

## POSTSCRIPT

The book was completed in December 2019, but the conclusion had to be adjusted to take care of the major events in 2020 and 2021, including the elections in October 2020. Three things need to be noted regarding the October 2020 National Elections. The first is the CCM Election Manifesto, which presented Magufuli's five-year plan of action, his dreams and aspirations for Tanzania. The second is the landslide victory for CCM that saw the demise of the opposition in Parliament or, more or less, a return to a single-party system. The third is Magufuli's impressive presidential victory despite a long list of presidential aspirants from the opposition parties. This was seen as a big vote of confidence in Magufuli's first-term performance for which he was grateful and went around the country thanking the voters. The shocking announcement of Magufuli's death on 17 March 2021 was followed by a spontaneous outpouring of grief the likes of which had never been seen before in the history of Tanzania, as the citizens bade farewell to their hero. This was followed by the ascendancy to the presidency of Samia Suluhu Hassan, something which she had not anticipated and for which she was unprepared.<sup>1</sup> A few comments are necessary on each of these major happenings.

157

### The CCM Election Manifesto 2020 – 2025: Magufuli's Last Testament

Magufuli's economic policies and aspirations have been extensively discussed in this book. These policies have been captured by one of his main critics, Paget (2020), as "Restorationist Developmental Nationalism",<sup>2</sup> which includes an extreme resource nationalism<sup>3</sup> and interventionist economic policy.<sup>4</sup> The 300-page CCM Election Manifesto represents a detailed blueprint of what Magufuli wanted to achieve in his second term in office.<sup>5</sup> These were elaborated upon in his

---

1 Eric Kabendera. 2021. Samia Suluhu Hassan. The Accidental President. *New African*. 8 June.

2 Dan Paget. 2020. "Again, Making Tanzania Great: Magufuli's Restorationist Developmental Nationalism". *Democratization*, Vol. 27, No 7.

3 Thabit Jacob and HR Pederson. 2019. "New Resource Nationalism? Continuity and Change in Tanzania's Extractive Industries". *Industries and Society*, Vol. 5, No. 2.

4 Michaela Collard and Thabit Jacob 2021. "In Magufuli's Shadow: The Stark Choices Facing Tanzania's New President". *The Conversations*, 27 March.

5 Refer to: CCM. 2020. *Ilani ya Chama Cha Mapinduzi kwa Ajili ya Uchaguzi Mkuu wa Mwaka 2020*. August. For those who are unable to go through the entire 300-page Manifesto, a 14-page English summary was provided in August 2020

inaugural speech to the 12th Parliament on 13 November 2020. The key sectors identified here were agriculture, livestock, fisheries, industry, mining, trade and tourism.<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately, not long after his death, Parliament began raising questions about the implementation of the CCM Manifesto and Magufuli's dream, with the speaker daring to state publicly that as "CCM parliament" they had the right to change the contents of the manifesto only to be reminded by others that they were elected to Parliament on the basis of these promises to the people, and they should honour them. What is in question is whether Samia Suruhu's new administration will carry them through. Her first speech to Parliament on 22 April 2021 indicates continuity with Magufuli's plans as enshrined in the CCM Election Manifesto (2020-2025) and the Third Five Year Development Plan 2021/22-2025/26 drawn before her ascension to power.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, the 2021/2022 Budget Speech continues with the same flagship projects and priority areas.

## CCM Landslide Victory and the Eclipse of the Opposition

158 It was clear from the parliamentary and presidential election results released on 30 October 2020 that the opposition had been thoroughly defeated by the resurgent CCM. President Magufuli had obtained 12 516 252 votes, or 84.4 per cent of the national votes, up from the 58 per cent he had obtained in 2015. His nearest rival, Chadema's Tindu Lissu, who had returned to the country in July 2019 after two years of self-imposed exile in Belgium and treatment of his bullet wounds sustained in 2017 (which he still claims were inflicted by government agents) could muster only 1 933 271 votes, or 13.04 per cent of the presidential votes. His well-funded campaign, which included the use of helicopters, did not impress the people mainly because of the insults and hatred lumped

---

indicating its six main priorities. These priorities were: (1) To protect and strengthen the principles of dignity, equality, justice and good governance in order to maintain the unity and stability of our nation; (2) Promoting a modern, integrated, inclusive and competitive economy built on the foundations of industry, economic services and enabling infrastructure; (3) Transforming agriculture, livestock and fisheries to ensure food security and food reliance at all times; (4) Enhancing access to quality health care, education, water, electricity and housing in rural and urban areas; (5) Encouraging the use of research, science, technology and innovation as a tool for rapid socio-economic development; and (6) To create at least 7 000 000 (seven million) jobs in the formal and informal sectors for the youth. Chama cha Mapinduzi, Election Manifesto 2020-2025. Issued by the National Executive Committee, August 2020.

