Islamic Movement and Christian Hegemony
The Rise of Muslim Militancy in Tanzania
1970 - 2000
Mohamed Said

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Prologue
Sheikh Haidar Mwinyimvua, a personal friend of Sheikh Suleiman Takadir, member of TANU Elders Council and member of TANU National Executive Committee in 1958, recalls Sheikh Takadir’s sudden and seemingly unprovoked attack on Nyerere:

It was at the TANU old office as we were waiting for the meeting of the National Executive. All of a sudden Sheikh Takadir stood up holding his walking stick pointing it out to Nyerere as he spoke, ‘This man will never come to favour us, he would come to favour his brethren! A stitch in time saves nine.’ Sheikh Takadir repeated these words twice. All of us in that meeting room were flabbergasted as to the meaning of those words. I saw Nyerere crying. Nyerere turned to us and asked, ‘Did Sheikh Suleiman speak those words on your behalf?’ We replied in the negative and the meeting broke there and then.

Sheikh Takadir was among the early supporters of Nyerere and had campaigned vigorously for TANU addressing meetings on the same platform as him. He had helped to wipe out the Christian stigma off Nyerere so that people in Dar es Salaam did not associate Nyerere with the Catholic Church but with TANU as a peoples’ movement. Sheikh Takadir’s own position as chairman of TANU Elders Council commanded much respect.

It was not that all those who were in that room did not understand what Sheikh Takadir had hinted out. They understood each and every word spoken by him and its implications to the TANU leadership. What they could not grasp, perceive or believe was the fact that Nyerere, their beloved son and leader, would one day turn against Muslims and treat them as his enemies and rivals to his Christian faith. At that time this was a far-fetched thought to them. TANU and its precursor, the African Association, were not formed out of sectional interest, despite the fact that Muslims had always initiated their formation and taken active role in the leadership. Sheikh Takadir had touched a raw nerve. The only way to
prevent this new crisis from developing further was for Nyerere to give assurance that Muslims would be treated fairly after independence had been achieved. In the meantime, unity of the people was important for the struggle ahead. This came to be Nyerere’s theme in his speeches since the Takadir episode leading towards the hated tripartite election. (The legacy of Sheikh Suleiman Takadir, Chairman, TANU, Elders Council - 1958).


**Introduction**

In order to understand the Tanzanian political environment and in order to appreciate and understand this study we first need to establish that it was the drive of Muslims which liberated the country from British colonialism. Second we have to point out that by 1970s the Church through treachery and deceit had managed to take full control of the government and Muslims were marginalised in all spheres of life. Third we need to establish the fact that due to their numerical strength marginalisation of Muslims could be a source civil unrest in the very near future. Signs of this have begun to show in the recurrent violent conflicts between themselves and the government and in attempts to form capture political power under the banner of Islam. Tanzania has experienced the Buzuruga Muslim-Sungusungu Conflict (1983), Pork Riots (1993) and Mwembechai Upheaval (1998). In between these conflicts Muslims have sent several petitions to the government requesting it to look into these problems but all of them have been ignored.

After the introduction of multi-partism in 1992 Muslims have attempted clandestinely to form a political party but the government thwarted these efforts. However they managed to outwit the government when Prof. Malima joined NRA and Muslims began to join the party en masse. Signs that the country was being divided into two hostile camps between Muslims and Christians was very evident. This situation was averted when Prof. Malima died mysteriously in London soon after taking the leadership of NRA and announcing his candidacy to for presidential elections. In Prof. Malima’s death the movement was robbed of its leader and as a result waned away. This was the second attempt.
Had Prof. Malima lived and with the charged political atmosphere which was there at that
time, stood for presidential election to oppose Benjamin William Mkapa, a Roman
Catholic, one can only speculate the outcome. Although there were four aspirants the
battle would have narrowed to only the two of them, that is Prof. Malima and Benjamin
William Mkapa. Retired president Julius Nyerere had seen the danger of such a
confrontation and asked Prof. Malima not to resign from the Chama Cha Mapinduzi
(CCM).

Forth we need to appreciate the impending danger we need to agree that in Tanzania
Muslims is a majority although the government is making deliberate efforts to conceal this
fact and feels comfortable with the notion that Muslim-Christian religious distribution is fifty-
fifty. All said and done this does not alleviate the intensity of the conflict should it occur
when Muslims would be forced to rise up.

In the 1957 census Muslims outnumbered Christians at a ration of three to two.¹ Ten years
after in 1967, in the post independence census Muslims were 30%, Christians 32 and local
belief 37%. Reasons were not given for this sudden decrease of Muslims or the growth of
pagans. It is on record that the 1967 statistics were doctored to show that Muslims were
trailing behind Christians in numerical strength. It is worthwhile to quote in full a letter by
one Amiri Mchomvu which appeared in the Family Mirror about the 1967 census:

Last month I chanced to come across Africa Information Newsletter, (September
26, 1994 issue) in which there was an article on Tanzania titled: Islamic
fundamentalism worries the government.

I found the article by a renewed Tanzanian journalist, Lawrence Kilimwiko to be
very anti-Islam. Besides, Mr. Kilimwiko says that about 40% of Tanzanians are
Christians and 30% Muslims. I think that is a statistical error.

During the 1967 Population Census, the first census since independence, I was one of the census enumerators in Tabora Region. It is believed that this was the only successful of the 3 population census conducted since independence (i.e. 1967, 1978 and 1988) as it was wholly conducted by the form V students. Corruption, embezzlement etc. Of census funds and other administrative vices that plagued the last two census (1978 and 1988) were things unknown at that time.

It was the only census which had probed Tanzanians' religious adherence. I clearly remember the bulky questionnaire form, one question of which asked the persons' religion, whether he was Christian, Muslim, Other (e.g. Hindu, Budhist etc.) or traditional, e.g. pagan.

I also remember the census results, published by the then Tanganyika Standard late that year 1967 (I have forgotten the date of the issue) in which it was shown that Muslim constituted 63% of the population.

Now whoever thinks that such verdict is not correct I challenge him/her to substantiate otherwise with official results of the 1967 Census if they at all can get hold of them. It is believed that in early 1970s the Statistical Department was ordered to destroy all the 1967 census result simply because they showed the Muslim in Tanzania to be in majority. Anyone to take up the challenge on the truth of 1967 census? Mr. Kilimwiko?²

The challenge was never taken not by Kilimwiko or anyone.

The Church has to have very powerful agents in the government to be able to wipe out a sizeable section of a population out of statistics. The power and influence of Christianity in Tanzania's political system will manifest itself in subsequent pages of this study. D.B. Barret gives statistics which show Muslims as a minority: Muslims 26%, Christians 45% and local belief 28%. Tanzania National Demographic Survey figures for

1973 have Muslims at 40%, Christians 38.9% and local belief 28%. *Africa South of the Sahara* shows that Muslims are a majority in Tanzania at 60% This figure has remained constant in all its subsequent publications since 1991.3

Fifth we need to come into terms with the reality that the Church particularly the Catholic Church is in control of the Government by proxy. Through unseen hands it manipulates the political system in such a way its influence permeates everything from the Mass Media to selection of students to join secondary schools and other institutions of higher learning, securing scholarship, employment, promotion, for political office etc. etc. In short the Church is in control of the Executive, Judiciary and the Legislature. This is the reason the political system has been able manipulate the law with impunity as far as in effects Muslim interests, it has been able to ignore serious petitions submitted to the President, Prime Minister, and the Parliament by Muslims, it has been able to control and shape public opinion against Muslims.

The Church perceive Islam as an enemy it therefore has in operation strategies to counter its development. Evidence to this fact has been uncovered by Muslim as well as Christian scholars.4 The government has decided to keep silent despite of Muslim effort to have the

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3 *Africa South of the Sahara*, Europa Publication, London, No. 20 1991, p. 1027. Population of Muslims is bound to increase due to Christian converting to Islam. Beginning 1980s Tanzania has experienced a wave of Christians converting to Islam as a result Muslim Bible preachers who preach Islam through the Bible. This is at the moment is the major conflict between the government and Muslims. The government has taken drastic action on Muslim organisation responsible for converting Christians and there have been occasions in which mosques have been raided by police and Muslims arrested, jailed and others killed in the process. See appendix.

Jan P van Bergen in his book, *Development and Religion in Tanzania*, (1981) divulges very incriminating information on former President Nyerere. The book give details of how during his rule Nyerere used to have private confidential meetings with Bishops to discuss the future of Tanzania. In those meetings Nyerere is reported to have assured Bishops of his continued support to Christianity. The work reveals how Nyerere guaranteed Christians a privileged position and backed his promise by appointing them to important positions in his government and party. Dr. John C. Sivalon, in his expose, *Kanisa Katoliki na Siasa ya Tanzania Bara 1953 Hadi 1985*, unmask a conspiracy in Nyerere’s government to subvert Islam. There are also two works by Muslim writers focusing on post-independence relations between the government and Muslims which details conspiracy and abuse of state organs to subvert Islam. The first is an undergraduate dissertation by Dr. K. Mayanja Kiwanuka, ‘The Politics of Islam in Bukoba District’ (1973); and the second is a research paper ‘Islam and Politics in Tanzania’ (1989) by the current author.

4 August H. Nimz Jr. *Islam and Politics In East Africa*, University of Miannapolis, 1980, p, 11.
allegations investigated in order to avert conflict between itself and Muslims.

Through research and many years of observations it is now possible to know a little how the unseen hand works. It works like a secret society and yet it is not one. It works in a two prong fashion. It has agents in all important institutions of the civil society who co-ordinates their activities when the need arise forming what could be identified as the Christian lobby. This is a multi-denomination power house. Interesting is the fact that this alliance has been able to even recruit Muslims and alleviated them to important positions in the government and the media. These main function of these Muslims is to soften blows against Muslims interests and give a pleasant perception in the eyes of the public in issues where the government has to confront Muslims. The dirty work for example, to order force to be used against Muslims or to undermine a Muslim in an important position who it is to the interest of the Church that he be dealt with, such tasks will always be apportioned to these Muslims in the Christian lobby.

These Muslims can be found in the media, echelon of the ruling party, the government, the police etc. etc. These Muslims are well rewarded and are a government into themselves. Unique in these Muslim personalities is that they endure the political system. They are the show piece to display to the Muslim majority that the government does not discriminate, if it was those faces would not have been there. The study shows how the cases involving Muslims agitations between 1993 and 1998 against the government were dealt with and how Prof. Malima was intimidated in the party and government. The reader will be able to recognise these power manipulations in several chapters of this study. This system has now become self-propelling. It can work independent of whoever is in command, as seen in the ten year period (1985-1995) when a Muslim president, Ali Hassan Mwinyi was in power.

Since 1968 when Nyerere declared the East African Muslim Welfare Society (EAMWS) an illegal organisation and a puppet organisation BAKWATA was formed by the government to replace it with hand picked Muslims from the sole ruling party the African National Union of Tanganyika (TANU) as leaders. An underground resistant movement was formed which began as a lose and uncoordinated movement which gradually grew to a cohesive mass movement engulfing many young Muslims frustrated by BAKWATA and irked by Christian hegemony in the political system. It is imperative that in order for Muslims to counter the
threat and oppression against their religion they have to initiate a new movement different from the independence movement of 1950s to counter Christian hegemony force which has replaced colonialism.

