

**FINAL REPORT ON:
COMBATING CORRUPTION IN THE ELECTORAL
PROCESS IN TANZANIA
AND IMPLEMENTATION PROGRESS**

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Final Report of Research Survey

Title: Combating Corruption in the Electoral Process in Tanzania.

Abstract: This report of the research survey on corruption in the political process in Tanzania was conducted for the purpose of developing insights into the nature, magnitude and impact of corruption on democratic governance especially corruption in the electoral process and how to combat it. Tanzania has adopted the multiparty system and market economy in the context of political and economic reforms. Thus there is conformity of political and economic domains, because of the functional principle of competition in both cases. However, in the political domain, there is stark inequality between political actors (political parties: the ruling party viz-a-viz opposition parties) in terms of access to resources for political finance and electoral campaign funding. Corruption in the electoral process engenders inequality between and among political actors and also retards flourishing of democratic development.

However corruption in the electoral process is not just a matter the ruling party viz-a-viz opposition parties, but affects all political actors, including inner democracy, competition and unity between and among political parties, the ruling party included. It is thus pertinent that political and non-political actors have to combine forces to ensure the protection of national integrity and make elections free of corruption.

Main arguments

This report documents an empirical, field-based study of corruption in the electoral process in mainland Tanzania. This is a case study specifically of the political attitudes, perception, practice of major political actors namely candidates in the parliamentary, presidential and Civic elections, as well as party functionaries and decision makers who in one or another are involved in the electoral process as direct participants or involved in the management of elections. Their responses to the problem of electoral corruption have been treated and grouped as findings which form the basis of analysis on the nature, magnitude and possible solutions to fighting corruption in the electoral process. However, we do not treat electoral corruption as an independent variable. Electoral corruption is subsumed in political corruption which engrosses the state system as a whole.

Over the years, Tanzania has been rated high on the list of most corruption states in the World by Transparency International. The clamour for Good Governance and the interest of the donor Community to help Tanzania to establish a functioning political-administrative infrastructure to ensure the protection of National Integrity, saw the Government laying basis for establishing the National Integrity system by launching the National Anti-Corruption Plan and transforming the Anti-Corruption Squad to Prevention of Corruption Bureau (PCB). The changes made now focus on prevention of corruption as a very important task not only of law enforcement agencies but also other institutions involved in

advocacy and creating awareness among the general public concerning their rights. However, Tanzania has not yet been able to establish a functioning mechanism of accountability because the nearly total dominance of one party of the political space continues; there is therefore limited political competition, limited checks and balance and less of Civil Society and media oversight of the state governmental activities.

The main focus of good governance is put on ridding the state of rampant corruption among state officials. The National Anti-Corruption Plan did not focus on corruption in the electoral process. Corruption in the electoral process is included in the electoral law and has proven to be a difficult problem area.

The analysis looks at the control legislation and identifies the caveats. The legislation controlling the political and electoral process as is not comprehensive enough to force disclosure of sources of election funding, the purpose of contribution, putting sealing to election expenditure, public access to electoral funding and expenditure records and the necessity and need of banking instead of using cash contribution, banning of use of state resources and banning those with business with government to make contribution (or put limit to contribution) public service neutrality and public oversight of political and electoral funding.

In a situation whence there is no comprehensive legislation to protect National integrity, interest groups take advantage to make contributions especially to the ruling party in order to make capital. This could be true in the case of Tanzania because of the political patronage system and given the discretionary powers given to the Executive branch; amongst whom the President (as head of the Executive doubles as the Chairman of the ruling party). There is a possibility that the ruling party lacks motivation to reform because it is beneficiary to the obtaining situation. But developments and initiatives within the ruling party show that corruption in the political domain is take seriously and political parties are now willing to cooperate in finding solution.

The findings from fieldwork provide the analysis with how different stakeholders perceive the problem of corruption in the electoral process and how they think the solution should be on changing relationships between players in the public policy arena. Political parties as collective actors, candidates and voters as individual actors have given their views. Political parties as main actors in the political process are central in the survey. Their sources of party finance and campaign funding are identified. The survey and findings look at the political party in its inner arrangement and in the external environment. What is established is that the ruling party in terms of access and accumulation of resources is in the category of its own viz-a-viz the opposition parties. The ruling party has immense resources accumulated over a period of fifty years from the time it was formed. During the one party state system which lasted "between" 1963-1992, electoral campaigns were publicly funded. When political reforms were affected and the multi-party system was re-introduced, that marked the end of wholesale public funding of political party activities. Now, public funding is given to political parties with representation in parliament. Very interestingly, over 80% of all public funding goes to the ruling party due to its parliamentary.

Since 1997 when the Presidential Report on Corruption was released and for the first time the state and the political domain were singled-out as the bastion of corruption, the issue of

corruption in general and political corruption and electoral corruption specifically has become highly pronounced. Although the National Anti-Corruption Strategy put emphasis on fighting corruption and especially petty corruption; it is now obvious that the problem of political corruption is high on the agenda.

Fieldwork for this study was carried out in five regions Dar es Salaam, Kilimanjaro, Kagera, Rukwa and Mwanza regions, where focus groups discussions were conducted with voters, and In-depth interviews conducted with party functionaries. At the National level national leaders of political parties, members of Parliament, Media Specialists and Senior Government officials views on Corruption were sought through a questionnaire.

A Stakeholders Workshop was held to discuss the findings of the survey on Corruption in the Electoral Process in Tanzania and recommendations were made.

Background/Introduction

Political corruption has become highly pronounced as developing states set on the course of political and economic transition from authoritarian regimes to open societies. Political competition in reforming and transitional societies has become a cut-throat competition.

In most developing societies, especially where money politics has become dominant, political competition is not to give votes a chance for free choice, but a way of parties and candidates to buy or rig their way to power. This contention applies to Tanzania as well. Political parties and political movements which were sole ruling parties in the one party state system now face competition from new political forces and newly formed political parties. The ruling parties from the past era want to retain power at any cost while the new political forces want to get into power in the same manner. The premium is put on who can mobilize resources and employ them to reach out to the masses of voters and get elected. Access to resources is at the heart of the matter to attain power. Thus the problematic is on how to control and regulate money politics in order to protect National Integrity, specifically the political and electoral process.

The former ruling party (TANU which transposed to CCM in 1977) had amassed huge wealth during the one party state system. During that time there was less vigorous control legislation to protect national integrity, especially in the electoral process because the party was supreme to the state, thus the ruling party could not pass a stringent and rigorous legislation, because that would mean self-incrimination.

Tanzania entered the multiparty system without a comprehensive control legislation to protect national integrity, specifically to check the dominance of money politics, subsequently political and electoral corruption

The rising cost of competitive politics provided the ground for mobilization of huge amount of financial resources from different sources to meet the cost of elections. To day in Tanzania there is increasing link between public sector (government and political parties and private sector (business on matter of political finance and campaign funding.

If this argument of increased cost of electoral resources in the wake of competitive politics is given a hearing, then the question of equality between political parties must be asked. Electoral costs apply to all political actors. However, ruling parties have the advantage of incumbency and exclusion of political opponents to access resources. And given lack of

control legislation, electoral corruption favours the party in power viz-a-viz parties out of power. There is increasing inequality between key political actors: the ruling party with huge amount of resources and unchecked power and with the support of predatory business on one side and the opposition parties with little political influence and without resources to reach out to voters and mobilize them for change.

Nonetheless, the problem of electoral corruption must be confronted because it undermines free and fair elections, is linked to poor quality leadership and poor quality output of by national institutions involved in governance and policy-formulation as more specifically by peoples representatives.

Terms of Reference/Framework and specific objectives

1. To identify caveats on the obtaining legal and policy framework engendering corruption in the electoral process and inform policy-makers, civil society and other key stakeholders whose joint action is crucial for engineering policy and legislative reform necessary to curb corruption in Tanzania.
2. To enhance the status of Good Governance, and National Anti-corruption Strategy and Plan of Action (NACSAP) by focusing on the political domain and proposing recommendations obtained from findings and dialogue of stakeholders for improved statutory control of political parties and campaign funding.
3. To propose the strategy for strengthening political parties institutional and governance structures that guarantee for ethical conduct on the basis of transparency, accountability and other best practices.
4. To make political parties avoid "dirty money" (drug trafficking, money laundering, organized crime) from being channeled into politics. To inform policy-makers: parliament, government, Prevention of Corruption Bureau and activists on the necessity and need of putting limit to electoral campaign expenditures.

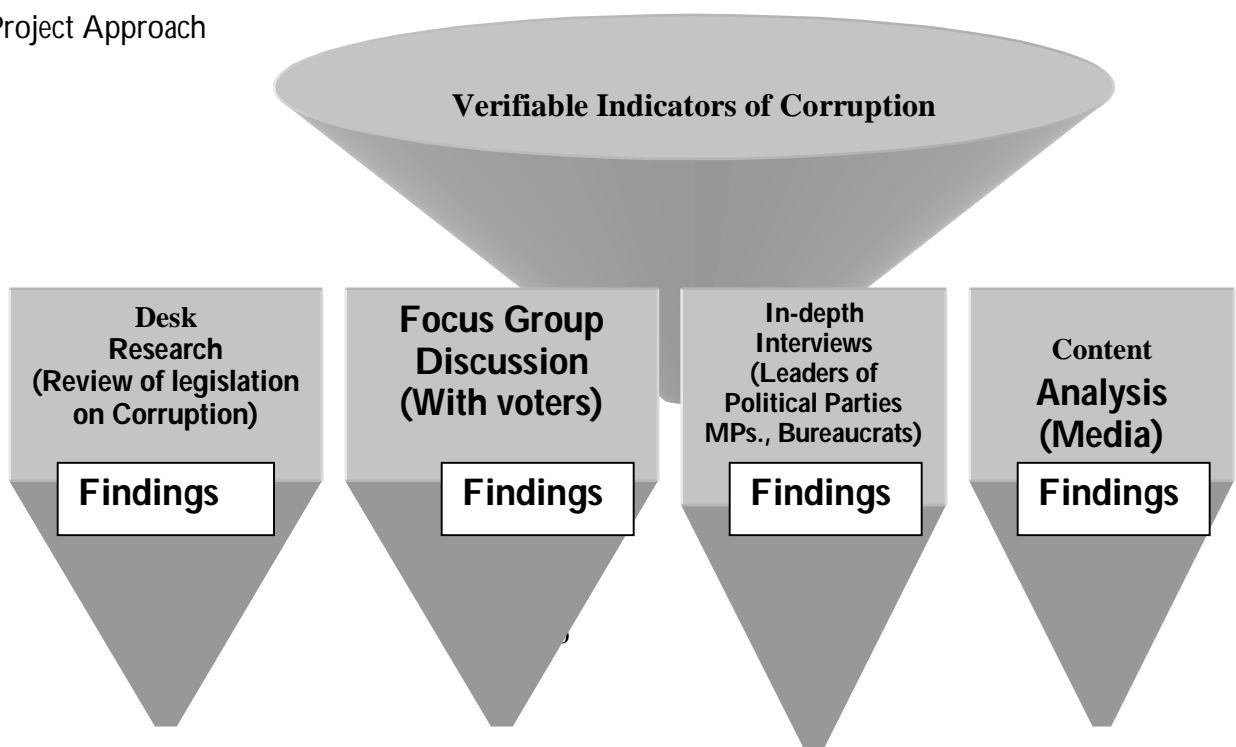
METHODOLOGY

The study was based on review of legislation protecting the integrity of the political process in Tanzania, Focus Group Discussion (FGD) and in-depth interviews.

The in-depths interviews and focus group discussions were conducted to solicit perceptions and views of political leaders, policy makers and voters about the problem of corruption in the electoral process in Tanzania and how to combat it. The respondents included leaders of all registered parties, party district secretaries in the project area, Members of Parliament, senior officials in (the Ministry of Justice, Electoral Commission and Prevention of Corruption Bureau), leaders of Civil Society Organizations dealing with Good Governance and or involved in some anti-corruption advocacy actives. Businessmen, media experts and journalists were also interviewed. The results of interviews and group discussions acknowledged the problem of corruption in the political and electoral process, political parties especially the ruling party was singled out as being central in engendering corruption as well as being central to reforms in the legislation to protect the integrity of the political and electoral processes because of its history and overwhelming dominance of the political

space in Tanzania. The results of focus group discussion (fgds) and In-depth interviews represent fieldwork done between June to September 2004. The analysis is done at the level of main actors i.e. political parties, policy-makers and voters concerning the nature and magnitude of corruption in the electoral process and proposed solutions to combat it.

Project Approach



Analysis

Report on the study of combating corruption in the electoral process in Tanzania

Focus Group Discussions

A total number of 25 Focus Group Discussions were conducted between July, August and September 2004 with participants numbering: 201 Youth and adults all participated to allow gender balance and cross-section of perspective.

2) Table 2: Description of FGD participants

Voters/ Participants	Ages	Number of groups	Number of women voters	Number of men voters
Women voters	25-30	5	38	0
Women voters	30+	5	36	0
Men voters	25-30	5	0	38
Men voters	30+	5	0	42
Mixed groups of men and women	Above 50 years	5	26	24
Total		25	97	201

Prior to field work, the tem under went a 3 days training on Focus Group Discussion techniques, including use of topic guide, moderating, probing, tape-recording and vote taking. The topic guide for focus group discussions was designed to elicit information on:

- Voters practical experience of corruption electoral process
- Voters perception of corruption in the electoral process.
- What is exchanged in Electoral corruption
- Possibility of voters to find solution.

In-depth Interview with policy makers

- Registrar of Political Parties
- Senior Officials, Policy Planning Prime Ministers Office
- Senior officials Budget.

In-depth Interviews were conducted with policy-makers, namely the Registrar of Political Parties and bureaucrats at the Prime Ministers Office: Policy and planning and The Vice – chairman of the electoral commission, as well as the Director of Elections.

