THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH TOWARDS DEMOCRATIZATION IN TANZANIA, 1961-2010; A CASE STUDY OF MKOLANI WARD IN NYAMAGANA DISTRICT.

BY

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UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI.

AUGUST, 2013
DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

____________________________    ___________________ _____
Mulokozi Abel Kajoki.        Date

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor.

____________________________    ___________________ _____
Prof. Godfrey Muriuki        Date
DEDICATION

To my parents, Abel Kajoki and Godeliva Nicolaus, for their wonderful love and encouragement.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I cannot find words to express my gratitude to the Almighty God for his gracious mercies who answered my prayers by giving me strength and good health to accomplish this thesis.

I would like to express my deep appreciation to my supervisor, Prof. Godfrey Muriuki, who despite his extra load of administrative duties and other public assignments tirelessly read through my work and offered all the necessary and valuable direction and advice on time without any delay. I really benefited from his exceptional spirit of hardworking.

It is with immense gratitude that I acknowledge the support and help of members of my beloved families especially Adelaida Mukulasi, Baraka Kajoki and Adelius Kajoki for their understanding and endless love, through the duration of my studies.

It is an honour for me to thank all members, lecturers and non-teaching staff of the Department of History and Archaeology, especially Dr. M. Mwandi, Dr. G. Gona and Prof. M. Achola, for sharing their knowledge and skills with me when I was developing this thesis.

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Lastly, I offer my regards and blessings to all those who supported me in any respect during the completion of the project particularly my respondents. God bless you all.
ABSTRACT

This study examined the contribution of the Roman Catholic Church towards democratization in Tanzania between 1961 and 2010 with a focus on Mkolani ward in Nyamagana district. The study discovered that the Church played a lot of roles towards democratization in that particular area. These include promoting and supporting the previously set Church-based learning institutions, giving constructive criticism on socialism and self-reliance policy, inviting different political parties to sell their policy, educating the people through SAUT Legal and Human Rights Centre and Radio SAUT FM, providing free copies of books, talked about the rights and freedom of the mass media, formation and encouragement of the lay movements and associations, fighting for amendment of the national constitution and supporting multi-party system.

The study also aimed at describing the challenges that affected the Church’s struggle for democratization in Mkolani ward. Some political, social and economic setbacks were identified. These included being labelled colonialists and traitors, government interference and control of labour parties, lack of free and fair elections, limited freedom of the mass media, opposition from other religious groups, illiteracy and poverty.

In order to achieve the objectives of this study, the secondary and primary sources were used. Last, the interviews were done so as to fill the gaps left by both secondary and primary sources.

My research was based on change and continuity theory as advocated by R.K. Merton. He argues that adaptations take forms of conformity and innovations. He insists that society and man are constantly changing and not static at all. Merton’s analysis was adopted here because it provides a comprehensive approach to a study of people’s responses and adaptations to situations. The study revealed that people responded positively to the Church’s teachings about democracy. This showed that when individuals get exposed to new ideas, they are ready to change provided they see the potential for adapting to those changes.
**ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ASP</td>
<td>Afro Shirazi Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>BBC</td>
<td>British Broadcasting Corporation</td>
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<tr>
<td>CCM</td>
<td>Chama Cha Mapinduzi</td>
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<td>CHADEMA</td>
<td>Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo</td>
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<tr>
<td>CNN</td>
<td>Cable News Network</td>
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<td>CPT</td>
<td>Christian Professionals of Tanzania.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CUF</td>
<td>Civic United Front</td>
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<td>FBOs</td>
<td>Faith Based Organisations</td>
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<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>NCCR</td>
<td>National Convention for Construction and Reform.</td>
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<tr>
<td>NEC</td>
<td>National Electoral Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>NLD</td>
<td>National League for Democracy</td>
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<tr>
<td>NRA</td>
<td>National Reconstruction Alliance</td>
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<tr>
<td>NSTI</td>
<td>Nyegezi Social Training Institute</td>
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<tr>
<td>NUTA</td>
<td>National Union of Tanganyika</td>
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<tr>
<td>PNP</td>
<td>Popular National Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>RCC</td>
<td>Roman Catholic Church</td>
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<tr>
<td>SACCOS</td>
<td>Savings and Credit Co-operative Society.</td>
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<td>SAUT</td>
<td>Saint Augustine University of Tanzania</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAUTSO</td>
<td>Saint Augustine University of Tanzania Students Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>TANU</td>
<td>Tanganyika African National Union.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEC</td>
<td>Tanzania Episcopal Conference</td>
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<tr>
<td>TLP</td>
<td>Tanzania Labour Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>TRA</td>
<td>Tanzania Revenue Authority</td>
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<tr>
<td>TYCS</td>
<td>Tanzania Youth Catholic Students.</td>
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<tr>
<td>UDP</td>
<td>United Democratic Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>UMD</td>
<td>Union for Multiparty Democracy</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme.</td>
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<tr>
<td>VDCs</td>
<td>Village Development Committees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VEO</td>
<td>Village Executive Officers</td>
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<tr>
<td>WEO</td>
<td>Ward Executive Officers</td>
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</table>
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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction.

The United Republic of Tanzania is a union of Tanganyika and the islands of Zanzibar. Tanganyika and Zanzibar got their independence from the British in 1961 and 1963, respectively. They united in 1964 to form Tanzania. Until 1885, Tanzania mainland (Tanganyika) was ruled by the tribal chiefs. The Sultan of Zanzibar controlled all external trade and had representatives in all trading centres. Unfortunately, besides ivory, much of the trade was in slaves. It is this cruel trade, exposed by explorers like David Livingstone and Henry Stanley, which accelerated the coming of the missionaries in Africa to fight for the abolition of slave trade and slavery.

The first Catholic evangelization was by the Portuguese Augustinian missionaries who arrived in Zanzibar with Vasco da Gama in 1499. They did not last long due to Arab Muslim oppositions. Their mission ended in 1698 due to Oman-Arab conquest.

The second and successful evangelization from the 19th century was pioneered by three religious congregations, the Holy Ghost Fathers, the White Fathers and the Benedictine Monks. The Holy Ghost Fathers, under the leadership of Fr. Antoine Homer, were the first to arrive in Zanzibar in 1863 and established a permanent mission there. The Holy Ghost Fathers crossed to the mainland (Tanganyika) and settled at Bagamoyo in 1868 where they opened a free slave’s village. In this village they received and taught slaves who had been freed by the British marines from the Arab slave traders. Some of the ex-slaves became catechists and cooperated with the missionaries, and evangelized northwards towards the slopes of Mt. Kilimanjaro.

The White Fathers (The Missionaries of Africa) led by Livinhac arrived in 1878 in two groups. One group stacked on the shores of Lake Tanganyika and the other on those of Lake Victoria. This mission to the great lakes evangelized the whole of the western Tanzania.

The Benedictines Missionary congregations and society came in to help. The congregations that arrived at this time were: the Capuchins, Consolata, Passionists and the Pallotines. All these groups of missionaries at last spread the Roman Catholic Church in various parts of Tanzania like Mwanza, Kigoma, Dodoma, Iringa, Morogoro, Arusha, etc.

1.1 Background to the Area of Study.

This study covered Mkolani ward which is found in Nyamagana district in Mwanza region. Mwanza region has a total surface area of 35,187km$^2$ of which 20,095km$^2$ is dry land area and 15,092km$^2$ is water area. Nyamagana and Ilemela districts make Mwanza city. The city has 2 divisions and 21 wards. Mwanza city is located on the southern shores of Lake Victoria in northwest Tanzania. It covers an area of 1325km$^2$ of which 425km$^2$ is dry land and 900km$^2$ is covered by water. Of the 425km$^2$ dry land area, approximately 86.8km$^2$ is urbanized, while the remaining area consists of forested land, valleys, cultivated plains, grassy and undulating rocky hill areas.

Mwanza city lies at an altitude of 1,140 metres above the sea level. Mean temperatures range between 25.70 and 30.20 centigrade in the hot season and 15.40 centigrade and 18.60 centigrade in the cooler months. The city experiences between 700 and 1000mm of rainfall per year.

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Mwanza town was founded in 1892 as a regional administrative and commercial centre mainly to control production of the cotton in the Lake Victoria zone. In 1978, Mwanza obtained the status of a municipality in line with the local government structure established in 1972, and was further promoted to a city status in 2000. The 2002 national census showed that Mwanza had a population of 210,735 people, while Mkolani ward had a population of 16,942.

Mkolani ward is bordered by Geita region in the west, Shinyanga and Simiu regions in the South, Mara region in the East and Lake Victoria in the North. Mkolani ward was originally inhabited by the Sukuma people who specialized in agriculture and fishing as their major economic activities. Ancestors of the Sukuma were part of the extensive migrations of the early Bantu speaking people in the first millennium A.D. They, along with the Nyamwezi further south, seem to belong to the same group as the Bantu of western Uganda. It appears their ancestors left that area before the invasion of the Hima Cushites, since their culture and languages show no influence of the Hima or the later Lwoo invaders in the Nyoro – Kigezi areas of Uganda, Tanzania and Rwanda. This puts the Sukuma in their current area, Mkolani inclusive, by about 1300 A.D. There are several tribes from different parts of Tanzania who are currently living in Mkolani ward. Due to specializations among the Sukuma and the neighbouring societies, trade developed and interactions among the people became intense especially from the 18th century onwards. The Sukuma specialized in agriculture, fishing and livestock keeping, while their neighbours like Haya were specialists in iron smelting. Crops such as maize, cassava, sorghums, millet, sweet potatoes, paddy and legumes were, and still are, grown in some part of this area due to the presence of sandy, loamy and clay soils. Iron tools like spears and arrows were made by the Haya people.

FIGURE 1:

LOCATION OF MWANZA REGION IN THE NATIONAL CONTEXT

SOURCE: MWANZA CITY COUNCIL, JANUARY 2013
FIGURE 2:

LOCATION OF THE STUDY AREA IN NYAMAGANA DISTRICT

MWANZA ADMINISTRATIVE BOUNDARY

Scale 1: 150000

SOURCE: MWANZA CITY COUNCIL, JANUARY 2013
Currently, Mkolani ward is made up of people from almost all ethnic groups of Tanzania, the major ethnic groups being Sukuma, Kerewe, Kara, Jita, Haya and Chaga.\(^4\) Livestock keeping also takes place in the area though at a small scale. Animals kept include cattle, goats, sheep and pigs. Different types of fish- namely, Nile perch, plagic cyprinidis, synodontis, tilapia and momyrus- are exploited from Lake Victoria. Some of Mkolani people are government and non-governmental organizations’ (hereafter NGOs) employees, without forgetting others who are dealing with small business.

Turning to Christianity, the earliest Catholic churches in Mkolani ward were established at Nyegezi in 1870s by the White Fathers. In the 1960s, more churches were opened at Mkolani and Nganza. Other Christian denominations established in Mkolani include the Anglican Church, African Inland Church, Lutheran Church, Moravian Church, Tanzania Mennonite, Tanzania Assemblies of God, Pentecostal Evangelical Church and the Seventh Day Adventist Church. Also Islam was established in Mkolani ward and this is proved by the presence of two mosques called Masjid Noor-Mohamed and Masjid Kharudiini found in Nyamazobe and at Mkolani centre, respectively.

2.0. Statement of the Problem.

According to George N. Ntalaja and Margaret C.Lee, democracy is a continuous process of promoting equal access to fundamental human rights and civil liberties for all. They also claim that the above definition includes the fundamental rights of the human person to life and security. Furthermore, freedom of religion, assembly, expression, press and association can not be separated from democracy. Additionally, they argue that economic, social, and cultural rights are indispensable ingredients of democracy. The idea here is that democracy is meaningless when the basic needs of the population are not satisfied. Lastly, the rights of the people include the inalienable right to self-

\(^4\) Ibid., p.115.
determination.\textsuperscript{5} Democratization, therefore, is a continuous process as well as an ongoing struggle between the forces of change and those of the status quo.\textsuperscript{6}

Different scholars dealt with the contribution of Roman Catholic Church in democratization of Tanzania, mainly within the context of the colonial period. These scholars credited the missionaries with championing the cause of democracy in Tanzania through the abolition of slave trade and slavery in Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

The Holy Ghost Fathers established a permanent mission in Zanzibar in 1863. In 1868 the same Holy Ghost Fathers established another settlement in Bagamoyo. This settlement used to accommodate ex-slaves to train them in various skills, such as carpentry and agriculture\textsuperscript{7}. This tied the church and democracy in relation to the missionaries before Tanzania got her independence. This is because democracy as indicated above includes economic, social and cultural rights.

Furthermore, a reasonable number of scholars who wrote about the role of the church after independence portrayed the church as a social organization responsible for strengthening people’s faith and provision of social services, like water, hospitals and vocational training centres. However, there was little information about the role played by Roman Catholic Church in the democratization of Tanzania. Therefore, there was an immediate need for investigations and explanations of the role played by the Catholic Church towards democratization in Mkolani ward from 1961 to 2010.

\textsuperscript{5} George Nzongola Ntaraja and Margaret C. Lee(Ed), \textit{The State And Democracy In Africa}. (Harare: AAPS Books, 1997), p.12.

\textsuperscript{6} Ibid., p.16.

3.0. The Objectives of the Study
The main goal of the study was to assess the political role played by the Roman Catholic Church in Mkolani ward of Tanzania from 1961 to 2010.

The objectives of this study were as follows:

(i) To identify the contribution of the Roman Catholic Church in the democratization of Mkolani ward from 1961 to 2010.
(ii) To discuss the challenges that faced the church in its struggle for democratization in Mkolani ward from 1961 to 2010.

4.0. Justification of the Study
The role played by the Roman Catholic Church in Tanzania went beyond the role of providing social services like education and health centres, as many scholars claimed. For instance, some Roman Catholic bishops strongly opposed President Nyerere when he introduced his socialist ideology in Tanzania. This group of bishops was supporting a capitalist system so as to provide economic freedom to individuals.\textsuperscript{8} Such a criticism which is a demand for democracy still was given little attention only being mentioned in passing. It is obvious that many scholars looked at the church from only one angle, that the church was a social organization responsible for provision of various social services, like schools, hospitals, sanitation and water services.

There was a need to consider another angle of the church activity; namely, its role towards the democratization process. This would help scholars to come up with a comprehensive and deeper understanding of the social, economic and political significance of the church in the society.

