is that he does not have the necessary party connections and has never contested a party position. Since it is the National Executive Committee that will recommend the names to the party congress for a possible presidential candidate, it is difficult to see how the person recommended can come from outside NEC itself. Malecela has the reputation of holding very strong right-wing views and it might be difficult for the party functionaries, especially at regional and district levels, to accept him.

International financial institutions and some of the Western countries would like to see someone less dogmatic and more flexible succeed. Paul Bomani, the Minister for Lands and Tourism, fits into this picture very well. He is a bourgeois in outlook and lifestyle and was Tanzania's ambassador to Washington for many years, as well as being the country's representative to the World Bank. He sees the talk of socialism as a waste of time.

Three years ago he asked to be relieved of his post in Washington amid rumours that he was coming back to fight for a political post. This he did by contesting the party elections in 1982, and winning a seat on the NEC, despite strong criticism at the party congress about his bourgeois leanings. Nyerere appointed him minister after this and he is considered as the World Bank man in the government.

The person thought for many years to be Nyerere's crown prince, Rashid Kawawa, is no longer a serious contender. His past record as Vice-President, Prime Minister and Minister for Defence has not been illustrious although it was only recently that Nyerere selected him, to the dismay of all, to be secretary-general of the party. Even in this position he has not been able to win the confidence and support of most regional party secretaries and party functionaries. His poor health is another factor to his disadvantage.

Whoever succeeds, it is obvious that Nyerere will dominate the Tanzanian political scene for some time to come. Perhaps the more pertinent question is whether his successor as president will be able to have his own stand on policies and decisions or whether he will be a mere figurehead. From the way Tanzanians are talking about the succession, it seems that they do not want to see any major



●Kawawa: no longer a serious contender

upheavals taking place over the issue and want a smooth transition.

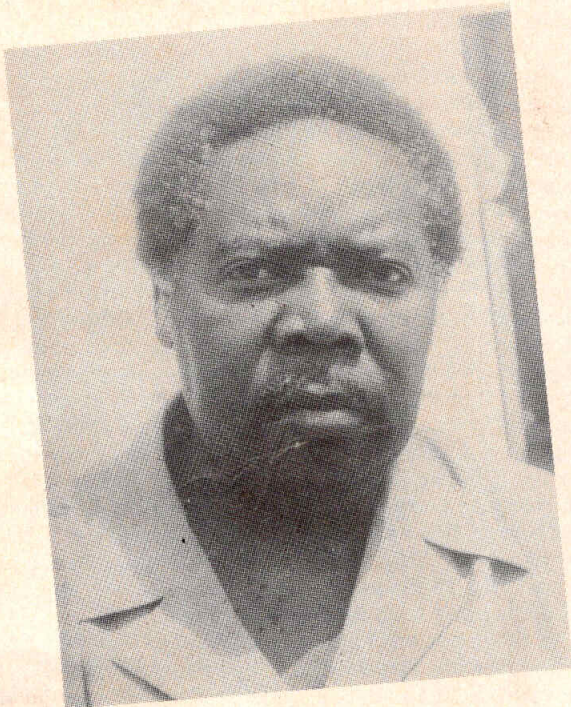
At the same time, the hope is that when President Nyerere steps down from government he will take with him all the deadwood and incompetent bureaucracy in government and parastatal bodies, who owe their positions to him. These people are anxious about what will happen next. In fact some have already started panicking and are busy accumulating wealth for possible retirement. Certainly, if the new president is to win mass support and instil new dynamism, he will have to relieve most of these people of the positions they hold.

Tanzania is already in the grip of election fever. There is speculation about who will be contesting which constituency seats. A possible aspirant in one of the Iringa constituencies has been "eliminated" by being given a scholarship to Europe and a chief executive of a leading financial institution is pumping public funds into projects in Mbeya as a strategy to win a seat there.

Deals are already being made and those who are nursing hopes of contesting parliamentary seats are already looking for financial sponsors; in these difficult times, one cannot win a parliamentary seat if one is poor. Although the country's constitution states that Tanzania is a country of workers and peasants, those who sit in the highest representative bodies, namely the National Assembly and the National Executive Committee, are neither workers nor peasants.

The foreign embassies, especially those from countries with heavy investments and political interest in Tanzania, are showing great interest in what is happening and it is unlikely that they will fold their arms like Buddha and watch people they do not approve of being elected.