Table 3: Description of In-depth Interview Participants:

	Institution	Total
Policy-makers	Prime Ministers Office: Policy and Planning	3
Government functionary	Office of the Registrar of Political Parties	1
Legal Expert	National Electoral Commission	1
Financial Experts	Treasury - Budget	2
Legal Experts	Attorney General	1
Anti-corruption	PCB	4
Members of Parliament	Parliament	67
Presidential Campaign Managers	Presidential campaign	3
Past Parliamentary Candidates	Parliamentary campaign	53
District Party Secretaries	Party	25
Consultants	Political Consultants	2
Businessmen	Business Community	8
Civil Society Leaders	Civil Society	12
Journalists	Media	5
		186

Interviews were based on In-depth Interviews guides (attached) The purpose of In-Depth interview guides were to solicit information on the following:-

- How they look at the problem of corruption in the electoral process
- In the problem of control of political financing and policy response?
- Policy response
- Effectiveness of such measures?
- Evaluation of such measures
- What expectations do they have of political actors to combat corruption in election?
- New initiatives envisaged.

Corruption in the electoral process is located in the electoral system, political parties and the institutions in charge of management of elections and the electorate. We identify the problems of corruption in the political and electoral process on the following basis.

- The electoral system of winner takes all promotes individualism and personality politics. Money plays a key role, as an individual trusts in what money can buy (including vote buying)
- The legislations for protection of integrity of the political process (including electoral process) are inadequate and found wanting. They were formulated during the one party state when matters of corruption were seen and dealt with from the ethical dimension. With the change into multiparty competitive politics, legislations have

not been reformed to take into account changed economic and political circumstances, which impact on the state and political parties behaviour especially the quest to win power at all costs.

- Political parties, the main actors in the political and electoral process try by any means possible to get and use money for the main aim of winning or retaining power.
- The public institutions in charge of management of elections are state centred and act in a partisan way, favouring the incumbent regime because the President of the government appoints members to those bodies whilst he is also the chairman of the ruling political party.
- The electorate; poor, despondent and lacking citizenry competence, is vulnerable to manipulation by political parties and candidates offering money and other gifts as inducement of compromising free choice.
- The legislations to protect the integrity of the political process in Tanzania need serious reform in order to contribute to combating political corruption especially corruption in the electoral process.

Study teams

Five study teams /one for each region carried out the fieldwork. Each team consisted of facilitator and observer/recorder. The facilitators were responsible for the overall conduct of the fieldwork. The recorder was responsible for conducting the data collection activities, which included writing down notes and recording discussions by focus group discussions participants. They also briefed their supervisor following each data collection activity at focus group discussions sessions. The briefings included the overall conduct of the activity, issues related to the quality of the data collected, and points of clarification and impressions related to the study objectives, and any other issues relevant to the conduct of the fieldwork. Experienced researchers conducted In-depth Interviews and administered questionnaires.

THE MAIN FINDINGS OF THE STUDY CAN BE SUMMARIZED AS FOLLOWS:

CONCEPTUALIZATION POLITICAL CORRUPTION

- Political corruption has become the main feature in competitive politics, especially in transitional democracies. Mobilization of resources is one of the major tasks of political parties in order to reach out to the electoral and seek political support in elections.
- The Legislation to protect the integrity of the political process in which electoral process is subsumed, is inadequate and found wanting in ensuring control of activities of political parties including political finance and campaign funding.
- Political corruption is widely spread in the public sector because of lack of control legislation in which the activities and processes in the political domain become

subject of strict control, especially to check the power and influence of money politics and the relationship of political parties and politicians and private interests.

- Corruption in the electoral process is mainly defined and perceived by voters in terms of money politics. Issues of misuse of power and state resources or of non-monetary nature are secondary
- As money politics has become dominant in the political domain, inequality between political parties (key actors in electoral politics) has assumed exponential proportions. The ruling party (CCM) gets the bulk of public subsidies (over 80%) and again the bulk of private donations (over 90%). Thus there is formal equality of political parties but not real equality on the ground in terms of all the actors to have equal opportunities and possibilities of carrying out their political activities to reach out to voters unhampered.
- There is limited pro-active strategy to combat corruption in the political strategy because opposition parties are too weak in terms of parliamentary representation and the ruling party is advantaged by the status quo.

CAVEATS IN LEGISLATION AND EFFECTIVE ENFORCEMENT

- It is difficult, for the Tanzanian government with few resources and with law enforcement officers not trained in modern techniques of forensic auditing to monitor party activities sources of income and expenditures. Most, if not all political parties operate as secret societies, especially in relation to political finance and campaign funding. Much of what is submitted to The Registrar of Political Parties as Annual Audit Reports is done as a matter of course in order to fulfill the legal requirements. There are a lot of unreported contributions by the way of cash. The sources of such as contributions are not reported. It could be drug money or proceeds from crime.
- The Parliament in February 2000 amended the elections Act of 1985 by inserting in section 98(2) of the Act a provision to the effect that, "anything done in good faith as an act of normal or traditional hospitality shall be deemed not to be treating." Treating is regarded as an illegal act in the elections, but the amendment of the election law to sanction traditional hospitality is an indirect way of accepting treating.
- The idea of putting a ceiling on campaign expenditure was contested by some interviewees from the point of view that many candidates do not have a lot of money to spend and the idea of putting a ceiling on electoral campaign funds only looks at the wealthy few and that is discrimination. The idea that some leaders of political parties interviewed was that the public authorities responsible for enforcing political parties Act and Electoral Law and regulations should only be concerned if candidates use illegally obtained money for political purposes. It was contended that it would be difficult for concerned authorities to monitor the ground situation and ascertain real and not real campaign expenditures as the government does not have trained personnel and resources to enforce the laws made to protect the integrity of the political and electoral processes.

- Furthermore, the Election Campaign Act No. 3 of 1993 section 32, Act No. 7 of 1992 section 22 and Act No. 11 of 1994 (section 8) all allow for door to door canvassing. This canvassing is usually done at night, but this practice, as the 2000 elections show, was used to distribute bribes and to organize religious or ethnically motivated meetings. Door to door campaigns were used to engender corruption in the electoral process because of primordial loyalties and extensive patronage political networks, which characterize the terrain of Tanzania politics.

KEY FINDINGS ON THE INTERNAL STRUCTURES OF POLITICAL PARTIES CONTROL MECHANISMS

Political parties in Tanzania lack skills of running a political party as a modern corporate body. The requirements of organizational skills, financial management and democratic governance and practice are very much needed at this time more than any other time in the political cycle because of the demand for good governance and good practice. The findings on political parties show the nature of deficit in their organizational dimension.

- Most political parties do not have internal elaborate control mechanisms and professional capacity to have an effective, regular, transparent and accountable financial system.
- Except for the ruling party, parties in the opposition lack strong financial base and survive on hand to mouth basis.
- Political parties do not like to reveal problems related with corruption within because they think that would tarnish their name before the public.
- Nomination of candidates for Presidential and parliamentary candidates are greatly influenced or engrossed in corruption, especially in the ruling party where there is stiff competition by people with where withal, who want to have both power and wealth.
- Complicated and demanding reporting requirements could drive contributors to use non-transparent means in making political contributions and avoid detection
- The ruling party because of politics patronage and immense resources it has accumulated over the years has a far bigger advantage in terms of network and outreach. It therefore has little motivation to reform.
- The pro-private sector economic policies have favoured the business community who in return make huge contributions to the ruling party. The unregulated nature of political finance plays in the hands of business groups which thrive in illegality and illicit business. (i.e tax evasion and public contracts awarded contrary to regulations especially at the level of local government)

- Opposition parties have failed to get adequate financial or material contributions from the business community because potential contributors are threatened or indirectly coerced by public authorities into stopping assisting the opposition or else their businesses would suffer.
- Most political parties do not have proper financial management system(s) and have no funds to pay for professionally qualified officers for good financial management and good practice.
- Lack of resources and organizational men and women and intra-party democracy has made political parties fail to be transparent, rule-driven and be led on the basis of formalized relationship between leaders and members. Informal decision-making and clique dominance prevail in political management of political parties.
- The system of internal generation of funds is chaotic in most political parties. Fundraising is decentralized with each party setting its own rules and a lot of pilferage and fraud happen. Headquarters of political parties keep much of the party funds from different sources, while the party at the district level gets limited funds. Party officials at the district level are forced to fend for themselves, including indulgence in corruption, especially during the time of nomination of candidates.
- Political parties rely on direct cash contributions from their wealthy members. These do not favour disclosure of sources of contributions. Thus political parties have little interest in the reform legislation in which disclosure of sources of financial contribution is compulsory. The problem identified is that, political parties follow what their wealthy members want, not what the party itself decide.
- The state provides financial subsidies to political parties according to their strength in parliament. Since the ruling party has over 90% of all the seats in parliament, it gets almost 85% of all financial subsidies from the treasury. Thus the idea of public funding actually benefits the ruling party and leaves out almost all opposition political parties

KEY FINDINGS ON DIRTY MONEY AND POLITICAL CORRUPTION

There was broad agreement that the laws, and party control regulations cannot prevent dirty money (from proceeds of crime) to be channeled into politics. However, some interviewers contended that given the nature of law enforcement forces and other bodies like Prevention of Corruption Bureau, which are ill-equipped and lack highly professionally trained personnel for detective work, it would be difficult to accomplish much in terms of preventing dirty money from getting into electoral politics.

Actually Tanzania neither has a legislation nor party internal mechanisms of checking and preventing the entry of dirty money into electoral politics. Thus there is a great possibility that dirty money from organized crime; corruption and money laundering might be entering electoral politics unchecked.

KEY FINDINGS ON THE NATIONAL ANTI-CORRUPTION STRATEGY

The concept of Good Governance has been introduced in the reform process, but in the narrow sense of focusing on making the government efficient, transparent and accountable. Corporate governance (in the private sector) and good governance of the political actors outside the state system; so far have not been included in the national Anti-Corruption Strategy.

Public authorities involved in preventing corruption i.e. Prevention of Corruption Bureau (PCB) according to the National Anti-Corruption Plan, the priority was put on fighting petty corruption because most citizens. The government political policy strategists reasoned that petty corruption affects the majority of the people at the grassroots level.

The law enforcement agencies i.e. Police, Attorney General and Prevention of corruption Bureau (PCB) consider the political domain to be beyond their mandate especially investigating instances of corruption in political parties (and specifically the ruling party). Grand corruption, it was said, was not a big problem and that it was at the top:

- Some interviewees agreed to the government strategy (from a populist point of view) that petty corruption by state agents at the basic level of society had become rampant. However good many think the government focus on petty corruption was politically motivated because the voters were increasingly blaming the government for not doing anything to check petty corruption by its agents within public institutions at national and basic level of society.
- However other participants interviewed in the study reasoned that the problem of corruption could have been simultaneously attacked: through a strategy against petty corruption and against grand corruption. They agreed that petty corruption was rampant and mostly affect ordinary citizens, at the basic level of society, but they also said that grand corruption exists and has a very big negative impact on the course of democratic governance, social and economic development, especially when grand corruption affects policy formulation and decisions, in setting economic policies of Tanzania and well as economic management and International Economic Agreements.
- Some interviewees stated that the problem was that those supposed to formulate political control policies are interested parties and do not want to make policies which put them at a disadvantage in terms of accumulating huge amounts of money needed for meeting increasing political campaign costs, as well as money to finance illegal electoral activities.

In the situation of political dominance of one party in the state system and parliament, it has not been possible to make an all-inclusive anti-corruption strategy in which the political

sector is incorporated. So far the political domain has remained out of the activities of the National Anti-Corruption Strategy. However the perception of most people interviewed is that political corruption is the mother of all types of corruption.

DISCUSSION

POLITICAL CORRUPTION: A DEFINITION

Political corruption is defined as “the abuse of entrusted power by political leaders for private gain, with the objective of increasing power or wealth”.

Political corruption thus defined, is centred in the state system and is operated by government officials; and party officials and or with the collaboration business partners without the state system.

Electoral corruption is subsumed in political corruption, with the main aim of illegally providing resources to the political party(ies) and candidates to win or retain power in competitive elections.

The definition of corruption in the Tanzanian context is centred on what happens in state institutions as well as what is done by state agents. Anti-corruption strategy has by and large taken the dimension of cleaning up the operations in the state government and giving less attention to corruption without the state system. Hence the thrust National Anti-corruption Strategy and Plan of Action (NACSAP) There is little emphasis on grand corruption and corporate corruption and as well as electoral corruption, wrongly thought to be of not much impact on the integrity of governance at national and local level. It is in the same approach that government has defined governance not in terms of distribution and decentralization of power to the people, but making the government function efficiently. The definition of governance is donor-driven the state is seen as a necessary evil in a transitional society found wanting in a situation where other political and social institution which make social capital areas weak.

Corruption is a scourge that undermines good governance as well as eroding the ability of citizens to improve their well-being.

Many ordinary citizens perceive electoral corruption as mainly involving the exchange of money or in kind for buying peoples rights and entitlement to vote. However electoral corruption as a form of political corruption, has been defined to be inclusive of different forms of illegal activities in which potential voters are subjected to by external forces for the purpose of getting their vote in lieu of what they have been subjected to or given against their free choice. Thus electoral corruption in this report is inclusive of monetary and non-monetary subjects of control.

Tanzania is ranked high among the most corrupt countries in the World; occupying the 6th position on Transparency International index. [*TI 2001 Report*] and the *Transparency International Global Corruption report 2004*].

Special focus: Political corruption. Tanzania is ranked in the category of Medium Political Corruption with 3 main things cited:

- (1) Irregular payments in government policy-making
- (2) Prevalence of illegal political donations
- (3) Policy consequences of legal political donations

ELECTORAL CORRUPTION: TOWARDS A DEFINITION THE WIDER DIMENSION OF CORRUPTION IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS

However, corruption is deemed to be wider than the tangible goods and money provided to voters. And voters are not the only targets of corruption in the electoral process. Bribery is one form of corruption. So is the misuse of power and state resources.

Use of political power is one way upon which corruption was enhanced within the establishment. The case of Prime Minister Judge Joseph Sinde Warioba (in the box) is not an isolated.

