

Dr. M. Mmuya*

1. INTRODUCTION

Tanzania's Path to multiparty democracy is bestowed with grace and blessings. Without calculations of her own accord, a critical but somewhat volatile institution which elsewhere in the region has marred or completely rocked the process, is here being introduced step by step in a manner that approximates a classroom drill on a new subject. The October 1994 Local Government Elections were yet a continuation of a streak of multiparty elections that began with the by-elections of April 18th 1993 in the small district of Kwahani in Zanzibar. The Kwahani elections were followed over 1994 by by-elections in relatively larger and more populous constituencies of Ileje, Kigoma, Igunga and Tabora North.

The October Local Government elections for Councilors and Mayors were preceded by elections at the village level. By this I would like to suggest that this process, though unintended, has been and will probably become in the October 1995 General Elections an important resource in facilitating a peaceful and stable process. We believe this will be the case because, unlike elsewhere, participating parties and candidates and all others will have already gone through a learning process on the norms, rules and values that accompany the multiparty democratic practice.

The October 1994 Local Government Elections themselves represented a unique experience in the Tanzanian Electoral history since unlike in the preceding elections, these involved parties and candidates. Thus, in a sense, the fact that in many constituencies the new parties fielded candidates to compete against those of the incumbent party bears another testimony to the dawning and hopefully, the institutionalization of a competitive democratic system in Tanzania.

But more participation by the new parties in an election may not mean a great deal in the democratic process if such participation is not effective. Certainly, the overall outcome of the October 1994 local government elections raise concerns about the internal make up - The extent of political penetration and capabilities of the new parties and respective candidates they fielded. It is to the effort of discussing the internal make up of the participating parties that this paper is devoted.

2. Participating Parties: Organization Penetration and Financing.

2.1 Participating Parties

Among other considerations, the Multiparty Democratic System is based upon the principle of Competitive politics. This, of necessity, implies that during an election, more than one party emerge to compete for a position that is to be contested.

As acknowledged above in the introduction, the October 1994 Local Government Elections drew the participation of all the 13 political parties in the contestation for councillor's positions nationwide. These parties were the incumbent Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM), Chama cha Maendeleo na Demokrasia (CHADEMA), Civic United Front (CUF), National Council for Construction and Reform - Mageuzi (NCCR-M)

and the National Labour Party (NLP), National Resistance Alliance 9NRA), Popular National Alliance (PONA), United Democratic Party (UDP), Union of Multiparty Democracy (UMD), United People's Democratic Party (UPDP), Tanzania Democratic Alliance (TADEA), Tanzania Labour Party (TLP), and Tanzania People's Party (TPP). Below is a table of participating parties by Regions and Districts where the election study was conducted.

Table 1: PARTICIPATING PARTIES BY REGIONS AND DISTRICTS

REGION	DISTRICT	PARTICIPATING PARTIES
1. Dar es Salaam	Ilala	CCM, TADEA, NLD, CUF, NRA, CHADEMA, NCCR-M, UDP, PONA, TLP
	Kinondoni	CCM, TADEA, CUF, PONA, UMD, CHADEMA, NCCR-M, NLD, TPP, UPDP
	Temeke	CCM, TADEA, CUF, UMD, TLP, CHADEMA, NCCR-M, NDL, TPP, UPDP
2. Dodoma	Rural	CCM, CUF, NCCR-M, CHADEMA
	Kondoa Urban	CCM, CUF, NCCR-M, CHADEMA CCM, TLP, UMD, NCCR-M, CHADEMA
3. Kagera	Bukoba Rural	CCM, NCCR-M, CHADEMA, UDP
	Muleba	CCM, NCCR-M, CHADEMA, UMD
	Karagwe	CCM, CHADEMA, CUF, TADEA, NCCR-M, TLP
4. Kigoma	Ujiji (Urban)	CCM, TPP, PONA, UMD, NCCR-M, NRA, CHADEMA, TADEA
	Rural	CCM, UMD, NCCR-M, CHADEMA, PONA
5. Mbeya	Kasulu Urban	CCM, UMD, CHADEMA, NCCR-M
	Rural	CCM, CHADEMA, UDP, NRA, TADEA
	Mbozi	CCM, CHADEMA, UMD, UDP
6. Morogoro	Urban	CCM, NCCR-M, CHADEMA, TLP
	Rural	CCM, CUF
7. Mwanza	Kilosa Urban	CCM, CHADEMA, CUF
	Ukerewe	CCM, UMD, UPDP, CHADEMA, NCCR-M, UDP, CUF
8. Ruvuma	Kwimba	CCM, UMD, CHADEMA, CUF, UDP
	Songea Urban	CCM, CHADEMA, CUF, TADEA
	Songea Rural	CCM, CHADEMA, CUF, TADEA
9. Kilimanjaro	Moshi Rural	CCM, CHADEMA, NCCR-M
	Rombo	CCM, CHADEMA
10. Arusha	Same	CCM, CHADEMA, NCCR-M, UMD
	Arusha Municipality	CCM, CUF, CHADEMA, NCCR-M, UDP
	Mbulu	CCM, CHADEMA, CUF, UDP