5.0. Scope and Limitation of the Study.

Administratively, Mwanza city is comprised of two districts; namely, Ilemera and Nyamagana. This study was done in Nyamagana district particularly in Mkolani ward. The study targeted Mkolani ward because within the ward, there are some early Roman Catholic Mission churches, such as Nyegezi Seminary Church, St. Martione de Polis and St. Augustine, which are found within the campus of the former Nyegezi Social Training Institute and Malimbe campus, respectively. Other churches were later built at Nganza centre and Mkolani. So, the roots of the Catholic Church in Mkolani ward were deeper enough to provide the foundation of the needed information.

The study limited itself to the role played by the church towards democratization at Mkolani from 1961 to 2010. The time frame selected was significant because in 1961 Tanganyika got her independence. Many mission churches were handed over to the African bishops, priests and catechists by the missionaries. Therefore, the researcher assumed that the church became freer to interfere in various government affairs and policies by providing advice and criticism for the sake of democracy. The time limit of the study was 2010 because this was the time when Tanzania conducted her last multiparty general elections which, according to international observers, were neither free nor fair. The study examined what the stand of the church was.

This study faced several challenges. To begin with, the heavy rainfall which poured on many days in December 2012 until late January 2013. This coincided with the time for data collection which began in mid December 2012. This situation forced me to re-schedule my interview time table several times so as to fit in the interviewees’ new appointments. Due to the rainy season, some interviewees were busy cultivating and sowing seeds before the season came to an end. However, when I got time to interview them, they assisted me in a friendly manner and asked me to exhaust every thing I wanted so as to clear my doubt. This helped me to compensate the time wasted due to the above interruptions.
Shortage of finance was another challenge. The study faced a financial problem due to the fact that I travelled from Nairobi to Mwanza region in Tanzania where the study was done. Furthermore, I hired motor cycles several times to visit some areas which were not accessible by the public transport (daladala) due to the poor infrastructure like roads. This proved to be very expensive.

Another serious obstacle was that I had to wait for some days in order to get a research permit which allowed me to go in the field for data collection. This happened because the responsible office, which was the Mwanza Regional Administrative Secretary Office, thought that I was not a Tanzanian but a Kenyan due to the introductory letter granted from the University of Nairobi which did not specify my nationality. However, I produced evidence to prove my nationality and within the next two days I got my research permit letter. The good thing was that I was going on with data collection process while waiting for the research permit because much of the data collected from individuals and the Church did not require me to show a permit. But in very few public offices I had to visit them after getting my permit. This happened because researchers, who are not Tanzanians, normally wait for at least a month before a research permit is granted. This is according to Mwanza Regional Administrative Secretary. But the researcher considered that long process to Non-Tanzanians as unnecessary and unproductive bureaucracy.

Lastly, many of the respondents could not express their opinions by using the English language. This was due to poor de-emphasis of the language in Tanzania education system. Therefore, that forced me to use Kiswahili language during the interviews and later I interpreted the collected information into English language. This was not an easy task at all.
6.0. Literature Review.

A reasonable number of books and well researched articles have been written on the issue of democratization in Tanzania before and after independence. The role of individuals, western countries and social activists in democratization in Tanzania are successfully and fruitfully covered. However, scholars have paid little attention to religious organization and churches like the Roman Catholic.

According to Kenneth P. Serbin, the Catholic Church played a significant role towards democratization in Brazil. Between 1968 and 1985 it opposed the military regime and acted as the ‘voice of the voiceless’ by promoting human rights and social justice for the poor through such structures as the renowned Grassroots Church Communities. After 1985, the Church continued to work for change through support for democratic consolidation, political activism, and criticism of the government’s failure to focus on social justice.9 Serbin’s work is specific to Brazil. Therefore, there is a need to consider another country like Tanzania to find out the role played by the Catholic Church in democratization.

William Temple discusses generally the important role played by the church to abolish slavery and slave trade in the world. Temple also suggests three ways to be used by the church to participate effectively in the political affairs of the state. First, its members must fulfil their moral responsibilities and functions in a Christian spirit. Secondly, they must exercise their civic rights in a Christian spirit and, lastly, it must itself supply them with a systematic statement of principles for doing these two things.10

Temple’s work is significant to the study because it gives some major roles played by the church in bringing democracy. However, his work is too general and does not clearly relate to the church and democracy.


Roland Oliver explains clearly the coming of missionaries in East Africa and how they occupied various areas and managed to spread Christianity. Oliver’s work is significant to this study because it provides background information. It shows how Roman Catholic Missionaries, especially Holy Ghost Fathers and White Fathers, came in Zanzibar and Tanganyika, and the role played by those missionaries. However, for Oliver the activities of the Roman Catholic Church after Tanganyika attained her independence in 1961, are out of his research time frame.

Murray Stedman argues that the Catholic Church did not participate fully in democratization process in the United States of America prior to 1928. He gives an example that prior to the 1928 National Democratic Nominating Convention, when Governor Alfred E. Smith was nominated, it was generally believed in political circles that no Catholic could receive the presidential nomination. Smith’s subsequent failure to win the election and, in particular loss of several traditionally Democratic states in the solid south, led political pundits to revise their formula on Catholicism. It was then widely believed that no Catholic nominee could capture the presidency. If a national party was serious, it could not nominate a Catholic candidate for the nation’s top office. The idea was that a successful presidential candidate had to be a Protestant. This idea was further elevated by the role played by the book called ‘The Principle of Availability.’ This listed characteristics that a candidate should or should not have. Therefore, the Catholic Church did not get support from the top government leaders and some members of the society when it advocated for democratization process in the United States of America. This affected the Church’s struggle for democratization; hence the Catholic Church had a very negligible role in democratic transformation at that time.


A very important discussion about church and democracy is given by William T. Cavanaugh. He aims at explaining the important political roles that should be played by the Catholic Church to bring about democracy in the world. Cavanaugh also gives some challenges that are facing the church when it tries to fulfil its political responsibility.

Cavanaugh says that the state is one actor, among others, in the “public square.” Others include corporations, education, communications and religion. All these challenges check and compete with one another. The church is supposed to provide some recommendations to people on how to vote and to challenge government policies likely to affect the people negatively. Cavanaugh gives the example of the United States of America’s Catholic bishops who opposed nuclear weapons and pro-abortion policies. Some politicians in various states have suggested excluding religion from the state for the sake of peace. This is a great challenge.\(^\text{13}\)

Cavanaugh’s work is significant to this study because it discusses some roles that the Catholic Church has played towards democratization in the world. However, Cavanaugh’s work is too general, and this creates a gap which this study will attempt to fill.

J.K.N. Mugambi argues that Churches in a number of African countries have taken part in democratization of their countries in the 1990s. Mugambi takes Uganda as his case study. He claims that the period between 1962 and 1986 was one of political pathology in Uganda. This period was characterised by civil wars; an abrogation of national constitutions and imprisonment of political opponents without trial; change without a democratic process, from a multi-party to a single – party state; draconian laws and decrees were imposed; human rights were violated and the socio – economic and

political systems were shuttered. All these are indicators that Uganda had been politically destroyed and was in need of reconstruction.\textsuperscript{14}

He mentions some Christian denominations which participated in the democratization process. These are; the Catholic Church, the Anglican Church of Uganda, the Uganda Orthodox Church, the Pentecostal Churches Fellowship, and the Seventh Day Adventist Church. Mugambi classified the roles of these Churches into three main activities. First, they contributed views to be incorporated in the new national constitution; secondly, they carried out civic education prior to the constituent assembly, presidential, and parliamentary elections; and third, they monitored all the above mentioned elections at every polling stations throughout the country.\textsuperscript{15} However, Mugambi’s work as indicated above is specific to Uganda. Therefore, Tanzania also needs to be studied.

Michael Walsh states that the emphasis on participation by citizens would seem to suggest that the Catholic Church has, in the political sphere, embraced democracy as the preferred form of government. Historically, the demand for human rights has arisen at the expense of the Church’s privileged place in European society.\textsuperscript{16} Walsh argues that the Catholic Church pressurized for democracy in Europe. But, his work is very broad. So, a case study is needed to see if the same took place in Tanzania.

David Tracy, Hans Kung and Johann B. Metz in their book show the responsibility of the Catholic Church to the society and to the development of government policy. Tracy, \textit{et al}, claim that, due to the church’s longevity and continuity, as well as financial resources, the Church is a giant among institutions. Therefore, the church has an obligation to participate in the making of public policies which radically affect human lives. They believe that the key to creating effective public policies is to reconcile three factors:

\begin{itemize}
\item Ibid., p.180.
\end{itemize}
social needs, political feasibility and value of preferences. They discuss six strategies which provide potential alternatives in defining public policy: namely, involvement of the modern church, amenities, investment in human capacity, transfers, rehabilitation, participation and aggregative and selective economic measures17.

Their work is significant to the study because of its insight and appreciation that the church is an indispensable organization in formulating political, social and economic policies. However, their work is very broad and it needs to be narrowed to a specific country and specific area.

According to Pierre Bigo, the Church is a source of liberation to the extent that it keeps up the worship of the true God in the world, delivering the world from all forms of idolatry, whether religious or profane, and from those servitudes that stem from them. The church stands up against oppression to the degree to which it does not hesitate to challenge that oppression with churchly weapons. It enters into political combat in a sense, for to take part against racial or social discrimination inevitably means entering the political field.18

Bigo’s work is significant since it shows that the Church enters into political arena to free people from all forms of injustice from the government. However, his work does not specify which church, and the issue of democratization is not discussed in detail.

Laurent Magesa argues that, in 1970s, the Catholic Church in Africa did not participate in democratization. This is because the Church did not give a definite stand when different churches were fighting for democracy through supporting the liberation movement in


Africa. The Protestant Churches, however, showed a strong desire to help liberation movement in Africa. They condemned apartheid policy in South Africa; they openly denounced colonialism and any other forms of injustice, oppression and exploitation. They gave help in money and kind to several liberation movements. Most important of all, they tried to influence western countries to sever all links with the regimes of Southern Africa.\(^\text{19}\)

For Magesa, the Protestant Churches fought for liberation and democracy in Africa unlike the Catholic Church. Therefore, there is a need to conduct a study on the role played by the Catholic Church in democratization soon after independence by using a case study.

According to the International Documentation and Communication Centre (hereafter IDOC), the Catholic Church played tangible roles towards democratization in Kenya. They criticized the government in various aspects and gave voter’s guide book to their members. For instance, before the 1974 general election, one part of the pastoral letter written by the Roman Catholic Bishops of Kenya to the government said “on the occasion of the forthcoming elections, we, the Catholic Bishops of Kenya, wish to address to our Christians and all people of good will, words of greetings, guidance, hope and encouragement. Election is near. Registration has been completed. During registration we read in the daily press of certain abuses, thus, people registering several times in different places, and some being arrested and charged for deceptions. We also read of thuggery and violence being practiced against innocent people to compel their allegiance. Such irresponsible conduct stands self – condemned.”\(^\text{20}\)

Furthermore, the Church called upon all voters to reject unworthy or incompetent candidates and secure the election of men and women who have a genuine interest in the common good and respect of the legitimate right of the individual, of the family and of


the church. Such capable and responsible men were men of high moral character, of integrity, moral courage, and practical ability.\textsuperscript{21} Thus, the Catholic Church is credited for democratization of Kenya. Therefore, there is a need to look at the Catholic Church in Tanzania by using a case study.

George N. Ntalaja and Margaret C. Lee discuss the actors in the democratization process. Their argument is that democracy can neither be imparted from abroad, nor be handed down to the people on a silver platter by African rulers. The people of Africa must democratize the continent on their own. As stakeholders of the democratic transition, civil society organizations are key actors in this transformation process. Major civil society actors and organizations which have played, and continue to play, a critical role in the democratic transition are women, students, trade unions, lawyers, professional associations, human rights groups, religious institutions, and the urban masses.\textsuperscript{22}

Ntalaja and Lee mention the civil society actors in democratization, among them religious institutions. While this is a valid argument, there is a need to further exploit this unfinished line of thought by explaining in detail how religious institutions influence democratization.\textsuperscript{23}

According to Abdalla Bujra, religious groups have always been an important constituency in the Kenyan civil society. They comprise Christian Church Organisations, Islamic Groups, Hindu Associations, and Traditional Religious Groups. Christian Church groups in this category have been the most vocal and conspicuous in the national political terrain.\textsuperscript{24} Bujra explains that various churches were very active in the general process of

\textsuperscript{21} Ibid., p. 93.

\textsuperscript{22} Georges Nzongola Ntalaja and Margaret C. Lee(Ed), \textit{The State And Democracy In Africa}. (Harare: AAPS Books, 1997), p.2.

fighting for democratization of Kenya. However, his work is very general and does not explain in detail how and which Christian churches participated in democratization. Furthermore, this work is strictly dealing with Kenya. Therefore, there is a need to consider the role of the Catholic Church in Tanzania.

Holgerbernt Hansen and Michael Twaddle have also discussed the issue of the Roman Catholic Church and democratization. They argue that the church has been silent too long and too often on questions of arbitrary state action, violation of human rights, poverty, violence and inequality. They point out a number of factors which explain why sometimes the church keeps silent on political issues. Such factors include the closed rather introverted atmosphere of many Catholic Centres, lack of a tradition of militancy vis-à-vis social injustice, insecurities, and insufficient familiarity with what is at issue within the wider context in social and political terms. However, the church sometimes reacted against the undemocratic practices of the government and that is not said by these authors.

According to Solomon Owuoche, the Faith Based Organisations (hereafter FBOs) play an important role in advocating for promotion of principles of democracy. FBOs are widely recognized for putting pressure on the state to democratize. FBOs in Africa are promoting good governance and human rights by rejecting institutionalized evil, corruption, and domination over the weak and economic deprivation. FBOs thus get involved in politics to promote justice.

Owuoche cites the case of Kenya during president Moi’s era, particularly in the 1980s and the 1990s. It was a period characterised by political intolerance, ethnic tension, 


restricted political freedoms, corruption, and authoritarian rule, among others. These provided the entry point for FBOs to participate in politics.\textsuperscript{27} The FBOs which participated in the democratization of Kenya included the Anglican Church of Kenya (hereafter ACK), the Gospel Missionary Society (hereafter GMS), the Presbyterian Church of East Africa (hereafter PCEA), the Italian Consolata Catholic Mission (hereafter ICCM), the Quakers, the Friends African Mission (hereafter FAM) and the American African Inland Mission (hereafter AAIM).\textsuperscript{28}

Owuoche’s work is significant to this study because it discusses how various FBOs contributed to democratization in Kenya. However, his work is too general and does not tell us anything about Tanzania.

John Gay Yoh in his book \textit{Christianity in Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi, An Annotated Biography}, describes various important political transformations which took place in Tanzania from 1950s to 1980s without actually mentioning the influence of religion.