The 1990 Election experience

Reliance on ones own networks was accompanied by an increase in the use of money

Individuals who had taken forms to contest the Bunda seat against the then Prime Minister, Mr. J.S. Warioba, were persuaded by district leaders not to stand against Mr. Warioba by offering financial incentives. One potential candidate by the name of Malagila, for example, is alleged to have complained about his not being promoted for a long time. Immediately, he backed down from the race, Malagila who worked as a junior health officer at the district hospital, was awarded a double promotion backdated a couple of years. He collected a cheque worth Tshs. 53,000 (Mlahagwa, 1994:220)

In and Presidential candidates, which by and large became a recycling exercise of political elites groomed in the one party state system.

The second case is concerned the their Prime Minister Cleopa Msuya, at the time of Tanzania's transition from one party state system to multiparty system. It is claimed that during his time as Prime Minister, he forced the formation of a new district Mwanga in Northern Tanzania; with the aim of making it a safe constituency for his con-of timed re-election. Many health centers were built few or hardly any patient.

The present Prime Minister has been instrumental in the formation of a new region Manyara, out of Arusha region in Northern Tanzania. Some political analysts contend that, the strategy behind forming the new region (in the Prime Minister local area) fits his ambition to project himself as a political boss of the area and ensure bloc vote in party nomination and deal making with other factions in the ruling party.

In the analysis of the findings we have tried to show the damage caused by corruption in the electoral process according to the views expressed by voters interviewed in focus group discussion and how it is impacting on the confidence and trust of the citizens in the government and policy-making and legislation.

Already limited research has been conducted pertaining electoral corruption.

Country Reports from different sources have pointed out that corruption has seriously engrossed the political domain. The authors of the Annual Report on the State of corruption in Tanzania (2002) observed that, "In elections, for instance, corruption may favour candidates who pay their way through rather than those who are a legitimate choice of the electorate according to the principles of democracy. This may breed even more corruption as these corrupt and illegitimate representatives strive to ensure that what they spent buying the electorate is repaid through corrupt means. This diverts time allocation of representatives into activities, which have little to do with representation of their constituencies". But UNDP sponsored Annual Report does not include corruption in the political and electoral domains as problem areas for survey. The reason is clear that the findings might be an indirect indictment of the government and the ruling party.

In many researches conducted, the state sector has emerged as being central in relation to grand corruption and illicit capital accumulation by those commanding political and economic power. However there is little research work done to link grand corruption and corporate corruption to electoral corruption. The main reason is that grand corruption and corporate corruption are presently excluded in the National Anti-Corruption strategy. We think at this time of implementing economic reforms and transition to market economy the political imperative of controlling political financing should be higher because, although the necessity to change is there, but the necessary legislations and institutional structures for effective implementation are not in place as the following quotation indicates that, "*Given that the transition is a period when a significant body of new regulations must be formulated, it also exacerbates the risk that corrupt bureaucrats will enshrine possibilities to extract bribes in the new legal regulatory codes.*" (p.27). Anticorruption in Transition – A contribution to the Policy Debate, World Bank, Washington 2000.

The transition from dominance of the public economy to private sector dominance in terms of ownership and control of the major means of production is accompanied with major diseconomies of which corruption is the most pronounced. Due to state continued immense economic stake in the national economy, there have emerged closer relations between political bureaucracy and business community.

Thus the political and business interests have symbiotic relationship, mainly on how to predicate the status quo. Hence the drift towards money politics to counter the force of popular masses and political opponents. However, money politics is double-edged as it can affected different sides, at different times and for different reasons. We can safely say that even those who are engendering corruption, at some later stage they could be its victims.

In the year 2000 the President of the United Republic of Tanzania decried the scheme by business interests to sponsor candidates in the ruling party. The statement was made when it became clear that the primary nominations process in the ruling party CCM had been engrossed in wide spread corruption, quite unprecedented in Tanzania. The unequivocal statement by Director of Investigation of Prevention of Corruption Bureau (PCB), that political corruption is the mother of all corruption tells it all. However as already stated the National Anti-Corruption Strategy and Plan of Action, mainly supported by donors, does not include political corruption and corruption in the electoral process as the problem areas for strategic planning and reform in legislation.

CORRUPTION AND POLICY ISSUES

In Tanzania like in many developing countries, policy is a matter of the state and whatever legislative initiatives made it is always from above. Given that policy-making is a state centred activity, all main stages of decision-making: formulation, decision, implementation and evaluation, are by and large activities of public organs, the state government and the ruling party are central in what goes in formulation, decision and implementation of public policy. In the case of corruption, policy decision on how to combat corruption in the political and electoral processes the interests of those who control the state and the ruling party are paramount to any other interests.

When a company makes political donation to the political party it is very difficult to establish its motive or intentions and expectations as no company can reveal its intentions beforehand. The bureaucrats are well placed in the government. They would team up with political leaders to let things go by using discretionary powers.

In the case of Tanzania, the irregular payment in government policy-making is limited because there are no industry or business lobbies in Tanzania. However, bureaucrats in the government accept and recommend policy proposals to politicians as a way for securing international jobs in IMF and World Bank. (Granting Mining Concessions and Privatization). To-day the big companies make huge contributions to the ruling party and financially support parliamentary candidates of the ruling party (especially ministers) in the General Elections. Thus when it comes to serious consideration of regulating political finance, the ruling party knows what it is likely to lose in the wake of regulation.

GOVERNMENT APPROACH TO GRAND CORRUPTION

The Tanzanian government thinks that grand corruption is of no major consequences to the economy. The thinking is that public policy decisions and legislative outcomes are least affected by grand corruption. The Tanzanian government has been made to accept economic adjustment as per conditions of the International Credit Agencies and the donor community in general. Economic reforms have obviously brought new conditions and new players in the economic domain, but without effective control measures in corporate finance. In such a situation therefore, it is obvious that some players within and without the state system, are on the look out to exploit the new political and economic dispensation. The National Anti-Corruption Strategic Plan (NACSAP) has focused on fighting petty corruption from a populist perspective. A far fetched explanation could be that the government knows the impact of grand corruption on governance and knows its source. However the government wants to attract investors and thus is ambiguous on combating accompanied corruption. A research report on corruption in Tanzania candidly points out that there is a noticeable deficiency in narrowness or inadequacy of the working definition, as provided in NACSAP; in which corruption is conventionally defined as 'abuse of public office for private gain'. The report goes on to say that NACSAP framework by default excludes many acts of financial malfeasance leading to loss of huge sums of money to the state and illicit personal gain. Conceivably, cases of non-official money laundering, malfeasance in political party financing and electoral fraud escape the anti-corruption net.

The lack of political will and a thorough and comprehensive debate on political corruption as it is happening in Tanzania has led some people to think of corruption (grand) being

impossible to trace. Such observations exclude grand corruption from the strategy to combat it and do more damage to the economy and democratic governance.

Impact of corruption on legislation: the influence of corruption on legislation in Tanzania is of different kind whereas in developed industrial economies business industrial and civil Society organizations lobby groups take different definite stand on issues and bills, in Tanzania there is an absence of such organized groups to lobby law-makers. Instead, bureaucrats and Members of Parliament are mobilized to support the government on whatever is brought before the house. There is no one Member of Parliament who can be bribed to act on behalf of an interest group.

When we consider the impact of corruption on legislation, it is important to note that the bureaucrats who gather inputs and discuss the form and content of political policies and key legislations are not neutral. They combine the interests of the political class and their self-interests to ensure that they materially benefit from the patronage system. Thus we can say that a closed constricted political environment does not provide greater opportunity for designing a comprehensive legislation in which stakeholders effectively participate and influence policy and legislation. In the case of corruption in general and corruption in the electoral process in particular, the interests of the bureaucrats political leadership and business community and economic interests take precedence over other parties.

The bureaucrats in the government have all necessary information and they know the strength and weakness of Parliament, which is in charge of lawmaking. The political environment in Tanzania does not give opportunity to stakeholders to participate effectively in deliberating on proposed bills to be tendered before parliament.

On the other hand the bureaucrats (with their self-interests) control the political and economic agenda (and outcome) and we can thus say that they also control the policy delivery framework. The institutions of monitoring the democratic practice, beside being weak; are controlled by the bureaucracy.

The change from one party system to multiparty system is now felt at all levels of society. However the feelings of ordinary citizens, is that there is continuity in values, off course in varying intensity. For example, there is a feeling among ordinary citizens who participated in the focus group discussion that there is more corruption now than it was during the one party state. Though this is true, the other side of the explanation could be that there is more discussion and media exposure on corruption, whilst at the same time, those with money and ready to spend in expectation of some reward.

Whereas ordinary citizens share such views about intensity of corruption in general and in the political process in particular, policy makers and some experts say that the publicity given by the media to incidents of corruption, is what is making the whole issue be seen to be out of proportion. Otherwise, they contend that there was corruption during the one party state system but it was not publicized. Whereas it is true that since mid – 1980 private media began to operate in Tanzania and up to the present, the private media sector is bigger than the state controlled media, but it is less than 20% of the Tanzania population that accesses media outputs on daily basis. The majority of the people, including good many participants

in focus group discussions indicated to have no access to information on daily basis. The influence of the media reaches policy makers, politicians and the urban elite, who in one way or another are the perpetrators of corruption viz-a-viz ordinary citizens who are its main victim. What can be said is that already there is a critical mass of people who know about the problem of corruption and its effects. Objective conditions in relation to corruption are there but what is lacking are subjective conditions and control measures.

In the focus group discussions sessions many participants said that elections time is an exciting time. That it is the only chance they are civically engaged. They say that after the elections, they are dictated to and nobody bothers for them. They do not participate in decision-making even over basic things immediate to them. So at election time they have a chance to ask politicians what they had done for them in the past five years. But money politics overwhelms issue based political exchange between candidates and voters. They said, they see politicians fumble, beg for forgiveness, going to church and pretending to be good and caring but just for a short time. They know of politicians who sell family houses and borrow heavily to finance their electoral campaigns. Money occupies a central stage when the onus is on an individual candidate to seek funds for his or her electoral campaign.

The change to multiparty system somehow impacted on individual politicians and political parties to double efforts to solicit funds from private sources. Before that, campaign expenses were paid for by the state. During one party state system instances of corruption was not so much of monetary nature. They included tribal and primordial appeals, use of state resources, distribution of relief assistance to famine affected communities and misuse of political power.

In the new political dispensation although it would seem that the onus is on an individual candidate, at the collective level (party as a whole) provides the strategy of retaining power by all means possible. In that respect therefore, winning by all means possible (fair or foul) becomes paramount? On one hand, the legislation to control party and campaign financing are weak, whilst on the other hand the avenues for capital accumulation and facilitation for that is made through official channels or through collusion between government officials and business associates without the state system. As I earlier indicated the nature and magnitude of corruption in the electoral process obtaining in Tanzania at this crucial time have assumed new dimensions.

A lot of money that is used by candidates and political parties is not accounted for about its sources. It is common knowledge to the government and politicians that huge amount of money are made as kickbacks out of government contracts and public procurement. And that is the money that fuels political corruption. The fear about opening the Pandora box when the government is not prepared for damage control, is the main reason why the problem of grand corruption has not been seriously addressed in the National Anti-Corruption strategy.

The 1995 General elections generate more election petition cases in which corruption was cited than never before. The finger pointed to the ruling party, which had almost over ninety percentages of all the seats in parliament. Knowing the weak financial base of the opposition parties, the government proposed a strange bill, which was passed into law, some

of its provisions required the plaintiff in the election petition case to deposit an amount equivalent to U.S. \$ 5,000/= before the case is heard. There was an internal debate in the ruling party and some Members of Parliament expressed dissatisfaction concerning the discriminatory nature of the bill, whence the poor would not manage to deposit that much money required, in a country where per annum income per capital is less than U.S. \$ 300. A prominent leader of the party told the caucus of Members of Parliament of the ruling party that bill was intended to curb the excesses of candidates in opposition parties who rush to file petition cases against the ruling party winning candidates. So the ruling party's candidates needed not worry. If they lose, in any case, the party had enough funds to pay deposit for the case and meet all legal costs. The bill was passed into an Act of parliament but was rendered null and void by the decision of the court of Appeal, which observed the discrimination against the poor in terms of U.S. \$ 5,000 deposit, which was considered excessive.

However, the government came back with a modified bill, which required the party to the case with no satisfactory means to make an application to the court for exemption. Another example of influencing legislation is the passing of Members of Parliament gratuity bill. The bill proposed that Members of Parliament get their gratuity at the end of every five years, the life span of parliament. Previously MPs were paid according to the length of time members serve in the House and not every term they serve.

This idea of paying them at the end of every term was mooted when it became apparent that not all candidates in the elections were well positioned to mobilize huge contributions to meet the cost of elections. Thus the gratuity was something to fall on in case of shortfall in contributions. That was the way of mitigating the criticism that the party preferred rich aspirants. Given that seating M.Ps were empowered with gratuity paid well in advance of the nominations, and then there is no reason to complain over the use of money in the inner party selection. The amount paid to most members of Parliament is between US \$ 25,000 – 40,000/=. In a country where per capital income is \$300, the MP gratuity is quite lot!

Take the case of shaping the policy agenda, the government of Tanzania is vigorously promoting the Private sector and with the assistance of the donors a non-profit organization Private Sector foundation (a partnership between the business community and the government) has been formed to ensure that there is productive and mutual consultation and consensus on economic, trade and industrial policy agendas for the robust growth of the private sector. The issues of taxation, industrial licensing and tariffs take priority. Missing in debates and consultations between the Business communities are strategies on how to tackle grand corruption and institute good governance corporate practice. In an interview with private business leaders on matters of corruption in business, if at all corruption in the electoral process is such a big problem it was up to the government to take a bill to parliament to that effect. When candidly told that the issue of corruption in business was not the concern of political institutions alone, many asked the researcher to show or indicate to them instances of corruption in business. When asked to reveal how much they contribute to the ruling party, some said that they could not remember; others said that was not for public consumption, while others said that Tanzania has no law requiring disclosure of how much contribution to political parties or candidates in an election.