* Senior Lecturer; Department of Political Science and Public Administration

The major highlight from the table is that while all the political parties participated in the country wide elections, only a few put up candidates in sufficiently large numbers to cover a large portion of the country. As it can be observed, it is only CCM that had a 100 percent participation in the sample. But in many constituencies, CCM candidates were returned unopposed. This was for example the case for all the 15 seats in Arusha Municipality, all the 29 seats in Mbulu and 15 or 40.5 percent of all the 37 seats of Arumeru District. In Songea Urban, 7 out of 13 were unopposed and 15 out of 33 in Mbinga District. In Kigoma Region, 12 out of 30 were unopposed in Kasulu and 7 out of 20 in Kibondo. In Morogoro Municipality, 7 out of 19 CCM candidates were unopposed.

The extent of the participation by the parties in the sample is shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Extent of Party Participation

Party	No. of Districts Participated	Percentage of Total
1. CCM	30	100 Per cent
2. CHADEMA	28	93 "
3. NCCR-M	20	66 "
4. CUF	16	53 "
5. UMD	11	36 "
6. UDP	11	36 "
7. TADEA	10	33 "
8. TLP	5	16 "
9. NRA	5	16 "
10. PONA	4	13 "
11. TPP	3	10 "
12. UPDP	3	10 "
13. NLD	2	6 "

Source: Compiled from Field Data.

But as we have indicated above, there is more to the political parties that needs to be discussed than their mere participation. Those more intricate issues may in fact assist

in explaining the extent of the parties participation as shown above.

2.2. Political Penetration and Organization of the Political Parties

(a) Organization, Penetration and Elections

One of the concerns of the research undertaking was to establish the penetration and organization of the political parties within the Tanzanian polity.

The political penetration and organization of a party are essential ingredients in any party's existence which is often indicative of its chances of winning an election. To the organization of a party we usually attach the following attributes pertaining to its internal structures:-

- Functions are clearly defined and institutionalized;
- There is a hierarchy of control that extends down from the national level to the district and local levels;
- That there is a core of functionaries for all hierarchical levels, and
- There is a division of labour that grows downwards to such roles as vote organizers.

The concept of penetration on the other hand refers not only to the extent of the parties physical presence in terms of office and symbols but more so to the extent of its capability to link up with the general public. This link up can be demonstrated by the presence of members committed to the party and acquisition of a large number of supporters: individually and institutionally, who need not of necessity be members.

The October 1994 Local Government elections revealed general patterns as well as variations with regard to the participating parties' organizations and their extent of political penetration.

(b) CCM's Political Penetration and Organization

As a starting point, one must perhaps acknowledge the amount of differences that exist between the incumbent party, CCM, and the new parties. It is important to recognize the fact that, organizationally, CCM is a very well structured party; it is physically pervasive throughout the country, with offices and officials to the lowest levels of administration. Through its long historical connections, CCM is also closely linked to the society through individual members and institutions, such as women organizations, youths, etc. In contemporary times, CCM has cultivated a harmonious relationship with local business groups, at the risk of marginalizing their traditional allies, the peasants and workers.

CCM has gone further in the political association process to meet the demands of the present times. In this regard, particularly for election purposes, CCM has made efforts to use local civil institutions such as clan and clan leaders, officials and local influential leaders to link up and maintain the support of the masses. The Mashina ya Wakereketwa on the mainland and in Zanzibar, Makamanda wa Vijana wa CCM, the

adoption of a party uniform, the song of allegiance etc, are among the crucial devices that add to CCM's constitutionally adopted organization structure.

Such is the position of CCM, something which is all too familiar to many observers. This organizational capability has enabled CCM to have a 100 percent participation in the constituencies.

The new political parties shared a number of organizational and political penetration patterns.

(c) The Organization and Penetration of the other parties

The first and glaring shared pattern among the other parties is that all of them have constitutions as required by law which among other things provide for a hierarchical set up with party organs and offices extending from the territorial level down to local levels.