Yoh shows that in 1954 there was the formation of Tanganyika African National Union (hereafter TANU), on 9\textsuperscript{th} December 1961 Tanganyika got her independence, on 12\textsuperscript{th} January 1964 Zanzibar revolution took place, on 26\textsuperscript{th} April 1964 Tanganyika and Zanzibar united to form The United Republic of Tanzania, in 1977 the two ruling parties TANU and ASP merged to form Chama Cha Mapinduzi (hereafter CCM) and in 1984 Nyerere resigned his presidential post and Mwinyi succeeded him\textsuperscript{29}. Yoh’s work is significant to this study because it gives us some important democratic transformations which took place in Tanzania from 1950s to 1980s. However, Yoh fails to show or

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{27} Ibid., p.57.
\textsuperscript{28} Ibid., p. 67.
\end{flushleft}
discuss the role played by any religious organization towards those political transformations in Tanzania. This study is a response to this urgency.

Colin Legum and Geoffrey Mmari argue that the development of democracy in Tanzania was led by Nyerere due to his 1950s and 1960s perception of democracy. This was influenced by four factors; namely, his understanding of pre-colonial African societies, his education in western political philosophy, the colonial experience and the cold war politics. Nyerere fought against racial inequalities, oppression, exploitation and racial discrimination.

They further claim that Gorbachev’s policy of perestroika (restructuring of the economy) and glasnost (openness or democracy), and the international donor agencies, particularly the International Monetary Fund (hereafter IMF), pushed for democratization in developing countries, including Tanzania. However, the authors do not show any role played by religious groups, such as the Roman Catholic, in democratization.

John Baur credits the Catholic Church in the general process of fighting for democracy in Kenya. He says that the Catholic Church involved itself in the constitutional debates. It expressed her concern that freedom of the people should not be endangered. In their pastoral letter of 1988 the Catholic Church Bishops complained that “injustice is growing” in Kenya and repeated the statement in the centenary letter.

The Catholic Church’s involvement in fighting for democracy in Kenya was formerly instigated by President Jomo Kenyatta. When addressing the Catholic Bishops meeting in Nairobi in 1976, President Kenyatta said, “One of the services you give to others is to help them keep going in the right direction. We have many distractions in life and can wander off the path. We do need to constantly be put back on it again. Then, too, most of


us are not theologians, and in the complexities of modern life, we may not even know that we are going astray, that we are making wrong decision. That is why we need the Church in our midst to tell us when we are making a mistake. The Church is the conscience of society, and today’s society needs a conscience. Do not be afraid to speak. If we go wrong and you keep quiet one day you may have to answer for our mistakes.”

Baur admits that the Catholic Church participated in the democratization process in Kenya. However, his work remains silent about the Catholic Church in Tanzania. This is what the proposed study attempts to do.

T.A. Beetham argues that the Catholic Church has played a significant role towards democratization in Tanzania. This is because the Church has been true to its Lord on teaching in the name of him who said: “You shall know the truth, and the truth will set you free.” A study group of the Tanzanian Christian Council refers to “the sudden awareness of people’s right” and suggests that, “this awareness has produced a change in individuals both in speech and action. People feel that they have not only the right to speak but also the ability to speak and act.”

It is a social as well as a political revolution. This is revealed, for example, on meeting African women at international conferences and on United Nations delegations, or on seeking them at work in their own country as doctors, educational officers, members of parliament, magistrates, and bank clerks and police women.

Betham’s work is very important to this study because it appreciates the role of the Catholic Church in democratization in Tanzania. However, a case study is needed to verify whether such roles apply to the selected area.


34 Ibid., p.64.
R.C Pratt relates the one party democracy and economic growth. Pratt’s initial terms of reference was to produce a comparative study of the experience of other countries relevant to Tanzania’s endeavour to secure sustained economic growth within the framework of a democratic social and political order under a presidential one party system.

Pratt recommended as follows: “A single Party system affects the relationships between minister and senior civil servant. It is likely to be more difficult in a one party state to keep a cabinet vigorous and alert and in other countries, the most creative and constructive thinking in many parties takes place when these parties are in opposition”\(^{35}\). Generally, Pratt suggested that Tanzania should embrace more than one political party system (multi- parties) so as to stimulate democracy and, hence, development of the country. This work is relevant to my study because it talks about the relationship and significance of democracy to development. However, Pratt’s work does not tell anything about religious organizations and democracy.

Charles Kitima generally discusses the principles of democracy and some roles which are being played by the Roman Catholic Church towards democratization in Africa. Kitima mentions some principles of democracy, such as majority rule and minority rights, active civil society, protection of, and respect for, fundamental human rights, equality, political and ethnic tolerance. He also describes the role of the church towards democratization in Africa in areas like the provision of social services and education which helped the colonized people to recognize their rights and fight for independence\(^{36}\).


Therefore, Kitima’s work is significant to this study because it gives us the general picture of the roles which were played by the Roman Catholic in Africa towards democratization. However, Kitima’s work is too general and this work will attempt to remedy this shortcoming through a case study.

Methodius M.P Kilaini outlines various social services which the church was providing to people in 1968 when it was celebrating the first century of evangelization in Tanzania. The church was running 137 primary schools, 44 secondary schools, 8 teachers training colleges, 15 trade schools and 48 home craft centres. The church had then 25 hospitals, 75 dispensaries, 74 maternity clinics and 11 medical training schools. Kilaini’s work is significant to this study because it shows the role played by the Catholic Church towards provisions of social services to the people in Tanzania. However, his work does not show the role of the church in democratization or whether there is a link between the social services provided by the church and growth of democracy in Tanzania.

Jennifer A. Widner addresses issues about separation of power, judicial independence and the rule of law. However, in chapter fifteen she discusses some important agents of democratization in Tanzania, which makes her work relevant to this study. Widner considers former President Ali Hassan Mwinyi, the former Chief Justice Francis Nyalali, the public, lawyers and mass media, especially Cable News Network, British Broadcasting Corporation and Radio Tanzania, as the most important agents which fought for democracy in Tanzania during the late 1980s and early 1990s.


Alli Hassani Mwinyi kick-started the multiparty debate in Tanzania. Nyalali chaired a commission to collect public opinion. Lawyers canvassed the idea of multiparty democracy and mass media reports about the fall of the Berlin Wall, new multiparty systems in Eastern and Central Europe and the movement towards majority rule in South Africa provided a vision vocabulary and a method. However, Widner does not say anything about the role played by religious organizations, like the Roman Catholic Church, towards democratization process in Tanzania. This leaves a gap in her work which this study will attempt to fill.

Terry Charlton says that the Catholic Church contributions to democratization of Africa continent through fighting for justice are well known and appreciated by many people from different countries. He further claims that the Catholic Church fought for human justice because through justice one can understand the whole complex of human laws ruling the socio-economic and political relationships among human beings.

The Association of Member Episcopal Conference in Eastern Africa (hereafter AMECEA) and The Inter – Regional Meeting of the Bishops of Southern Africa (hereafter IMBISA) fought for democracy in their countries. For example, in their message at the end of the synod in 1974, the AMECEA and IMBISA Bishops stated: “we expressed the concern for justice and peace many times and in different ways thus confirming that socio – economic and political issues are not outside the mission of the Church; they have a necessary link with evangelization. The recognition of this link was not a matter of doubt or discussion but a consensus among us. Like the Good Samaritan, we were moved by the suffering of millions of victims of injustice and the violation of human rights in Africa.”

Charlton’s work is relevant to this study. However, his work is too general, hence the need for a case study.

Lloyd W. Swantz states briefly the role played by the Catholic Church towards democratization in Tanzania. Swantz shows that when the constitution of Tanganyika came out, it was a surprise to the churches to find that in the 43 pages of document only a brief indirect mention was made to religion and freedom of worship. The member Churches of the Christian Council of Tanzania studied and discussed the constitution and proposed to the government changes in the wording which would make the position of freedom of worship clear and more definite.


In discussing the role of the Roman Catholic Church towards democratization in Tanzania, Bishop Christopher Mwoleka and Father Joseph Healey, give a detailed account of the role of Catholic Church, and the difficulties facing it. Mwoleka states that the church in Tanzania has played many roles. One of its duties is to supply energy which can serve to structure and consolidate the human community according to the divine law. The church also injects faith and charity. On the other hand, Mwoleka explains the difficulties facing the church in Tanzania. For example, the active participation of church leaders in the work of implementing Ujamaa was seen by some government leaders as a

threat to their own influence in society. Mwoleka and Healey’s work, therefore, stresses the use of divine law and faith to consolidate human community as the major roles of the Catholic Church, but do not discuss the roles of the church towards democratization.

According to Salma A. Omondi, the Catholic Church in Rwanda was a prime mover and player in the political landscape. On the eve of Rwanda’s independence, at the Church’s behest, the Belgian colonial authorities switched the support and allegiance from the Tutsi to the more numerous Hutus, a situation which engineered the massacre. During President Keyibanda’s regime, the Catholic Church was profoundly connected to the Hutus, openly supporting Keyibanda’s proclamation of the “country of the Bahutu” which promoted Hutu solidarity against what the Church called “Tutsi Feudalism.” He further explains that the Catholic Church and its leadership were too close to political power even during Habyarimana’s era. This close relationship between the Church and the regime was exemplified by the appointment of the Catholic Archbishop Vincent Nsengiyumva to the ruling committee of *Movement Revolutionnaire National Pour le Developpement* (hereafter MRND). The Archbishop not only participated in and identified with partisan politics, thus dividing his own laity, but also openly identified with the MRND in all its secretariat and extremist policies. Other senior Catholic priests are known to have had “hot lines” to Habyarimana’s palace, and drove luxurious cars provided by the state.

In return, these leaders of the Catholic Church dutifully repaid the regime. Because they were beholden to the regime, they could not preach against the injustice of the regime nor did they warn the people of the impeding danger. Historically, therefore, the Catholic Church in Rwanda has been identified with the ills and abuses of the governments that it supported. Omondi’s work is significant to this study because it discusses the role of the

\[41\text{Christopher Mwoleka and Joseph Healey, } Ujamaa and Christian Communities.(Nakuru: Nakuru Press 1976), pp. 10-11.\]


\[43\text{Ibid., pp. 103-104.}\]
Catholic Church in Rwanda. However, her work does not tell anything about the Catholic Church in Tanzania, which this study intends to do.

Adam Przeworski usefully summarizes the relationship of democracy, elections and accountability for economic outcomes. Adam defines democracy as a regime in which rulers are selected by elections. He further argues that, a regime is classified as a democratic one if during a particular year simultaneously satisfy four criteria mentioned below; the chief executive is elected (directly or indirectly), the legislature is elected, more than one political party competes in elections, and last, incumbent parties have in the past or will have in the future lost an election and yielded office. All the regimes that fail to satisfy at least one of these four criteria are classified as dictatorships. Przeworski conclude that, citizens do not know enough to instruct or judge governments. Furthermore, institutional structure of government is fundamentally important and is not well matched by the electoral system. Therefore, there is a need to design government in a way that its parts control each other and make the whole act in the best interest of the public.\(^{44}\)

Przeworski’s work is significant to this study because it identifies the benchmark for judging democracy and it further shows the importance and relationship of elections and accountability, without forgetting their setbacks. In spite of such a positive contribution, his work does not discuss anything about the role of the Church in democratization which this study intends to do.

Larry Diamond stresses the reasons for the failure of the first republic of Nigeria. Larry begins by giving a general argument that since the wave of decolonization following World War II, a number of Third World Nations, most of them former British colonies, have attempted to govern themselves through western style democratic institutions, but almost all of them have failed. This pervasive failure often heralded by succession of

\[^{44}\text{Adam Przeworski (Ed), } Democracy, Accountability and Representation. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), PP.222-223.\]
military coups and long periods of political instability, has been a subject of intensive study in the past two decades.

On explanations of the failure of the first republic of Nigeria, Larry exposes several hypotheses as follows; first, Nigeria simply wasn’t sufficiently developed to sustain a democratic system, second, the absence of a secure economic base that could deliver the goods, and the absence of large and influential middle class with its characteristics, third, Nigeria simply fell victim to the centrifugal tendencies inherent in all the multiethnic new states, forth, strains and contradictions in the constitutional structure, fifth and last, failure of political integration rooted in the colonial legacy of flawed institutional arrangements, regional disparities and a restricted political process while conceptualizing tribalism rooted in the ethnic competition between elites.\(^{45}\)

Larry’s work is significant to this study because it discusses in detail why democracy in most African states have not been achieved by using Nigeria as a case study. However, his work does not discuss anywhere, how the Church participates in democratization, which is the major task of carrying out this study.

Nicolas Van de Walle explains why Sub-Saharan Africa remains mired in a devastating economic crisis despite the two decades of effort to renew economic growth. Nicolas emphasizes that, since 1989 bank reports have belatedly recognized that the African crisis is one of “governance”, but the bank has largely failed to integrate this insight into its own lending. In the standard adjustment package promoted by all the donors, governance-type issues are relegated to an eventual “second phase” of reform after stabilization has been achieved. State reform has overwhelmingly focused on civil service retrenchment and privatization rather than on areas that could positively impact governance, such as transparency, accountability, or judicial reform. Structural

adjustment loans have had a negative impact on central state capacity and have actually reinforced neopatrimonial tendencies in the region.\textsuperscript{46}

Nicolas adds that, a common donor explanation for poor implementation of reform has been the absence of “government commitment” to and, more recently “government ownership” of reform, but this turns out to be little more than a not very helpful truism, since commitment and ownership usually are defined in circular fashion as the ability and willingness of the government to undertake reform. Where do commitment and ownership come from and under what circumstances? These are questions left unexamined.\textsuperscript{47}

Therefore, Nicolas argument is that, donors like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund are supposed to be the champion of democratization; unfortunately they are not doing enough to enhance democracy in Africa. His work is relevant to this study because it explains the external forces that should push for democracy. However, there is a need to consider the internal sources of democratic changes like the role of the Church.