NATURE AND MAGNITUDE OF CORRUPTION;

The nature of corruption in the electoral process is described as corruption that exploits the social conditions of voters (noting that the majority of the people the basic level of society are poor and do not know their rights and obligations as free citizens).

Voters, political leaders and policy makers accept that money has assumed phenomenal growth in Tanzanian politics to the extent that corruption in the electoral process is taken for granted and as a matter off course, without control. It is common knowledge among voters that without money in all stages of the electoral process, no aspiring candidate can get through – whether at the stage of nomination within the party or in the competitive election against opponents from other parties. It is also argued that corruption is not only about getting and misusing money to get power. There is also misused of power and state resources, for political gain, and there are also vested interest groups which engender political corruption in order to enhance their businesses.

It is difficult to measure the magnitude of corruption in the electoral process, especially in a situation where political finance and campaign funding are unregulated. Lack of regulation of political funding creates inequality between political parties in terms of accessibility to funds from public as well as private sources. In Tanzania, the ruling party exploits existing political inequality between itself and opposition parties to maintain the status quo.

Moreover it is difficult to measure and show the magnitude of corruption because of lack of human capacity and expertise as well as a comprehensive legislation to protect the integrity of the electoral process. The existence of comprehensive legislation would help to create measurements and indicators.

Policy makers, leaders and experts agree that petty corruption has been exposed and done (by Economic and Social Research Institution) and has become the focus of institutional attack. Yet the main focus has been on what is happening in the state sector. But matters of petty corruption are a tip on the iceberg. Grand corruption has not been touched upon and it is believed that it is grand corruption which fuels and perpetuates electoral corruption.

Adult Men and Women voters over forty years of age who had participated in Elections during the one party state system assert that the magnitude of corruption has exponentially increased especially with the onset of multiparty democracy. They contend that during the one party system there was some corruption in the election, but candidates exercised restraint in the use of money to buy off voters and throw money on drinks, foods and assistance to community projects or religious project. To-day, gift giving and hospitality during elections is sanctioned by law as “traditional African hospitality” grandiosely termed takrima.

VOTER PERCEPTION OF CORRUPTION IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS

From a few statements made by participants, these is a clear indicative perception that most people believe that ‘no one can win elections without corruption” Off course they qualify that by saying that there are other factors like educational status and how, “one has made it in life” meaning whether one has attained the social status as a man or woman of substance. (meaning attainment of wealth and power) Participants in the focus group discussions in the category of 25-30 years of age, (men and women) hold the view that corruption is the way of life in elections. Some of these should have begun voting at the time the multiparty system began to function between 1992 and culminating to 1995 and 2000 General Elections. Even

those who had participated in the General Elections of 1985 and 1990, though still the time of one party state thought that money politics had become of age in the Tanzania's political and electoral processes.

Across all focus group discussions there is a consensus that corruption in the electoral process has reached high proportions never experienced before (in reference to their experience of 2000 General Elections). They mentioned use of money, drinks, clothes (cotton printed fabrics popularly and locally known as Khanga) foods and short-term employment on rural road construction and promise of some assistance with jobs or school placement for children.

Leaders and voters attitude and perceptions of corruption in the electoral process is that the scourge is widely spread in society. Given that citizens look to their leaders to set standard political behaviour, by taking corruption for granted, so do voters.

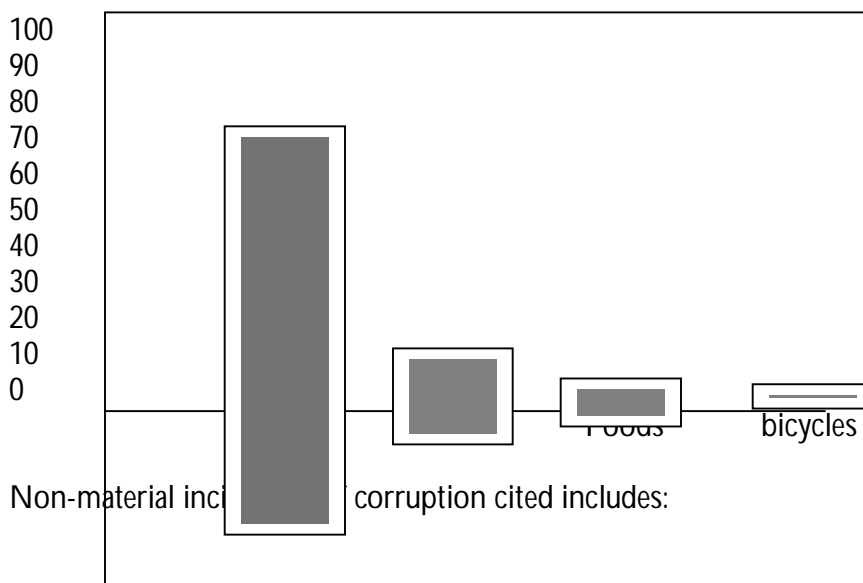
Citizens hear a lot about corruption as bad things and are denounced, but at the end of the day candidates offer financial or material inducement to voters. Some political leaders tell voters to accept bribes and gifts from candidates, but urge voters not to vote for those who give bribes. Respondents indicated that corruption in the electoral process is not just a matter of financial transaction, but involves other things:

Most people interviewed, indicated that the issue of how money is obtained does not seem to be a problem.

- Cash was ranked first by voters policy-makers and political leaders, as the main item of exchange in the electoral process.
- Drinks and foods were ranked second
- Clothes were ranked third (printed clothes locally known as Khanga)
- Bicycles were ranked fourth

Giving out cash money to party delegates and to voters is one of the main indicators of existence of corruption in the political and electoral process.

Beside money as the main item of exchange between candidates and delegates and voters, other items of exchange in corruption include, gifts like foods, drinks, clothes, bicycles and other cheap items, which mean a lot to the poor people in the rural sector.



- Intimidation of voters to vote for candidate(s) of the ruling party
- Gerry-mandering (re-districting or creation of new electoral districts) to enhance the chances of the ruling party at the disadvantage of opposition parties
- Misuse of state properties and resources in the electoral campaign.

In good many focus group discussions, participants indicated uncertainty about what the state can do about corruption, especially corruption in the electoral process. The concern of voters and leaders alike is that those with money and power are interested in retention of power, while those who want to get in know the advantages of money to get in. That the motivation for involvement in competitive politics is related to self-interests and not to make elections as an opportunity for people to express free choice and get fair representation. Political parties (especially ruling party) are used as vehicles for mobilizing huge amounts of money to create monopolistic electoral organizations for the interests of an entrenched political elite group. At the level of engagement with members of the party and potential voters candidates lavish them with cash money and consumable gifts.

Perception and attitudes of political leaders and policy makers towards corruption in the electoral Process and possibilities of combating it.

Item	Number	%
What do you understand by corruption?		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Giving money and other material things • Intimidating and coercing voters • Using state resources for political purpose 	90 38 58	
	186	100%
How does corruption defeat democracy and good governance?		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No free choice • Election of bad and incompetent leaders • Make money politics dominate and monopolise the political space at the expense of political ethical standards. 	82 50 58	
	186	100%
Do you consider corruption a big problem in the elections?		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes (Money, politics and exploitation of incumbency by ruling party) • No (Exaggerated) • Don't know (there are other problems beside corruption i.e. poverty, illiteracy, political patronage) 	153 33 -	
	186	100%
Do you think political parties should disclose sources of party finance and campaign funding?		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes (for transparency, accountability and against dirty money) • No (secret ballot, secret donation) • Don't know (no past experience). 	155 20 11	
	186	100%
<i>Do you think that there is need for reforms in?</i>	50	

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political parties (for transparency and accountability on financial matters) • Legislation to protect integrity of electoral process (to ensure control on political parties conduct their activities including political finance and campaign funding) • Public funding (to try to create level ground for political competition between political parties) 	80 56	
	156	100%
Disclosure and putting ceiling on electoral campaign expenditure: would: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduce available financial resources for illegal activities • Root out dirty money from political finance and campaign funding 	48 138	
	186	100%
Which one main political activity you would rather have public funding: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Party operations (party finance) • Electoral campaign funding 	56 130	
	186	100%
How do you think state funding and membership contribution should meet political finance and electoral funding? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • State to meet party political finance requirements • State to meet party of electoral funding requirements • Members to meet electoral campaign funding requirements 	78 80 28	
	156	100%

POLITICAL PARTIES AS MAIN ACTORS IN ELECTORAL PROCESS

Political Parties In Their Operational Environment In Tanzania

Tanzania marked the end of one party state system to multiparty system by passing The Political Parties Act 1992. This Act contains main provisions about registration and the organizational structural requirements of a political party, the power of different structures of the party from national to the branch level (decision-making process) and intra-party democracy in general, control of political finance and financial accountability by submitting annual audited reports to the Registrar of Political Parties.

The main sources of party funds include members contributions, dues income from business interests owned by the party, state subsidies, fundraising.

The Tanzanian political party system

- ❖ Tanzania has a Political Parties Act (1992)
- ❖ The Act regulates party finance but not campaign funds (treated separately) because candidates and not the party meet the campaign costs.
- ❖ There are no limits to contributions
- ❖ There are no limits to campaign expenditure
- ❖ There are no campaign funding regulations
- ❖ The party files an annual audited reports to the Registrar of Political Parties
- ❖ The Party Annual Returns to the Registrar of Political Parties are not made public
- ❖ Political Parties can accept contributions from:
 - (i) Businesses
 - (ii) Foreign sources
- ❖ Parties have to reveal sources of foreign funding to the Registrar of Political Parties
- ❖ Political Party leaders do not have to declare their assets and liabilities

Political parties are prohibited from accepting funds from any foreign sources and public bodies. The Political Parties Act 1992 includes a provision of disclosing the sources of funds, but only to the Registrar of Political Parties not for public consumption.

On the other hand, the Act does not include the provision of expenditure ceiling in election campaign and statutory requirements for candidates to submit audited reports for their expenditure.

Political Parties represented in Parliament are the only ones entitled to get state subsidies, according to their parliamentary seats and the Presidential votes each party obtained are part of the computation to determine how much of state subsidy a party gets. Parties without parliamentary representation do not get subsidies.

Political Parties and Their Accessibility to Funds

In Tanzania, political parties (in terms of size power and access to resources) could be ranked in the following manner:

Political Parties have four main sources of funds:

- (1) Membership fees
- (2) Fundraising
- (3) Public subsidies
- (4) Rent on property
- (5) External Funding
- (6) Percentage payment from Members of Parliament (United Republic Parliament) and Members of the House of Representative (Zanzibar)

The ruling party (CCM) claims up to 80%-90% of all the funds in the six categories of sources of funds, with opposition political parties sharing between 10%-29% of the rest of the funds.

The ruling party, with the support of state administrative infrastructure (legacy of one party state system) has an extended network of branches in all parts of the basic level of society. It has administrative offices and paid officials throughout the country. They can collect membership fees throughout the country, as well as conduct fund-raising.

On the other hand, most businessmen identify themselves with the ruling party because of business and economic interests. The ruling party has fixed assets (Stadium and buildings) which it is paid rent and thus boost the party financial resources.

External funding from known sources is also a major source of party funding to the ruling party and opposition parties represented in parliament. The known sources are the Netherlands Institute of multiparty Democracy, Westminster Foundation, which funds Liberal International, Socialist International and International Grouping of Conservative Parties, which in turn channel funds to parties identifying with the conservative ideology. However, the ruling party is said to receive funds from ruling parties is assisted during the

liberation Struggle in South Africa, specifically ANC of South Africa, ZANU-PF of Zimbabwe and FRELIMO of Mozambique, all of them are ruling parties of their respective countries.

Donor funds are extended to parties sharing the same political ideals and representation in parliament for capacity building and Civic Education. The Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD) and the Liberal International has extended funds to political parties as multilateral agencies. Nevertheless, the framework of funding from international agencies still discriminates against parties on basis of representation (number of seats occupied by parties) in parliament and political affiliation. Political parties with no seats in parliament get no public funds, as well as donor funds.

General Information on political financing: government subsidy to political parties

1. The subsidy as one of the main source of political/party financing – covers only those parties which obtained parliamentary seats in the elections and according to the number of parliamentary votes each party obtained nationally.
2. State subsidies is it calculated on the percentage basis of 2% of the GDP for a political party that gets 5% of the total of parliamentary votes cast during the elections. Due to budgetary constraints, the government has limited state subsidies to political parties to 0.6% of GDP.
3. The office of the Registrar of Political Parties is responsible for monthly disbursement of state subsidies to respective political parties, which qualify.
4. Utilization: On activities stated in the Act of establishing Political Parties 1992) mainly, to pay for Civic education activities by the party, publicity and consolidation activities in the constituencies which the respective part won seats.
5. Political parties report about the utilization of government subsidy to The Registrar of Political party who gives a clean bill and everything continues as usual

Relationship Between Political Parties and Electoral Corruption

Political parties are the main actors in the political and electoral process. Like other main political actors are subject to the demands of integrity in the political process.

Political parties need funds to meet normal official operational costs and campaign funds during election time. In Tanzania, the multiparty system was re-introduced in 1992 after almost thirty years of one party state system. The ruling party CCM, which led the country to independence in 1961 and was the ruling party during the one party state, had accumulated assets and resources which gives her an a strong financial resource base viz-a-viz the new parties which emerged in the wake of political reforms. In 1992 when political liberalization was effected and resulted into acceptability of political pluralism and the re-introduction of the multiparty system, the interest of the ruling party overwhelmed the ethical commitment and ideological considerations. Money and its legal and or illegal use became the main factor in the drive to win elections (at all costs). Thus we can deduce that, though not out rightly pronounced, those with power (the ruling party) and those with money are symbiotically attracted, but for different reasons. Those in political domain need

money to win elections and those with money, invest in a political party that is in power; expecting some reward when power is won and or retained. The party(ies) with out power faces many odds and uncertainties.

The increase need for money and more money mean that money is sought by all means possible. Stringent legislation, which would include the disclosure of the contributor, the amount contributed and opening the financial books to public scrutiny, would obviously scare off potential sources of contribution especially those sources, which gain their money by illicit means. Thus resistance to legislation has its origin in the manner in which the party is organized and its willingness to accept transparency and accountability.