Muslims are not even allowed to organise themselves out of the central authority. Although there is an unwritten law that Muslims are to be forbidden to organise independently but due to changes which has taken place among the Muslim body politic in that government is take head on the government has backed down and allowed the ideals of free assembly and association to take its own natural cause. Likewise in a situation in which the government has seen it is to its own interest to approve free association of Muslims institutions, Muslims have been allowed to organise without any interference from the government.

This aim of this study is to show the dangerous path which Tanzania is currently trodding upon. It is a fact that there is a struggle currently taking place between the two contending forces both at institutional and individual levels. It my belief that this study will provide information which would help decision makers, and those Muslims and Christians who in their innocence and at times ignorance are oblivious of the problem, realise that our country is about to catch fire. This will go along way into making everyone approach the Muslim plight objectively and with a sober mind. It is only through talking about these problems in the open that we can uncover the few among us who want to plunge our country into darkness.

Subtle oppression and propaganda unleashed on any people for many years is bound to have negative effect in their psychology. Majority of Muslims have suffered and will continue to suffer if deliberate efforts are not done to reverse the trend. On the other hand the church has also suffered in its own peculiar way in the sense that it has in place a self-generating mammoth machinery, blind and uncontrollable. It can not think and therefore it is failing to see danger even when it knocks on its door. And like a true machine it would not wake up. It would only stop when the fuel and grease which propels and oils its parts is exhausted. By then it would be too late.

Mohamed Said
Tanga
25 September, 1998
Chapter One

The Beginning of Islamic Movement: The Legacy of Sheikh Muhammad Hussein Malik

Dr. Hussein Malik came to Tanzania from Pakistan in 1970s as an expatriate teacher of mathematics employed by the government. It is the irony of history that Prof. Malik was to be brought into the country by the government because had the Christian bureaucrats dominating the government known the influence which he would have to have upon Muslims particularly the young generation surely they would not have given him a contract to serve in the country. After completion of his contract with the government Dr. Malik was employed by BAKWATA. Apart from teaching mathematics he also volunteered to teach religion to all secondary schools of Dar es Salaam and surrounding areas.

Dr. Malik taught Islamic knowledge in a way that no other scholar had done before him in Tanzania. There was a distinct system of teaching Islamics pursued by all sheikhs in East Africa. The tradition was to take student are taken through the basics, first learning the Qur’an and fikh. No attempt was made to intertwine the teaching in the Islamic history with the reality of social and political issues of the day as they affected society in which the apprentices were part of. Most of the students and the sheikhs themselves had barely gone beyond lower primary school. Due to inferior secular education of both teacher and student they could not articulate and translate the teachings beyond what had been recited in the basics. They found world issues alien to them and unrelated to their predicament. Further still they were warned by the post-independence government not to mix politics and religion. Those who had ventured into politics much as to criticize the government were detained, ostracised or declared prohibited immigrants if they happen not to be indigenous.  

It was through the teaching of Prof. Malik that Muslims particularly the new generation came to understand itself and came to be aware of the anti-Muslim force against Islam. Malik made the young Muslims understand the purpose of their creation the high value of absolute integrity in Islam which leave no room for one class to oppress another. Through

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5 Sheikh Ahmed Badawiy originating from Lamu, Kenya was declared prohibited immigrant. Mufti Sheikh Hassan bin Amir was ostracised to Zanzibar and was not allowed to return to the mainland.
such teachings and drawing parallels from the Holy Qur’an and the traditions (hadith) of the Prophet, Peace be Upon Him, the young men began to look at the Tanzanian society in context of equality and justice.

Dr. Malik began first by helping his students overcome the inferiority complex which was a result of colonial propaganda and histories taught in schools. Student were taught of scientific achievement and accomplishment of Muslim scholars of the past and present. He taught a contrasting history of Islam as a religion which did not begin with Muhammad (Peace be Upon Him), but with Adam. Dr. Malik taught his way down to the time of Jesus and the Jews emphasising of the fact that Jesus like Muhammad was a Muslim. His most interesting and captivating topic was the history of the Jews how they turned religion into nationality and vice-versa. Dr. Malik taught his students about exploits and achievements of Muslims scientists and scholars. He concluded his course of study by showing the imprecision in Christianity.

Prof. Malik wiped out colonial histories of Muslims as blood thirsty, raving through Spain on horse backs with swords blazing killing and forcing Christians to embrace Islam. But he taught also his student the meaning of jihad and its value and what it can achieved to an individual, and to a people under subjugation. He taught his students the value of education to a Muslim to consider education in whatever its form as their top priority and should not fall into the trap of demarcating between secular and religious knowledge because all source of knowledge is one.

Previously it was not common for student who take Islamic knowledge seriously. Dr. Malik was able to teach the subject in such a way that the subject was interesting and was always adding knew knowledge. His students looked forward to his classes. In a period of ten years Dr. Malik was able to mould a strong following of disciplined and committed young men who began to see the injustices committed to Muslims in the Tanzanian society. Dr. Malik's teachings went beyond schools, he made rounds in mosques to lecture on different topics with his students as interpreting for him. Once free of complex and armed with the teachings of correct version of Islam as a superior culture to any other, Dr. Malik laid a heavy burden to his students that they have an obligation to change the society and restore back the honour denied to Islam and Muslims not only in Tanzania
but throughout the world. His students in turn now began to hold classes in different schools and mosques. The effect was noticeable.

These young Muslims, a product of post independence conflict between Islam and Christianity in the struggle for power were a different crop. This new breed happened to be Muslims first and patriots second. They kept away from alcohol and all vices common to the urbanised educated young middle class white collar. This was an unprecedented experience. It had been the norm in the past for educated Muslims to shun Islamic culture and all that which goes with it. A portrayal of an educated Muslim was not that of a person who established regular prayer and behaves the way a Muslim is supposed to. It was a picture of an African aspiring to be westernised and "modern", a liberated person from the “archaic” culture of former slave masters- the Arabs; because colonial propaganda wanted people to believe that Islam was synonymous to Arabic culture. This transformation appealed to many young man. The early 1970s saw many people particularly the new generation increasingly turning to Islam as a complete way of life.

This nucleus of young men with the support of a small group of Muslims began to see the world and the Tanzanian society in different light. They began to mobilise Muslims to fight for their rights. This created into Muslims a new sense of hope purpose and direction. Dr. Malik used to tell his students, ‘teach the people their rights and they will fight for them on their own. Fight for peoples' right while they are ignorant of their rights, the people will fight you back.’

Dr. Malik’s influence in the psyche of young Muslims intellectuals who were close to him and received his teachings will come to have a lasting influence in these young Muslims and would come to initiate a strong movement to counter Christian hegemony in Tanzania. These young men would mobilise Muslims as a distinct people living under subjugation. This gradually came to change the political foundation laid by Nyerere and Muslims would defy the status quo with their blood and Muslims would seize to be a people ignored by the government.

Between 1970 - 1980 students of Prof. Malik joined the movement and began to provide leadership to Muslim organisations. These young men having finished their tutorial under Prof. Malik began to see issue in the country in a different light. They harboured the desire
to initiate a political movement in the mainland graced by Muslim sentiments to free Muslims from the bondage of Christian dominance. It was in their view that a movement similar to the independence struggle initiated by Muslims in 1950s which ousted the British from Tanzania should be organised but this time the struggle had to be different. This movement instead of pursuing the nationalist-secularist ideology articulated by Muslim founders of the independence movement should strive to adopt in the new wave, Islam as the ideology of genuine freedom. The decision to this change of strategy was that secularism had failed Muslims.

These were by any standards very radical thoughts. But however radical as they might have seemed, the teachings received support and very attentive ears. Most of those who harboured this thought were young graduates who had experienced the discrimination particularly against educated Muslims by Christian bureaucrats who saw in these young educated Muslims a threat to the status quo.

There was also another factor which came to act as a catalyst to Muslim sentiments in Tanzania- the Muslim revolution in Iran.

Before the Iranian revolution of Iran in 1979 Islam as an ideology had long lost its power and influence. It was an ideology groping in the dark with Saudi Arabia which was supposed to be the mirror of the Muslim world firmly under the influence and guidance of the United States of America. The photographs of people in demonstrating in the streets of Teheran standing up to the United States and facing death under the bullets of Shah’s army and Muslim activists hunted by Shah’s secret police, savak fired the imagination of Muslim militants the world over. Muslim activists in Tanzania were of no exception. It proved to them that Islam could defeat any power in the world.
Chapter Two

**Muslim Writers Workshop (Warsha)**

It happened that by mid 1970s students of Dr. Malik's student were passing through higher institutions of learning including the University of Dar es Salaam where they became active in student politics in their own style. While there they learned how the Christian lobby had been able to establish itself and what was to be done to expose it so that Muslim become aware of its existence and fight back. They worked on that. They also started to work on ways to change the leadership in BAKWATA to turn it from a puppet organisation to an effective Muslim institution to represent Muslim interests. The person who made this possible was Sheikh Mohamed Ali Al Bukhri then secretary of BAKWATA. Sheikh Mohamed Ali was the first sheikh in Tanzania to have studied and obtained a university degree and the second to get any degree. He had graduated from the University of Dar es Salaam with an LL. B.

It did not take long for the leadership of BAKWATA to find itself engulfed in an internal conflict on important matters of principle. Strangely the BAKWATA leadership at the headquarters decided to turn the organisation into a profit making body. It registered a transportation company and bought trucks for the business. This became the source of the conflict because reports were received that BAKWATA trucks were transporting alcohol as part of its cargo. Sheikh Kassim bin Juma who was on the forefront in breaking the EAMWS was this time, on the forefront to condemn the BAKWATA leadership at the headquarters for un-Islamic practises. The student of Prof. Malik had by then formed their own organisation - Muslim Writers Workshop which came to be popularly known as Warsha. For strategic purposes this organisation operated without registration and no one exactly knew its leadership. But from the quality of the papers it published and distributed to Muslims there was no doubt whatsoever that authors were highly educated.

In the conflict Warsha saw the opportunity to extricate from BAKWATA the puppet leadership imposed by the government upon Muslims at a the founding conference of the organisation in Iringa in 1968. Since its inception a good number of Muslims adopted an apathetic attitude towards BAKWATA. At that time Warsha's view was that such an

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6 Mufti Sheikh Hassan bin Amir was awarded an honorary degree by Al Azhar in 1964.
attitude was self defeating. If BAKWATA holds itself as a Muslim organisation then Muslims should make it serve Muslims interests. With the help of Warsha Sheikh Mohamed Ali was able to call for fresh elections under a new constitution.\textsuperscript{7} A new progressive and independent leadership came into power. Sheikh Mohamed Ali had managed to conduct not only coup de grace against Chairman Saleh Masasi and his deputy Sheikh Abdallah Chaurembo from leadership but also against Nyerere who had imposed this leadership upon Muslims. The only person who remained from the old leadership was Adam Nasib. Soon after members Warsha moved in to occupy different positions in BAKWATA. This was 1981. For the first time since 1968 BAKWATA began to act and behave as a true Muslim organisation. This infused into Muslims a new sense of hope and direction.