Tukumbi L. Kasongo is among the scholars who wrote about the challenges which faced the prosperity of liberal democracy in Africa. Tukumbi argues that, the polarization of the world by the ideological, military and power struggles between the Soviet Union and the United States did not contribute to the development of liberal democracy in Africa. On the contrary, these struggles inhibited possibilities for the rise and expansion of both centralized democracy and liberal democracy models by controlling the agencies of social change, including the people, their history and their culture, in the name of state ideology and security.\textsuperscript{48} In most situations in Africa, these models were used


\textsuperscript{47} Ibid., p.14.

predominantly as the instruments of control and manipulation. In most cases during the Cold War era, state apparatuses, especially ruling political parties and executive branches of government, essentially served as national intelligence for the super powers to investigate, recruit and intimidate progressive forces and halt their agendas. Tukumbi adds that, in the 1970s, one-party regimes and military dictatorships, supported by multinational corporations including the World Bank and the IMF, the United States and the Soviet Union held power over Africa, South America, Asia and Eastern Europe.49

Tukumbi’s approach is helpful to this study because it explains in detail the reasons for the failure of the liberal democracy in Africa. Nevertheless, his work does not cover the reasons for the success of democratic practices in some parts of Africa like Tanzania and especially in Mkolani ward.

John Wiseman broadly discusses the theme of democratization in Africa. Wiseman insists that, although the major changed external environment was more conducive to political reform, the major pressures for democratization were those being exerted in Africa by Africans. Right across Africa is virtually every state one has been able to witness a broad-based movement for political reform demanding a return of democracy which has ubiquitously been defined as the requiring a multiparty political system.50

Wiseman adds that, in the more highly authoritarian of African states, Church congregations often represented one of the few legal ways of bringing people together in large numbers: the ‘political sermon’ became common in this period. Professional associations, especially those organized by lawyers, medical staff and academics, played an important role in the pressure for political reform. Members of these associations, along with students and journalists, were often prominent in the large numbers of groups established to promote the linked causes of democracy and human rights. The activities

49 Ibid., p.4.

of these educated elites were effectively complemented by the growth of mass-based political nations in support of political reform.\textsuperscript{51}

From the arguments above, it is clear that Wiseman appreciates the roles played by Church congregations to fight for democratization in Africa. The problem with Wiseman’s work is that he mentions the participants in democratization without telling us the real contributions of each participant like the Church. That makes this study indispensable.

\textbf{7.0. Theoretical Framework}

The study adopted the theory of change and continuity. This theory entails that situations change over time, while at the same time people’s attitudes and responses also change. According to Robert K. Merton, adaptations take the following forms: conformity and innovation.\textsuperscript{52} Merton’s analysis was adopted here because it provides a comprehensive approach to a study of people’s responses and adaptations to situations. It views both society and man as constantly changing rather than being static. The developing society normally is interested to behave, to think, to cope and to act like the advanced society in all spheres of life, namely; politically, economically, socially and technologically. Therefore, the society is always ready to change provided that there are some initiating or engineering forces from the individuals, the government or groups like the social activists, civil society and the religious - based organizations which push the society from a developing to a developed one. However, Merton theory further suggests that for a developing society to succeed in its struggle to join the developed society, it must further invest in various innovations which help to introduce new ideas and best ways of doing things.


This was a useful approach for this study which is concerned with the political changes which took place in the society due to pressure from various groups, especially the church. The theory was used to help explore the new response of the people towards the government and the church in general, following the church’s struggle for democratization.

8.0. Research Hypotheses.

The researcher intended to test the following hypotheses:

(i) The Roman Catholic Church played a significant role in the democratization of Mkolani Ward between 1961 and 2010.

(ii) There were political, social and economic setbacks that affected the Roman Catholic Church’s struggle for democracy in the Mkolani ward.

9.0 Methodology.

The study used both secondary and primary sources. Secondary sources such as books were consulted. Primary sources for instance government, personal and church records were also consulted to get first hand information on the subject.

Generally, the research was conducted in two important stages. The initial stage involved consulting the literature available in libraries which were relevant to the study. The literature included books, theses and periodicals. The relevant document form part of my bibliography. The libraries visited included the Jomo Kenyatta Memorial Library of the University of Nairobi, Kenyatta University Library in both city and main campus, Archbishop Mario A. Mugulunde Learning Resource Centre which is a Saint Augustine University of Tanzania Library in Mwanza, Mwanza Regional Public Library and the Home Library of the Missionaries of Africa (White Fathers) in Nyegezi Mwanza.

Oral interviews were finally carried out to fill gaps left by the secondary sources. The interviewees were obtained by using two types of sampling techniques; namely, snowballing and purposeful sampling.
In snowballing sampling, the participants or informants use their social contacts to refer the researcher to other people who could be having some important information. The researcher thus started with one known individual who assisted to identify others. The researcher consulted all those individuals one after another until the needed information was exhausted.

In purposeful sampling the researcher purposely decided to interview certain people having the needed information, and who fitted into pre-selected criteria. In this study therefore, some individuals were interviewed based on criteria of their age, experiences and their positions in the church. Consequently priests, lay leaders, ordinary church members and church elders were consulted. This was because such a group of people were found to have the required and other related vital information about the church.

An unstructured or open-ended questionnaire were used. This allowed the respondents to give more illustrations or clarifications on issues which were at hand. The interviews took place at the homes of individuals although others were interviewed at their places of work. Most of the questions raised during the interviews were already formulated. Others arose on the spot as the discussion went on. The researcher went into the field while equipped with a pen, a note book and a tape recorder. Only willing respondents were recorded. Wherever ambiguous statements arose from the respondents, the researcher immediately interfered with the respondent’s narration so as to get clarifications. During the interview the researcher made his own notes.

In the course of the research, I had the advantage of being a member of the Roman Catholic Church. This meant that all the people I interviewed had confidence in me and were thus free to discuss any issue that was raised. Being a member of the church further assisted because during my data collection some parts of Tanzania witnessed misunderstandings and serious tension between Christians and Muslims whereby a few people lost their lives in Geita region in Buseresere village, a part of Chato district. So,
the church at that time could not allow unknown people or a non-member in that matter to carry out his research so easily.
CHAPTER TWO

THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF MKOLANI WARD, 1961-2010

2.0. Introduction.

This chapter examines the contribution of the Roman Catholic Church towards democratization in Mkolani ward from 1961-2010. The chapter evaluates the contributions of the Church to democratization in a historical sequence, beginning with the 1960s and ending with the year 2010. The chapter discusses in detail how each element was used by the Church to champion democratization in Mkolani ward.

2.1. The Roles of NSTI in Democratization.

First and foremost, the Roman Catholic Church in Mkolani ward promoted and supported the Church previously established learning institutions which included Nyegezi Social Training Institute (hereafter NSTI), Nsumba secondary school and Nganza secondary school. The findings showed that the Roman Catholic Church believed that democratization process goes hand in hand with liberation of the people through education which imparts the needed knowledge, skills and values to individuals who then become the source of political, economic, social and technological changes in any society in the world, Mkolani ward being unexceptional.

NSTI was founded in 1960 as the Nyegezi Social Training Centre by the Catholic White Fathers (The Missionaries of Africa), under the initiative of Bishop Joseph Blomjous of the Mwanza Diocese. The early sixties were years characterized by the emergence of independent African Nations, including Tanzania, from colonial rule. As the winds of change swept across Africa South of the Sahara, the White Fathers recognized that skills

53 Saint Augustine University of Tanzania, Background of Saint Augustine University of Tanzania www.healthy.action.org/civic-education.html, Accessed on Thursday 28th Feb. 2013 at 2:30pm.
in communication, community development, accounting, management and administration had to be developed, in order to educate the personnel who would take positions of leadership in the countries of East and Central Africa that were gaining their independence.\textsuperscript{54} The founder of the NSTI envisioned a training that would not only impart academic and professional skills, but also inculcate values of civic and social learning\textsuperscript{55}. Civic education may be defined as the process of educating citizens on their rights, duties and responsibilities to empower and motivate them to identify what areas of the political and governance processes they can effectively participate in, and what they can do to influence political outcomes and thereby improve the quality of governance at both local and national levels. At the core of civic education are the values and principles of transparency, participation, responsiveness, accountability, empowerment and equity. Communication and access to information are also integral to civic education.\textsuperscript{56} The roles or importance of civic education are as follows: civic education is a critical and effective empowerment tool for promoting citizen’s participation in democratic and development processes. It helps citizens to be active participants by informing them about their rights, roles and responsibilities. Such citizen information is empowering, enabling the citizens to interrogate the practice of governance and subjecting the government to scrutiny on the stewardship in delivering its mandate and in utilising the resources at its disposal.\textsuperscript{57}

The civic education provided by NSTI helped citizens both as individuals and as part of collective groupings in the society, with knowledge, requisite skills, motivation and

\textsuperscript{54} Saint Augustine University of Tanzania, \textit{Background of Saint Augustine University of Tanzania} \url{www.healthy.action.org/civic-education.html}, Accessed on Thursday 28th feb.2013 at 2:30pm.

\textsuperscript{55} Saint Augustine University of Tanzania, \textit{Background of Saint Augustine University of Tanzania}. \url{www.healthy.action.org/civic-education.htm}. Accessed on Thursday 28th feb.2013 at 2:30 pm.

\textsuperscript{56} Saint Augustine University of Tanzania, \textit{Background of Saint Augustine University of Tanzania} \url{www.healthy.action.org/civic-education.htm}, Accessed on Thursday 28th feb.2013 at 2:30pm.

\textsuperscript{57} Saint Augustine University of Tanzania, \textit{Background of Saint Augustine University of Tanzania} \url{www.healthy.action.org/civic-education.html}. Accessed on Thursday 28th feb.2013 at 2:30pm.
confidence to assert and exercise their rights and responsibilities in holding the government accountable. This enhanced the government’s transparency and contributed greatly to its credibility and public confidence in its systems. The NSTI was established with a view to training indigenous manpower, regardless of race or creed, in general management as well as in professional skills, such as journalism, accountancy, material management, and health administration.  

When Bishop Joseph Blomjous retired in 1964, he handed over the institute to his successor, Bishop Renatus Butibubage, who in 1975 entrusted it to the Tanzania Episcopal Conference (hereafter TEC). The TEC guided and managed the NSTI in achieving its aim of manpower training. More than 2400 men and women graduated from the institute for service in the countries of East and Central Africa until the 1998.

2.2 Socialism and Self-Reliance Policy – The Roman Catholic Church Reaction.

The Roman Catholic Church made a constructive criticism about the Arusha Declaration and TANU’S policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance of 1967. The Catholic Church believed that socialism policy was introduced in Tanzania without prior preparations of informing and educating the Tanzanians about the policy on how it works, its advantages and disadvantages which could allow the Tanzanians to give their opinions and hence an opportunity to accept or to reject the policy. Tanzanians were just forced to implement socialism and self-reliance policy which they knew nothing about, that’s why the policy were criticized by some Roman Catholic Church leaders as a policy which was implemented by using a dictatorship type of ruling. This finding concurs to the ideas of Rev.Fr. Giambrone of the Roman Catholic Church in Songea who said:


"It is important to remember all the time that you cannot build socialism by using force. Even the government cannot use force. People must be free to accept or to reject socialism. Every one has the right of enough food, medicine and decent house. We have the duty of assisting some people who are in need of such services. In such circumstances, the government can ask the rich to assist the poor. If the government uses force to grab properties of the rich people and use them to support the poor, it is practicing dictatorship. By using force the government destroys the following: personal activities, personal struggle, heart, national development and development of the citizens in general. God created a human being like this, to be free. Even God himself does not use force. Therefore, all of us should respect freedom."

Some Church leaders in Mkolani ward were rather in favour of capitalist system which according to them could encourage the spirit of hard working and creativity, hence national development as opposed to laziness, extreme poverty, lack of important social services, such as water, health, education and poor performance of government parastatals, which were witnessed in Tanzania due to the adoption of a socialist policy which later proved a failure. This finding further relates to Rugumamu’s investigations on socialism in Tanzania which stated as follows:

"The state of Tanzania emerged from independence institutionally and organizationally weak and, in particular, short of skilled manpower. This shortage meant that the government was unable to independently analyze sectoral needs and oftentimes need assessments were carried out by ill-informed donors. On top of that, past experiences with the conditionalities of bilateral aid, laid plain the real costs of accepting

assistance. Realizing the weakness of the state and its relative powerlessness, Tanzania adopted the Arusha Declaration as a statement of Tanzania’s national philosophy. The movement it engendered, known as *Ujamaa*, was based on socialism and self-reliance. Although well-meant, subsequent implementation decisions that proved disastrous in tandem with economic crises left Tanzania poorer than before and more dependent on aid. The net result was that Tanzania was less able to resist the more pernicious effects of the aid regime at the same time as it was increasingly dependent upon it. The effect was an inexorable vitiation of the Tanzanian capacity to shape and direct development within its borders. 

The Roman Catholic Church in Mkolani ward accused the government of being undemocratic and called upon the government to take some measures immediately as the living standard of the people became worse. In late 1970s and early 1980s, President Nyerere admitted failure and gave up on his socialist dream. He declared that the government would again permit private enterprises in farming, including companies investing in private commercial farms. Faced with famine and mass starvations, Nyerere left office in 1985. The new regime took office and began dismantling the government controls over the economy. Therefore, the people of Mkolani ward used some of their time in demanding democracy due to that newly introduced social and economic policy which affected their lives. They fought for democracy because the Church enlightened them by showing the consequences of a socialist policy.

Since 1992 there was a move within the Tanzanian government to liberalize the provision of social service. The changes in government policy coincided with a desire among church leaders to establish a Catholic University in Tanzania. Relying on the Catholic Church’s long tradition in higher education, the Bishops of Tanzania decided in 1996 that the time was ripe to extend the church’s services to university education. The NSTI in

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Mkolani ward became the nucleus of the new Catholic University; “St. Augustine University of Tanzania” (hereafter SAUT) which was established officially in 1998. The University attracted students from Tanzania and elsewhere, particularly the countries of East and Central Africa: Kenya, Uganda, Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Burundi, Malawi, and Zambia.

2.3 The Contributions of SAUT in Democratization of Mkolani Ward.

The role played by SAUT in the democratization of Mkolani Ward was very critical. The SAUT administration, especially the Dean of Students office in collaboration with the Saint Augustine University of Tanzania Student’s Organisation (hereafter SAUTSO), planned and invited several politicians from different political parties, like CCM and CHADEMA, to sell their policy and to explain their manifestos to the students, university staff and the community around the university. Participants were given enough time to ask questions on several political, social and economic issues that bothered them. Among the issues questioned were; the response of the government on big corruption allegations which were facing some government ministers and permanent secretaries, the credibility of the ruling party, CCM, suppression of opposition parties, the destiny of Tanzania economy and unemployment among the youth. Therefore, the Church through SAUT political rallies produced good ambassadors who told their fellows, who did not participate, the importance of attending political, social and economic gatherings. This acted as a motivation because participants had enough time to interact with their leaders face to face and listened to new political power aspirants and their policy. In so doing, the participants broadened their mind and were well prepared to elect the right people in a democratic manner during the elections of 2005 and 2010.