Saudi Arabia (through Sudan), in the case of Zanzibar, and the United States, Britain, West Germany and the Scandinavian countries are going to be "unregistered voters" in this year's elections. The Soviets have long considered Tanzania not Marxist enough, though they might change their mind now that they have "lost" Mozambique; and the Chinese were not going beyond Nyerere, though they might have second thoughts if Salim succeeds, since he is an old friend of China ●



●Bomani: flexible and less dogmatic

What are the chances of survival for Ujamaa beyond 1985? *Athumani Hamza analyses.*

THE CHALLENGE AHEAD



●Nyerere: Swahili cap became his *de rigueur*

Nyerere has pulled a fast one on Tanzania's external enemies. What they were craving for and could not wait to see was the repeat of Nkrumah's and Obote's exits.

How could a serious leader, they rant, pack it in and depart in such a higgledy piggledy untimely rush? Isn't he going to cast his visionary eye across the country before he picks up his nightbag and bundles off to his village retreat? If he does, the sight of a few cheering Tanzanians, faces aglow with avarice and greed, hovering in the wings, waiting to slice their country into personal loot, should make him change his mind.

If Nyerere will not cast a final protean glance around his parish, his followers will – with faces agleam with pride. In the face of widespread shortages of essential items, Tanzanians have never been short of pride. They will see a nation as united and as homogenous as a concrete block. Divergent tribalism has failed to spike or

chip it. Thanks to the cement of the solidarity of the one-party system.

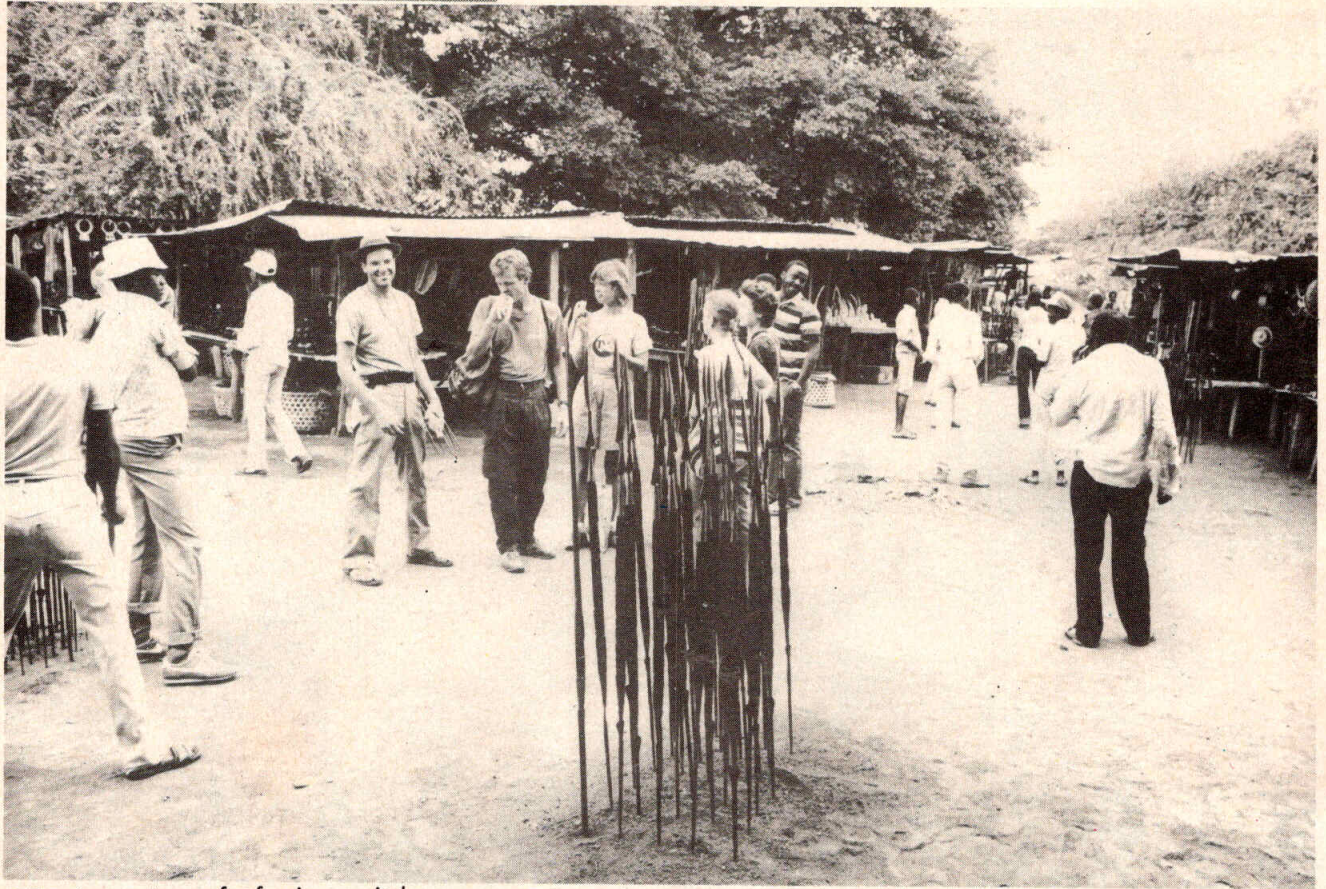
That is what the President's speech at the ruling party's anniversary on 5 February was all about. If Tanzania had as many parties as a rose had petals, partisans were told, then the tribally coloured parties would be mere totems. What would follow was obvious: a punch-up between totem poles, each fighting for supremacy, with national unity trampled and rent to pieces in the process.