Specific Observation of the 2000 General Elections

It is alleged that corruption dominated the 2000 election campaigns throughout the country. This allegation is partly based on the following observation.

RESEARCH FOR DEMOCRACY (REDET)

- ❖ During the opinion polls conducted by the ruling Party (Chama Cha Mapinduzi), "treating in the form of food, drinks, clothes and cash became apparent;
- ❖ During registration of voters, in certain polling stations, contestants were required to treat some of the ward officers who partook in the registration process;
- ❖ During nomination by various political parties, corruption was central to making other contestants step down to leave the provider of cash and other treats as the sole victor to stand for election; and
- ❖ A house-to house campaign was singled out as a source of corrupting voters in certain constituencies and in particular some of the ward officers were central in this endeavour.

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nomination and pre-campaign activities including preparing the party manifesto and organizing executive committee meetings to select Presidential, parliamentary and local government election candidates.

In Tanzania, presidential aspirants seeking nomination from the party raise a lot of money. Different business interests put their money on different presidential aspirants. The case in point is 2005 inner party Presidential nomination. There were 11 Presidential aspirants for nomination. The requirements for nomination included endorsement of the aspirant by 250 members from ten regions. Tanzania covers almost 1,000,000 sq. Km of surface area. It has poor communication system. Aspirants used millions of shillings hiring planes and four wheel drive vehicles to reach remote parts of the country. Where did the money come from?

There were allegations of corruption in the nomination process. The party warned Presidential aspirants seeking nomination not to engage in corruption while seeking endorsement and delegates votes at the Party Electoral Congress. However, the reports on corruption in the nomination process compiled by party district offices were discarded on the claim that there were no written directives on how members seeking endorsement for nomination should mobilize contributions and make proper use of the funds contributed and sanctions for violation of party regulations.

The case of parliamentary candidates funding is a bit different from the presidential candidates in terms of campaign funding.

The Campaign Managers of parliamentary candidates said that they mainly use their own funds and little contributions from supporters within and without the constituency. The use of own funds limit the amount they expand on electoral campaign. Given the rising high cost of living, an ordinary Member of Parliament does not have enough funds to use on many illegal activities, which constitute corruption in the electoral process.

However, there are parallel activities undertaken at the constituency level. There are activities undertaken by the party at the constituency level, to mobilize support for the party's Presidential candidate, the parliamentary candidate and councilors, beside activities undertaken by an individual parliamentary candidate at the constituency level. There is a big possibility that corruption in the electoral process can happen in the two parallel sub-systems, independent of each other.

The campaign Managers of parliamentary candidates keeps no records of campaign expenditures concerning who contributes and how much is contributed. The average amount of money spent on electoral campaign by parliamentary candidates is between Ts. 25 million – Ts.50 million. But parliamentary candidates of the opposition use even less than Ts. 5 million.

Their understanding of dirty money is almost little and they rush into saying that any discrepancy in the electoral process, including corruption should be proven in court, though they reckon that there is corruption in the nomination of candidates and elections.

Much of their electoral funds are used in transport, traditional hospitality and other expenses, which are legal as the law stipulates. Candidates in the parliamentary election bear the burden of providing funds, not only for their campaign, but also for pre-section canvassing, election campaign and contingencies for post-election legal costs in case of petition case disputing the election results. At the time of election, they have to materially support their public funding or partial public funding is highly commendable because it can save candidates from being captured by people with moneybags.

Campaign managers contend that the law on corruption in the electoral process is inadequate because those civil Servants who sabotage the electoral process get scotch free when elections are nullified. And legal technicalities militate against persecuting cases of corruption in the electoral process.

USE AND MISUSE OF MONEY IN ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN

The following are testimonies of participants on how they were approached into what they consider to be a political scam in the electoral corruption.

Buying of Voter registration cards

We have a group of fishmongers. We do not go out to the lake to fish, but buy fish to sell from fishermen. Our group consists of twenty-five. Everyday we buy fish worth 40,000 – 50,000/= shillings. I was approached as the leader of the group by a person I know who claimed to be agent of the candidate. He told me that the candidate wanted to help with capital. He gave us a grant of 50,000/= shillings with no conditions attached. I told my fellow fish-mongers who were excited about the offer.

After some few days he came back and asked e whether we have registered. I said yes. He then said, as a leader of the group I should keep all the certificates because by the nature of our work they could get lost and we miss the opportunity to vote I told members of my group and they agreed and I locked the cards in my locker at home.

The Local Non-Governmental Organization

I work with a Non-Governmental Organization as community animator. We mobilize women to form groups in order to access credit which is extended through our organization animators in the project area were called in a meeting by the leader of the organization who told us that the organization and himself were supporting the candidate of the ruling party. He did not want the organization to be given a bad name of opposing the ruling party and the government. They had to spread this message to all beneficiaries to the project. This had to be done secretly and confidentially so that other people outside the group should not know.

The boss did not want us to ask questions and we went out to call meetings of beneficiaries in the project area and put the message across. We had another task of checking out of possible supporters and sympathizers to the project. All people shut their mouth and there was no murmuring from anybody in our organization. It is true that other organizations (NGOS), which were suspected, of supporting the opposition got into trouble with district authorities

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disadvantages others who do not vote.

In the four testimonies by participants about their experience with corruption in the electoral process, it is obvious that those who engineer corruption, target functional groups in their associational life (formal or informal) by recruiting their leaders to approach group members. That is the most cost-effective method rather than approaching individual potential voter.

Some other observations, which could be made, are about ingenuity of some engineers of corruption in election for example an attempt at returning to the traditional sources of social cohesion; in reference to primordial loyalties in the approach made to the head of the clan to mobilize support for the candidate. In the transitional African societies new modes of associational life have developed, rendering the clan as one of the main form of social identity. But "political entrepreneurs" were ready to invent the clan and manipulate it for political purposes. In the traditional society the clan had been displaced by such functional collectives like religious groups, Non-governmental Organization, Community Based Organizations and informal organizations, which contribute to agenda making in the social

development of the people in the social development of the people in the area. But even then, these functional and associational groups are not approached by political parties and candidates for frank exchange of views on democratic development and free choice, but are either coerced, manipulated or bought off in zero-some game between competing parties and candidates.

In the case of fraud involving voters cards, the approach was subtle. The potential voters were systematically ruled into the trap when their leaders collect their registration certificates and later was tricked to hand them over the agent and the secretary of the party, who is return exchange faked cards for genuine ones. The voters a partly should have contributed to the problem, but it should be pointed out also that there was collusion between the party leaders in the area and election officials.

GENDER

Women participants think that this is a man's game because women lack the wherewithal compared to men.

The plight of women

"The daily grind of hard manual labour leaves little opportunity to take part in political activity. The intensity of this problem is especially great for women. Poor women in Third world societies have heavy domestic chores in addition to cultivating, marketing and engaging in wage labour. This may include carrying large quantities of water long distances to service the home. With energy consumed at such rate and inadequately replenished by a poor diet, it is not easy to persuade people to spend what little free time they have traveling by foot to and from political meetings. The physical effort and malnourishment experienced by the poor can not sustain political activism"

(Smith ibd p. 225)

ruling party and fight for a parliamentary seat. Almost all aspirants for nomination in the ruling party and opposition parties are urban based or rich retired Civil Servants who have one leg in the rural sector and another one in the urban sector. These people (urban based) are said to come to the rural with their moneybags at election time and buy votes and then off they go.

An informal women Group

Our group consists of women in the village. We operate in formal to help each other, on social occasion at weddings and burial. We contribute bananas, maize, beans and drinks and sometimes money when we have it, but most women have no money. During year 2000 Elections, women members of the ruling party approached us. They said women in the village had to go to the village to get printed cotton cloth, popularly known as Khanga. We told them that we could not come because we were not members of their party and in fact we did not belong to any political party. They told us that the gifts were from their candidate to women. Since we wanted the cloth we want and got a pair. About fifty women got a pair each. The cloth had pictures of the candidate. Whenever we wore it, people would say to us that we were already bought. We were put in a difficult situation up to the time of election. Many women in our group said they were going to vote for the one who bore gifts to women because the other candidate was giving beer to men and had forgotten women. But that was just unfounded rumour because the other candidate was reminding people not to accept gifts from

The main problem that surfaces, is that candidates in elections are exploiting poverty of the people as a way of manipulating women and poor farmers without money can not get nominated. The establishment and political bureaucracy know the constraints on effective political action by the poor people.

Writing about poverty and political stability, in Third World countries, B.C Smith had the following to say. "Even with the right to vote, the power of the ballot box is easily emasculated by electoral frauds of one kind or another. In poor societies votes can still be easily be bought poverty also means that successful appeals to the judiciary against the economically powerful and their allies in the bureaucracy when they obstruct the implementation of government reforms are rarely made because of social and financial costs involved." (p. 224, 2003).

The statement by Smith actually tells much more that what happens between the candidate and the voter. It also tells the nature of relations between the state and society.

THE VIEWS OF POLITICAL LEADERS AND CORRUPTION: INTERVIEWING DISTRICT SECRETARIES

The main explanation as to why party leaders and party employees are engaged in such activities which they know are illegal, the explanation is that since the government stopped giving subsidies to the ruling party, on which leaders and employees were on the party payroll monthly, most people except but a few, fend for themselves. Thus good many people and leader in the employment of the party they are highly exposed to such things like getting money from illicit means.

On the other hand candidates, know that it is illegal to use money to get nominated. But they are motivated by the fact that there is lack of control within their parties as well as legal control of how political parties should mobilize and utilize financial resources. Another motivational factor is that once the candidate manages to win the primary nomination by foul or fair means, it is assumed that all forces of the party and government would be on the ruling party's candidate to defeat the candidate of the opposition even if it entails using corruption for political gain. In this respect a political party in power thinks first about retaining power and not winning power through clean elections.

BUSINESSMEN POINT OF VIEW ON CORRUPTION IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS

Business people agree to the formulation of the law in which it is stated how contributions to political parties and electoral campaign are governed. Presently, there is no law and what is extended as contribution can not be referred to in the provision of the law.

There is also an agreement that people link contribution to parties as a form of future investment whence business people expect favours, and contracts from the government that wins power.

Businessmen and women think such a position is wrong because some businessmen and women are plain members of the party and do not anticipate any favours.

On the other hand, business people say that there are a lot of requests for Sponsorship and contributions from different groups in Civil Society and political society. A law, which requires reporting of contribution and judicious use of resources by political parties, could be instrumental in streamlining political contribution and reduce pilferage in political finances, as well as corruption in the electoral process.

Though people are not coerced, but officials and leaders in the government take personal initiative of inviting businessmen and businesswomen in their fundraising projects. It is obvious no one can contemplate a refusal to attend.

However, some businessmen and businesswomen agree that their business would be affected if they joined the opposition. The need to control contribution in order to avoid dirty money is supported.

VIEWS FROM CIVIL SOCIETY ON COMBATING CORRUPTION IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS

The necessity and need of reform legislation to streamline political funding.

It was suggested that the government should involve stakeholders in formulating a new law to control party and electoral campaign funding, as a way of combating corruption in the electoral process.

Some other officials say that the main reason is the link that existed between the party and the state, at the time of one party state system, when the state owned and controlled the major means of production. The link provided the base to accumulate stock of resources, which the ruling party falls on now in do not have financial bases on which to operate and are actually financially derailed. Moreover, The Accounting Auditing office puts queries on submitted reports and do not undertake forensic auditing.

Some problems pointed out in the Political Parties Act on the provision of political funding, is that electoral campaign funding by candidates is not covered for party expenditure reporting or reporting requirement, let aside the ceiling on how much political parties and candidates spend during an election. In audited accounts of political parties submitted to the Registrar of Political Parties, there is higher volume of revenue and expenditure during the election year than non-election year. However, despite the election year and non-election year increase in volume equal access to competing candidates but the cost to the treasury was enormous. A lot of funds were allocated to underwrite party bureaucracy and electoral activities. They agree that the ruling party had created some order in its finances because it used to operate like a government department, with department for revenue and auditing. Even though, the ruling party did not entirely depend on the government subsidy. It used

efficient fund-raising techniques, membership fees and rent on its properties to bolster its financial position. So the most possible way for political financing and electoral funding is a combined approach of public-private resource mobilization rather than proposing to entirely loading it over on public subsidy.

The budget on social spending has increased 20% due to debt cancellation to Tanzania under (HIPC). An increase in budgetary appropriations for public spending on political parties would be within acceptable proportion, if at all by so doing combating electoral corruption would be on course.

Policy makers decry the lack of transparency in political financing. They say that much of what they know about funding of political parties is mainly public subsidy. Otherwise the funds political parties receive from rich businessmen within Tanzania, Foreign Missions and external sources are very difficult to know about. They believe much is done in secrecy and outside the banking system.

When asked why they believe political parties have unreported funds from within and without the country? Policy makers respond that they get their information from the press, the information that reaches the government, foreign missions and personal contact. It applies for the ruling party and the opposition parties as well. They say that the ruling party has traditional ties with business community in the country as well as sister parties in Africa region and outside Africa.

ENFORCEMENT AGENCY (IES)

The office of the Registrar of Political Parties is in charge of going a clean bill of health to political parties in terms of the order of its audited accounts according to the law.

Every year, registered political parties in Tanzania forward an audited report of party accounts conducted by authorized auditor, including a list of contributors and amount contributed. This is done formally and the initiative lies with the political parties themselves. The Registrar of Political parties has no investigative powers to look into the finances of the political party, he can not select another auditing firm in case he is not satisfied with audited accounts submitted, except when there is a claim of misuse of government subsidy to political parties.

On the other hand, the Political Parties Act (1992) does not specify on who should be punished in case the party is found guilty of problems related to political financing: the party or the officer in charge?

In the case of Tanzania, collective punishment could be used against the party, even if the culprit is known, from the logic that the activities in the party are undertaken on the basis of collective decision. But it is obvious that in almost all political parties, the chairman word is final and the claim of collective decision rings hollow.