Once in BAKWATA Warsha began to implement education programmes initiated by the EAMWS but were left to die after its demise. The EAMWS had built schools, mosques and a hostel in Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Uganda</th>
<th>Tanzania</th>
<th>Kenya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Schools</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mosques</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Schools</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hostel</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: research data

Warsha turned four schools built by the EAMWS which were under BAKWATA into Muslim seminaries. These schools were leading in the production of poor school results and were leading in everything compatible with decency. It was a shame that these schools were under and carried the name of Islam. In order to inculcate into the students high virtues of Islam, Qur’an and Islamic Knowledge was introduced as compulsory study subjects to Muslims students. Previous to the Warsha take-over of the schools, the schools were enrolling Christians as students. It was decided that from there on the schools would only accept Muslims. Within a short period of time, discipline was restored

\footnote{The BAKWATA constitution of 1968 was a replica of the TANU constitution. See P. Van Bergen, Development and Religion, Madras 1981, p.26.}
into the schools and it was compulsory for students to observe prayers and for girls to dress in hijab.

Since the demise of the EAMWS which published *EAMWS Newsletter* Muslims did not have a mouth-piece of their own. For the first time Muslims were able to have their own mouth-piece. Warsha helped BAKWATA to register a newspaper *Muislam* with Warsha forming the editorial board. Warsha’s stand was that if Christians had two papers, *Lengo* and *Kiongozi* there was no reason for the government to bar Muslims from owning their own paper. Warsha also took over the weekly radio programme on state radio and the programmes which were broadcasted by them carried a special message to Muslims. Warsha under BAKWATA then conducted a social research project which no Muslim organisation had attempted before. It commissioned its educationists to write a research paper to show why Muslim students were lagging behind in education. It is important to get a glimpse of those findings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Selection of Std.VII Pupils to Form I in Dar es Salaam Region 1978-1981</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Year</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8 Muslim Writers’ Workshop, “The Importance of Establishing Islamic Seminaries,” 21 December, 1981.
Source: Dar es Salaam City Council, Department of Education.

NB: In 1967 census Muslims in Dar es Salaam Region were 67%, therefore the number of Muslim students in Dar es Salaam Primary Schools is greater than that of Christians. This should have reflected in the selection.

Table 2
Religious Distribution University of Dar es Salaam 1971/72-1973/74

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Muslim %</th>
<th>Non-Muslim %</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1969/70</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*1970/71</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971/72</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972/73</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973/74</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*1974/75</td>
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<tr>
<td>1975/76</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>100</td>
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<td>*1976/77</td>
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<td>**1979/80</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>86</td>
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<tr>
<td>**1980/81</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**1981/82</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Official Statistics not available
** Students selected for Faculty of Agriculture, Forestry and Veterinary Science and medicine not included.


Table 3
### Religious Distribution of University Admission 1971/72-1973/74

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>% Muslim</th>
<th>% Christians</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1971/72</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972/73</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973/74</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** University of Dar es Salaam Student Directory

### Table 4

Christian Seminary Secondary Schools 1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Region</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Mafinga</td>
<td>&quot;O&quot;</td>
<td>Iringa</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Ujiji</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Kigoma</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>Kilema</td>
<td>&quot;A&quot;</td>
<td>Kilimanjaro</td>
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<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Maua</td>
<td>&quot;O&quot;</td>
<td>Kilimanjaro</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>Uru</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Kilimanjaro</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>Nanupa</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Lindi</td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td>Makoko</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>Kasita</td>
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<td>Morogoro</td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>Lutheran Junior</td>
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<td>10.</td>
<td>Saint Peter’s</td>
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<td>Morogoro</td>
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<td>11.</td>
<td>Nyegezi</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Mwanza</td>
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<td>12.</td>
<td>Kaengesa</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Rukwa</td>
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<td>13.</td>
<td>Likonde</td>
<td>&quot;A&quot;</td>
<td>Ruvuma</td>
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<td>14.</td>
<td>Mwadui</td>
<td>&quot;O&quot;</td>
<td>Shinyanga</td>
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<td>15.</td>
<td>Dungunyi</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Singida</td>
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<td>16.</td>
<td>Itaga</td>
<td>&quot;A&quot;</td>
<td>Tabora</td>
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<td>17.</td>
<td>Soni</td>
<td>&quot;O&quot;</td>
<td>Tanga</td>
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<td>18.</td>
<td>Katoke</td>
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<td>Kagera</td>
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<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Rubiya</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Kagera</td>
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</table>
When these findings were made public and distributed throughout the country it came as a shock to Muslims and the government. For the first time it was revealed that there was a system in the Ministry of Education supported by Christian functionaries which was discriminatory to Muslim youths, purposely barring them from institutions of higher learning.

Such accusations and disclosure, and particularly coming from Muslims, threatened national unity. Warsha had by then written books which were published in Kenya by Islamic Foundation, these books were very popular and came to be taken by Muslims as reference books for understanding Islam in the Christian surroundings and political system which existed in Tanzania. The government did not want to find out whether those findings on education were correct or not. Its interests was to know the brains behind Warsha isolate them from Muslims and then persecute them. The government was unprepared for such revelations and was worried by the direction which BAKWATA was taking. BAKWATA was now serving the cause of Islam. This was not what Nyerere had bargained for when he subverted the EAMWS and helped to found BAKWATA. Sheikh Mohamed Ali as secretary of BAKWATA was taken to task for allowing the organisations to be hijacked by hot headed youths. Warsha were accused of being anti-government and perpetrating animosity between Muslims and Christians through their writings. Nyerere ordered Aboud Jumbe to close the Muslim seminaries.

A meeting between Aboud Jumbe and BAKWATA was held at Jumbe’s official residence at Laibon Road. In attendance were Rashid Mfaume Kawawa, Adam Nasibu, Sheikh Mohamed Ali and Sheikh Abbas Makbul a representative of Darul Iftar. The stand of Sheikh Mohamed Ali was that those Muslim seminaries have to be closed then the decision to take that step should  be laid upon the government. This was a difficult step to be taken by the government as such an act would provoke Muslims. The meeting left the decision to close the seminaries upon BAKWATA. BAKWATA took a unilateral decision  

and reverted the schools back to its original state. Warsha not agreeing to BAKWATA’s decision called a meeting of all Muslims to discuss the problem.

The Christian lobby used its powers and a crisis was fomented. The government issued a directive to reinstate the schools taken over by Warsha to their former secular status, that is, any Tanzania irrespective of faith should have access to them. The Christian lobby through the state radio issued a warning that the meeting was illegal. Anyone attending that meeting would be arrested. This announcement was read by the Director of Radio Tanzania, David Wakati. The government accused Warsha of trying to divide the society along religious lines. The government saw the two Muslim seminaries which were established less than a year as divisive but turned a blind eye to 19 Christian seminaries which were in existence for almost a hundred years.

Adam Nasibu meanwhile in connive with of the government travelled to Moshi and the reason he told the BAKWATA headquarters was that he was going to Kilimanjaro Christian Medical Centre (KCMC) for treatment. But that was not the reason. Once in Moshi with the help of Sheikh Senare the BAKWATA chairman in Kilimanjaro and Sheikh Jambeni from Tanga and other few hand picked BAKWATA members he called a secret meeting the agenda which was how to oust Sheikh Mohamed Ali from leadership. It was decided by conspirators that a special meeting should be called in Dar es Salaam immediately to discuss what had transpired in BAKWATA since the banning of Muslim seminaries. The government put at its disposal its manpower and sources to make the meeting a success. Members of the BAKWATA Central Committee were sent invitations through police message. This type of communication is usually used by the government for urgent messages because of its efficiency.

Sheikh Mohamed Ali was accused of flouting the BAKWATA constitution, conducting elections under an invalid constitution and in collaboration with Warsha, for “mixing religion with politics.” Sheikh Mohamed Ali was therefore expelled from BAKWATA and Warsha banned. But it was not possible to ban Warsha because the organisation was not in the first registered. It was not therefore possible to ban an entity which does not exist officially exist in government registered organisation. The statement that Warsha is prohibited by

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10 In the EAMWS crisis of 1968 the state owned radio was used very effectively as a propaganda tool against Muslims.
the government from indulging in anything which has to do with Muslims of Tanzania did not affect its activities in any way.

The government gave the transfer of power in BAKWATA special significance by publishing the changes in its daily paper. Warsha's mentor, Dr. Malik was declared a prohibited immigrant by the government and was required to leave the country within twenty four hours. His students advised him to go to Zanzibar to wait and plan his next move. Dr. Malik was received on Aboud Jumbe's orders while his students sorted out certain issues for him, and packed his belongings. Arrangements were made and Dr. Malik went to Nairobi where he was employed by Islamic Foundation. But before he left Dr. Malik told his students that BAKWATA were late in asking the government to deport him, he had already accomplished his work. Indeed Dr. Malik had accomplished his work. The Muslims were aware of machinations against them and the struggle against Christian hegemony in Tanzania had passed to a different flock of Muslims. In the coming years students of Prof. Malik formed other powerful organisations - Islamic Propagation Centre (IPC), Jamaatu Answar Sunna, MSAUD and DUMT.

Muslim occasions like Maulid celebrations were used by the government and BAKWATA to try to diffuse the situation by issuing statements condemning Warsha and white washing the government. During Maulid celebrations of 1982 in Tabora, Adam Nasib in the presence of the Vice-President, Rashid Kawawa warned the government of enemies who had invaded the country, meaning Dr. Malik, Sheikh Mohamed Ali and Warsha. Warsha had overtime managed to establish centres in certain areas of the country.

Warsha responded to these accusations by distributing leaflets to these areas explaining position on the future of Islam in Tanzania and made Muslims be aware of their activities in trying to liberate Muslims. The government and BAKWATA could not match Warsha's truth with their propaganda. Muslims were sympathetic to Warsha and took Warsha's struggle as their own struggle. Muslims helped Warsha to establish a school Masjid Quba and Islamic Centre which was owned and managed by them. In retaliation to these effort the government refused to register the school. The school was perceived by the

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12 IPC are running two secondary schools, a dispensary, a newspaper An-nuur and have several development projects to their credit.
government as a centre of "Muslim fundamentalism." The government went further to subvert the school by warning Muslim parents that students completing their education at Masjid Quba would not be recognised by it and would not be considered for further education or for employment. Warsha was not to be deterred they decided to run the school and educate Muslim children even without government registration. Members of Warsha used to say that they have their consent from Allah, they don't need any permission from anyone. This was Warsha's motto. The school remained blacklisted by the government until 1988 when Prof. Malima as the first Muslim Minister of Education registered it.