6 Republic of Tanzania, President Magufuli's inaugural speech to the 12th Parliament of the United Republic of Tanzania, 13 November 2020. Government Printer.

7 Refer to Samia Suluhu Hassan's speech to parliament on 22 April 2021; the Third Five Year Development Plan (FYDP III) 2021/22-2025/26 and the Budget Speech of June 2021.

on Magufuli and his policies, which, to the general public, were in sharp contrast to Magufuli's achievements.<sup>8</sup>

The showing of the remaining 11 presidential candidates was pathetic, indicating a lack of public support for the parties and their candidates. In 2015, Bernard Member was one of the main contenders for the CCM presidential nomination under the Kikwete faction, but he could only muster 81 129 votes, or 0.5 per cent, under the umbrella of the Alliance for Change and Transparency (ACT-Wazalendo). Leopold Mahona came fourth with 80 787 votes, or 0.54, for the National Reconstruction Alliance (NRA). Professor Ibrahim Lipumba, who had been contesting for the presidency since 1995 for the Civic United Front, only managed 72 885 votes, or 0.49 per cent.<sup>9</sup> The other two candidates with at least 0.2 per cent of the votes were John Sibula of the African Democratic Alliance (38 086 votes) and Hashimu Rungwe of Chama Cha Ukombozi wa Umma (32 878 votes). The combined showing of the remaining six candidates was 79 907 votes, or 0.54 per cent.<sup>10</sup>

The eclipse of the opposition was more apparent in the parliamentary elections where CCM won 262 seats out of 264. Twenty-two of these seats were uncontested by the opposition. There was no official opposition in the 12th parliament as none of the opposition parties won the requisite 12.5 per cent of the seats to qualify for the title. In fact, the opposition lost almost all 75 seats they had won in 2015. Surprisingly, even Freeman Mbowe, the chairman of what was previously the official opposition, Chadema, lost his Hai constituency.<sup>11</sup> The opposition gains in the 2015 parliamentary

---

8 Chadema's candidate in 2010 Willbrod Slaa had obtained 27.05 per cent of the presidential vote (2 271 941), and in 2015, Lowassa had obtained 39.97 per cent (6 072 848) against Magufuli's 8 882 935.

9 In 1995, Professor Ibrahim Lipumba had obtained 6.43 per cent of the presidential votes (418 373 votes) and come third, behind Augustine Mrema of the National Convention for Construction and Reform (NCCR Mageuzi), who had obtained 27.7 per cent of the votes (1 806 616 votes) against CCM Benjamin Mkapa, who obtained 61.82 per cent (4 086 422 votes). In 2000, Lipumba's showing had improved to 16.26 per cent (1 329 077 votes) against Mkapa's 71.74 per cent (5 863 201 votes). In 2005, Lipumba obtained 11.68 per cent (1 327 125 votes) against Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete's 80.28 (9 123 952 votes). In 2010, Lipumba came third behind Wilbard Slaa of Chadema and only managed 8.28 per cent (695 667 votes). He did not contest the 2015 elections as CUF chose to support Chadema's candidate, Lowassa.

10 See Tanzania Electoral Commission, *Presidential Results 2020*. Government Printer. See also Niger Walker and Tim Robinson. "Tanzania's 2020 Presidential Elections". House of Commons Library, Briefing Paper Number CBP 9046, November 2020.

11 In 2005, Freeman Mbowe had contested for the presidency but only came third behind Lipumba with 5.88 per cent of the votes. For the parliamentary election results, see Tanzania Electoral Commission. *Parliamentary Election Results and Victoria Lihuru*, Robert Macdonald and Thomas Molony. 2021. Tanzania 2020 Election Results. Electoral Institute of South Africa (EISA).

elections were completely reversed in 2020. This is not the time or place for a discussion of the opposition's poor performance, but the 2020 parliamentary results had almost turned the country back into the one-party state it had been under Nyerere and Mwinyi, thus allowing the CCM to have a free hand in governing the country.<sup>12</sup>

