

ARC RISK CONSULTING

ARC Briefing Tanzania August 2018

Magufuli's CCM makes clean sweep of ward elections

A clean sweep of local councillor election victories on 12 August sees the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) party consolidate its political power.

The ruling **Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM)** won all 77 ward councillor elections held on 12 August, 41 of which were unopposed.¹ The landslide victory demonstrates the effectiveness of President **John Magufuli's** (2015-present) consolidation of political power through a programme of repression. Many opposition candidates were barred from running in elections after claims that they were illiterate,² and questioned on other insignificant technical grounds including their level of education.³ In **Arusha (Ngorongoro District)** 11 of the opposition **Chadema** party's 20 candidates were ruled out for such reasons.⁴ Noting the severity and undemocratic nature of these events, the **Legal and Human Rights Centre** in **Dar es Salaam** vowed on 22 July to sue individuals and institutions that violated others' constitutional rights by barring them from running for official office on false grounds.⁵

Under Magufuli's presidency, the **Tanzanian** government has severely curtailed the rights of opposition politicians, and in turn, quashed political competition to the CCM. Police have barred opposition parties from holding political rallies, alleging that such meetings would incite violence⁶ or escalate in civil disobedience.⁷ Moreover, a coalition of opposition parties wrote to Tanzania's **National Electoral Commission (NEC)** claiming that their "*members and supporters were harassed, arrested and attacked*" during byelections in November 2017.⁸ The murder of two Chadema politicians in February⁹ and an assassination attempt on Chadema's outspoken chief whip, **Tundu Lissu**, in July 2017 demonstrate the currently perilous nature of standing in political opposition in Tanzania.¹⁰

Opposition protests in the face of repression have been very firmly put down. A sniper killed a student during pro-democracy protests in February.¹¹ There has been no let-up in the repression of popular protest, with Tanzanian police threatening to beat protesters "*like stray dogs*" and use live ammunition in response to planned nationwide protests in April.¹² The fear of would-be protesters for their safety caused few to take to the streets,¹³ and there is no longer public appetite for dissent.¹⁴

This repression has worked to consolidate political power in the hands of CCM and President Magufuli. Due to the party's political dominance and the many difficulties that opposition politicians

¹ AllAfrica, 14 Aug 2018.

² The Citizen, 18 Jul 2018.

³ The Citizen, 23 Jul 2018.

⁴ The Citizen, 18 Jul 2018.

⁵ The Citizen, 23 Jul 2018.

⁶ The Citizen, 10 May 2017.

⁷ The Citizen, 11 Jun 2016.

⁸ AllAfrica, 18 Dec 2017.

⁹ Daily Nation, 14 Feb 2018 and Daily Nation, 24 Feb 2018.

¹⁰ African Arguments, 14 Aug 2018.

¹¹ Associated Press, 28 Mar 2018.

¹² Reuters, 25 Apr 2018.

¹³ Reuters, 25 Apr 2018.

¹⁴ Source, journalist, Dar es Salaam

face, defections to CCM from opposition parties are commonplace.¹⁵ So far, 75 councillors and 4 members of parliament have joined the ruling party, with one councillor allegedly offered a bribe to cross the bench to CCM.¹⁶ Magufuli has centralised the party: he is CCM national chairman and his allies, such as **Bashiru Ally**, are in key positions within the party.¹⁷

Although political opposition has been well and truly stifled, Magufuli faces some checks on his power from civil servants unwilling to wilt to his demand for power. The judiciary remains somewhat independent. Chief Justice **Hamis Juma** warned the government on 23 January to “*refrain from meddling*”¹⁸ and repealed laws that granted the **Director of Public Prosecution (DPP)** power to determine which offences were bailable.¹⁹ Similarly, the police asserted their independence from government in defying a minister who ordered the arrest of people he suspected to have committed murder.²⁰ However, these institutions are far from impervious to political tampering. The police threatened to beat and use live ammunition on protesters in April,²¹ while the judicial system has imprisoned opposition politicians based on unjust charges.²²

Looking forward, Magufuli’s CCM appears set to continue his programme of repression and consolidate political power.²³ However, his efforts to wield absolute power of the state and its institutions will, to some extent, be mitigated by state institutions such as the judiciary.²⁴ These limited checks on political power are good news for investors and many ordinary Tanzanians alike who seek shelter from the narrowing of the political and economic space under Magufuli.

Planner

13 Aug – 24 Aug 2018 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *East African Community*. **African Development Bank (AfDB)** Mission to the Multinational Tanzania/Burundi Road Project;
 Mar 2019 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *East African Community*. East Africa Health and Scientific Conference;
 2020 **(Tanzania)** *Africanews*. General elections;

Chronology

14 Aug 2018 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *Shares*. **United Kingdom**-based mining company, **Edenville Energy**, increases rate of production at the **Rukwa** coal project to 230 tonnes per day, up from 143 tonnes per day in May;
 12 Aug 2018 **(Tanzania)** *The Citizen*. The ruling **Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM)** party wins all 77 ward councillor elections, 41 of which were unopposed;
 9 Aug 2018 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *New Vision*. President **Yoweri Museveni** (1986-present) of **Uganda** visits President **John Magufuli** (2015-present) to discuss trade;
 1 Aug 2018 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *Oil Review*. **Canada**-based oil and gas company, **Wentworth**, receives \$3.7m in payments for gas from the **Mnazi Bay** concession from

¹⁵ The East African, 11 Aug 2018.

¹⁶ The East African, 11 Aug 2018.

¹⁷ African Arguments, 14 Aug 2018.

¹⁸ The Citizen, 24 Jan 2018.

¹⁹ African Arguments, 14 Aug 2018.

²⁰ African Arguments, 14 Aug 2018.

²¹ African Arguments, 14 Aug 2018.

²² The Citizen, 11 May 2018.

²³ African Arguments, 14 Aug 2018.

²⁴ Source, journalist, Dar es Salaam

the **Tanzania Petroleum Development Corporation** and the **Tanzania Electric Supply Company Ltd**;

25 Jul 2018 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *The Citizen*. The **United States (US) Agency for International Development** plans to add 16,000 megawatts of gas-fired power in nine **African** countries by 2030 through its **Gas Roadmap for sub-Saharan Africa** initiative;

24 Jul 2018 **Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)** *ESI Africa*. The **African Development Bank** approves a \$123.39m loan to finance part of the 400 kilovolt **Nyakanaz-Kigoma** power transmission line;