The period between 1980 and 1990 was a period of intensive Muslim agitation against the government and increased activity. Muslim initiated several organisations to further their development. After the Warsha-government crisis of 1982, the crisis left BAKWATA severely bruised and even more dependant on the government. There were many correspondence from BAKWATA to the government requesting the latter to ban Warsha and Masjid Quba and Islamic Centre and also requesting it to prevent independent leadership in mosques. BAKWATA reminded the government of its importance to control all mosques for the sake of peace and tranquility.  

Whenever these confidential letters were intercepted Warsha circulated them to Muslims throughout the country. This exposed BAKWATA even more as a puppet of the government which was fully under the control and influence of the Church.

Muslims increasingly turned more militant and defiant. The government was advised by the Intelligence to allow several youth organisations to be registered and be allowed to play limited role in Muslim politics with the hope to create polarisation among youths. This the government believed would give BAKWATA as well as the government some breathing space. A youth organisation Tanzania Muslim Youth Association (TAYMA) was registered but when Warsha sent its application for registration it was refused. TAYMA's leadership was nothing out of ordinary and pursued a policy of conformity to the wishes of the government. TAYMA was able to built a school and carry out several activities in the

13 BAKWATA Ref. No. MK/D.10/29/7 OF 16 September, 1983. Also see Baraza Kuu la Waislam Tanzania MK/U.50/2/38 10 October, 1989

interests of Islam and Muslims of Tanzania. However few youths were attracted to it perceiving it as a conformists organisation allowed to exist in order to appease and hoodwink Muslims; and its leadership untested and overly co-operative to the Christian dominated government and BAKWATA. Muslim youths believed the only Muslim organisation fit to lead them was Warsha because it had the intellect, the will and the experience to confront the government.

Chapter Three

The Buzuruga Muslim - Sungusungu Conflict of 1983  

In 1983 the government and BAKWATA found itself facing a crisis which vibrated even beyond its borders. A few miles from Mwanza, a town on the shore of Lake Victoria there is a small village, Buzuruga which had a small mosque of which its imam was one Sheikh Daud. The village had its fair share of Muslims, Christians and animists. Buzuruga was to participate in the installation of its traditional headman, the leader of a local tribal militia known as the sungusungu. The ceremony entailed congregation of all the people including men and women standing on an open ground with women leaving their top parts bare. People were to stand like this early morning before sunrise in order to watch the sun rising from the east and supplicate to it. This was a pagan initiation ceremony and no Muslim could participate. The CCM Chairman one Masabo Kabambo in a rally on 8th August declared that no one was to be spared in the ceremony, Muslims must participate like all other citizens.

The sungusungu a Sukuma tradition long forgotten was revived as a peoples' militia when it was realised the police force could no longer be trusted to maintain peace and order due to several reasons, one of them being corruption in the police force. Under the authoritarian regime of Nyerere, sungusungu had a political stance and was given a force of law. This force of law conferred to an untrained force under arms, although primitive, created apathy. Muslims refused to participate in those celebrations held on 17 August for the simple reason that the festivity were un-Islamic. The Muslim stand enraged sungusungu and in its fury sungusungu conducted a house to house search and went

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15 Written in 1986 with assistance of Mohamed Lulengelule, President Muslim Student Association of the University of Dar es Salaam Students Union (MSAUD) who went to Buzuruga to investigate the crisis in his capacity as representative of Muslim students and from an article in the Crescent International, December 16-31, 1984 by an anonymous writer.
Sheikh Daud’s house and roughed\textsuperscript{16} him up ridiculing Islam, and in the process intentionally defaced the Holy Qur’an. Sheikh Daud was punished with 115 lashes for his insolence. Muslims were rounded up as they were going for *salat fajr* and forcefully matched to the grounds to participate in the celebrations. Other Muslims including women were dragged from their homes and taken to the grounds. Men were forced to strip and women to take off their *hijab*. Muslims who resisted were manhandled and humiliated. The following day when Muslims in Mwanza alerted the Muslim umma in Tanzania of what had taken place in Buzuruga all hell broke loose.

Muslim activists in Mwanza sent a detailed report to Warsha in Dar es Salaam. In return Warsha through its members in the executive of the Dar es Salaam University Muslim Student Association (MSAUD) dispatched an emissary to Mwanza one Mohamed Lulengelule to have on the spot assessment of the situation. The emissary interviewed Sheikh Daud. BAKWATA were hesitant to issue a statement to condemn the defilement of the Qur’an because *sungusungu* was taken as a state institution. BAKWATA was waiting for direction from the government on how to act and what to say. Meanwhile Muslims throughout the country were calling for Muslims to raise up in *jihad* against the government and BAKWATA.

When eventually BAKWATA sent the Grand Sheikh, Sheikh Hemed bin Juma to Mwanza it was too late. Muslims had taken full control of the problem. BAKWATA had come to close the stable door after the horse had bolted. And when BAKWATA through the Grand Sheikh using the state-radio gave their own version of the crisis Sheikh Hemed bin Juma said that it was not the Holy Qur’an which was defaced but *Yasin* and there was no reason for Muslims to raise up in arms. It was better if BAKWATA had remained silent. Muslims were by that gesture made to see BAKWATA for what it was- a hypocrite, puppet organisation on the government payroll. In the articles which Warsha and other Muslim organisations wrote and distributed to Muslims BAKWATA and the government were treated as one. While BAKWATA went down on the estimation of Muslims, Warsha’s stature rose in the eyes of Muslims as a true organisation representing Muslim interests.

\textbf{Chapter Four}

\textsuperscript{16}Sheikh Daud was to die soon following the beating in the hands of *sungusungu*. 
The Second Muslim Crisis \textsuperscript{17} and the Formation of the Supreme Council of Islamic Organisations and Institutions of Tanzania (Baraza Kuu)

By 1993 BAKWATA was literally dead. Its decision to appease the government and to distance itself from each and every Muslims issue made it irrelevant. Yet its leadership had the audacity to blame the government that it had not supported it by allowing other independent organisations to exist. On 17 April, 1991 during an Idd Baraza at Arnautoglo Hall, Dar es Salaam President Mwinyi was invited to the occasion by BAKWATA as a guest of honour. In his speech to welcome the president, the Vice-Chairman of BAKWATA, Suleiman Hegga accused the government of indecision in hesitating to curb Muslim groups which in his views were undermining BAKWATA. Hegga’s speech was in fact a lament to the government that it had withdrawn its support to a long time ally in face of opposition from a common foe.\textsuperscript{18}

In his reply President Mwinyi told the BAKWATA leadership to stop complaining and advised them to convene a meeting of all Muslim organisations to discuss whatever differences BAKWATA might be having with Muslims. This advise by the government was ignored by BAKWATA. What BAKWATA envisaged was for the government to use its powers to effect a crackdown of those independent Muslims organisations to enable BAKWATA enjoy centre stage in Muslims affairs. Muslims had long decided that the only way forward was for each organisation in its locality to try and help Muslims in its own way. As these Muslims became engaged in various activities from building simple madras to providing tuition to school children BAKWATA increasingly became redundant and hence the statement by BAKWATA that the government was allowing other Muslim organisations to “meddle” into their exclusive zone, that of preventing Muslims to have any influence in the political system.

It was now obvious that BAKWATA did not command support nor respect of Muslims. It did not have a competent leadership in terms of education and experience to administer such an organisation. BAKWATA did not have a single graduate in its administrative machinery. It had become the norm rather than the exception that in order for a Muslim to

\textsuperscript{17} The first Muslim crisis was in 1968 which culminated in the ban of the EAMWS by the government.

\textsuperscript{18} Hotuba ya Suleiman Hega Aliyotoa Kwenye Baraza la Idi El Haj Tarehe 23 June, 1991 Mbele ya Mheshimiwa Rais.
be accepted in BAKWATA his education has to be mediocre. Since Muslims were supportive to these independent organisation it was felt that it was high time for this loose leadership to manifest itself and take-over the leadership BAKWATA for the good of Islam. This act it was felt was important and necessary in order to formalise and confirm its status as the true Muslim representatives.

The only organisation thought fit to co-ordinate all those Muslim organisations and convene a meeting to discuss the future of Islam in Tanzania was the Dar es Salaam University Muslim Trusteeship (DUMT). DUMT convened a meeting in which all Muslim organisations based in Dar es Salaam including BAKWATA were invited. The agenda of the meeting was how to solve the leadership crisis in BAKWATA. The meeting was held at the University of Dar es Salaam and was chaired by Tewa Said Tewa the former chairman of the EAMWS. BAKWATA refused to attend this meeting. Several meeting were to be held at the university under the chairmanship of DUMT between July and September, 1991. Emissaries were sent to the regions to consult with the independent Muslim leadership on the possibility of convening a national Muslim conference to debate on the future of Islam in Tanzania. The responses from the regions were very encouraging. BAKWATA tried its best to sabotage the conference. It sent its own emissaries to the region to try to persuade Muslims not to attend the conference. It also sent a letter to the government to ask its intervention to stop the conference.

On 15 September, 1991 a National Muslim Conference was held at Nkrumah Hall of Dar es Salaam University. Appreciating the sensitivity of Muslim politics the select committee which was co-ordinating Muslim affairs sent each and every minutes of the meeting to the President’s Office. President Mwinyi realising religious issues which required government intervention, he established a special desk of religious affairs. President Mwinyi sent Abdulrahman Kinana, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation to open the conference. Kinana delivered a message from the

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19 It should be beared in mind that organised effort to emanse support from Muslims had begun in 1987 and several meetings were held in Dar es Salaam under different venues. See minutes: Muhtasari wa Kikao cha Kamati ya Kupendekeza Muundo wa Chombo Kilichofanyika Tarehe 17/9/89 Shule ya Haramin. Contents of the minutes show that the thrust of the meeting was to forge unity among different da’awa groups and avoid duplication of efforts.

20 The night before in an attempt to play down the Muslim National Conference the state-radio announced in its prime time news bulletin that the conference was for involving delegates from Dar es Salaam only.
government which said that the government would cooperate with Muslims in finding a solution to their problems so long as Muslims pursued their goal peacefully.

In the history of Muslim movement in Tanzania never before had such a huge number of activists assembled in one place. Delegates came as far as Kagera and Rukwa. All who rose to speak had nothing but condemnation for the leadership in BAKWATA and none was more vocal than Sheikh Kassin bin Juma. In his speech to the delegates he said he supported the new initiative to provide a strong and dependable leadership to Muslims of Tanzania but was worried with the factor that the leadership which was poised to lead Muslims was comprised of the Ansar (Orthodox Muslims). The conference by acclamation ousted the BAKWATA leadership from power except the Grand Mufti Sheikh Hemed bin Juma bin Hemed on the ground that it did not have qualifications to lead a Muslim organisation. A 15-man caretaker committee under Sheikh Salum Khamis, a retired civil servant and a graduate Makerere College was elected and given the task to prepare for general election to enable Muslims choose its own leadership freely.