From the election study it has clearly come out that all of the political parties, except CCM, have hardly been able to establish themselves even at regional levels - in fact none of them has been able to create the party as per their own constitution even at the regional level. In the regions where the parties are present, it is mostly some officials of the party that can be found. The situation deteriorates as one goes further down the hierarchy to district and ward levels. The offices themselves are housed in individuals' homes or individual business premises, thereby leading to the personalization and privatization of the party at that respective level. A classical case is one which is reported in Kondo District where the CUF had one official who lived in a guest house and carried all the party records and documents in a brief case.

Since such is the set up of the new parties, communication within them hardly exists. This was more evident during the elections, whereby contesting candidates virtually nominated themselves at the local places and then rushed to the district official, if one existed, for endorsement by the party. During the election campaigns, candidates from the new parties were usually loners attempting to present themselves to a very tiny audience.

In contrast, CCM had a structure at the lowest level that nominated the candidates. It was this structure that escorted their candidates and presented them to the electorate amid cheers and celebrations.

Political Penetration by the Parties

A second important pattern is related to political penetration. One has to admit that arising from the election results, some of the new political parties have made some inroads into the society. Where the new parties participated, they have made themselves known to potential members or supporters. In quite a few cases, members of the public do acknowledge that there is some hope in some individual members of the new parties.

Also, some win and near win cases in some constituencies indicate that the new parties are gaining support. Another indication of support, though inconclusive, is provided

by the crowds they pulled, particularly during campaigns in some constituencies, such as Manzese in Dar es Salaam.

However, as a shared pattern it would seem that by and large the new parties are yet to make a strong impact in the society. Followers are few and are recruited on individual basis. For example, in Morogoro Rural the District CUF representative claimed to have many members. Pressed to give evidence on the claim, the official declined. Similarly, in Ruvuma Region, CUF, CHADEMA, TADEA and NCCR-M officials declined to disclose membership figures. Here in Dar es Salaam we are producing a table of members of respective political parties that each claim to have registered.

Table 3: List of Parties' Members

	Party	No. of Members
1.	CCM	102,374
2.	UMD	5,837
3.	CUF	10,694
4.	TPP	2,003
5.	PONA	7,617
6.	TADEA	8,124
7.	NCCR-M	13,363
8.	CHADEMA	9,892

Source: Party Offices.

Apart from the above figures being unproved, still the lack of the new parties even in the places where they have their head offices can be appreciated from the fact that all the 7 new parties have a total of only 57,426 members or about 36 per cent of those listed.

2.3 Party Financing

Under the organization of the parties, it is important that a statement is made on how the parties finance their activities because one of the key elements of a party's success is to have a strong and reliable basis of financing its activities.

There are various models on party financing. On the whole, however, the following are the most familiar:-

(i) Party Public Financing

The state pays for the activities of political parties on the ground that political parties are essential public institutions for the proper functioning of the entire political administrative system.

(ii) Own Funds

Even under the systems where the state pays for party activities, the political parties' main sources of financing their activities remains their own sources.

Parties own sources of funds usually come from:-

- (a) voluntary contributions, and
- (b) economic ventures.

Under most political systems, political parties are required to declare their property and sources of funds and be subjected to a public audit system. This is important because, first, public funds and property have to be accounted for to the public. Secondly, declaration of party property and funds, especially its sources is an important deterrent against few individuals with property and funds who might "buy off" a party with the intention of securing private gains.

In Tanzania, the political parties Act 13(1) defines the areas where political parties can derive funds from. These are spelled out as:-

- (a) voluntary contributions;
- (b) the proceeds of any investment, project or undertaking in which the party has an interest;
- (c) subventions from the government;
- (d) donations, bequests and grants from any other source.

Subsection (2) requires every party to disclose to the Registrar "... any funds or other sources obtained by the party" from outside the United Republic of Tanzania or from foreign organizations and individuals. Section 14 of the Act further requires political parties to submit to the Registrar audited annual accounts which he subsequently has to publish in the official Gazette.

The actual position regarding party financing among Tanzanian political parties is less clear even with the research conducted during the October 1994 Local Government Elections. But even under that unclear position, the following can firmly be stated.

First, with regard to sources, Tanzania's political parties received uniform government subventions for specific activities, such as elections. In the case of the October 1994 Local Government Elections each party was entitled to receiving Shs. 30,000.00 for every ward in which it participated. Secondly, all political parties receive membership dues. Thirdly, all political parties receive donations and contributions from organizations and private individuals.