The President was addressing the Party on its anniversary. If he were talking generally he would perhaps have put his finger on another major blessing – Swahili. Not just the language which everybody in Tanzania now spouts. Of course, in differing regional accents. It is right and impeccable along the coast, where it belongs. The further inland one goes, the more the accent resembles the gurgly sounds of a drain pipe, just unblocked.

Real unifying glue has spewed from the Swahili culture. National unity has been forged on such coastal habits as rice eating. Banana munching Hayas and maize-meal guzzling Sukuma up-country tribesmen have now been won over to rice solidarity: one main reason why all live like one big family.

President Nyerere was the first to recognise the importance of the glue like properties of the Swahili culture. He lost no time in taking advantage of it. The Swahili cap became his *de rigueur*. The term "Waswahili" (persons of the coast) became his favourite way of calling and describing Tanzanians. The label has stuck. No wonder, it has, considering that it is self-adhesive. Call a Mnyakyusa from the backwoods "Mswahili" and he would be tickled pink.

"Politics, Unity and Culture – the Tanzanian experience" is not the title of some absurdly pretentious academic paper. It is thus a peg around which a really amazing Tanzanian achievement hangs.



● *Tourism: gateway for foreign capital*

There is another plus Tanzanians will wake to after Nyerere's egress. It is so gargantuan that only a few inside the country have the perception to understand its enormity. It is the envy of other African countries. It is the fishbone choking capitalists' throats. It is the unique dazzling repute and respect Tanzania has earned from its efforts to pursue Ujama: its own brand of socialism and self-reliance.

"During the shortage of food that faced us in Shinyanga and Mwanza people could have died, not a few but many. This was prevented by socialist policies and your efforts to help others who needed food", Tanzanians were reminded by the President in February, 1985. The notion that Tanzanians would be helpless against the advance of the conspiracy of natural disasters and international economic crisis without the cushion of the socialist barricade should be self-evident. If it is; only to the 2½m. members of CCM, the ruling party. Not so to the rest of the 17m citizens. Hence the need by the Mwalimu to put on his teacher's cap and take the nation through an intensive programme of public political drills.

Worse still, it is not self-evident to the sloganeers in ministries and parastatals. They spurned party codes on discipline and self-reliance by gobbling

up fertility pills. Did not the president chide them in October 1982 for giving birth to far too many baby parastatals – over 400. Most of them are stunted mentally. They still suck their fingers and feed from mother's breasts (the Treasury). Parasitic and dependent most of them are. No wonder they are losing some of their toys in the current cost cutting campaign. The party has ordered the sacking of thousands of their workers. Executive perks are being whittled away.

The National Bank of Commerce is one of the few non-parasitic parastatals. Record deposits they had in 1984 – 20.8bn. shillings. To consolidate these gains, the chairman splashed a 1m shilling party to celebrate. Mother Treasury, strapped for cash, looked covetously on, hoping the Bank would change its mind and throw at least half of the bounty into her lap.

It is in the area of foreign aid that leaders have gone really to town in defiance of party guidelines on socialism and self-reliance. From their pinnacles of reckless independence they have watched the country sink deeper and deeper into money and technology dependence.

Total debt stood at \$1,950m in June 1984, 36% of GNP. Debt service was \$99m – 17% of total exports. One can

still hear the President's call to leaders in October, 1982. He rapped them on the knuckles for snubbing self-reliance criteria when seeking and accepting aid.

Yet the show still goes on. A good example of the waywardness of officials is the way tourism is going to be opened up to foreign capital. Everything is up for grabs with Sheraton ending up with the lion's share of the catch. Sheraton will put up a new hotel on the prime Kivukoni site.

Sheraton again are getting a management agency to run all major State owned tourist hotels. To the mandarins in the ministry there is no apparent conflict in a situation where a socialist public enterprise is managed directly by an agent of international capitalism.

If the self-willed wavering leaders in the ministries and parastatals are free to do what they want in defiance of party creeds when Nyerere is at the centre of executive power, his effectiveness in holding them back when he is on the fringes of executive stir as party chairman, must be significantly diminished.

Whoever succeeds him, will perhaps have the invidious task of presiding over the gradual dismantling of Ujamaa ●