The committee was to run the organisation for an interim period of three months after which a general election was to be called. Its other task was to give BAKWATA direction according to the Holy Qur’an and Sunna of the Prophet. But its most important responsibility was the amendment of the constitution passed in Iringa in 1968 and change of the official name. This had a special significance to Muslims and the organisation as a whole because the amendment of the constitution and change of name meant a break with the dark past. The BAKWATA constitution was a replica of the constitution of the then ruling party TANU. The committee issued a statement which said that:

BAKWATA had been used to control Muslims instead of dealing with their development. As a result of this Muslims in different parts of the country had formed their own organisations to look after their religious interests. There was a lot of animosity between the council and the various organisations which effected the development of Muslims in the country.21

It is said that at this juncture the Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT) sent a secret delegation to the Minister of Home Affairs Augustine Mrema to request him to use his powers to prevent the new Muslim leadership from coming to power in BAKWATA for what it feared was a strong Muslim independent leadership which will challenge Christian hegemony wherever it existed and would promote “Muslim fundamentalism.” The Caretaker Committee requested a meeting with the Minister of Home Affairs and the Registrar of Societies in order to have their co-operation for a peaceful and orderly transition but all of them refused to meet the Committee. The registrar wrote to the committee accusing it of flouting the constitution.

Meanwhile rumours were circulating in Dar es Salaam that BAKWATA leadership had asked Nyerere to intervene and use his powers to prevent the new leadership into coming to power. This rumours incensed Muslims and hostility to BAKWATA leadership was intensified to the extent that it had to be provided with security by the government. Sheikh Hemed bin Juma the Grand Mufti nor the Acting Secretary General Rajab Kundya, who was at the centre of criticism because he was married to a Christian, could freely go to their offices for fear of being physically attacked by Muslims. BAKWATA was overwhelmed by hostility from the Muslim community. Meanwhile the BAKWATA leadership under the Grand Mufti Sheikh Hemed bin Juma refused to hand over power to the popular will of Muslims. BAKWATA issued a statement which stated that the constitution of the organisation protected its leadership from being ousted and therefore the leadership was still in power. By the end of December signs of violent change were evident.

On 4th January, 1992 Muslims held a meeting at the Diamond Jubilee Hall. This followed the conference held at the Nkrumah Hall in September, 1991. It was at that conference that Muslims were informed that even as they were deliberating in the hall, the committee had ordered the invasion of BAKWATA headquarters and Dar es Salaam regional office including Al Haramain School. The conference was informed that the offices have been secured and occupied. President Mwinyi intervened and called a meeting in his office between the Grand Mufti Sheikh Hemed bin Juma and his executive committee and the Caretaker Committee of Sheikh Salum Khamis. The Caretaker Committee told the

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22 Mfanyakazi, 18 September, 1991.
president that it would accept nothing short of resignation of the Vice-Chairman Suleiman Hegga, a former broadcaster and Acting Secretary General Rajab Kundya, who was at the centre of criticism for being married to a Christian. These people the committee reiterated were not fit to lead Muslims. It was then decided to resolve the crisis on the following terms:

1. The crisis should be solved through due process of law. BAKWATA offices forcefully occupied by the committee should be opened and its officials allowed to perform their duties.

2. All executive posts in BAKWATA should be advertised to enable qualified Muslims apply.

3. BAKWATA and Baraza Kuu should form a committee of five persons each forming a central committee of 10 members which would be required to do the following:
   i. to conduct elections from grassroots level of the mosques up to national level
   ii. to prepare proposal for a new constitution.

The president ordered the two parties to solve the leadership crisis fast and peacefully and ended with a threatening note to the two parties that if they disturbed the peace the government will come very strong against them. The Committee assured the president that it would solve the Muslim crisis sensibly.

While the committee fulfilled its part of the agreement, BAKWATA did not adhere to the above and refused to fulfil theirs. The Grand Mufti chose to snub President Mwinyi. On 12 February, in a live broadcast from Songea during Maulid celebrations, Sheikh Hemed bin Jumaa sneered at the efforts of the President arguing that president Mwinyi was involving himself in trying to effect changes to BAKWATA without being conversant with its history and objectives; and without knowing why it was formed by the government of Julius Nyerere in the first place.23

Failing to dislodge BAKWATA from its offices the committee decided to lodge its own application to the Registrar of Societies for registration. Muslims had come up with an

23 Part of the speech appears verbatim in An-Nuur, June, 1993, “Mufti Hemed Afichua Siri Kubwa.”
innovation which would force the government to officially allow another national Muslim organisation to operate and serve the Muslim community. The government sat on the application for more than a year. Meanwhile Baraza Kuu continued to operate and enjoy Muslim support. The vacuum created by BAKWATA for its non-compliance of the wishes of Muslims was ably filled by Baraza Kuu.  

On 28 April, 1993 bizarre occurrence took place. In desperation and in its effort to salvage BAKWATA the Minister of Home Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister Augustine Mrema convened a meeting between Muslims and Christians at the Diamond Jubilee Hall, Dar es Salaam. The agenda was unknown. The Church sent a strong delegation. Muslims abstained except BAKWATA. The few Muslims who turned up were there out of curiosity rather than conviction that the meeting would bear fruits. When the time for introduction between the two parties came, Muslims refused to shake hands with the Church leadership. Mrema addressed the meeting in which in his speech it was revealed that elections for BAKWATA were long overdue and could not be held because of lack of funds. The Church volunteered to provide money to BAKWATA to enable it hold its elections. The Minister for Home Affairs Augustine Mrema also helped to collect money from the business community to fund BAKWATA elections. When eventually BAKWATA met in Dodoma from 10th-12th May the guest of honour was Augustine Mrema. Instead of conducting elections BAKWATA passed some constitution changes to empower the Grand Mufti Sheikh Hemed bin Hemed with absolute powers to fire any executive member without being answerable to anyone.

Chapter Five

Sheikh Kassim bin Juma bin Khamis and the Reign of President Ali Hassan Mwinyi

In order to understand the mobilising force behind the Muslim agitation against the government particularly in the years when the first Muslim president was in power one needs to trace the life of Sheikh Kassim bin Juma bin Khamis the brilliant sheikh of Tanzanian mainland pulpit politics. Sheikh Kassim bin Juma will go in history as the only sheikh in the history of Tanzania who served two presidents diligently. He protected

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Nyerere from Muslims by helping him to ban the EAMWS and establish BAKWATA and later helped President Mwinyi to contain Christian machinations against his leadership.

Sheikh Kassim a Manyema from Bagamoyo as a young man rose to prominence in early 1960s soon after returning from studies in Pakistan. While a student in Pakistan, Sheikh Kassim came into contact with the renowned Muslim scholar, Abu Ala Maudud and the Jamaat Islami. Sheikh Kassim ascendancy coincided with the political phase in Tanzania when Nyerere was conducting a silent purge against Muslim leadership of scholars like Mufti Sheikh Hassan bin Amir and politicians like Tewa Said Tewa and prominent sheikhs like Sharrif Ahmed Badawiy and others. Muslims were at that time trying to assert their authority in order to have influence in the political system.

Nyerere realising that Muslim sentiments against his government could be articulated through Muslim organisations such as the EAMWS whose patron was the Aga Khan, and Al Jamiatul Islamiyya fi Tanganyika and others Nyerere relied upon Sheikh Kassim to break these organisations and form a national Muslim organisation with indigenous leadership of Muslims supportive to his rule. The crisis ensued as a result of this threw Muslims in a disarray unprecedented in the history of Tanzania. The crisis culminated in the formation of National Muslim Council of Tanzania known by its Swahili acronym as BAKWATA. The rise of Sheikh Kassim therefore went parallel with detention of very respectable Muslim scholars. This period was marked by mass arrests of Muslims who Nyerere thought were against his government. The arrests and detentions were necessary to enable Nyerere intimidate the Muslim leadership and in the same vein forge alliance with new leadership of his own choice made up with sheikhs like Kassim bin Juma. The purge created a vacuum in the Muslim leadership.

In forging new alliances Nyerere cultivated young Sheikh Kassim as an ally. Nyerere built Sheikh Kassim's image as progressive Muslim scholar and leader and therefore capable to represent Muslim interests. Nyerere put the government owned and controlled mass media including the state radio at the disposal of Sheikh Kassim for propaganda purposes. It was common to hear the voice of Sheikh Kassim delivering a khutba in the radio or see his photograph in the papers sitting at the high table with state leaders and other dignitaries. With the support of the government Sheikh Kassim with the collusion of other sheikhs was able to help the government register a new Muslim organisation in the
mainland which for almost a quarter of a century managed to prevent Muslims from having any meaningful influence in the political system. In this period Christians managed to expropriate all political power at the expense of Muslims. As Nyerere was resigning from leadership of the country he left the country firmly in the hands of Christian bureaucrats and relatively free from Muslim sentiments. For twenty five years the Christian dominated government felt secure and safe believing that the Muslim urge of demanding equal distribution of power between themselves and Christians articulated in the early years of independence has been contained and could never raise again to jeopardise their dominance in the country.

It was Sheikh Kassim bin Juma’s sudden change from being a pawn of Nyerere to becoming a champion of Muslim rights, to use his own words, "usurped by a political system established by Julius Nyerere," which made his life history worthy of record. Sheikh Kassim who for many years was shunned by Muslim intellectuals not taking him seriously seeing him as a lackey, was by this sudden change caused this group to come forward to support him. Short of this transformation Sheikh Kassim’s life would not have been remarkable. History would have remembered him as a Muslim scholar who sold himself to Nyerere and betrayed Islam. In order to understand the change in Sheikh Kassim one needs to trace his transformation from the time in 1985 when power changed hands in Tanzania.

When President Ali Hassan Mwinyi came into power in 1985, he found Sheikh Kassim already firmly established with a great following and influence. Sheikh Kassim accepted and supported Mwinyi as he had supported and served former President Nyerere. But after years of Muslims being reduced to third class citizens the Tanzania polity had drastically changed, the country was confounded with religious animosity. Pressure had begun building up since Nyerere was in power and Muslims had begun agitating against the state. President Ali Hassan Mwinyi found himself facing a religious problem which he did not bargain for. Under such a political climate President Mwinyi could not augur well with a Christian dominated cabinet and the civil service as the bureaucrats in these institutions deep in their hearts resented a Muslim head of state. Soon opposition to Mwinyi’s rule within his cabinet and ruling party, the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) surfaced into the open.
Joining in this anti-Mwinyi anti Muslim campaign was the newly established free press controlled by the Christian lobby. In a daring and dramatic encroachment of the Church into politics, the Tanzania Press Club hosted Reverend Christopher Mtikila, secretary of Full Salvation Church. In that press luncheon of the Tanzania Press Club Mtikila attacked Mwinyi’s government as being corrupt echoing Nyerere’s speech of February that year. 25 Mtikila was not a new name in this anti-Mwinyi campaign. In 1987 during the CCM-NEC conference in Dodoma he distributed a document which among many allegations to Mwinyi he accused him of supporting “Muslim fundamentalism” and slotting Muslims into important positions in his government. But this was not the truth. Muslim university student in-take is below five ten cent and the academic staff in higher institutions of learning is below five percent. Dar es Salaam University is one of the institutions were the Christian lobby is strongly enrenched. Let me give just one example.