The roles played by SAUT Legal and Human Rights Centre in collaboration with Radio SAUT FM in democratization of Mkolani ward were found to be very significant and had noticeable impacts to the community. Both are found within Mkolani ward and are owned by SAUT which is a Roman Catholic university. Through this research it was discovered that SAUT Legal and Human Rights centre and Radio SAUT FM cooperated together to organize and to air out some radio programmes about human rights and
democracy status in the country which educated people on many democracy issues and human rights. Hence, they were increasing the people’s awareness and participation in democracy-related issues. For example, one of the Radio SAUT FM announcements said:

“Be informed that on every Thursday from 08:00 am to 09:00 am and Monday 08:30 am the SAUT-Human Rights Centre will be hosting on Radio SAUT FM 96.1 MHZ informative/educative radio programmes to address/discuss issues pertaining to human rights and those which are closely related. Lecturers and students wishing to participate are invited. It is also advisable that you visit the centre at Malimbe Campus for more details.”

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Some of the topics that were aired on Radio SAUT FM included: democracy, rule of law and good governance (pillars and fundamentals), performance of the media in democratic country, the constitutional making process in Tanzania: sensitizing people to fully participate, the denial of private candidate in Tanzania politics, corruption in general elections, women and resource ownership, for example land, women rights, killings of for example albinos and elderly women, rights and duties of citizens and the government, and last, the rights to health care in Tanzania: rights and duties of the patient and medical providers.

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It was further noticed that the SAUT Legal and Human Rights Centre organized some workshops and special training seminars for local government leaders, especially Ward Executive Officers (hereafter WEO) and Village Executive Officers (hereafter VEO) in which Mkolani ward was among the beneficiaries. The participants got education on


various issues, such as the advantages and disadvantages of democratic rule, good governance and human rights. These seminars and workshops seemed to be very helpful to the participants since many people in Mkolani ward admitted to having noticed some changes in the administration system particularly at the ward level. Furthermore, the local WEO and VEO appreciated the education given and hence they saw the importance of going for further studies so as to broaden their mind in administration issues. For example, the Mkolani ward executive officer decided to go for further studies at the same university (SAUT), where he earned his first degree.\textsuperscript{64}

The SAUT went extra miles by providing some free copies of books to local leaders and other members of the community around. For example, the book by Rev.Dr.Charles Kitima the Vice Chancellor of SAUT and a lecturer in the Faculty of Law, proved to be more helpful in the democratization of Mkolani ward since people gained confidence to question their leaders after they knew their rights and the responsibility of their leaders to the ruled majority.\textsuperscript{65} Kitima covered important topics such as: democratic rule and human rights, the national constitution and protection of human rights, Arusha declaration and human rights, human rights in multiparty system, human rights violation as a source of war and the constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania and human rights. The Mkolani community believed that human rights and democracy are inseparable. Democracy exists and flourishes where human rights are respected, and where there is violation of human rights democracy cannot be found at all. Therefore, the books provided talked much about democracy, rule of law and human rights which are ingredients of good governance.

On top of that, the Church talked about the rights and freedom of the mass media and further taught how and why they were expected to give relevant and unbiased information. Fortunately, some journalist students who were doing their B.A and M.A in mass communications at SAUT and other stakeholders participated. The Church was

\textsuperscript{64} Oral interview. Shukuru Paul, 16.01.2013 at the respondent’s working place in Malimbe.

straight forward on this matter when it said to have political parties, consultation of the people through referendums, access to good and objective information were all necessary tools for people to participate in making political choices.

The media had a special role and an important responsibility in enabling the people understand and follow the issues of government. It was therefore vital that they give true and objective information and avoid being purely guided by profit or sensationalism.

2.4 Formation of Lay Movements and Associations and their Roles in Democratization.

Mkolani ward like other areas of Tanzania where the Roman Catholic Churches existed, witnessed the formation and encouraging of the Lay Movements and Associations which operated from the local level (grassroots) up to the national level. These lay Movements and Associations resulted in the formation of the Lay Apostolate Department of the TEC which evaluated all forms of lay apostolate activities countrywide in the light of the gospel, the teachings of the Church and by reading the signs of times. In its operation, the department collaborated with Diocesan Lay Apostolate Coordinators, National Chaplains and Lay Leaders of Lay Associations and Movements which worked under the umbrella of the National Council of the Laity. Some of the Lay Movements and Associations which operated from the grassroots up to national level included Tanzania Youth Catholic Students (hereafter TYCS), Tanzania Young Catholic Workers, Tanzania Catholic Women Association, Tanzania Catholic Men Association (hereafter UNUM OMNES), Christian Professionals of Tanzania (hereafter CPT) and the Legion of Mary, among others. All of them operated in Mkolani ward and in many other areas.

According to the Tanzania Episcopal Conference Report of 1995-1999, the Lay Apostolate Department identified three main objectives in their spiritual journey together towards the Great Jubilee of the year 2000. The first objective was to promote broad and common awareness of Lay Apostolate within the mission of the church. Two goals were identified in this objective: first, to supervise election of leaders of the Lay Movements and Associations which takes place after every three years. The election took place in 1995 and 1998 respectively. The second goal was to foster the spirit of togetherness and
co-responsibility among the people. Some of the activities and achievements in the direction of the identified goals included: supervision and release of election manifesto to guide the process of elections of the Council of the Laity and Lay Movements and Associations, supporting the programmes of CPT which aimed at empowering the laity and other people through education, both secular and sacred. And the major activities included production of booklets on education for participatory democracy, theology for the laity, rights and obligations of the government to citizens, and rights of women in relation to marriage and inheritance which produced positive results in Mkolani ward. For instance, many women demanded to be involved in making decisions which affected their families like giving equal opportunities to boys and girls to access education, and strongly fought for their rights to inherit their father’s and their husband’s wealth, like land and houses, which were formerly thought unethical and hence impossible.

The third objective was to promote the operations of the offices dealing with Lay Apostolate. The activities performed by the department during the period 1995 to 1999 were realised in various ways and forms. As Tanzania Episcopal Conference Report of 1995-1999 put it:

“Consequently, the laity in Tanzania has been able to collaborate with other members in the Church and other Tanzanian people in their march towards democracy, more economic development and more social harmony and transparency. In this vein, the laity apart from their participation in the life and mission of the Church has embarked upon building civic conscience of the nation through various activities which include programmes, activities, seminars, workshops, meetings and recollections.”

2.5 Other Suggested and Discussed Aspects of Democratization by the Catholic Church.

The Church dealt with another important theme called Submission to Legitimate Authority. People were taught the importance of being submissive to the legitimate authority in power where they were represented indirectly through their counselors and members of parliament, among others. This aspect was insisted on because the Church believed that democracy involved respecting the legitimate authority and laws that were made by their representatives for the benefit of the whole nation. However, the Church pointed out some conditions that were to be met so as to allow the required submission to be genuine. The Church had this to say in one of its publications:

“In Rom 13: 5 Paul talks of submission to legitimate authority. It supposes that this authority is at the service of God for the good of the person. The legitimacy of authority comes from the plan God has over his people and in so far as authority serves this plan. When authority makes itself into a deity and demands absolute submission, it has lost its legitimacy; it has become the beast of the Apocalypse (Rev 17: 6, 19, 20)”

This helped the people to be aware that respect and submission to legitimate authority indicated acceptance and practices of democratic rule.

The Church further preached that political authority was an instrument of coordination and direction, subject to the moral foundation as willed by God. The sovereign agent of political authority was the people considered in its entirety. The Church further taught that the people transfer the exercise of that sovereignty to freely elected representatives. The people evaluate how these representatives exercise their power and can replace them

with others when judged less than satisfactory. The democratic form of government allows for this exercise to take place regularly.

The interesting thing was the Church’s suggestion that people had the right to disobey the laws which were considered to be evil laws. This sounded like unacceptable teachings of the Church to some people who knew nothing about evil laws which were being referred to. As the Church leaders explained more, it brought sense to the people. The Church discussed these evil laws as follows:

“When a public authority fails to seek the common good, it abandons its proper purpose and so delegitimizes itself. When faced with unjust laws a dramatic problem of conscience arises. It is a basic human right to refuse to obey morally evil laws- it is the right to conscientious objection. To participate in acts, permitted by civil legislation, that are contrary to God’s law is not allowed. A further situation arises when authority violates in a serious and repeated manner essential principles of natural law. The Church teaches that in such a serious situation resistance is allowed. Passive resistance is the preferable choice. For armed resistance to be permissible the Church teaches that the following conditions must be met: situations of grave and prolonged violation of fundamental rights, all other means of redress have been exhausted, such resistance will not provoke worse disorders, there is a well founded hope of success and last, it is impossible reasonably to foresee a better solution.”

The Roman Catholic members in Mkolani ward benefited from such brief but interesting teachings which explained the scenarios in which members were not supposed to obey

the evil laws. May people admitted that the Church pulled them from the world of darkness to the light one.

The rights of the prisoners and the way they were supposed to be treated were examined by the Church. This happened because there were so many complaints that the situations in the prisons were very bad because they accommodated beyond the number recommended and prisoners were treated like non-human beings. The Church reminded the government that there was a need to find an alternative way to punish law breakers and also to treat prisoners as people who deserved their rights. Furthermore, the Church insisted that the aim of the prisons were to build peace and to change behaviours of the prisoners by directing them to the right direction. The Church showed its displeasure on the long time taken before prisoners had their cases heard. This caused many to lose their basic rights. Such a critique assisted to alert the government and the people to be sensitive on prison and prisoner’s life because the mass media started to visit those areas to see the situation and to tell a lot about them.

The Roman Catholic Church called up the government to make sure that schools were teaching the Tanzania National Constitution and its importance to the people. This could help many primary and secondary school leavers to be aware of how their country was governed and also to know much of their rights as stipulated in the constitution. The outcome of this struggle was that the government through the Ministry of Education and Culture introduced subjects in primary and secondary schools which talked about the government, politics and administration in general. In primary schools that subject was called Siasa, civics in secondary schools while in high schools it was called General Studies. The books contained topics, such as The Pillars of Government, Human Rights and Responsibilities of Citizen, Democracy and Good Governance, Tanzania Constitution, The Parliament, Judiciary and how the government is governed. In primary schools the books were written in Kiswahili while secondary school books were written in English.

Furthermore, the government through the National Examination Council of Tanzania (hereafter NECTA) penalized all students who, in their Form Four and their Form Six
final National Examinations, failed Civics or General Studies subjects. Students who got first and second class but failed the above subjects were demoted to third class.

Constitutional amendment was another critical area which the Roman Catholic Church fought for. The United Republic of Tanzania used the 1977 constitution which, according to the Church, had many weaknesses which contributed to poor performance in democracy and national development at large. Some areas of the constitution which were criticized included; too much power vested in the president and presence of many government ministries which used a lot of money but produced little achievement or success. For example, the president in consultation with the prime minister appointed all Ministers and Deputy Ministers, Permanent Secretaries, Regional Commissioners, District Commissioners and Chief Justice, to mention only a few. This was too much power, and the presidential appointees worked in favour and for the interest of the government and the ruling party CCM instead of putting forward the people’s interest. This situation forced the Church to raise its voice in collaboration with other social activists which produced the results because the government allowed the constitutional amendment process to take place. However, President Jakaya Kikwete took some immediate measures on the question of a large cabinet by reducing it through combining some ministries, a situation which at least reduced unnecessary government expenditure. Different Catholic churches in Mkolani, for instance, St. Augustine, St. Karoli Rwanga and St. Martione de Polis, participated fully in addressing the issue of constitutional amendment and large cabinet before the president acted accordingly.⁶⁹

The roles of the educated people, especially doctors and professors in higher learning institutions, were scrutinized. The Church reminded them that they were supposed to criticize the government if it did wrong, and also to suggest solutions to various political, social and economic challenges which faced the society. They were advised to bring in new ideas and to avoid hypocritical submissiveness to the authority which could dwarf their thinking capacity. The Church further called for unity among that group of learned

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people to fight for intellectual freedom. The Church assisted in bringing them together and form various organizations like CPT. Consequently, the society felt the importance of their professionalism through various publications and unpublished works which they produced, for example, “human rights and democratic rule” and “the challenges facing the church in democratization” by Dr. Charles Kitima.

In the political arena, the Church told the people to look at the ways in which political parties used to appoint their political aspirants. This was very important because many people, who were appointed by some political parties, were said to have no national integrity, but were appointed because they had money or they were popular among the western powers. Many people who deserved to be appointed were left out because they were poor and looked unpopular among the people. But the reality was that they could not be popular if they were not given a chance to sell their manifestos.

The need to find out the source of money for political parties was also an advice from the Church. It said, “We need to gather information about the sources of money which the political parties use and how they use them”\(^7\). This forced a political party, like CCM, to expose its sources of money to Tanzanians, because it was thought that the party was using tax payer’s money to run the party activities which were unhelpful to the majority. The same party, CCM, was accused of getting money from western countries so as to favour them later in tax payment once it took power. Therefore, there was a serious need of questioning their source of money. The CCM party tried to deny the accusations and it used the mass media, like radio, televisions and newspapers, to explain its sources of money. The sources of money mentioned were CCM owned stadiums where it collected taxes, CCM card membership fees which were collected each year and fund - raising where many members participated. People got experience and questioned other political parties on the same issue, and they had to respond accordingly.

\(^7\) Baraza La Maaskofu Katoliki Tanzania (TEC), Mwango wa Kiuchungaji Kuhamasisha Jamii Kuelekea Uchaguzi. (Dar Es Salaam: Idara ya Kiuchungaji Tume ya Haki na Amani-TEC 2010), P.9.
In a nutshell, this chapter showed that, the Roman Catholic Church through its learning institutions, especially the Nyegezi Social Training Institute and the Saint Augustine University of Tanzania in collaboration with the Catholic Lay Movements and Associations acted as indispensable ingredients of democratization in Mkolani ward. This is because the Roman Catholic church set a foundation for democracy in Mkolani ward by opening the learning institutions like Nyegezi Seminary, Nyegezi Social Training Institute, Nsumba Secondary School and Nganza Secondary School which were established before Tanganyika got her independence in 1961. The graduates from these institutions acted as sources of political, social and economic changes. Immediately after Tanganyika attained her independence, the struggles for democratization in Mkolani ward went on and in the late 1990s, democratization process gained support from the newly established university, the Saint Augustine University of Tanzania. Therefore, the prosperity of democracy in Mkolani ward was boosted by the Roman Catholic Church.
3.0 Introduction.