The office of the Registrar of Political Parties seems to have no technical capacity to handle political and financial matters of now 16 fully registered parties. The key personnel include the Registrar of Political Parties, Deputy Registrar, the Legal counsel, accountant and administrative officer; these are in charge of 16 fully registered political parties, with

membership estimated to four million, and annual budget estimated at \$ 8 million, which reaches up to \$ 20 million at election time, covering the country of 920,000sq. Kilometres. In terms of organizational and professional resources, only the ruling party and four opposition parties namely Civic United Front (CUF), Tanzania Labour Party (TLP), CHADEMA and United Democratic Party (UDP), which receive government subsidies, can meet partial requirements of submitting annual audited reports.

The Registrar of Political Parties acknowledges the difference between political parties, especially between the ruling party and opposition. However, the opposition parties are blamed for not being creative in fund-raising and being judicious with the available resources they have to build a strong organizational base and even use the banking system.

In terms of availability of funds to political parties contend that public funding though supported but can not meet all the requirements of political parties; i.e. organizational requirements of day to day activities of the party and electoral campaign requirements. They reckon that during one party –state system, public funding of the ruling political party and the electoral campaigns provided everything needed for equal footing among candidates. The ruling party met the reporting requirements. To-day there is no provision in the Political Parties Act, which require campaign expenditure to be accounted. Given that there is varied endowment between and among political parties, a simple user friendly standard format could be designed to be used by all. That takes us to the issue of Financial Accounting Manual, which the Office of Registrar of Political does not have, in relation to reporting on political financing and or campaign expenditure.

The office of Registrar of Political Parties was conversant with foreign donations. Political parties report on what they receive (for Civic Education training and hardwares) from foreign sources. However, these sources publicize their involvement and there are no secret deals. The question of unreported foreign funding to the Registrar of Political Parties has to get a report from Bank of Tanzania, Directorate of Criminal Investigation and Prevention of Corruption Bureau. It can not by its own discover cases of unreported foreign funding among political parties.

On the question of corruption in the electoral process, policy makers confirm that there is a lot of money circulating during the election time, but that is only for a brief period and for a definite purpose. They contend that such money is mobilized from different sources and not one main source but money supply was minimal. When argued to consider the long-term effect of money politics, because they were looking at the problem with a short-term view, they agree about diseconomies created by corruption in general, but were not ready to discuss the impact of corruption in the electoral process.

Good many Campaign Managers agree about corruption in the electoral process but there are different perceptions. From the ruling party, all those associated with it perceived corruption in terms of monetary exchange between candidate and agents viz-a-viz potential voters or delegates. Those on the opposition, besides associating corruption with monetary exchange, they also include misuse of power, coercion, manipulation of voters etc. The problematic of corruption in the electoral process has also to do with the nature of the public realm (which is narrow) that needs to be expanded whereby respect for the rule of law and things public are ingrained in the political behaviour of the political community as a whole.

On the wider scale, the development of a constitutional state in which public officials observe the rule of law as much as the citizens are required is a fundamental principle that can be used to combat corruption.

COMBATING CORRUPTION

First thing to do first to make election corruption – free?

Respondents	Order of preference
Policy makers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public sector to meet the cost of running operations of political parties and elections. It is important to see how the public sector and Voluntary contributions can meet requirements of political finance and electoral campaign expenses. • Public funding for only those parties, which have parliamentary representation.
Government functionary (Office of the Registrar of political parties)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The government should consider giving opposition parties without parliamentary representation some financial and non-financial assistance at the formative stage or to meet some General Elections expenses.
Official (National Electoral Commission)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Corruption in the electoral process has to be combated by legal and non-legal means. Review and reform of legislation to control the integrity of electoral process should be given priority; with involvement of stakeholders.
Financial Expert	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political parties lack capacity to handle huge amounts of money. There is a need to build capacity of political parties to meet professional requirements of handling huge funds from whatever sources.
Anti-corruption	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anti-corruption strategy should include the problem of corruption in the political sector. • Political parties to play a crucial role in combating corruption through good practice and good governance.
Legal Experts (Attorney General)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Review and harmonization of legislation(s) to protect the integrity of the political and electoral process • Review of Political Parties Act (1992) to include strengthening control provisions of party finance and campaign funding.
Leaders of political parties	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expand public funding of political parties for electoral campaign • Change the law to control party finance and campaign funding (the law to include) • Reform political parties to be transparent and

	accountable in financial matters
Managers of Presidential Candidates	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expand public funding of political parties for electoral campaign • Change the law to control party finance and campaign funding • Conscientize people and business donated for campaign funding
Members of Parliament	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need for a formula of the public and private sectors and individual contribution to meet the cost of campaign resource requirements • Reform of legislation to control party finance and campaign funding
Candidates in parliamentary elections	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expand public funding • Change the law • Party reforms
Campaign Managers of Parliamentary Candidates	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is a need of law to control campaign expenditures • There isn't much to control because most candidates have very little money • Need for increased state subsidies to political parties, especially for electoral campaigns
District Party Secretaries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political Parties at the district level need to be provided with finance for civic Education. Public subsidies should be directly extended to district parties • Electoral Campaigns take place at the district level and therefore state subsidies should be directed to the district party
Businessmen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need to put ceiling on how much political parties can receive from business organizations or companies • Companies with government contracts should not contribute to political parties
Civil Society	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need for reform in legislation to control political party finance and Campaign funding • Legislation to control business linkage with political interests • Civil Society and Media to be pro-active in combating corruption in the political and electoral process
Journalists	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pro-active Media to combat corruption in the electoral Process • Need for Investigative journalism to uncover corruption incidences in the electoral process • Legislation for Freedom of Information

The solutions proposed by respondents from different functional and political social groups point to the necessity and need of regulation of political funding.

ADVOCACY FOR CHANGE

The wide section of people interviewed agrees that Tanzania is engrossed in the problem of corruption and combined efforts should be contemplated. Political consultants think that there are structural and political problems, which inhibit finding an effective solution to political corruption. The obvious problem areas they cite are the law on corruption in the electoral process in which aggrieved parties which include voters have to pay more than U.S. \$ 5,000 before hearing begins in the Courts of Law. The other problem they cite is power of the Executive and the problem of the post-reform state, which is developing at snails pace to become a full constitutional state. The dominance of the ruling party in parliament makes it pass weak legislations against corruption, as well as tolerate acts of illegality as long as such acts help the ruling party to retain power. The parliament in Tanzania is a partisan parliament that does not promote bipartisanship.

Opposition Political parties are seen as mere political organizations, which keep in the picture because of the press and office of the Registrar of Political Parties, which have them on the register. Otherwise people who have no organizational and professional skills lead them and actually they warn that it would be disastrous to put a lot of money into the hands of the leaders of some political parties, as it has happened with the government subsidy in 1995 when all political parties were given government subsidies on the onset of multipartism but the money ended in the leaders pockets. They also mentioned the electoral system of plurality (first-past-the post) in which an individual candidate is the main actor and has to seek all the funds needed for electoral campaign almost at all level. Overhaul of political parties is necessary in order to make them politically and organizationally and professionally efficient. This needs the entry of organizational men and organizational women who will bring reform, in order to attract new members, including those who can extend resources in order to put the parties on sound financial base. Another proposal made is that political parties have to merge and form strong parties instead of small parties, which are effective and fight for limited resources available. Like other people interviewed they agree that a new law is necessary to control party financing in which all issues should be defined and dealt with as far as political financing of political parties is and electoral campaigns are concerned. Other problem areas to be covered should include individual integrity, political rights of civil Servants and limitations to their activities, conflict of interest (applied to politicians and senior Civil Servants in relation to their involvement in business) relationship between politics and business, financial disclosure on contributions, (Sources and amount) limitations to contributions and ceiling on expenditure.

Undertaking awareness creation of Citizens rights and combating corruption in the electoral process underscore Civil Society role. Civil society can also be the basis of developing oversight structures in the fight against corruption. Information on corruption in the electoral process should be made available to citizens at the basic level of society.

All groups interviewed supported the necessity and need of the parliament to pass a new law on corruption in the electoral process.

The streamlining of political finance is thought to be important because when the claim of cleaning the government is made, why shouldn't political parties be cleaned up?

THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY

- Civil Society has increasingly become vocal and involved in calling and organizing social and political forces combat political and electoral corruption. Civil Society has to strengthen network, partnership with other anti-corruption bodies and generate and publicize information obtained from research and concrete court cases and other authoritative sources i.e. World Bank Studies, Partnership for Transparency Fund and Transparency International.
- Civil Society Organizations have been mobilized to form Anti-Corruption Network in Tanzania in which all dimensions of corruption are addressed. The political opposition as the disadvantage part in the political sector is close to Civil Society Organizations in demanding reform in part and campaign funding.
- The inadequacy of National- Anti-corruption has been discussed and a critical mass of pro-reform movement has developed in Civil Society and the political public. The ruling party and parliament will have to respond to popular pressure, because all have come to realize that corruption is not selective but engrossing.
- Civil Society Organizations (Legal and Human Rights Centre) and other Human Rights and Political NGOs have taken legal action of asking the High Court to nullify the provision of the Election Law (Act no. 4 of 2000) which state that:
 - (i) For the purpose of sub-section (1) anything done in good faith as an act of normal or traditional hospitality shall be deemed not to be treating;
 - (ii) Normal or ordinary expenses spent in good faith in the election campaign or in the ordinary course of the election process shall be deemed not to be treating, bribery or illegal practice.

THE ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES

- There are efforts at capacity building within political parties; with training focusing on political ethics, financial management and fundraising. This should help create ethical consciousness among leaders and eventually provide basis for rejection corruption in politics and electoral process.
 - There are efforts by national and International Organizations to train political parties in Tanzania to get basic and advanced organizational skills, including basic financial management and fund-raising. Such Organizations involved in capacity building include the Internationally known National Democratic Institute (NDI) and Research for Democracy Tanzania (REDET)

- That public funding should be extended to all parties represented contesting an election. Public funding is usually transfer of funds in the Tanzanian context. Alternative means of support to political parties should be thought i.e. use of coupons to pay for publicity through the press and electronic media and printing of promotional and airtime.
- External funding is now extended to political parties for capacity building and is bolstering their capacity. However only parties represented in parliament are beneficiaries
- There are efforts by political parties to undertake internal reforms to combat corruption:
 - (1) The ruling party CCM has directed its regional and district party committee to follow the activities of candidates in the primaries and report any corruptible practices. In the year 2005 General Election fighting corruption within the party and in the state institutions and society has been included in the Party Election Manifesto.
 - (2) The ruling party CCM has made it compulsory for presidential aspirants to record and produce a list of financial contributors for primary nominations.
 - (3) CUF (The main opposition party) has introduced a system for nominated candidates to sign agreement binding them to reimburse the party the costs incurred by the party in their selection. In case the candidate withdraws from elections or defect to other parties, he/she has to pay for the costs as per agreement.
- Other measures to reform political parties from within to include:
 - (i) Appointment of persons with extensive experience in accounting and financial management to lead the central party Financial Commission i.e. The case of CCM the ruling party which has appointed a long time Business Executive as the party Treasure, in charge of financial planning and fundraising.
 - (ii) Political parties to check corruption in the nomination process have established oversight structures. Reference is made to the ruling party CCM Ethics Commission.
- Internally, political parties are reviewing their positions on corruption, especially in the nomination of candidates. Disqualification of candidates has happened in some political parties. Also Ethics departments have been formed to check corruption in the nomination.
- The Media has started reporting cases on corruption in the political and electoral process. Journalists should be trained in investigative journalism and there are calls for legislation of Freedom of Information Act and Sunshine Laws.

POLICY AND LEGISLATIVE REFORM POSSIBILITIES

- A new Anti-corruption Law in which political corruption is included being drafted
- The Law on proceeds of crime is being up dated (to prevent use of dirty money for political purposes) or to transpose illegal proceeds into legitimate use.
- The idea of making a new legislation to control political finance and campaign funding is supported by Civil Society Organizations and Human Rights Organizations.
- The Government has made Anti-Money Laundering and Anti-terrorism legislations in which the illegal money is subject of criminal investigation and seizure
- There are continuing efforts to update Proceeds of Crime Act.
- Financial contributions made by foreign institutions, show great transparency, as the sources are disclosed and party financial officers given special instructions on accounting and reporting expenditures. This is creating a new culture in the political parties about disclosure of source, accounting and reporting about expenditures in order to secure second installment.
- There is a critical demand by Civil Society Organisations, Political Parties and Political personalities that grand corruption and the political domain be included in the National Anti-Corruption Strategy.
- The above observation is complimented by the proposal made by the Ghana Centre for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana) in its Draft Report on the Evaluation of Project, “strengthening capacities to combat corruption in Tanzania “Commissioned by UNDP, observes that booming mining industry and private enterprise as well as other illicit accumulation of capital provide opportunities for grand corruption which fuels corruption in the political and electoral process.

The Prevention of Corruption Bureau (PCB) has began became to get involved in checking corruption in political parties, especially in the ruling party, in relation to nomination of candidates. However, their efforts are limited to the ruling party.

THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN COMBATING POLITICAL CORRUPTION

The media can act as a force against political corruption in ways that are both tangible and intangible. The tangible, readily identifiable, ways in which the media perform this function include those in which some sort of visible outcome can be attributed to a particular news story or series of stories-for instance, forced resignation of a crooked politician.

Intangible effects, by contrast, can be characterized as those checks on corruption which arise from broader social climate of enhanced political pluralism, enlivened public debate and a heightened sense of accountability among politicians, public bodies and institutions that are inevitably the by-product of a hard-hitting, independent media.

The tangible ways in which journalists can serve to curb corruption can take a variety of forms: Most spectacular as already stated is when politicians are forced to resign after their misdeeds are exposed to public light.

Reporting may also prompt public bodies to launch formal investigations into allegations of corruption. Furthermore, news accounts disseminate the findings of public anti-corruption bodies; thus reinforcing the legitimacy of these bodies and reducing the ease with which interested parties who hold power can meddle in their work.