In this age of image building technical by the mass media, facts can be manipulated and distorted to suit any particular situation. Indoctrination becomes the order of the day. This can have a negative effect even to the psyche of the most intelligent and objective minded individual. What took place at the University of Dar Es Salaam in October, 1989 when the Chairman of the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement (SPLM) Colonel John Garang visited Tanzania is a living proof to this fact and shows the extent into which the Christian lobby permeates powerful institutions. Garang received a very warm reception from the University Community which is predominant Christian. The academic staff as well as students went out of their way to poetry Garang as a “true son of Africa”, and a crusader against Muslim hegemony in Sudan. And Garang cherished every moment of it.

The ten percent Muslims at the Dar Es Salaam University did not even dare pose a single question to Garang much as it was evident that Garang was fighting an anti-Muslim war in the name of war of liberation. It was not a wonder that Garang was receiving military assistance and moral support from Christian controlled government Tanzania being one of them. It was also not surprising that the leader accepted by Garang to mediate between the SPLA and the Sudan government of El Bashir - former president Jimmy Carter and Julius Nyerere are themselves strong members of the

Christian Church. Carter’s experience with Islam was his conflict with the Iranian government after the Islamic Revolution while Nyerere’s own experience with Islam in his own country is a complete story in itself. Garang really felt at home. Garang himself a Marxist Christian was speaking in a Marxist School and among fellow Christians.

Probably in response to this visit by Garang, the government of Al Bashir sent its official delegation to try and explain to the people of Tanzania its own point of view to the conflict. The Sudan government delegation was coldly received at the University. Protocol was flouted shamelessly. Where as Garang was accorded all the honours fit for a head of state, with the Vice Chancellor himself receiving him, the Sudan government delegation was received by one of the academic staff in the Department of Political Science. The Vice Chancellor was conspicuously absent. Where as Garang spoke in the famous Nkrumah Hall the venue for all visiting dignitaries the Sudan government delegation was ushered hurriedly into a lecture theatre. The University administration knows who can speak in the lecture theatre and who cannot speak in the Nkrumah Hall.

The University community made sure that the Sudan government delegation understand that it had walked into an alien territory, where Islam in whatever form was not tolerated. Hostility through rhetorics in the question posed to the delegation was evident from every angle. But the speakers were not intimidated they were cool and composed taking every thing in their stride. The audience seemed only interested in painting the delegation as descendants of Arab slave traders presenting an anti-Christian regime. Islam was taken to be synonymous to Arabism by the born-again Christians in the audience who posed questions, while the Marxists thought the conflict in Sudan could be solved through class struggle and advised the delegation that the problem could be understood better through class analysis. It was clear that the audience was either ignorant of the background to the conflict or was so much taken by anti-Muslim sentiments portrayed by the international press that it lost all objectivity, untypical trait of academicians.

Muslim cabinet ministers are negligible and Muslim principle secretaries are non-existing. Mwinyi like his predecessor Julius Nyerere ignored Muslims’ call for changing this imbalance. Mwinyi like Nyerere refused to equal Muslim-Christian power sharing. This is
the source of Muslim agitation and is one single factor which cut across and unites all Muslims throughout the country. What united Tanzanians into two opposite and contending forces was religious affiliations.

President Mwinyi did not help the situation because whenever he talked on the religious problem, his speeches were vague, middle of the road type. He eluded pointing at the source of the problem for fear of aggravating the volatile situation even further. A typical speech by Mwinyi would be reported by the government paper that he has declared war on agitators and the disgruntled that they would not be allowed to divide the nation along religious lines. On the other hand Muslims insisted that the agitation against the Christian dominated government was not directed towards Christianity nor were Muslims struggling to establish *sharia* in Tanzania. The danger signs were on the wall for all to see and take heed. But all said and done the Christians lobby was not yet ready to accept a Muslim president least of all a Muslim from Zanzibar.

However religious conflicts the problem were treated as a case of few misguided Muslim fundamentalists financed by external forces and on Mwinyi’s weakness. The ruling party also was responsible for creating religious tension not so much by ignoring Muslim grievances but by meddling into them. On several occasions CCM had organised seminars purported to create understanding between the government, party and religious leaders on topics the government thought needed participation and support of religious leaders. Whereas these seminars were not a problem to the Church, they posed fundamental problems to Muslims. In reality these seminars were organised as a way to try and subjugate basic teachings of Islam. Between 1988 and 1989 CCM organised two seminars on population control in which hand picked sheikhs were invited. These seminars funded from Christian powers in Europe had a hidden agenda incompatible with Islam. The party hand-picked sheikhs were invited to these seminars. The inclusion of sheikhs had to effects, first it was meant to improve the image of government in the eyes of Muslims and second, the inclusion of sheikhs was to act as rubber stamps to whatever decisions passed.

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26 *Daily News, 9 November, 1989*
The Church also tried to improve its relations with Muslims. The Catholic Church made arrangements with a mediocre Muslim organisation, (BALUKTA) Tanzania Council of Qur’an Reading and the Church was able to present to Muslims the Pope’s message to mark the 25th anniversary of the World Peace Day. The message was delivered by Pope’s ambassador to Tanzania, Monseigneur Agostino Machetto and the Secretary of the Apostolic, Father Gabriele Gaccia and Peter Smith, an expert propagandist and resource person in Muslim-Christian affairs in the Catholic Church. The message was received on behalf of Muslims by Tewa Said Tewa and Sheikh Yahya Hussein BALUKTA’s secretary and chairman respectively. It is not difficult to understand why the Catholic Church could not dare come out openly and deliver Pope’s message of peace to BAKWATA.

In the Christian camp one person who was been able to unite all Christians in their subtle opposition to Mwinyi was the self proclaimed Reverend Christopher Mtikila, Head of Full Salvation Church and Chairman of Democratic Party. He has openly declared his mission as that of defending Christianity against Islam. Mtikila came to prominence in 1988 when he circulated a letter at the CCM Kizota Conference in Dodoma in which he accused Mwinyi of propping up Islam at the expense of Christianity Mtikila’s DP manifesto is to break the union between Zanzibar and Tanganyika and to expel Arabs, Somalis and Indians from the country. Conspicuously absent from his list of expulsion were Europeans. It was not difficult to understand why. Mtikila was pro-Christian and therefore could not be anti-European. In his many speeches Mtikila has shown outright contempt to religious tolerance, the union and the ideals of multi-racial society.

Mtikila’s followers went on rampage after a mass rally in which Mtikila spoke beating up Indians and Arabs. Strange enough the state-radio provides air time for Reverend Mtikila. At that time more than ten private newspapers under Christian ownership were in circulation. The Christian monopoly in politics and in the media contributed into fuelling religious tension because of its anti-Muslim stand. The press picked on Muslims ministers scandalising them at will. Muslims in the governments were accused by the press for all

27 There have also been contact between the Catholic Church and hand-picked Muslim organisation like BALUKTA (Qur’an Recitation Council) and BAKWATA. See Daily News, 24 December, 1991.

sorts of offences from “praying in their offices” to selling the country to rich Arab Sheikhs” from the Middle East. Even the vocabulary had to change. People began to be referred to by the colour of their skins. The press began to identify people as “Arabs,” “Indians” and “indigenous Africans” reminiscent of colonial days; with the exception that during Africans were then referred to as “natives.”

The Church should have raised to condemn Reverend Mtikila but it did not do so instead Catholic Bishops of Tanzania through the Tanzania Episcopal Conference (TEC) started to issue what came to be known as Pastoral Letters which was very critical of Mwinyi’s rule accusing his government of every ill in the country from incompetence to corruption.  

The Pastoral Letters were echoed by the media and state-radio. The Pastoral Letters were the last straw which broke the camel’s back. It was now evident that the Catholic Church was mixing politics with religion to the detriment of the state, the aim which was to destabilise President Mwinyi and undermine his confidence. Nyerere also joined in attacking Mwinyi accusing him of religious bigotry.  

When Muslims were in control of politics they never allowed Nyerere to be humbled by dissident Muslims. Sheikhs always raised up in unison to defend and protect the political system from religious sentiments. Such patriotism was not forthcoming from the Church.

Sheikh Kassim convinced that President Mwinyi as well as Prof. Malima were targets for attack because of their faith and nothing else, stood up to defend Mwinyi’s rule. Not having the instrument of power under his full control as the bureaucracy had their allegiance elsewhere, President Mwinyi could not influence public opinion nor could he control the state administrative machinery. For the first time Sheikh Kassim’s oratory skills, were put to defend not only President Mwinyi but Islam as well. Sheikh Kassim began to mobilise Muslims to stand up against an unjust Christian dominated government. Sheikh Kassim’s Friday khutba changed assuming militant posture full of political rhetoric attacking the press and Christians whom he accused of undermining Mwinyi’s rule simply because the Church could not stand a Muslim head of state. Sheikh bin Kassim Juma in broad day light and with loud speakers blaring full blast at his Mtoro Mosque more than once mentioned Julius Nyerere, the former president, by name as an enemy of Islam.


Muslims were thrilled by Sheikh Kassim’s *khutbas* and his sudden change against the establishment and Nyerere, his mentor. Muslims in thousands now thronged the Mtoro Mosque to come and listen to Sheikh Kassim’s Friday *khutbas*. Mtoro Mosque overnight became a centre of resistance against forces opposing Mwinyi’s rule. Sheikh Kassim called upon Muslims to rise up and over-throw the Christian dominated government which had oppressed them since independence. Sheikh Kassim’s *khutbas* were recorded in cassettes and distributed by the *Ansar Sunna* movement throughout the country. The press scandalised, ridiculed and poked fun at President Mwinyi with impunity, at times even questioning his appointments of Muslim functionaries. The press also insinuated on the dropping from the cabinet of Kingunge Ngombale Mwiru, Getrude Mongela and Joseph Warioba as being influenced by religious sentiments.  

Included in this war of words were selected Muslim Ministers. It seemed Christians were irked that those powerful portfolios were in Muslims hands. The government and party owned media seemed to have lost allegiance to the government including loyalty to the president himself. President Ali Hassan Mwinyi, Prof. Kighoma Malima, Fatma Said Ali, Hassan Diria then Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation and Mustapha Nyang’an’yi became favourite targets of ridicule by the private tabloids.

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**Chapter Six**

**The Pork Riots of 1993**

In the city of Dar es Salaam alone there were 29 pork butcheries. There occurred incidences where Muslims have been sold pork either by design or by fault. This created

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animosity between Muslims and Christian butcher owners. Muslims had for many years complained to the government about selling of pork in Muslim populated areas but the authorities had ignored them. The problem of pork butcheries was even referred to the Prime Minister and Vice-President John Malecela but nothing was done to solve the problem. This was after Muslims had seen the Dar es Salaam Regional Commissioner, Mustapha Nyang’anyi. This Muslim action came after an abortive meeting between imams of five prominent mosques in the area and the district Commissioner Wilson Mkama failed to resolve the nuisance of pig butcheries. In no uncertain manner the imams requested the District Commissioner to close down the butcheries.