This chapter examines the contribution of the Roman Catholic Church towards democratization in Tanzania with attention on how the Church reacted to Multiparty Elections in 1995-2010. The chapter begins by a brief historical background of Multiparty in Tanzania. This was done purposely so as to enable a reader understand the genesis of multi-partism in Tanzania, how it operated and how it provided a wide chance to the people to participate in demanding their rights and freedom. The second part of the chapter comprises of a discussion on various roles which were played by the Church to bring democracy in Mkolani ward from 1995 to 2010.

3.1 Background of Multiparty System in Tanzania.

The debate on whether Tanzania should shift from one political party system to multiparty system took place under the following external and internal conditions which eventually led to multiparty system in Tanzania.

In 1986 Gorbachev declared a policy of perestroika (restructuring of the economy), and glasnost (openness, or democracy). In Tanzania, some people saw this as the end of socialism while others saw it as pointing to the need for further democratization of the socialist system.71 At the end of 1989, there were a series of revolts in the Eastern

European communist countries. They abandoned their one party systems and socialist economies in favour of market-oriented economies. The communist parties were seen as monopolistic, inefficient, and undemocratic and detached from the masses. In a few weeks, they crumbled in the face of mass demonstration.  

The international donor agencies, with IMF in the lead, were pushing for political reforms in developing countries. They had structured the economies of these countries and were of the view that one-party system could not promote accountability and efficiency. The multiparty system became a condition for continued aid. The performance of Tanzanian economy in 1980s was declining. Some people believed it was the party and government which had contributed to this state of affairs.

Perhaps the most important factor giving rise to the debate was the process of capital accumulation and social differentiation. In 1980s the government embarked on Structural Adjustment and Economic Recovery Programs which liberalized the economy and promoted private enterprise. While the living conditions for the majority were very poor, a few people were getting richer. Cases of corruption, theft, racketeering, poaching and illegal prospecting for precious minerals were common. Trade liberalization in 1986 allowed those operating in the hidden economy, or racketeers, to participate in economic activities openly.

Tanzania had reached a stage where social differentiation needed different political forums, otherwise the interests of some sections of the population would be ignored. The debate went on for almost two years in meetings and mass media. The Nyalali Commission of February 1991 was a presidential commission set up under the leadership of then Chief Justice Francis Nyalali of Tanzania to collect the views of citizens and make appropriate recommendations on whether the country should adopt a multiparty or single party system. This was during President Ali Hassan Mwinyi’s regime. The commission accepted that there were weaknesses in the democracy of Tanzania which led

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to the modification of the constitution the following years for multiparty system. These are lack of real mass representation in state institutions, lack of popular democracy, little responsibility given to institutions such as workers councils, too much power vested in the presidency, the weakening of the role of parliament and representative council, lack of individual freedom of association, freedom to run for public office in elections, freedom to choose policies and programmes, lack of access to free sources of information and lack of respect for the rule of law. One could conclude that these were the results of the supremacy of the party and, particularly, its failure to reach the masses.

On the issue of whether or not Tanzania should remain a one party state, 77.2 per cent of those interviewed said Tanzania should retain a one-party system, while 21.5 per cent advocated a multi-party system. For Tanzania mainland, 79.9 per cent wanted the one party system, but in Zanzibar only 56.4 per cent did so. One significant finding was that 55.6 per cent of those who the supported one-party system (about 42.9 percent of those interviewed) said there should be major changes in the party, some of which could not be effected in a one-party system.

In view of the weaknesses mentioned above and the views of those interviewed, the commission recommended the establishment of a multi-party system and changes to be effected in the constitution to ensure democracy and human rights. The recommendations were unanimously approved by the National Electoral Commission (hereafter NEC) and CCM National Conference in March 1992. In May 1992 the parliament passed the Eighth Constitutional Amendment Act 1992, replacing the 1965 and 1977 one-party constitutions and allowing for the establishment of a multiparty system. The numbers of parties seeking registration were about twenty in August 1992.

In 1995 Tanzania held its first multiparty election since the 1965 constitution formally established a one-party system. This election marked the end of one ruling party, namely


Ibid., p.77.
*Chama Cha Mapinduzi* (CCM), domination in Tanzania. Several new parties emerged and the ruling party, CCM, faced a stiff challenge especially from the National Convention for Construction and Reform (hereafter NCCR) party with its presidential candidate Mr. Augustine Mrema, a former minister of Tanzania Home Affairs. Other political parties which participated in this election included: *Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo* (hereafter CHADEMA), Civic United Front (hereafter CUF), United Democratic Party (hereafter UDP), Tanzania Democratic Alliance (hereafter TDA), National Reconstruction Alliance (hereafter NRA), Union for Multiparty Democracy (hereafter UMD), Tanzania Labour Party (hereafter TLP), National League for Democracy (hereafter NLD), United People’s Democratic Party (hereafter UPDP) and Popular National Party (hereafter PNP).

There was a near-massive hiccup in the 1995 election in which the traditional ruling party’s candidate, Benjamin Mkapa, won the presidency by 61.82 per cent, a narrow win relatively speaking. The 1995 multiparty election in Zanzibar were marked by irregularities and CCM was accused of having rigged it for its own benefit. The CUF did not recognize the election results. It organized a series of public protests and important donors to Zanzibar suspended their cooperation with Dr. Salmin’s government. Salmin came with a policy of segregating the people who supported CUF mainly from the islands of Pemba. The people of Pemba were denied a position in government, deprived of higher education opportunities and, where possible, their businesses were constrained by their government.

In October 2000, Tanzania held its second multiparty general elections. The ruling CCM party’s candidate, Benjamin W. Mkapa, defeated his three main rivals, winning the presidential election with 71 per cent of the vote. In parliamentary elections CCM won 202 of the 232 elected seats. In the Zanzibar presidential election, Abeid Aman Karume (CCM Candidate), defeated Seif Shariff Hamad CUF candidate. The election was marred by irregularities and subsequent political violence claimed at least 23 lives in January 2001, mostly from Pemba Island. Hundreds were injured and state forces were reported to have attacked boats of refugees fleeing to Kenya. Also, 16 CUF members were
expelled from the union parliament after boycotting the legislature to protest the Zanzibar election results.

In October 2001, the CCM and the CUF parties signed a reconciliation agreement which called for electoral reforms and set up a commission of inquiry to investigate the deaths that occurred in January 2001 on Pemba. The agreement also led to the appointment of an additional CUF official to become a member of the union parliament. Change to the Zanzibar constitution in 2002 allowed both the CCM and CUF parties to nominate members to the Zanzibar Electoral Commission. In May 2003, the Zanzibar Electoral Commission conducted by-elections to fill vacant seats in the parliament, including those seats vacated by the CUF boycott. Observers considered these by-elections, the first major test of the reconciliation agreement, to be free, fair and peaceful.

As expected, the 2005 and 2010 elections did not bear the fruits people had hoped for. CCM and its government continued to deny Zanzibaris their rights to choose their own leaders. As of 2010 Tanzania was ranked partly free by Freedom House. The 2010 Democracy Index marked Tanzania a ‘Hybrid Regime’ ranking 92 out of 167.

3.2 The Roman Catholic Church and Multi-partism in Tanzania, 1995-2010.

Without any doubt, the findings showed that the Church played a major role to democratize Mkolani ward since multi-partism was introduced in Tanzania. The outcome of the findings discussed below validates the above statement.

To begin with, the Church facilitated meetings, seminars and workshops to lay leaders and to the lay people in general on the important issues to consider during the general elections. Some of the issues pointed out and which were discussed in detail included the importance of attending political campaign rallies and reading various manifesto of different political parties.\textsuperscript{75} The Church always reminded its members that there was a

\textsuperscript{75} Oral interview, Josephat Nkingwa, 28.01.2013 in the office of the respondent at Bugando.
need to attend political campaigns so as to know what each political party promised to do in case it was elected to rule the nation. This was very important because the era of one political party was over and hence there was a need to measure the capacity of different people from their manifestos and the way they planned to implement them.

Second, the seminars demonstrated why every individual was supposed to register as a voter and further encouraged Church members who were qualified to go for various political vacancies with much emphasis on women participation. The Church explained clearly that members had the right to practise their democracy through registering as voters so as to get an opportunity to elect their leaders who could bring them development. A large number of people registered and more important, the Church strongly advised its members to show up during the Election Day. Gender balance appeared to be among the serious concern of the Church. Special encouragement was directed to women so as to bridge or to minimize a big gap which existed among women and men in decision making organs. Women got confidence and support from the Church and their families and started to appear in political arena unlike before. For instance, Zenaida Msiba and Hilaria Mashauri became Chair persons in their areas of residence at Nyabulogoya, while Esta Mcharundi became the CCM ambassador in the same area in 2009.76

Other themes which were covered by the Church included; qualities of good leaders, the consequences of electing leaders who are bribing to get votes, vote for capable people regardless of their political parties, race, religious beliefs and tribal background. The Roman Catholic Church strongly advised its members to judge or elect their leaders based on the above criteria. Political tolerance, respect, national unity and peace were strongly insisted on and given first priority. Always the Church reminded the community to learn from some neighbouring countries the real consequences of political violence to

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their lives and to their national development at large. The youth were advised to avoid being used by the politicians to make chaos which could disrupt the national peace and security. This helped to have civilized campaigns in most of the time.

In order to make this programme very successful, the Roman Catholic Church produced small books which were called the ‘voters guide book’ (*ilani*). Those books were sold at affordable price. This helped some individuals who did no attend election seminars, meetings and workshops due to various reasons to read on their own about the Churches’ advice and guidelines towards the general elections of 1995, 2005 and 2010. One of the voters guide book of 2010 election advised the people to elect leaders who had certain qualities. The book suggested as follows:

“A true leader is someone who is constantly in search of the truth, in search of building justice, the good of all and the good of the individual, someone who brings people together. A true leader is someone who is showing others the way that leads to the truth, justice, love and peace. He or she is always open and transparent listening to others. He or she is not ordering the troops by dashing out orders and commands, but rather, invites people to follow the road that leads to development, happiness, fulfilment, creativity and peace. This is the moral leadership we need in Tanzania: leaders who can draw the best out of our people, who make them feel that they can realize and master things and solve their own problems, who help people get rid of their fear and their feeling inferior, who give people confidence. At this point of our history, this is perhaps what we greatly need in order to take off towards our development.”

The guide book further suggested questions to ask candidates. Examples of such questions were: what will you do to improve the moral behaviour in politics? What reward do you expect for your work as a politician? Why do you vote for yourself big

financial rewards? What will you do to help the families especially the poor to cover the costs of education? Why do politicians not visit their constituencies and councillors not come to listen to people’s problems? What will you do towards improvement of the health services for people and making them accessible, affordable and truly caring? And last, what will you do to help the small farmers to improve their production and sell their produce at the market and guarantee a decent income? Such questions acted as a guideline and many people appreciated the Church’s struggle for democracy.

It is very important to remember that the Roman Catholic Church started seriously this programme of educating and advising its people about election issues in 1995 during the first multi-party election. The Church did the same in 2000, 2005, 2010 and it is expected probably that the Church might do the same in 2015 and in some more years to come. The reasons why the Roman Catholic Church showed much emphasis and interest in democracy in 1990s, unlike before, was the question asked during the interview and Mr. Nkingwa the chairman of the Lay Apostolate of the Archdiocese of Mwanza had this to say:

“Before, Tanzania had only one political party called Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM). That being the case, different people who ran for political power at various capacities used the same CCM manifesto, and there was no any other political party to challenge it. However, many injustices, corruption behaviours, undemocratic practices and irresponsible government leaders emerged and gained momentum in 1990s. That’s why the Roman Catholic Church took immediate measures from that time to rescue the society.”

In 1995, when Tanzania held its first multi-party elections, some religious - based organizations were given an opportunity to participate as election local monitors. Among the religious organizations that benefited from this government invitation was the Roman

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78 Ibid., p.19.
79 Oral interview, Josephat Nkingwa, 28.01.2013 in the office of the respondent at Bugando.
Catholic Church. From Mkolani ward, Rev. Fr. George Peltz from the Missionaries of Africa (White Fathers) was given a chance, so he was among the local monitors. Fr. Peltz was assigned to monitor a neighbouring district called Sengerema. This once again showed how the Roman Catholic Church got involved in the democratization process. This Missionary Priest, as he liked to be called, when he was interviewed on how their presence during the voting time contributed to free and fair election said;

“Our presence as religious leaders and local monitors was of importance. This is because after the election, we were supposed to write a confidential official report to the higher authority of the National Electoral Commission (NEC) to explain if the voting process was free and fair or not and why. This forced the people who were supervising the voting process to be extra keen with their duties in their polling stations. Again our presence convinced people to have confidence in the voting process and people cast their votes without any doubt. Generally, we acted as the voice of the voiceless.”

However, when Fr. Pelz was asked if the government involved the religious leaders during the general elections of 2000, 2005 and 2010 he said he was involved once in 1995 and he never heard of any religious leader who was involved in the general elections which followed later. Furthermore, he was not quite sure of other religious-based organizations that were involved in the election of 1995. But he suggested that possibly they were involved because the process could not involve the Roman Catholic Church alone and neglect the others.

In 2010 Tanzania general elections, the SAUT produced two members of parliament. These are Moses Joseph Machali who was a third year student in the faculty of education doing Bachelor of Arts with Education (BAED). The second is known as Felix Francis

80 Oral interview, Rev. Fr. George Pelz, 11.01.2013 in the home library of the respondent at Nyegezi.
Mkosamali from the faculty of law who was doing his Bachelor of Arts in Law (LLB). Machali won in Kasuru Urban Constituency under the ticket of National Convention for Construction and Reform (hereafter NCCR), while Mkosamali won the parliamentary seat in Muhambwe constituency also under the NCCR party.

The desires for participation in politics among these two young men were engendered by the SAUT emphasis on the urgency of having young generation participating in politics. Their participation brought challenges to the government because they exposed the serious issues like unemployment and drug abuse problems that were facing the youth who made a larger percentage of the national population. These two members of parliament in collaboration with other young members of parliament especially from the opposition political parties like CHADEMA; they played a noticeable role of putting first the interest of the people and the nation at large before anything else unlike veteran politicians. Therefore, the SAUT was proud of them since they acted as role models to other students and members of the community who were interested to participate in politics in future.  

Compositions of songs and prayers that insisted the need for free and fair elections, and also the need for peace and harmony before and after elections were common in Mkolani ward. The songs for competitions which had the themes above were composed and different Roman Catholic choirs from Mwanza diocese participated. The prayers which insisted peace and harmony among the Tanzanians were prayed on Sundays, at the end of every Sundays services. One title of the prayer was read; “Sala Ya Kuiombea Amani Nchi Yetu Tanzania”. By so doing, the Church taught people that democracy can be achieved peacefully and not necessarily by bloodshed or violence.