There are cases when reporting on corruption does not result in immediate investigation, prosecution or resignation, but does arouse the ire of the public, which exercises another form of sanction: electoral defeat at the ballot box for a single elected office holder or an entire political party or government.

Hard hitting press can also expose flaws in policy, laws or regulation that fosters climate ripe for corruption, thus creating pressure for reform. A typical law in Tanzania is that of *Takrima*, which many believe was fueling political corruption in the country.

Likewise, even before anything has been published, mere inquiries by reporters about apparent wrongdoing can elicit preemptive responses by authorities eager to protect the image of their institutions before any allegations have been aired.

Duties of Media in the War Against Political Corruption

Frederick Staphenurst in his 2000 book titled, *The Media's Role in Curbing Corruption* has enumerated a number of duties that the media is expected to do in the war against political corruption:

- i. Raising public awareness and empower citizens to complain against corruption tendencies;
- ii. Investigating and exposing corrupt politicians and officials;
- iii. Prompting investigations by official bodies;
- iv. Reinforcing the work and legitimacy of the state's ant-corruption bodies;
- v. Strengthening anti-corruption bodies by exposing their flaws;
- vi. Helping to shape public opinion hostile to " sleaze' in government;
- vii. To pressure for changes to laws and regulations that creates a climate favorable to corruption; and
- viii. Forcing preemptive response against anticipated adverse media

publicity.

Corruption expert Michael Johnston has identified a variety of factors that help to sustain corrupt practices.¹⁰ In many instances, he says aggressive journalism is one of the most effective countervailing forces acting against these factors. This is clearly the case when it comes to weak political competition, which as Johnson has observed, generally plays a role in sustaining "most serious cases of entrenched political and bureaucratic corruption". Hard hitting journalism can act as an indirect check on the sort of corruption that would otherwise flourish in the absence of such competition simply by presenting a variety of points of view and thus informing public debate in a way that enhances political competition. It can perform a similar function by providing actors in the marketplace with a broad variety of economic and political information as well. As Johnson has observed: "Stronger political and economic competition can enhance accountability, open up alternatives to dealing with corrupt networks, and create incentives for political leaders to move against corruption.

Two other factors closely correlated with high levels of political corruption as we shall see later, are low levels of mass participation in politics and weak protection of civil liberties. Here too, the media have an obvious, if indirect, counterweight role to play. This is particularly so when the media foster debate of the sort that encourages members of the public to get involved politically, and when media outlets take the lead in pressing for enhanced civil liberties in which they have a strong vested interest-like freedom of information.

Shared knowledge among a restricted circle of beneficiaries of corruption has been identified as another characteristic of corrupt environment against which aggressive media can serve as a most effective counterweight. Insofar as the media disseminates information about public decisions and procedures beyond small cliques of decision-makers, it can play a major role in undermining this precondition to corruption.

There is doubt in so far as undertaking public awareness campaign to decrease tolerance of corruption and make it a high- risk undertaking, that the media has played a crucial role. Even the very fact that corruption is a topical issue now is because information is more available now than ever before, thanks to the emergence of liberal press which is less fearful of taking on the power that be.

In partnership with other stakeholders like PCB (Prevention of Corruption Bureau) the media has developed education programs and have created awareness of how corruption harms the economy and ultimately transforms the fabric and values of society.

The media has also given forum through letters to editor and phone-ins, talk show and interviews to citizens to make complaints about corruption and to suggest best ways to tackle the social malaise. The number of letters in newspapers is a clear testimony to that.

Through regular reportage the media has prompted public bodies to launch formal investigation into allegations of corruption. Similarly, when journalism exposes flaws and even corruption within the various bodies of the state (the courts, police, and anti-corruption task forces) corruption may be put on check. Equally important if the resulting public pressure leads to a reform of those bodies the long-term effectiveness and potential of the media to act as counterweight against corruption is strengthened. There are several regulations, which have been reviewed this way to create a climate favorable to corruption.

Interesting however, much as the media is credited for contributing to the above reform, it is worth noting that they have done so at the state level. That is to say, at their coverage have concentrated on the state as it interacts with citizens. There is very little to show how the media have investigated and exposed corruption within political parties, as we shall explain in the following section.

Canvassing for Party Election Candidacy

In the ruling *Chama Cha Mapinduzi* and in a number of opposition political parties, parliamentary aspirants usually undergo a long arduous screening process supervised by the party. Aspirants are required to fill in nomination forms, which should be accompanied by 25 signatures of people who support their candidates.

The next stage is to face the District Party Conference for cross- examination and vote the best candidate. The preferential results are then submitted for scrutiny to the various committees on the party's bureaucratic hierarchy, starting with the District Political Committee (DPC), Regional Political Committee (RPC) and finally, National Executive Committee (NEC). The final selection of party candidates lies solely in the hands of this body.

The screening process is very bureaucratic, time consuming and prone to corruption. There is ample evidence to show that what makes the day for the winning candidate is not essentially the aspirants' viability, as an efficient and effective leader, but the extent to which an aspirant has organized or been assisted to get nominated. In other words, one has to use his/her wits through " underground campaigns" to jump over the screening hurdles.

Candidate support starts at the level of getting nominated by the sponsoring political party, which screens and chooses the candidate. In all stages one has to mobilize contacts to enhance electability. This takes place through political canvassing of strategically positioned personalities and voters.

Political canvassing means efforts made by aspirants themselves and their agents to persuade the key decision-makers to favor particular candidates. This is an essentially partisan mobilization that did take place in the year 2000 general elections.

What goes into winning or losing in these stages is our concern. We are interested in capturing corruption incidences as reported by the media in the nomination, short-listing and approval of candidates.

Media investigation of corruption incidences during the nomination stages

Political parties are the vehicle used to facilitate the electorate's identification of different political persuasions, and to enable those aligned with a certain persuasion to organize their arguments and present their case to the people or front their representative as candidate. Parties play a crucial role in the selection, training, grooming and promotion of candidates.

For the sake of suppressing political corruption within their ranks, political parties at all levels are expected:

- To be held responsible for their candidates;
- To set upper limit to amount of private contributions to avert undue influences;
- To ensure full disclosure of those providing funds;
- To oversee financial support from the preferential voting stage onwards;
- To account for public money for election expenses.

While theoretically campaign funds are supposed to be put to good usage like covering logistics, in reality such funds have been used to fuel political corruption within the electoral process, for instance, buying votes and voters alike. In the process of preparing this report, this author has heard from journalists of several accounts of vote buying and suggestions that this was a widespread phenomenon during the primaries not only in the ruling party but also in the opposition. Some candidates allegedly spent millions of shillings beyond imaginations and their visible means available in order to get nominated. Those who lost must now service their debts, while those who won are now expected to make good on promises made to their backers.

(a). Raising public awareness

There is no doubt the media has done a lot of work in raising public awareness and understanding on the dangers of corruption in all aspects. Ever since the days of *Mikingamo* through Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam in the 1980s and through letters to the editor and phone-ins, talk shows and roundtables a lot of information has passed under the bridge. Programs like *Rushwa ni nini?* Have been very informative in empowering citizens to humanize corruption in all aspects. Unfortunately most of such information has not been put to good use by both the public institutions responsible for combating corruption for various reasons.

Through RTD's *Mikingamo* program, citizens were mobilized and empowered not only to come out and complain against economic saboteurs and other forms of corruption but also to expose by names the culprits entangled in the vice believing it will prompt swift action by the anti-corruption bodies. It was not the case to be, and so the program ended unceremoniously.

b). Investigation and exposing electoral corruption

Investigative journalism is the weakest link in the country's journalism. Most of the stuff carried in both print and electronic media in Tanzania is passive reports from press releases and conferences, public rallies, speeches and gossip. After a whole generation of a monopoly press, monopolized by the state either directly or through its party, the fighting spirit of the operators has at best gone down the drain, at the worst the operators have been conditioned to become their own censors. The emergence of private media has not changed the situation; after all private ownership of the media is not a sufficient guarantee of independence and effectiveness of the investigative journalist. The reluctance and inability of the public to provide the journalist with documents and evidence of rumor about political corruption increases the propensity of the unpolished journalists to spin unsubstantiated rumor. This lack of access to necessary information deter the effectiveness of the journalists in their strive to unearth evil practices in politics.

Other contributing factors:

- Occupational pressure from both private and public owned media;
- Lingering state control;
- Conflict of interest generated by ownership arrangements;
- Commodification of news and hence sensationalism journalism;
- Professional incompetence;
- Corruption in the media itself and greed as exhibited by attitude of certain go getters, who easily put themselves at the service of politicians or political parties;
- Servile compliance, as in the willingness to take sides (e.g. the double role of journalists as reporter and CCM Councilors like Songea and Mbeya.
- Violence against journalists
- Libel laws and intimidation
- Advertising pressures
- The fusion of politics, business and the media- hence corporate speech.
- Poor state of the economy
- Weak civil society and lack of civil liberties-e.g. The right to demonstrate against corrupt politicians.
- Lack of political will- there is every indicator that anti-corruption campaigns in this country have degenerated into political rhetoric designed to appease foreign donors and international institutions or score political goals in election times than to address the major issue, which is political corruption.

Fact Sheet

On Political Corruption and corruption in the Electoral Process in Tanzania

- ❖ Tanzania is ranked by Transparency International among the **medium group of countries** in the world in terms of level of **public disclosure** of political finance and campaign contributions
- ❖ Many political leaders believe that the law is insufficient, as most transactions take place in cash, never appearing in the parties account books.
- ❖ The problem of political party corruption in Tanzania is not, of course, a matter of laws alone. In fact, many laws that the designed to protect the integrity of the political process are routinely violated.
- ❖ There is no provision in law to make public sources of political finance and electoral funding
- ❖ No penalties for violation Political Party provisions
- ❖ **In Tanzania electoral practice Gift-giving** as traditional hospitality for political and electoral purposes grandiosely called **takrima** in Swahili; is sanctioned by law (Reference: Act No.1 of 2000) The provision reads:

“For the purpose of sub-section (1) anything done in good faith as an act of normal or traditional hospitality shall be deemed not to be treating”.
- ❖ Government officials use state resources for political and campaign purposes (source 2000 General Election Report by Election Monitoring Committee)
- ❖ **RESEARCH FOR DEMOCRACY IN TANZANIA (REDET) Specific observation of the 2000 General Elections**
 1. During the primary nominations conducted by the ruling Party (Chama Cha Mapinduzi) “treating in the form of food, drinks, clothes and cash became apparent.
 2. During registration of voters, in certain polling stations, contestants were required to treat some of the ward officers who partook in the registration process
 3. During nomination by various political parties, corruption was central to making other contestants step down to leave the provider of cash and other treats as the sole victor to stand for election.
 4. A house to house campaign was singled out as a source of corrupting voters in certain constituencies and in particular some of the ward officers were central in this endeavour (which included distribution of gifts).

- ❖ Most targeted social groups in the electoral process are the youth (unemployed) women (subordinates in the patriarchal society) and poor peasants (poverty)
- ❖ There is little differentiation of the ruling party and the government at different levels of society. Some leaders take chance to cover electoral, political and administrative misdemeanors, including such instances of political corruption due to party officials and state agents involvement.
- ❖ Corruption is rampant in primary nomination of Presidential parliamentary and civic candidates in most, if not all political parties.
- ❖ State subsidies to political parties are exclusively financial resources.
- ❖ The ruling party CCM which has won over 90% of all the seats in parliament and local councils, in the past two general elections get much of the state subsidy (over 89%).
- ❖ Civil Society Organizations, church groups and political personalities have condemned the amendment of the Electoral law to sanction gift giving. They have instituted a legal challenge in the High Court and are seeking to nullify that provision which they say, it is official condoning of corruption
- ❖ It is possible to combat corruption in the electoral process if there is political will. Political parties i.e. CCM have started on a modest scale to institute internal mechanisms of control and capacity building to ensure democratic governance within political parties.

cases have fallen to a mere 11 after the 2000 General Elections compared to over 45 in the first multiparty General Elections 1995.

- ❖ The definition of corruption as “abuse of public office for private gain” (reference to Tanzania’s anti-Corruption Strategy) excludes non-official activities in the higher category of grand corruption i.e. Money Laundering, malfeasance in political party financing and electoral fraud.

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ten thousand fliers against corruption and distribute them to Parliamentary and Civic candidates in the 2005 General Elections

CONCLUSION

The findings from all groups interviewed are consistent with other research in Tanzania and are in agreement over the widespread and rampant corruption in the electoral process. The changing political economy has brought about a new class within and without the state system, who are collaborating closely and confirming the linkage between politics and business.

The findings from groups interviews show that there is concern over corruption in the electoral process and the necessity and need of finding solution. It is obvious that there is reluctance and lack of political will on the part of the ruling party. It is banking on the structural functional theory that comparatively, corruption in the electoral process is much more preferable to political instability (which has been absent in Tanzania since independence). However in the obtaining situation of Third World countries abound with political, economic and social cleavages, political deficits and diseconomies, there is no guarantee that political stability that Tanzania has enjoyed over the years can not be imperiled.

It is worthwhile therefore to look into ways and means of combating corruption through institutional means, in the state System and without the state system. The main approach proposed should involve:

- Review and rewriting of the law on corruption in the electoral process focusing on effective control of political finance and electoral campaign funds
- The overhaul of political parties for organizational and professional efficiency as way to increasing transparency in political parties.
- The role of Civil Society in creating awareness among citizens to know their rights and obligations, reject intimidation and manipulation

RECOMMENDATIONS

- 1.1 Political parties and legislation to control the activities of political parties are key in combating corruption in the electoral process. Political parties are important political actors, which are involved in mobilizing financial resources for political and electoral activities. And legislations for controlling the conduct of activities of political actors is crucial in ensuring good practice and good governance. Reform in

these key problem areas is likely to pay off in terms of combating corruption in the electoral process.