## The Death of Magufuli and the Ascendancy of Samia Suluhu Hassan to the Presidency

After a very impressive election campaign and the constitution of a new government on 5 December 2020 (with 21 cabinet ministers and 23 deputies), Magufuli undertook a laborious national tour of the country, thanking the voters for their vote of confidence in his government and the CCM. No one had any inkling at the time that his victory trip would turn out to be a farewell trip. At the beginning of March 2021, Magufuli's voice and presence disappeared from the public and no explanation was forthcoming from the government. It was only a few days before his death that Tindu Lissu, who had returned to his exile in Belgium after his defeat at the elections, hinted that Magufuli was on his deathbed and called for Samia to be sworn in as president of the country. Then on 17 March, Samia Suluhu Hassan, as Vice-President, announced to the nation that Magufuli had died and declared a two-week mourning period. On 19 March 2021, she was sworn in as the sixth president of Tanzania. This was in accordance with the Tanzania constitution, which states in article 37(5) that "when the office of the president becomes vacant ... the vice president shall be sworn in and become president for the unexpired period of the term of five years".

Two points deserve mention: First, a state of shock and disbelief descended on the entire country. There was spontaneous public mourning as the women laid their *khangas* and men their shirts on the road for the passing hearse of Magufuli in Dar es Salaam, Zanzibar, Dodoma and Mwanza. This is the first time that Tanzania had had to mourn a sitting president. The scenes on the streets showed real grief about Magufuli's passing, as he had come to be identified with the poor and downtrodden in Tanzania (those referred to as "walala hoi" elsewhere in the book), a far cry from the "bulldozer image" portrayed by his critics.

Second, Mama Samia Suluhu Hassan was thrown unprepared into the presidential seat. She had

---

12 For a discussion of why the opposition has remained weak, see Mangasim Atanasi Katundu. 2018. "Why is Tanzania's opposition weak Twenty Five Years since its reintroduction". *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, Vol. 12 (5) and Nicolas Cook. 2020. *Recent Governance Trends and 2020 Elections in Brief*. Congressional Research Services, October 26.

for five years operating in Magufuli's shadow.<sup>13</sup> This, however, should not be used to question her ability to govern the country. She will differ from Magufuli in terms of leadership style, but she is likely to adhere to his main goals as elaborated on in the CCM Manifesto (2020-2025) and the Third Five Year Development Plan (FYDPIII). She has no national political base of her own. Undoubtedly, the manner in which she came to power and her future plans at the end of Magufuli's five-year electoral tenure will influence her actions as president. Her rise to the vice-presidency appears to have been due to a compromise between the Lowassa and Kikwete factions after each failed to win the nomination of their candidates to the presidency. It appears that Kikwete, as chairman of the CCM and outgoing president, had persuaded Magufuli to accept her as his running mate. Kikwete, therefore, is likely to have some influence on the new president. This was immediately demonstrated after Magufuli's death when he chaired a meeting with the opposition leaders at State House even before the burial. It is on the basis of this meeting that the opposition is calling on the new president to reopen the debate on the new constitution (which she co-chaired before Kikwete himself suspended the process). The opposition, completely defeated at the polls, sees this as the only chance to revive their fortunes. This is not likely to happen soon as Samia attempts to consolidate her hold over the government and party.

For now, the new President has left Magufuli's cabinet almost unchanged. She has, however, stamped her authority on the regional and district commissioners by shifting them around. She also has to contend with the CCM factions that Magufuli had tried hard to control through the centralization of power and resource allocation under his office. To operate efficiently, Magufuli had created royalists around himself, the technocrats-turned-politicians, and his death threatens their newfound positions. The direction and extent of her shift in the pursuit of Magufuli's leadership style and economic policy are likely to be influenced by whether she intends to only complete Magufuli's term in office or compete for the presidency on her own in 2025. Her running for office in 2025 would require broadening her own support base by accommodating the defeated factions and those excluded from power after the 2015 elections. In addition to these internal party dynamics, she has to withstand the pressures exerted on her by the private sector, both internal and former external donors and investors.

161

---

<sup>13</sup> See Michaels Collard and Thabit Jacob. 2021. In *Magufuli's Shadow: The Stark Choices Facing Tanzania's New President*. Conversations. 27 March; Rob Ahearne. 2021. *Tanzania's New President Facing a Tough to do List*. Conversations. 27 March. Ringisai Chikohomero. 2021. *Can Samia Suluhu Hassan Make a Clean Break from Magufuli?* ISS Today. 2 April.