The District Commissioner showed contempt at the imams and he impressed upon them that the butcheries were legally licensed and the government was duty bound to protect them from being molested by few “Muslim fundamentalists.” It was this government reaction which broke the camel’s back. In an operation on Easter Friday afternoon a group of Muslims like well trained commando squad moved swiftly through Kinondoni District demolishing pig butcheries amidst chants of Allahu Akbar. This was the first ever physical attack by Muslims on Christian property justified by religious belief for over seventy five years. By taking the law into their own hands Muslims had fired their first warning shot. When news of the attack became known Christians held their breath. On Easter Friday when while Christians were observing the crucifixion of Christ a group of Muslims in Magomeni, Tandale and Manzese in Kinondoni District went on rampage and demolished pork butcheries owned by Christian traders.

Pig rearing has a special history in efforts to contain Islam in colonial Tanganyika. The Moshi records indicate that the German Governor sent a circular to all District Commissioners asking their advice on how best to combat Islam. The officer responsible for Moshi advised that to ban Islam through administrative channels would only strengthen it. He advised that a policy which would encourage the practice or behaviour and ways opposed to the teachings of Islam would be a better way of preventing the Islamisation of Tanganyika. He suggested that one course of action could be to make the

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32 For a detailed account of the pork crisis see Umoja wa Wanafunzi Waislam Chuo Kikuu Dar Es Salaam, 15 April, 1993 “Kauli ya MSAUD Juu ya Suala la Ngururuwe.”
33 Barua yaMaimamu wa Misikiti ya Kagera, Mwembe Chai, Makuti Tandale, Manzese kwa Mkuu wa Wilaya Kinondoni, 18 March, 1993.
rearing of pigs compulsory to all natives of the territory.\textsuperscript{34} The official gazette of the Imperial German of 15 May, 1916 circulated by the Governor on 13th October, 1913 to all District Commissioners and all military stations had the following message:

You are requested to send within three months from the date of receipt a report stating what can be done by means of Government Servant, and Government teachers to effectively counteract the spread of Islamic propaganda. Do you consider it possible to make a regulation prohibiting Islam altogether? Possibly a rule might be enforced by which teachers would not be allowed to perform circumcision or act as preachers in the mosques, etc. The same prohibition might also be applied to other government Servants. The encouragement of pig-breeding among natives is recommended by experts as an effective means of stopping the spread of Islam. Please consider this point also.\textsuperscript{35}

Many years after independence the government seem not to be disturbed by Muslim complains on rearing of pigs in schools and in Muslim populated areas.

President Mwinyi who was in Zanzibar on official engagement unwisely and driven by the fear that the country was moving towards the dreaded clash between Muslims and Christians, issued an hurried condemnation of the attack and ordered that all those responsible for the attack should be made to feel the full weight of state power. By that statement a simple case of few frustrated young Muslims hotheads driven to action by insensitive of the government to genuine grievances, was blown out of proportion into a national crisis. The government and party media including the state radio warned of the dangers of "Muslim fundamentalists in Tanzania." The lobby saw in Mwinyi's statement a blank cheque to crash all Muslims it considered dangerous to their interests. The Prime Minister and Vice-President John Malecela issued a strong statement condemning the attack.\textsuperscript{36} In an interview with the BBC Swahili Service, Malecela referred to the imams and

\textsuperscript{34} Moshi Records, Entebbe Government Archives, SMP, 4784. To the present time Muslim students are forced to service pigs in government boarding schools and the CCM economic wing SUKITI is leading in pig rearing.

\textsuperscript{35} The Official Gazette May 15, 1916 Government Notice No. 40.

\textsuperscript{36} Mzalendo, 11 April, 1993.
other Muslims who were arrested as a result of the pork conflict as “hooligans whose aim is to acquire power through religion.”

The Minister of Home Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister Augustine Mrema issued a statement saying that he was convinced the act was precipitated by an outside Muslim power to destabilise the country. The Secretary General of the CCM Horace Kolimba giving the position of the party said that those who attacked the butcheries were not Muslims but hooligans whose aim was to overthrow the government. It was not explained how could unarmed “hooligans” could overthrow a government. Sheikh Kassim bin Juma who was in Arusha enroute to Nairobi for medical treatment was arrested on orders of the Minister of Home Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister, Augustine Mrema. A total of forty Muslims activists including Bible scholars were arrested. Among those arrested was Salum Khamis the Chairman of Baraza Kuu, Sheikh Yahya Hussein Chairman of BALUKTA and Sheikh Salum Rajab leader of the Ansar. Sheikh Salum Rajab was arrested on charges of making bombs. The news of the arrests of Muslims by the state security agents triggered Muslim anger.

But times had changed drastically. In 1960s when Nyerere was arrested and detained sheikhs, Muslims were least concerned. On Easter Sunday after the arrests of imams became known a relatively small crowd of Muslims went to the Central Police were the imams were detained to bail them. The police arrested and anyone who went to the front desk to enquire about the arrested imams. Meanwhile other Muslims assembled outside the police station not knowing was taking place inside the police station. When it was the time for L’Asr prayers the crowd performed their prayers outside the police station. This act infuriated the policemen. Some of them wanted to come out and disperse them with tear gas bombs but sense prevailed when some of Muslim policemen objected arguing that those people had assembled peaceful and there was nothing wrong if they decide to offer their prayers there. Late in the evening the crowd decided to leave after they were told that the people they had chosen to represent them to the police were also arrested.

37 BBC Swahili Service interview of 12 April, 1993.
38 Uhuru, 15 April, 1993.
What followed on Easter Monday was unprecedented in the history of Tanzania. After the arrests of the imams the previous day at the Central Police, Muslim from all corners assembled at the Mtoro Mosque to discuss their next step. It was the Mtoro Mosque with rain falling that Muslim in thousands chanting Allahu Akbar began to march towards Central Police Station where thirteen imams were detained to demand their release. Muslims were out into the streets to demonstrate and register their anger against the government. Riot police in full battle gear clashed with Muslims and further arrests were made. The government began to unleash a psychological war on Sheikh Kassim. The government and party press began to make up dirty stories about his social life and published them to undermine his confidence. The government and party press which for years had built up Sheikh Kassim's personality now became his worst enemies. In the interrogations at the police station the arrested Muslims were more quizzed on the problem of Bible preaching than on the alleged participation in demolishing the pork butcheries.

After his arrests Sheikh Kassim was detained at a military camp in Monduli, a few miles from Arusha town and was later flown back to Dar es Salaam under heavy escort. Sheikh Kassim was to reveal that his captors were under instructions to torture him. At Monduli he was to witness many horrifying scenes. After he was brought back to Dar es Salaam from Monduli Sheikh Kassim was received by the Field Force Unit and escorted to his house in Upanga where his house was searched. While the police were conducting the search and going through his religious books they took that opportunity to ridicule him by uttering degrading words. The police found nothing but took away his Jumaa Khutbas which they claimed were subversive. Sheikh Kassim was brought before the court and charged for 'inciting religious animosity between Muslims and Christians.' Sheikh Kassim was refused bail and remanded in Keko prison for forty days. While in remand he was put under solitary confinement and denied medical attention. Other arrested Muslims totalling 70 were remanded at Ukonga Prison. They were denied food from home and medical attention. It was only after 11 Muslims fell seriously sick that the Ministry of Home Affairs allowed them medical attention.

39 Bahari, 11 Februari, 1993.
Sheikh Kassim was brought before the court and charged for ‘inciting religious animosity between Muslims and Christians’. Sheikh Kassim was refused bail and remanded in prison for forty days. In total defiance to the government and in show of solidarity to the arrested imams Muslims in thousands braved the drizzle and converged at the Resident Magistrate Court to hear the case of the arrested Muslims. Muslim symbols in form of dress, mannerism and outright objection to the government was very much in display outside the court. An interesting act which incensed the Christian lobby was when Muslim prayed before the court grounds of the Resident’s Magistrate Court, Kisutu.

Since the place was small Muslims had to move up to the road facing the court to pray. The afternoon rush hour traffic had to stop for a while to allow Muslims complete their prayer. This came to be presented by the Magistrate as a reason for not allowing bail because there still was tension since Muslims were assembling before the court and offer prayers on its grounds. Among those in remand prison were three Muslim boys who were attending primary school. When the police raided the house of Sheikh Salum Rajab leader of the Ansar to search for bombs, they also arrested the three boys. All attempts by lawyers to ask the court to release them from remand pleading their innocence as victims of circumstances and for their tender age were refused. As luck would have it a few months after the arrests of these young Muslim boys, student of Tambaza Secondary School were involved in a brawl with a bus conductor and they beat the conductor to death. The boys were arrested and put under custody. All the boys involved in the case were Christians from mostly from middle-upper class families. The Christian lobby went into action. The case was rushed through the court and all the boys released and the case dismissed. The reason given was that the students were leaders of tomorrow they are released so that they go back to school and do their examinations. As those boys walked away scot-free even after causing death the Muslim boys were languished in remand prison and when the case kept on being mentioned for a very long time because the bomb which were allegedly made by Sheikh Salum Rajab and members of the Ansar and those boys could not not be produced as exhibits in court. The Christian lobby is everywhere it knows where justice should prevail and to what kind of people justice should be denied.
An *ad hoc* committee was formed which was to deal with the case and to mobilise and appraising Muslims of the current political climate in the country. The committee appeared in mosques in Dar es Salaam and presented the plight of Muslims in Tanzania. The committee organised *itkaf* (night supplication). In all these gatherings the message was: the government was anti-Muslim and pro-Christian, Muslims beware. The government and the lobby were frightened by these events. The emergency cabinet meetings chaired by President Mwinyi discussed everything about the Muslim problem but its source. The government seemed to be satisfied in chasing the shadow of "Muslim fundamentalism" bogey.

BAKWATA’s response to the pork crisis dropped upon Muslims like a bomb shell. The Grand Mufti advised the government to make sure that Muslims who were remanded for allegedly demolishing pork butcheries get long sentences because they were dangerous people who after this would go to attack churches and breweries. There was no message to the government to reconsider its policy and stand or to re-examine by laws on pork rearing for the sake of national harmony.

After several appearances the case being on mention the charge was withdrawn and Sheikh Kassim was set free after the court ruled out that his arrest and remand was unlawful. Out of remand prison, Sheikh Kassim continued to inspire Muslims in their demand for equal power sharing with Christians in all centres of authority. Sheikh Kassim was arrested and charged once again as previously. On his second arrest security officers went to Mtoro Mosque to arrest Sheikh Kassim in the sight of his followers. Together with Sheikh Kassim in the mosque was Abubakar Mwaipopo. Muslims had by then put in place their own surveillance system around the mosque. As the security personnel approached the mosque a silent warning was relayed and an army of young Muslims took positions around the mosque. The State Intelligence Officers stood outside the mosque and beckoned Sheikh Kassim to come out. Sheikh Kassim obliged and was arrested immediately. The police had come for Mwaipopo also but Mwaipopo refused to come out of the mosque. He challenged them to arrest him in the mosque.