To this, it is important to add that the incumbent party using its incumbency advantage gets indirect extra benefits from the government, for example travel and lodging costs when its officials and state dignitaries travel. But perhaps a more contentious issue which the Nyalali Commission also raised is on inherited public properties, which include buildings, vehicles, office equipment, public assembly institutions e.g. stadia, and even personnel. But contrary to the Nyalali Commission recommendations that these be audited and subsequently returned where they would rightly belong to remove the undue advantage over the new parties, the Constitutional Amendment No.9 of 1992 Consequential Provision No. 14 (1) - (3) entitles CCM to a retention of those properties.

In the case of the new parties, the founder leaders have invested considerable amounts of their personal funds, properties, time and energy to the extent that such parties are virtually identifiable with those founder leaders. Voluntary member/supporters contributions of sizable proportions have been reported in the case of CHADEMA. The spirit of self sacrifice has been noticeable for NCCR-M. There have been indicated contributions by donor agencies through programmes of capacity building and donations of stationery and office equipment.

3. Participating Parties and Candidates during the October Local Government Elections.

3.1 Nomination of Participating Candidates

(a) Candidates Nomination Process

The Tanzania Elections Act requires that contestants of a political office have to be sponsored by a political party. In this regard, the primary task of the parties was to establish a mechanism through which the various aspiring candidates could be given the opportunity to present themselves and eventually to be nominated as candidates for specific seats.

The findings of the October 1994 Local Government Elections have revealed that it is mainly within CCM that one could establish this process. Under CCM, aspiring candidates having picked their nomination forms were screened by Branch, District and eventually Regional Political Committees. But before reaching the Regional office stage, the aspiring candidates went through an election for preferential votes within their ward on the basis of which final nomination was done by the region.

Close to this approach was the CUF and CHADEMA which combined the public rally nomination and the office endorsement approaches. Where CUF and CHADEMA had many aspirants, the endorsement of candidates was democratically made at public rallies. Otherwise, all of the new parties usually endorsed their candidates at the regional level.

This phenomenon reflects the finding we presented above, that is, the new political parties have no organization beyond the regional or national Headquarters offices, which are often found in the leaders' private offices or homes.

This being the case, again it was mainly CCM that had clearly laid down criteria for candidate selection. These were given as:

- (1) Membership in CCM
- (2) Candidate's maturity and fitness
- (3) Candidate's literacy
- (4) Candidate's residence in the ward, and
- (5) Candidate's compliance to rules laid down by the National Electoral Commission.

CHADEMA was next in stipulating conditions for candidate selection. They required that:

- (1) The candidate should at least have primary education
- (2) The candidate should have reached at least 21 years of age
- (3) The candidate should be able to express himself adequately
- (4) The candidate should be physically fit
- (5) The candidate should have a sound financial base.

Apart from these two parties all the other did not have publicly declared requirements for the selection of their candidates.

(b) The Candidates' Profiles

One of the basic issues in a political process of such momentous significance is to establish the character of the participating candidates. Details about the candidates' characteristics from the 30 districts in the sample are not all available. But from what is available, the findings show:-

(1) That the elections were dominated by men.

For example, all the 53 candidates fielded by CCM, UMD, CHADEMA and NCCR-M in the sampled wards of Kasulu District in Kigoma Region were male. The same is true of the 53 in Kigoma Rural and 33 in Kigoma Urban. The other example is that of some Wards in the 3 Districts of Arusha Region. Of the 22 CCM candidates in Arusha Municipality, only 1 was female. In Arumeru all the 9 CCM candidates were male; while in Mbulu, of the 22 CCM candidates, only 3 were female.

In Kilimanjaro Region, of the 68 CCM candidates in Rombo only 2 were female, only 2 females of the 110 CCM candidates in Moshi Rural and only 1 female of the 99 CCM candidates in Same. In Mbinga District, 47 of the 50 candidates were male. Such a pattern shows that the elections were predominantly a male affair.

(ii) Candidates and Formal Schooling

As we have noted above, CCM and CHADEMA attached considerable weight on formal schooling as a basis of candidate selection. Even without stating it equally explicitly, the other parties have also expressed the need to have well educated people contesting in elections.

Field findings demonstrated that all the candidates who contested in the elections had at least primary education. In fact the majority are from this category. Of the 38 CCM candidates in the sampled Wards of Arusha Region, 25 or 66 per cent were Primary School graduates, 11 were Secondary school graduates and only 2 had attained Post-Secondary education. In Kilimanjaro Region, of the

265 CCM contestants, 168 or 63 per cent were primary school graduates, 102 had attained secondary education while only 5 had post secondary education. The primary school graduate candidate percentages are much higher for Ruvuma (75 per cent) and Mbeya (64 per cent).

