Elections et Challenges to the Democratization Process in Tanzania. The Interface between Administrative Reforms and Democratization

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returned home. And the demobilized constitute, even though they are ill-prepared for that, a labour force which cannot be neglected. However, the delay in effective implementation of the cease-fire signed between the government and Rwasa's FNL constitutes a real danger.

The process of demobilization is still going on. It is the reason why it is difficult to appreciate all its results. However, the tendency shows clearly that economic objectives will not be achieved in short or mid-term. On the other hand, objectives which had not been identified during the conception of the program but which are vital for the reconciliation of Burundians have been attained: demobilization has allowed integration of the armed political Movements and the Burundian Armed forces into the National Defense Forces. Let us not forget that it is exclusion or its perception which ransacked and pillaged this country for almost half a century.

THEME IV: ELECTIONS AND ELECTORAL PROCESSES

Elections et challenges to the Democratization process in Tanzania. The interface between administrative reforms and democratization, by Jonas Ewald

Tanzania is an interesting example of conflict resolution in the Great Lakes region because it has developed a political culture of peaceful development, in a context of great poverty. Tanzania has a strong identity and national cohesion; it is also among the countries which are registering the best performances at the level of the African continent in the areas of governance, reforms in economic and public sectors.

As regards elections, the country has known a long experience of elections which were well conducted within the framework of a single party system as well as in the multiparty system. Parliamentary and presidential elections have been taking place since 1992. The quality of these elections improved at every term, except in Zanzibar. For the observers, those of 2002 were free but not fair; in 2005 they were free and fair. From the changes that occurred, one could mention the number of voters which kept increasing (8.93 million in 1995, 10.09 million in 2000 and 16.42 million in 2005), what is a sign of a greater awareness for the political participation on the part of the population.

Since 1995, the party in power, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) has won elections with an ever more comfortable lead over the opposition (61.8 % in 1995, 71.7 % in 2000 and 80.3 % in 2005). In 1995, the opposition had 46 seats; this number dropped to 26 in 2005, whose 19 were from Zanzibar islands and especially Pemba.

The challenges faced by the process of
democratization are the following:

1. A weak opposition in terms of organization and capacities to develop political programs. Besides, opposition parties are torn apart by internal conflicts.

2. The legislation left by the single party was not amended to adapt itself to the multiparty system. A commission had recommended, in 1992, to draw up a new constitution and abrogate 40 laws considered as anti-democratic. This proposal was not followed.

3. Laws on media and civil society organizations are still being criticized because they facilitate the government to exercise much control on them and because they do harm to the freedom of press and meeting.

4. The uneven distribution of resources between CCM and the opposition. The opposition has a base and resources which are limited in terms of staff, organization and financial means, whereas CCM has its own base and income-generating activities which had been initiated during the era of the single party system. Its structures go down to the household level and operate in many places. The fact that this party has won parliamentary elections since 1995 allows it to have the biggest share of subsidies and strengthen its lead over the opposition.

5. The electoral system favors the under representation of the opposition. The adopted system which is “single-member constituencies with first-past-the post principle” establishes a strong link among the voters and their representatives. But it reduces the number of parliamentary seats of an already weak opposition. In the proportional system, it would have been difficult for the party in power to have 2/3 of the seats required to introduce constitution-

6. The high cost of political commitment for the opposition. A staff member of the public sector is not authorized to be a candidate in the national elections. The candidate should resign with a big risk of not getting his/her work back in case of electoral defeat. Funds are channeled through the state structures controlled by CCM. The opposition has a lot of difficulties in recruiting qualified candidates. Even though it is not the role of the government to financially support the opposition, it has to create conditions which favor its emergence because democracy needs political parties which function.

7. The link between economic and administrative reforms of the 90s and democratization was not taken into account. The reform of the public sector has handicapped some aspects of this process. It has strengthened exclusion and marginalization, while favoring a small number of persons to become richer. As for administrative reforms, they have allowed the technocrats to control the central government and the local governments, without the parliament and the other control mechanisms of the executive benefiting the same opportunities to strengthen their capacities. Tanzania has showed a fast economic growth since 2003, without a visible impact on the living conditions of the majority of the population, especially in the rural area. In this context, the democratization process remains fragile.

The countries of the Great Lakes region can reach the results which Tanzania has managed to obtain in the area of political stability and economic development.