Conclusively, this chapter exhausted the external and internal factors that pushed for the introduction of multi-parties politics in Tanzania, in the 1990s. Second and last, the roles played by the Roman Catholic Church in the democratization of Mkolani ward in the

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81 Researcher’s personal Experience at SAUT from 2007 – 2010.

82 Oral interview, Josephat Nkingwa, 28.01.2013 in the office of the respondent at Bugando.
1990s were well identified and explained. The external factors that pushed for the introduction of multi-party politics in Tanzania included the declaration of 1986 Gorbachev’s policy of *perestroika* (restructuring of the economy) and glasnost (openness or democracy) and lastly the pressure from international donor agencies with International Monetary Fund and World Bank. The internal factors included capital accumulation and social differentiation, lack of real mass representation in state institutions, lack of popular democracy, little responsibility given to institutions such as workers councils, too much power vested in presidency, weakening of the role of parliament, lack of individual’s freedom of association, lack of access to free sources of information and lack of respect for the rule of law. The role played by the Roman Catholic Church included, facilitating meetings, seminars and workshops to lay leaders and lay people on important issues to consider during the general elections, encouraging people to register as voters and contesting for various seats, teaching the qualities of good leaders to the people, producing the voter’s guide book and last, the Church provided some election local monitors. This showed that, the Roman Catholic Church became the voice of the voiceless in Mkolani ward by guiding the people to fight for democracy and their rights in general.
CHAPTER FOUR.

THE CHALLENGES OF DEMOCRATIZATION IN MKOLANI WARD, 1961-2010

4.0 Introduction.

This chapter focuses on the political, social and economic setbacks that affected the Churches struggle for democratization in the Mkolani ward in the 1960s to 2010. The chapter examines each category of setbacks separately. Political setbacks was examined first, followed by the social setbacks and last the economic setbacks. This was done purposely so as to make it easier for the reader to understand how each category affected the Roman Catholic Church’s struggle for democratization in its own unique way.

4.1 Political Setbacks.

The political setbacks which affected many efforts of the Church to struggle for democracy started soon after independence. In 1960s it was difficult to criticize or oppose what was said or done by those in power. Criticism or opposition was regarded as being disloyal to TANU. People who opposed the leadership were branded ‘colonialists’ or ‘traitors’ and this gave licence to some individuals or groups to harass those who attempted to question what the leaders said. The situation was aggravated by the enactment of the Preventive Detention Act of 1962 which allowed the president to detain any one who was considered a danger to peace and good order. The individual was not given the right to defend himself or herself before a court of law and the accusers remained anonymous.\(^{83}\)

The regional and area commissioners were allowed to detain for a period of not more than forty-eight hours individuals they suspected of having committed crimes.


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Opposition was also suppressed through the control of the trade union movement which was organized through the National Union of Tanganyika (hereafter NUTA) as an affiliate of TANU. The top leaders of NUTA consisted of presidential appointees who were also leaders in the party and/or the government. The president could dissolve NUTA if he found it was not operating according to the act. NUTA was no longer a free trade union defending the interest of the workers. The state similarly tried to control the peasant’s co-operative movement, and transformed it more or less into a government department.\(^{84}\) That national oppression network affected Mkolani ward because the Church leaders feared to talk or to discuss in public democracy and other related matters. Many members of the church also were not ready to listen or to comment anything on democracy climate in the country because they were aware of the consequences of doing that. Even when the government became flexible and willing to accept some challenges from the people, many were not ready because they thought it was a government technique to get its enemies. This meant that the Church had to prove beyond doubt that they were safe before they could join the Church’s effort to fight for democratization in Mkolani. So the Church was really in a very hard time, though it succeeded later.

In 1990s when Tanzania allowed multi-parties, many people feared to join the opposition parties though they appreciated their manifestos. This was because some people especially business men, who joined or supported the opposition parties, had their business shut down and many became bankrupt. They claimed that the ruling party CCM did that so as to stop the opposition parties getting financial support from the giant business men. This technique was done by sending the Tanzania Revenue Authority officers to harass the business people by claiming that they were supposed to pay more revenue because there were some mistakes made in earlier calculations. Very limited deadlines for payment were given and a majority of them, who failed to pay, had their

business closed down. On the other hand, big business men who were supporting the ruling party CCM had their business well protected by the government. That being the case, there were very few business men who showed up in public to support the opposition parties. Furthermore, some government employees, who were supporting or belonged in the opposition parties, found themselves being demoted or were deliberately denied promotions in their working stations. From that perspective, the Church faced difficulties convincing people to support the opposition political parties wherever it was necessary. One big business man who asked his name not to be exposed said: ‘If you want to have your business shut down forever and die poor in that matter, support the opposition parties, and if you want your business to prosper and enjoy in this country, support CCM”.

Such a statement showed clearly how the Church faced difficulties in convincing people that their leaders should not be elected on the basis of their political party, but on the basis of their competence and their policy. Generally, many government employees and many big business men are forced indirectly to be submissive to the ruling party CCM.

Many Tanzanians have never been involved physically in political violence. That being the fact, in 2005, the ruling party CCM used the violence films propaganda to convince the Tanzanians that in case they voted for opposition parties, they were to be ready for political violence of which women and children will be the most affected groups. People testified that they were shown films of violence like that of 1994 Rwanda massacre, a situation which intimidated many women and men who were supporting the opposition parties. The CCM party claimed to be the only party that could maintain peace and security among the Tanzanians. Such propaganda convinced many people that any one out of CCM party was not likely to be a good leader. That situation affected the efforts of the Church to educate the mass about the true democracy which involves freedom of choice.

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85 Oral interview, informant X, 20.02.2013 at the home of the respondent in Nyanghingi.
The denial to issue consent for political rallies to take place was another serious obstacle that affected democratization process. The government used to restrict opposition parties from organizing rallies to explain their plans in case they were elected. This happened so as to reduce the competition which the ruling part CCM was facing at constituency and ward level. Wherever a permit was given, it was followed by several tight conditionalities which were supposed to be met by the opposition parties. For example, the duration and venue of their rallies were determined by the police forces. Always, big open spaces were not given to opposition parties and, again, wherever the opposition planned to have their campaigns, the traffic police made another delaying technique by taking a lot of time to inspect the public transport (daladala), a situation which made many to report at the campaigning areas very late, while others postponed their journey. That situation which only faced the opposition parties made many people annoyed, and some decided not to attend next time, a situation which affected the Church’s encouragement. This was common in Mwanza city especially during the 2010 election, a situation which affected Mkolani ward and many people complained that they lost their right for effective participation in politics.

There was a high level of reluctance from CCM government to provide support to the people in those areas where the CCM party was defeated in an election. For example, in Mkolani ward their councillor and Member of Parliament came from the opposition party called, CHADEMA, during the 2010 election. From 2010, it was observed that many development programmes which were taking place stopped and many others which were planned to begin shortly never started. When Mkolani society asked the government, they were told that they should ask their councillor and their members of parliament who both promised to bring the required development since the ruling party CCM had failed. Some of the development programmes which were not implemented included provision of water and electricity services in some areas and provision of some soft loans to various savings and credit co-operative society (hereby SACCOS).  

The government under CCM thought that to support various developments in the constituencies and the wards where they were defeated by the opposition parties was simply to destroy and to finish themselves politically. The solution therefore was to deliberately take development programmes to wards and constituencies which were under the ruling party CCM and deliberately marginalized areas under the opposition leaders. For example, Mr. Julius Kihama, the chair person of Nyamalango B. area, supported the above findings when he commented as follows:

“In 2009 and in 2010 before the elections, the government was going on well by implementing its programme of providing the land title deed to the people of Mkolani. The programme stopped immediately when we elected both of our representatives, Member of Parliament and Councillor, from the opposition party CHADEMA. Few people had their title deeds already. We are not expecting to get the process restarted unless we elect CCM representatives in the coming 2015 election.”

Therefore, the Roman Catholic Church faced difficulties when it told people to stick on the needed criteria of electing their leaders because they felt that they were likely to be marginalized forever. However, the Church did not give up and people changed their mind slowly.

Some members of the Roman Catholic Church were accused of convincing their Church members to vote for certain political parties which they supported or thought to be relevant to them. This created a bad impression for the Church, though this remained allegations and were not proved beyond reasonable doubt. These accusations in the long run affected to some extent the Churches struggle for democratization. This was due to the fact that the Roman Catholic Church, like other religious - based institutions, comprised of members from various political parties. That being the fact, every individual did not want to hear his or her political party being considered irrelevant or less important. On the other hand, some members of the Church went further, and

87 Oral Interview, Julius Kihamba, 21.02.2013 at the home of the respondent in Nyamazobe.
accused some Church leaders of acting as agents of some political parties. Members of
the Church who had such ideas participated partially in various seminars, meetings and
workshops which were held to enlighten the members of the Church on the necessary
issues to consider during the general elections.

Apart from the Church’s struggle, there were some complaints that the elections were
neither free nor fair. This was because some people were not allowed to vote since their
names did not appear in the voters register, though they registered on time. Many claimed
that some names of voters were deliberately removed from the voters list. That happened
because some contesters were trying to reduce competition from their opponents. So, the
names removed were of those known individuals that were supporting or not supporting a
certain political party. Such practices of injustice were done in collaboration with some
unfaithful people from the NEC. That undemocratic behaviour further hampered the
Roman Catholic Church’s struggle for democratization in Mkolani ward.

The CCM and the government in general saw the church as a threat due to its open
criticism. As discussed earlier, the Roman Catholic Church was in the frontline to talk
about unacceptable practices done by some government leaders. Such practices included:
violation of human rights, limited freedom of expression and other related undemocratic
practices. The government felt humiliated by the Church and sometimes it took serious
measures to suppress the Church’s effort of exposing the truth. For example when
Tanzania approached the general elections in 2010, the Roman Catholic Church used
Radio SAUT FM 96.1MHZ to educate people on important issues to consider before
electing their representatives.

The radio programmes further criticized CCM and the government in general on how
they acted on various issues that faced the community. The government felt humiliated
and decided to quickly close Radio SAUT on the allegation that its waves were
interfering with the nearby barracks security system. The Radio SAUT remained closed
for some months until the general election was over\textsuperscript{88}. Radio SAUT was a major tool

\textsuperscript{88} Oral interview, informant X, 20.02.2013 at the home of the respondent in Nyanghingi.
which was used by the Church in Mkolani ward to communicate its massage to many people at once because even Non-Roman Catholic Members listened to it and benefited equally. When it was closed for several months, many people blamed the government and the Church admitted that its goals of educating people were totally interfered with. That was a serious challenge, among others.

4.2 Social Setbacks

The Roman Catholic Church faced strong opposition from other religious groups, especially Muslims. Some Muslims criticized the Catholic Church agenda of educating the people before elections. That group of Muslims claimed that the Roman Catholic Church were trying to convince its members to elect Dr. Wilbrod Slaa who was a Catholic follower contesting for a presidential seat under the political party called CHADEMA. Some people dared even to call CHADEMA, the Roman Catholic Church Party and others labelled it a Christian Party. That group of Muslims went ahead; they explained that the Catholic Church was against the ruling party CCM because its presidential candidate, Mr. Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete, was a Muslim89.

However, the majority of people considered such allegations to be very weak and unverifiable because in 2005, the same Muslim President Jakaya Kikwete, won overwhelmingly by getting above 90% of the total vote. Such a win proved that he got support from both Muslims and Christians. So far there was no evidence produced to support such allegations. The Roman Catholic Church denied the accusations and asked to be regarded as innocent until proved guilty. Until the conclusion of this research, there was no tangible evidence produced to support the allegation. Such misleading rumours affected the concentration of some people on what the Church taught about democracy.

89 Oral interview, informant X, 20.02.2013 at the home of the respondent in Nyanghingi.
Furthermore, there were different perceptions among the people on whether the Church has the right to participate in democratization or not. Some people thought that democracy issues were supposed to be left only to politicians and government but not the Church. Some got confused when they heard that the Church worried much about democracy and human rights. Surprisingly, even within the Church, some leaders had different perceptions when asked what were the roles played by the Roman Catholic Church towards democratization in Mkolani ward from 1961 to 2010. One of the respondents said;

“The Roman Catholic Church has nothing to do with democracy. How can it help democratization process while it doesn’t allow democracy in its bureaucracy? Bishops are not elected but appointed by the pope; priests are promoted or demoted according to the wishes of their bishops. So, the Roman Catholic Church and Democracy are two different things’’.\(^{90}\)

The same question had a different answer from another Church leader who said;

“The Roman Catholic Church is much concerned with the presence of democracy among the people. This is because the major aim of the Church is to free people physically and spiritually.’’\(^{91}\)

The Church, therefore, contained some leaders who had different perceptions when it came to democratization and the role of the Church. Such differences affected democratization in its own way especially when leaders were supposed to encourage their Church members to struggle for real democracy. Some leaders were effective while others were reluctant.

The Church dealt with other burning issues in the society. For example drug abuse, rape, early pregnancies, child abuse, increases of school drop out, street children and

\(^{90}\) Oral interview, Fr.Ferdinand Mwalimu, 23.01.2013 in the office of the respondent at Bugando.

\(^{91}\) Oral Interview, Kitambi Masanja, 30.01.2013 in the office of the respondent at Mkolani.
insecurity. The above social problems were also addressed by the Church and it made follow-ups which helped to reduce the weight of such problems. The Church ran children’s centre where several street children were collected at that particular centre in Malimbe complex area and were given important social services, such as education, health, food, shelter and clean and safe water. When social crimes especially rape and robbery increased, the Church was in the frontline to provide some assistance to minimize the problem. Foremost, the Church through its SAUT provided a car and two drivers who used to patrol around with some policemen during the night. Private security companies were also given some assistance of the needed materials, such as whipsaws, batteries and some night jackets. So, the Church had to balance the services in the society and the outcome was that some individuals who were interested in democratic issues suggested that the Church were supposed to do much on democracy rather than doing other social responsibilities. But the fact remained that the Church had a lot to do concurrently. That is why it did not succeed a hundred percent in democratization of Mkolani ward, and it didn’t claim so.

The absence of social services, like dispensaries and recreation centres, dwindled the process of democratization. The churches were supposed to display posters on democracy and human rights themes in such areas which are visited by many people at once, but this remained a dream. Many people went to get treatment in the neighbouring ward called Butimba because there was no government dispensary in Mkolani ward. Furthermore, due to lack of recreation centres, it was not so easy to get many youth of different background at once.