1.2 The review of legislation to protect the integrity of the political process, inner party democratic practice and access to financial resources, the government anti-corruption strategy and the role of Civil Society and Media highlights the necessity and need of reform to combat corruption in the electoral process. Policies and measures which can contribute to combating corruption in the electoral process have been identified as:

- Reform of the law on corruption in the electoral process focusing on effective control of political finance and electoral campaign funds, to include sources of funding amount, purpose and ceiling for electoral expenditure, as well as sanctions for violation.
- The National Anti-Corruption strategy to be reviewed; whence grand corruption should be emphasized, instead of the strategy only focusing on petty corruption. Huge amounts of money used in political finance and electoral campaign funding originate from grand corruption and not petty corruption.
- The government should accept public funding of political parties and candidates participating in the General elections, because there are laid down regulations on how to spend and account for public funds. To-day, much of the money used for political finance and electoral campaign is obtained from undisclosed sources and much of it is not accounted for.
- Public funding of political parties need not only look at financial resources only. Government could directly pay for air-time for radio and television, as well as giving rebates on publicity material, for political parties.
- The public be made aware of tax rebates given for political contributions Tax exemptions for political parties promotional materials for electoral campaigns.

The Study proposes a number of recommendations that could strengthen and sustain effective development of political parties, as real institutional political actors:

These include:

- Capacity building of political parties, especially on matters of organization and development, financial management fundraising and
- Political parties should promote inner party democracy and collective decision-making. Internal Good Governance is the basis for accountability and good governance.
- Political parties should pass anti-corruption provisions in their constitutions and regulations
- Political parties must regulate fundraising by their nominated presidential and parliamentary candidates and order them to provide their electoral campaign expenditures
- Political Parties and candidates should present their budgets to the national Electoral Commission.
- Civil Society Organizations and faith-based Organizations have a great task of creating awareness among voters to resist being sucked into the corruption sub-culture facilitated by community capture by money politics

- Civil Servants and election officials, who purposely sabotage the electoral process, including committing acts of corruption in the course of carrying out their responsibilities of management and administration of elections, should be severely punished. The proposed punishment to include imprisonment and loss of civil and political rights.

STRATEGY FOR FUTURE ACTION PLAN OF COMBATING CORRUPTION IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS

Vision:

The vision is to have in place an anti-corruption capacity in the political system, in which main political actors in the political process including political parties are located. The strategy presupposes reform in the legislations governing the activities of political parties in terms of political finance and campaign funding; and reform in the inner workings of political parties, whence the new structures and new regulations address the problem of integrity of political parties in particular and the integrity of the political process in general.

The political public would be conscientized to support the reform process, because in the end citizens would be beneficiaries.

Background

The proposal to formulate a strategy for combating corruption in the electoral process, is based on the research findings and stakeholders recommendations which identified weaknesses in the legislations supposed to protect the integrity of the political process in Tanzania. The following are the major problem – areas for action in the proposed anti-corruption strategy:

- Reform of the legislations on corruption to ensure accountability, transparency and integrity of the political process, and specifically linkage of political parties and corruption.
- Review of the National anti-Corruption Strategy to include and give emphasis on grand corruption, which fuels corruption in the electoral process (instead of putting emphasis on petty corruption on the claim that it is affecting ordinary citizens)
- Reform of political parties internal structures and inclusion of anti-corruption regulations
- Formation of partnership between Civil Society Public bodies and Media to provide informed inputs for agenda building for a new anti-corruption strategy.
- Civil Society and media to conscientize the general political public to support legislative reforms and political party reforms as a way of combating corruption in the electoral process.

The proposed strategy for combating corruption is known as LEPREMUS in acronym, that stands for:

- Legislative reform
- Political party reform
-in partnership with

Media and Civil Society

Direction for the new strategy to include:

- Document political parties internal anti-corruption reforms made and improvement needs
- Plan capacity building for political parties and media in anti-corruption strategy
- Form partnership of concerned institutions to get pool of expertise
- Plan for Media and Civil Society Organizations participation in conscientization of the political public
- The strategy to be used as a guide for performance and quality improvement by political parties
- The strategy to be used as reference for performance standards and observance of the laws and regulations by political parties and public institutions supposed to enforce the law to protect integrity of the political process.

Other considerations

- Facilitation: role of implementing Agency (to call a meeting of stakeholders) and organize for formation of partnership.
- The structure role and responsibility Task Force (created out of partnership) (To formulate Action Plan) with Implementing Agency providing secretariat back-up services.

Summary on implementation

The Implementation of the project on Combating corruption in the Electoral Process is a two stage process. Long term and short term.

Long term objectives and tasks:

The long term process presupposes rigorous study and review of control legislation on political finance and electoral funding to lead to change of existing electoral legislation and party funding. Presently political party finance and electoral funding are loose on vital matters of mobilizing funds, sources of and utilization of funds and how much to expend for stated objectives.

Thus the main problem areas identified include:

- Studying and reviewing legislation and setting the principles for proposing new legislation
- Mobilizing and organizing non-state and non-state organizations for advocacy.

Already here are existing Studies on the problem of corruption in the electoral studies. A team of political scientists and legal experts won't be engaged in re-inventing the wheel in undertaking the task of reviewing the caveats in the electoral law, political financing and campaign funding.

Political parties being the key and strategic actors in the political and electoral process; have been requested to provide some critical remarks on the research report and findings and to state their position on the necessity and need for reform of the obtaining control legislation.

Their responses would be used by a team of legal and political experts to prepare some ideas and positions of political parties as the main stakeholders. African International Group of Political Risk Analysis is receiving and documenting responses and comments from political parties.

Advocacy for reform of legislation on political finance and electoral finance is of vital importance because people take for granted corruption happenings in the political and electoral processes. Civic competence is found among most citizens is found wanting, beside opportunistic tendencies among the political elites.

The involvement of Civil Society and media is supposed to ensure that outside the state system, there is critical mass (institutional force) mobilized to fight corruption in all its manifestations. It is obvious that corruption in political finance and party funding can not be fought by legislation alone. Thus a comprehensive legislation has to be accompanied by making people aware of corruption and its dangers to democracy and efforts at eliminating poverty. Thus a comprehensive legislation has to be accompanied with Anti-Corruption Civic Education Programme in which Civil Society Organizations and voters can engage in participatory learning as well a developing institutional capacity to man over-sight structures.

Short term

Short term objectives include what could be done to ensure that the general public knows about what has been done.

- Stakeholders Workshop to discuss the findings of the study on combating corruption in the electoral process in Tanzania has already been held
- Circulation of the Final Report Stakeholders, 56 copies distributed.
- Holding talks with International Transparency, Tanzanian Chapter to discuss findings of the Research on Combating Corruption in the Electoral Process.

The two parties held extensive discussion about what can be done to effect stakeholders recommendations. Already Transparency International Tanzania Chapter had organized a meeting of Civil Society Organizations fighting corruption in Tanzania. African International Group of Political Risk Analysis was invited and participated in that meeting and reported about its work and promised to provide a copy of the report to those who have not obtained a copy. The future Action Plan was also introduced. The approach in the Action Plan was studied with keen interest by Transparency International Tanzania Chapter, as some of the proposals on forming an umbrella Organization was seen to be similar to both Organizations.

- Preparation of Talk Shows on Local TV Programmes: Dar es salaam Television (DTV) Mr. Bagenda, Principal Research Consultant to be interviewed on the 2nd December 2004 two weeks before the General Elections subject:
The nature and magnitude of corruption in the General Election 2005 and Commentary about the Findings of The Research on Combating Corruption in the Electoral Process in Tanzania.
- Non-governmental Organizations are challenging the Government and parliament over legislating making traditional hospitality permissible during election time. Political parties especially the ruling party which has immense assets and ample financial resources put to full use of that provision to engender corruption in political and Electoral processes. The provision of traditional hospitality has raised intense debate on how

far the state bureaucracy and political elites can go to defend their political interest, especially when lack of financial resources is used as weapons of exclusion of the opposition and disadvantaged from competing for office.

PORIS is supporting the efforts and is supplying them with necessary information including the findings of the study. NGOs involved in public litigation against the government and parliament over the legality and constitutionality of the provision of so-called traditional hospitality in the Electoral and control legislation.

- On the other hand, given that 2005 is the year of the General Elections, PORIS has decided to document all cases of corruption reported in the media and undertake content analysis and getting some new information on the state of corruption for writing a monograph, "**Corruption in the 2005 General Elections**". That work is still going on. Already vote buying has been exposed. The President in his monthly address devoted 15 good minutes on the subject on voter buying. So far the Regional chairman of an opposition party and a parliamentary candidate are facing Court action over Vote buying. There has been nullifications of primary nominations in the ruling party as an indication of fighting corruption from within.
- The Organization using its own funds has printed and distributed 10,000 copies of a Swahili brochure condemning corruption in the Electoral process, as own efforts in Voter Education 2005 General Elections.

The contents of the brochure were abstracted from the findings contained in the Final Report of Combating Corruption in the Electoral Process, with emphasis put on: Definition of political corruption, the nature of corruption in the electoral process, Money corruption as the dominant mode of corruption in the electoral process, and other varied forms of corruption in the electoral process and instruction to political parties and voters on how to combat corruption in the electoral process.

- Since key and strategic Stakeholders are involved in the General Elections and therefore it is difficult to call a meeting for the purpose of identifying which things can be done first. We have planned that after the General Elections 2005, we shall convene a meeting to prioritize which recommendations to start implementing, especially those pertaining to long term programme.

Reference

- Annual Report of the State of corruption in Tanzania Dar es salaam 2002 ESRF and FACEIT, Dar es salaam
- The 2000 General Elections in Tanzania (Report of the Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee) TEMCO
- Global Corruption Report 2004 – Special Focus: Political corruption Transparency International
- Understanding Third World Politics (Theories of Political change and Development) B.C. Smith, 2nd Edition Substantially Revised and Updated.
- Multiparty Elections and Corruption in Tanzania with special reference to the 2000 Elections, Edited by: Samwel E. Chambua, Dar es salaam University Press Ltd 2002

AFRICAN INTERNATIONAL GROUP OF POLITICAL RISK ANALYSIS (PORIS)

PROJECT: COMBATING CORRUPTION IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS IN TANZANIA

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS

We have audited the financial statements set out on pages 2 to 3 which have been prepared under the historical cost convention and on the basis of the accounting policies set out on page 3. We obtained all the information and explanations which we considered necessary for our audit.

RESPECTIVE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE DIRECTORS AND AUDITORS

It is the responsibility of the management of the Project to prepare the financial statements. Our responsibility is to form an independent opinion on those financial statements based on our audit and report that opinion to you.

BASIS OF OPINION

We conducted our audit in accordance with the Tanzania Auditing Standards issued by the National Board of Accountants and Auditors and which comply with International Auditing Standards. We vouched all the documents pertaining to the receipts and payments of the project for the period from April to August 2004, as presented to us by the management of the project and we fully relied on their presentations in arriving at our opinion.

OPINION

In our opinion, the receipts were properly accounted for and expenditure was incurred for the purpose of the grants as set out in the related Grant Agreement and PORIS Objectives. The statement of financing and expenditure gives a true and fair view of receipts and payments for the project during the period of the five months period ended 31st August, 2004.

**GLOBE ACCOUNTANCY SERVICES
CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS**

MAY, 2005

**AFRICAN INTERNATIONAL GROUP OF POLITICAL RISK
ANALYSIS (PORIS)**

**PROJECT: COMBATING CORRUPTION IN THE ELECTORAL
PROCESS IN TANZANIA**

**RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS STATEMENT FOR THE
PERIOD FROM 1ST APRIL 2004 TO 31ST AUGUST, 2004**

RECEIPTS:	NOTE	TSHS	USD
Amount Received from PTF		18,788,194	17,000
Balance Brought Forward		<u>50,000</u>	<u>45</u>
		<u>18,838,194</u>	<u>17,045</u>
LESS: PAYMENTS			
Data Collection	2	12,620,000	11,419
Data Analysis	3	1,800,000	1,629
Report Writing	4	2,450,000	2,217
Administration Expenses	5	600,000	543
Printing and Stationery		1,299,770	1,176
Bank Charges		67,500	61
Audit Fees		<u>500,000</u>	<u>452</u>
TOTAL		<u>19,337,270</u>	<u>17,497</u>
EXCESS PAYMENTS OVER FINANCING		<u>(499,079)</u>	<u>(452)</u>

Rate of Exchange 1 USD = TAS 1,105.19

NOTES 1 TO 5 FORM PART OF THIS FINANCIAL STATEMENT

CHAIRPERSON

MEMBER

DATE

AFRICAN INTERNATIONAL GROUP OF POLITICAL RISK ANALYSIS (PORIS)

NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS

NOTE 1: SIGNIFICANT ACCOUNTING POLICIES

- (a) Basis of Accounting

The Project prepares its accounts under the historical cost convention.

- (b) Accounting for Revenue and Expenditure

The project's revenues and expenditure are accounted for on cash basis.

- (c) Foreign Currency Transactions

Foreign currency transactions are translated into Tanzania Shillings at the rates ruling at the transaction date. All expenses have been converted into US\$ at the rate ruling in May 2004 i.e. US\$ = TAS 1,040.93 when the project funds were received and immediately converted into Tanzania shillings.

NOTE 2: DATA COLLECTION	TSHS	USD
TSHS 12,620,000		
Night Allowances	7,500,000	6,786
Data Collection Expenses	750,000	679
Allowance for Principle Researchers	3,750,000	3,393
Transport and Traveling	<u>620,000</u>	<u>561</u>
TOTAL	<u>12,620,000</u>	<u>11,419</u>

NOTE 3: DATA ANALYSIS - TSHS 1,800,000

Data Analyst	450,000	407
Principle Researcher	750,000	679
Resource Persons	<u>600,000</u>	<u>543</u>
TOTAL	<u>1,800,000</u>	<u>1,629</u>

NOTE 4: REPORT WRITING – TSHS 2,450,000

Principal Researcher Allowances	750,000	679
Field Researcher’s Allowances	900,000	814
Administrative Officials Allowances	<u>800,000</u>	<u>724</u>
TOTAL	<u>2,450,000</u>	<u>2,217</u>

NOTE 5: ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES

Allowance to Finance and Administrative Manager	<u>600,000</u>	<u>543</u>
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