(iii) The Religion of the Candidates

A much talked about issue within present day politics in Tanzania is one about religion and political affiliation. In our own independent study on the social basis of the new parties, we have found out that of the total number of 16,300 founder members from seven of the new parties, 42.7 per cent were Muslims, and 46.6 per cent were Christians. If the national figures on population distribution of about 42% Muslim and 44% Christian are to be trusted, then one can argue that religion has not been a significant factor in the founding of the new parties.

When it comes to findings from the study on the October 1994 Local Government Elections, candidacy and religion reflect the extent of population distribution and religion. In Kigoma Urban for example, which is predominantly Muslims, all CCM contestants were Muslim. By contrast Mbeya Rural and Mbozi, which are predominantly Christians, 91.4% of the candidates were Christian. This would probably mean religion and candidacy was more a reflection of the population distribution than a motivating factor.

(iv) Candidacy and Race

Tanzania is a multi racial society. However, the racial composition is skewed towards an African predominance and a tiny Asian and European minority. In recent years, that tiny minority has asserted itself by contesting for positions in the parliament and political parties, notably CCM.

It is however interesting that in the October 1994 Local Government Elections there was no non-African contesting for a seat.

CONCLUSION

The image that the participating parties and candidates present from the study on the October 1994 Local Government Elections raises both optimism and concern as to whether Tanzania is developing or is likely to build an effective opposition from the existing parties.

The optimistic view which is being tossed around suggests that the organizational weakness that has amply been presented above raises from the fact that most of the parties are new. According to this position, with time the new parties will have grown in strength, thereby taking their rightful role as competitors to the incumbent.

But if this view is to have any credence at all then one needs to explain how equally "young" parties around the region in Zambia, Malawi and Kenya have been able to participate in fraudulent elections and win many seats in the parliament (Kenya) or

even dethrone those "immutable" parties such as the UNIP in Zambia and Malawi National Congress in Malawi.

In my view, what the new parties in Tanzania have to learn is that there is much more than the certificate that gives legal recognition to the party, the parties name, to the flag and to the make up of the leader. A party is essentially a movement around a central idea of its members. When the movement decides to contest for state power as the instrument with which to implement its idea it is at this stage that it transforms itself into a political party. It is in this regard that successful or effective political parties around the region must be understood. They have essentially existed as movements, first based on either occupational concerns like the Miners in Zambia or even on painful basis like ethnicity in Kenya. On the basis of that movement parties were born with commitment, organization and zeal to attain the goal. As parties, they were new; but they were born out of long movements. And, by the way, that is the CCM path.

Here in mainland Tanzania, the Reverend Mtikila with his economic nationalism as the platform was close to building an effective political party had it not been for his faulty strategy. Economic nationalism, as much as was political nationalism, has been a latent force within Tanzania over a long period. The Reverend Mtikila converted it into a political platform and he was able to raise the heartbeats of many people in explicit or tacit support. But the DP of Mtikila was just as new as the Liberal Democratic Party of the "born again" Hilary Mapunda. The difference in our estimate is basically that the DP was backed by a long latent movement while the LDP was not. In the case of Zanzibar, the confluence of a long time Pemba nationalism and pro-Sultanate sentiments give a lot of committed support to CUF. But what are the central issues upon which movements can emerge behind NLD, PONA, TADEA etc.?

REFERENCES

- Chaligha, A.E., The 1994 Local Government Election Study: Arusha Region Report, Dar es Salaam, December, 1994.
-, The 1994 Local Government Election Study: Kilimanjaro Region Report, Dar es Salaam, December, 1994
- Gasarasi, C.P., Narrative Report on Local Government Election Study in Mwanza and Kagera Regions, December, 1994.
- Consequential, Transitional and Temporary Provisions No.9, 1992.
- Liviga, A., The October 1994 Local Government Election in Mbeya and Ruvuma Regions. A Research Report - Kigoma and Dodoma Regions, Dar es Salaam, December, 1994.
- Mmuya, M., Report on Local Government Election Study in Dar es Salaam Region, Dar es Salaam, November, 1994.
-, Local Government Election Study Report: Morogoro Region, Dar es Salaam, November, 1994.
- Mmuya, M. and Chaligha, A. (1994), Political Parties and Democracy in Tanzania, DUP.
- National Electoral Commission, "Maelekezo kwa Mpiga Kura kwa Uchaguzi wa Madiwani, 1994"
-, "Maelekezo kwa Wasimamizi wa Vituo vya Kura kwa Uchaguzi wa Madiwani, 1994".
-, "Maelekezo kwa Waandishi Wasaidizi wa Uchaguzi wa Madiwani, 1994"
- Nyalali Commission Report.
- Political Parties Act. No. 5 of 1992.