Some members in the community never wanted to hear any more about democracy and democratization process. They believed that there was no true democracy in this world because their leaders neither involved them in decision making process nor held meetings to listen to their problems. They argued that they fought for democracy since independence (1961) up to 2010 but they never achieved it and according to them, that was enough. They did not want to waste their time any more fighting for unachievable and theoretical democracy. Some tried to impart such negative perceptions to the young generation. This forced the Church to do an extra duty to convince this group of old men
and women that fighting for democracy is an endless process. Through the Church’s struggle, some changed their mindset while others remained with their original stand. That was among the challenges that affected democratization process in Mkolani ward.

4.3 Economic Setbacks

Poor economic conditions among the people seriously affected the Roman Catholic Church’s struggle for democratization in Mkolani ward. As discussed earlier, majorities of the population in Mkolani ward were small scale farmers, poor fishermen, small scale business men and women and a good number of youth were jobless. The minority of the population were government employees, such as teachers and nurses. This minority group also comprised of private sector employees like lecturers and administrators from SAUT, security companies’ employees and some teachers who work in private schools.

That being the situation, unfaithful politicians took advantage of the poor and used corruption to get some votes. Because poverty was a serious problem, some people were ready to vote for people who gave them some money, clothes, sugar, salt and other related stuff. The Church was in a very hard time when it tried to change such mindset of the people who believed that a leader should have some money.

Furthermore, many people were reluctant to attend political rallies because they had to struggle from morning to evening in order to feed themselves and their families in general due to the tremendous increase of the food prices. One of the respondents said:

‘‘It is crazy to attend the political rallies while you have no food at home for your family. If you do that, your children and your wife will doubt your thinking capacity. The outcome is that you won’t be respected at all as a responsible father in the family.’’

92 Oral interview, Josephat Nkingwa, 28.01.2013 in the office of the respondent at Bugando.

Poor technology, lack of irrigation systems and poor fishing methods were other serious hindrances to democratization. Due to poor technology people got difficulties to make agriculture, irrigation and fishing their source of income. That was accompanied by unpredictable climatic condition due to the problem of climatic change in the whole world. The climate of Mkolani ward was not stable. Sometimes the ward experienced heavy rainfall which resulted to flooding of the area and sometimes the ward was affected by a prolonged drought season. Both floods and droughts had serious impacts on food production and the economy of the people in general. Farmers cultivated small portions of land because they used hand hoes; irrigation systems were impossible which resulted to poor harvest. The fishermen on the other hand applied illegal fishing methods, like using poisons and prohibited fishing nets. The government reacted by burning many of those fishing nets, destroying fishing boats and put in prison some fishermen who were responsible. The most affected areas were Sweya and Luchelele Ziwani. This situation made the Church to face some difficulties to democratize such a frustrated community which did not effectively attend the various seminars and workshops on democratization issues\textsuperscript{94}.

The Roman Catholic Church faced shortage of fund and limited time to accomplish its goals. The Church provided some free copies of publications, such as the *Voters Guide Book* which were much needed in the community. To a large extent, more free copies of publications were needed to make sure that many people who could not afford to buy also benefited. That was not possible and hence some people were advised to share the publications distributed\textsuperscript{95}. The findings further discovered that the Church suffered time shortage. The time frame given to educate the mass was very limited. This was because other programmes of the Church had to go on as planned. Time limit also was due to the fact that the Church put more emphasis on democratization issues when the elections approached. This made the Church time table to look very fixed and it was not easy to make some adjustment to favour the democratization issues at the expense of other

\textsuperscript{94} Oral interview, Aloyce Celestine, 01.01.2013 in the office of the respondent at Nganza.

\textsuperscript{95} Oral interview, Aloyce Celestine, 01.01.2013 in the office of the respondent at Nganza.
programmes, like preparations for Christmas and New Years. Generally, both shortage of fund and shortage of time affected the struggle by the Roman Catholic Church for the democratization of Mkolani ward.

To summer up, this chapter showed clearly that, the Roman Catholic Church faced serious political, social and economic setbacks during its struggle for democracy in the Mkolani ward. The political setbacks included, labeling the TANU criticizer’s or opponents as colonialists and traitors, enactment of the Preventive Detention Act of 1962 which allowed the president to detain any one who was considered a danger to peace and good order. The individual was not given the right to defend himself or herself before a court of law and the accusers remained anonymous, the government control of the trade union movement which was organized through the National Union of Tanganyika, The government harassed giant businessmen who supported the opposition parties like CHADEMA instead of supporting the ruling party CCM, the CCM party used the violence film propaganda to convince the people not to vote for opposition parties, the police denial to issue a permit for some political rallies to take place, the high level of reluctance from CCM government to support development programmes in those areas where the CCM party was defeated in elections, closing of radio SAUT, voters registers problem and finally, some Church leaders were accused of convincing their members to vote for certain political parties which sounded as undemocratic practices. In the social context, the Church faced strong opposition from other religious groups especially Muslims, different perceptions among the Church leaders and it’s follower on weather the Church has the right tom participate in democratization or not, last, some members in the community never wanted to hear any more about democracy because they believed that democracy is unachievable and hence theoretical in nature. In the economic context, the Church’s struggle for democracy in Mkolani ward was hampered by poor economic conditions among the people, without forgetting shortage of fund and limited time to accomplish its goal. Therefore, the Church had to find ways and means to overcome those challenges in order to succeed in its struggle for democracy in Mkolani ward.
CHAPTER FIVE
CONCLUSION

5.0 Introduction.
This chapter focuses on the conclusions of the study. It summarizes the contents of the thesis by showing the hypotheses and their associated objectives, the findings and the theoretical framework applied in the study, and lastly, the methodologies applied during data collection.

5.1 Conclusion.
This study has evaluated the contribution of the Roman Catholic Church towards democratization in Mkolani ward between 1961 and 2010. The study was based on two hypotheses. The first hypothesis was that the Roman Catholic Church played a significant role in the democratization of Mkolani ward between 1961 and 2010. It was assumed that in Tanzania and especially in Mkolani ward, faith-based organizations contributed to the democratization process because they were not supposed to close their eyes and ears while their members and the community at large were crying for democracy. The objective associated with this hypothesis was to explore the contributions of the Church in the democratization of Mkolani ward. In regard to the above hypothesis and objective, the study has shown that the Roman Catholic Church played indispensable and tangible roles towards democratization in Mkolani ward.

Such roles included, the formation and encouraging of the Lay Movements and Associations, criticizing Arusha Declaration and TANU’s policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance of 1967, supporting and developing the earlier established learning institutions, using SAUT-Legal and Human Rights Centre and Radio SAUT to educate the community, facilitation of democracy based meetings, seminars and workshops, producing the voters a guide book and publications of many other related materials. Lastly, it provided local monitors during the first multiparty general election in 1995. Therefore, the contribution of the Church to the community goes beyond insisting on faith, presence of life after death and provision of social services, like education and
health. It is important to appreciate such big political contributions from the Church as the study indicates.

The second hypothesis was that there were political, social and economic setbacks that affected the Roman Catholic Church’s struggle for democracy in the Mkolani ward. The assumption was that democratization struggle could not be successful without some obstacles from various groups like the ruling government, other FBOs and individuals. The objective in line with this hypothesis was to discuss the challenges that faced the Church in its struggle for democratization in Mkolani ward. This study has shown that in its struggle to achieve the above contributions, the Church faced a number of political, social and economic setbacks which included: the government suppression of all opposition organizations and individuals, lack of free and fair elections, limited freedom of expression, opposition from other religious groups, illiteracy, too much responsibility, poverty, poor technology and shortage of funds. The Church had to find ways and means to solve or to neutralize such challenges before it went ahead with the process of democratization. Among the measures taken to minimize the strength of the above challenges was to educate the people about many issues relating to democracy through seminars and workshops which helped to create awareness to the majority.

Through this work, it has been shown that religious groups are not static. Like other cultural forms, they undergo a constant process of transformation as they adjust or respond to forces both in their larger social and cultural milieu and within themselves. Underlying the metamorphic potential of religious formations is the critical role religions play in engaging the world of experience in light of human need for coherence, human right, democracy, social relationship and meaning. Therefore, the Church represents among other things, a species – specific mechanism for responding to political, social, economic, environmental and even biological stressors. Change in the external or internal context of a religious group are likely to produce changes in belief and rituals as people mobilize their religious resources to restabilize themselves. The trajectory of change, unavoidably, is conditioned by prior experience, the nature of the stressor, and the available pool of cultural elements that can be expropriated.
Therefore, this finding supports the Robert K. Merton theory of change and continuity which was applied in this study. Merton claims that man and society are constantly changing, not static at all. People’s altitudes and responses change just because situations change. This study showed that due to the influence of the Church teachings, people changed their minds and started to fight for democracy.

The question of the methodology used was also a serious concern of this chapter. The study used both secondary and primary sources. Secondary sources included books and theses while primary sources included government, personal and Church records. The libraries visited to get the secondary sources included the Jomo Kenyatta Memorial Library of the University of Nairobi, Kenyatta University Library in both city and main campus, Archbishop Mario A. Mugulunde Learning Resource Centre which is a Saint Augustine University of Tanzania Library in Mwanza, Mwanza Regional Public Library and the Home Library of the Missionaries of Africa (White Fathers) in Mwanza.

Oral interviews were finally carried out to fill gaps left by the secondary and primary sources. The interviewees were obtained by using two types of sampling techniques; namely, snowballing and purposeful sampling.

In snowballing the informants used their social contacts to refer the researcher to other people believed to have some important information. Thus, the researcher started with one known individual who assisted to identify others.

In purposeful sampling the researcher purposely decided to interview certain people having the needed information, and who fitted into pre-selected criteria. Therefore, some individuals were interviewed based on criteria of their age, experiences and their position in the Church. Consequently priests, lay leaders, ordinary Church members and Church elders were consulted.
Unstructured or open-ended questionnaires were used. This allowed the respondents to give more illustrations or clarifications on issues which were at hand. The interviews took place at the homes of individuals although others were interviewed at their places of work. The researcher went into the field while equipped with a pen, a note book and a tape recorder. Only willing respondents were recorded. During the interview the researcher made his own notes.

At the end of the study, basing on the findings from the field and other sources, the researcher concluded that, the Roman Catholic Church enhanced democracy in Mkolani Ward; hence many political changes in the ward cannot be separated at all from the Church.
SOURCES

Oral Evidence.

A List of Informants.

Below is the list of the informants. Their names appear first followed by their age, dates when they were interviewed and last are their areas of residence.

Adelaida Mukulasi                          (-) December 27.2012 Nyabulogoya.
Aloyce Celestine       (53) January 01.2013 Nganza.
Ambrozi Joseph Swai           (30) February 05.2013 Nyamazobe.
Angela Alphoce               (65) January 03.2013 Luchelele.
Bartholomew Ngemera Marie  (64) December 28.2012 Nganza
Ediphace Sevelyan Mbega            (37) December 29.12 Nyamazobe.
Fr. Ferdinand Mwalimu    (81) January 01.2013 Bugando.
Fr. George Pelz                          (70) January 11.2013 Nyegezi
Fr. Julius Kagembe          (65) January 16.2013 Nyegezi
Jesca Masanja                     (60) February 16.2013 Sweya.
Kitambi Masanja             (68) January 30.2013 Mkolani.
Maria Magua                    (-) February 11.2013 Nganza.
Neema Ponsiani                     (-) December 31.2012 Nyabulogoya
Shukuru Paul                                    ( -) January 01.2013 Malimbe.
Secondary Sources.

Books


Christian Professionals of Tanzania, From Ilani (2009) To Commitment For Ethical Politics. (Dar Es Salaam: CPT 2010)


Baraza La Maaskofu Katoliki Tanzania (TEC), Ilani Mapendekezo ya Vipaumbele vya Kitaifa. (Peramiho: Benedictine Publications, 2010)
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Church In The 1994 Rwanda Genocide.” (M.A. Project University of Nairobi, 2004).


Kitima Charles. “*The Challenges Facing the Church in Democratization*” (Oxford; the Oxford Centre for Religion and Public Life, 2008).


Omondi, A. Salma, “*The Role of Civil Society In Conflict Management: A Case Study Of The Catholic*.


QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Name of the respondent (optional) .................................................................

2. Sex .....................................................................................................................

3. Age ...................................................................................................................

4. Occupation .....................................................................................................

5. Which organizations spearheaded democratization in Mkolani ward from 1961 to 2010.
   (i) ......................................................................................................................
   (ii) ......................................................................................................................
   (iii) ......................................................................................................................
   (iv) ......................................................................................................................
   (v) ......................................................................................................................
   (vi) ......................................................................................................................
   (vii) .....................................................................................................................
   (viii) .....................................................................................................................

6. What were the roles played by the Church towards democratization in Mkolani ward from 1961 to 2010.
   (i) ......................................................................................................................
   (ii) ......................................................................................................................
   (iii) ......................................................................................................................
   (iv) ......................................................................................................................
   (v) ......................................................................................................................
7. What difficulties did the organizations which spearheaded the democracy face?

(i) ....................................................................................................................

(ii) .....................................................................................................................

(iii) .....................................................................................................................

(iv) .....................................................................................................................

(v) .....................................................................................................................

(vi) .....................................................................................................................

(vii) .....................................................................................................................

(viii) .....................................................................................................................

8. Mention some political, social and economic setbacks that affected the Church’s struggle for democratization in the Mkolani ward.

(a). political setbacks

(i) .....................................................................................................................

(ii) .....................................................................................................................

(iii) .....................................................................................................................

(iv) .....................................................................................................................
(v)…………………………………………………………………………………………

(b). social setbacks

(i)…………………………………………………………………………………………

(ii)…………………………………………………………………………………………

(iii)…………………………………………………………………………………………

(iv)…………………………………………………………………………………………

(v)…………………………………………………………………………………………

(c). Economic setbacks

(i)…………………………………………………………………………………………

(ii)…………………………………………………………………………………………

(iii)…………………………………………………………………………………………

(iv)…………………………………………………………………………………………

(v)…………………………………………………………………………………………

9. What should be done by the Church to make sure that its future struggle for
democracy in Mkolani ward remains vibrant?

(i)…………………………………………………………………………………………

(ii)…………………………………………………………………………………………

(ii)…………………………………………………………………………………………

(iv)…………………………………………………………………………………………

(v)…………………………………………………………………………………………
(vi)..............................................................................................................

(vii)..............................................................................................................

(viii)..............................................................................................................