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41 *Kamati ya Kupigania Haki za WaIslam.*

42 *Khutba ya Sheikh Mkuu wa BAKWATA Hemed bin Juma aliyotoa kwenye Baraza la Maulid Mwanza 31 August, 1993.*
If Muslims had wanted, State Intelligence would not have been able to remove Sheikh Kassim from the grounds of the mosque. But Muslims, the young people who had taken upon themselves the task of guarding the mosque were under strict orders not to attack any government officer under no circumstances. But immediately after Sheikh Kassim was whisked away, impromptu *adhana* was called and in no time the mosque was surrounded by Muslims. Hearing the *adhana* the other policemen ran away only to come back this time armed. By then Muslims had already whisked away Mwaipopo and soon after he travelled out of the country. Mwaipopo was never caught. Sheikh Kassim was released and charges withdrawn.

Out of prison for the second time those close to him could not fail to notice that his health was failing. With his health failing Sheikh Kassim continued to inspire and mobilise Muslims with the same zeal. The establishment and the political system he had served for almost half of his adult life now alienated treating him as a renegade. But Sheikh Kassim knew he had dented the government’s and Nyerere’s reputation and confidence before the eyes of Muslims. If Sheikh Kassim thought he would in reciprocation receive support of president Mwinyi in the cause he was fighting for, that support never came. Sheikh Kassim had become a political pariah and Mwinyi kept his distance.

It was under this scenario that Sheikh Kassim’s health deteriorating drastically, was admitted in a mission hospital. The press could not resist reporting that Sheikh Kassim was admitted in mission hospital in Dar es Salaam. The insinuation was there for all to see. Sheikh Kassim did not publicly reveal what actually happened to him when he was under police custody. Sheikh Kassim was discharged and went to Mombasa were he died on 15 January, 1994. It was only after his death that a Swahili weekly paper *Baraza* reported that Sheikh Kassim was refused medical attention while under police custody. The paper accused the Minister of Home Affairs Augustine Mrema for causing the death of Sheikh Kassim. The government acted swiftly, the issue was rounded up in a single swoop and the newspaper banned.

43 “Al-Haj Mwaipopo ni Shujaa” source and author unknown.
44 It is believed that Sheikh Kassim conferred to close confidants that he was tortured while in custody and denied medical attention.
Muslims in Dar es Salaam gave Sheikh Kassim funeral which will remain in their memory for many years to come. Just as they had for the last two years flocked his Mtoro Mosque to listen to his inspiring *khutbas*, so in thousands they came to mourn his death. The government was fully represented at the funeral. President Mwinyi and the Prime Minister John Malecela came to be with Sheikh Kassim in his last journey. Realising the political benefits to be reaped on Sheikh Kassim’s funeral the state propaganda machinery was put into full gear. Muslims, Sheikh Kassim’s friends and relatives were hushed and pushed back and propagandists hijacked the funeral turning it into a semi-state function. Conspicuously absent from the funeral were Christian cabinet Ministers and Augustine Mrema, the powerful Minister of Home Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister who had vowed to crush all “Muslims Fundamentalists” in Tanzania.

If President Mwinyi was aware that it was Sheikh Kassim who saved him from being toppled from power, he did not show any sign of appreciation, not towards Sheikh Kassim nor towards Muslims. The state knew Sheikh Kassim had already crossed the floor to be counted and be identified with Muslims in their struggle against an unjust system. It is for this and nothing else that Muslims turned out in thousands to mourn the passing of Sheikh Kassim bin Juma bin Khamis. If the President knew and his appreciation was semi-state funeral, nothing could be more insulting to Sheikh Kassim’s memory than that.

Chapter Seven

**Muslim Bible Scholars**

Nothing has damaged the confidence of the Church in Tanzania than the wave of Muslim preachers who went around the country in towns and villages preaching Islam using the Bible. There has been accusations by the Church that Muslim Bible scholars are a creation of Mwinyi’s administration. This knowledge, the study of comparative religion has its origins in Kigoma during colonial days. The first person to be exposed to the inconsistencies of the Bible was Sheikh Mussa Hussein then a young student of madras in Kigoma. The person who introduced this comparative study of religion was a Jew. The reason for exposing Sheikh Mussa to this knowledge hitherto unknown in East Africa was the thrust of Christianity in Tanganyika witnessed by the Jew. The Jew told Sheikh Mussa the only way out for Muslims to counter the spread of Christianity was to expose Christians to the discrepancies in their book. Sheikh Mussa was put under the tutorial of the Sheikh for many years and he became expert in paraphrasing, interpretation and memorisation of
the Bible from Hebrew which is its original language. Sheikh Mussa infused into the study of the Bible the skills of memorisation- *hifadh*, borrowed from his study of the Qur’an.

Sheikh Mussa after acquiring this knowledge, he taught it to other Muslims who were interested in comparative religion. But this subject advanced a step up through the Ahmadiyya when they published the first Swahili translation of the Qur’an in 1930s. In that translation the Bible was extensively quoted to substantiate arguments in the Qur’an and vice versa. This created new interest in the study of the Bible. But since the Ahmadiyya movement was wide spread in Kigoma this interest in comparative study received was prominent mostly in Kigoma. This study remained confined to scholars for almost half a century until 1980s when this knowledge was exposed to Muslims as a weapon in the armoury of Muslims to fight Christianity. It was a South African Indian, Sheikh Ahmed Deedat who for the first time brought this powerful knowledge to the attention of common Muslims.

In 1981 Sheikh Deedat was invited in Zanzibar to participate in a seminar organised by MSAUD. After the seminar Sheikh Deedat was invited to Dar es Salaam to deliver public lectures on the unity of the message of God to mankind. Sheikh Deedat delivered two lectures one at the Adult Education Centre and the other at the Diamond Jubilee Hall. In these two lectures Deedat talked on Islam in the Bible. In this lectures Sheikh Deedat attacked the Christian belief in trinity, crucifixion and eternal sin. After the first lecture at the Adult Education Centre which Sheikh Deedat impressed his audience with his command of English and knowledge of the Bible and Qur’an, there were conversions. Some Christians reverted back to Islam. Those Christians in the audience who were not convinced went to their clergy with very pertinent questions which unfortunately the Church could not provide convincing answers to them.

Over night Deedat’s presence in Dar es Salaam caused concern to the Church particularly when it was learnt that some Christians embraced Islam on the spot. The Christian lobby worked overtime and by morning a letter from the Church was delivered to BAKWATA which requested them to stop Sheikh Deedat’s lectures. It is said that Church leaders met in an impromptu meeting and several options on how to sort out Sheikh Deedat were discussed. The first option was to deport him to South Africa as a prohibited immigrant. At that time during apartheid South Africans were not allowed into Tanzania. If that is not
possible the second option was for BAKWATA to allow his lectures to continue but Sheikh Deedat’s lectures should be confined to the mosque. If that is not possible and Sheikh Deedat has to deliver public lectures he should be restrained from attacking the basic teachings of Christianity and be told to confine himself to Islamics. The letter to BAKWATA reiterated and emphasised the many years of peaceful co-existence between Muslims and Christians.

In 1981 BAKWATA had ceased to be an arm of the Christian lobby. The organisation was under the tutelage of Warsha. The letter was ignored. When Sheikh Deedat went to pay courtesy call to the Vice-President Aboud Jumbe at his official residence, the subject of the letter from the Church requesting for Sheikh Deedat to be restrained was brought up. Sheikh Deedat was scheduled to speak at the Diamond Jubilee Hall that evening. Aboud Jumbe told Sheikh Deedat who was accompanied with his hosts, members of the MSAUD that he was not invited to Tanzania to strengthen Christianity. That evening Sheikh Deedat addressed a capacity crowd at the Diamond Jubilee Hall and without mercy Sheikh Deedat took his audience through a lecture showing glaring inconsistencies in the Bible. He appealed to Christians to use their common sense and see the universality of the message of Islam which did not begin with Muhammad SAW but with Adam AS and was passed down through prophets among them Jesus Christ. When Sheikh Deedat left the country he left Christianity dented and confidence among Muslims on their religion strengthened. But Sheikh Deedat told Muslims in Tanzania not to keep the message to themselves, Muslims he said, have a duty to Allah to deliver his message to those still living in darkness.

This challenge was taken up and it was then that the country came to realise that it had Muslim Bible scholars of high repute. Among them were Sheikh Abubakar Mwilima, Ngariba Mussa Fundi and Kawemba Mohammed Ali, originating from Kigoma and both of them former students of Sheikh Musa Hussein. These two are the pioneers of open air preaching - *mihadhara* in Tanzania. The movement which is responsible for converting thousands of Tanzania Christians to Islam. This campaign did not end in open air preaching, it also moved to electronic and print media. Video cassettes were made and books published. In no time the movement spread in the whole country through audio

45 See Ngariba Mussa Fundi na Kawemba Mohammed Ali, *Ulislam katika Biblia*, Al Khayria Press, Zanzibar. (This work has been translated into English, *Islam in the Bible*).
and video cassettes. This wave coincided with the recession of the Church in Europe and the fad by Christian theologians and scholars themselves doubting the authenticity of the Bible.

The introduction of these anti-church ideas to Tanzania was fully manipulated by Muslims as a weapon to undermine and humble the Church. Study groups began to spring up in many towns producing Muslim Bible experts. At first the Church thought it could meet fire with fire, but when it attempted to confront the Bible preachers on their own ground it soon realised that as Muslims were arguing, there were a lot inconsistencies which they had not been aware before existing in the Bible. And it was obvious to them that God can not make mistakes. Errors are human traits. The church had to retreat and seek another way to silence Muslim Bible scholars. This innovation of Muslim Bible scholars preaching Islam through the Bible inevitably became a thorn in the flesh of Christianity and Mwinyi’s government. The Church decided to use the weapon it controlled. President Mwinyi was requested by the Church to stop Muslim open air preachers. Mwinyi took up the cue from the Church and in many of his speeches he warned on the dangers of “defamatory preaching by Muslims.”

But in order to understand the this conflict one need to go back into history and to observe the relations between Islam and Christianity in a colonial setting. During colonialism missionaries in Africa were very aggressive in their campaign to thwart Islam. A good example is that of Sudan.

Islam became an issue in Sudan in the late 1800s when Mohamed Ahmed al Mahdi rose up in arms against the British to try and establish an Islamic state. It was not lost upon Al Mahdi that the invading army of the British occupying Sudan had within its remnants of secularism from Egypt. War was forced upon Al Mahdi and the Ansar by the arrogance of the British as Flag bearers of Christian civilisation. The Sudanese who had know civilisation for a thousand years, could read and write, had to be “civilised” by the Anglican Church with the help of Egypt. The British were in Sudan to mould obedient agents of civilisation to tame the “savages” to prove superiority of the Anglo-Saxons over all the other races. The British in their contempt of any culture not confirming to their own or any system of government not in compatible with the Westminster model could not respect nor recognise Al Mahdi as a leader of his people and land. Al Mahdi
who was just as educated as any contemporary Englishman from Oxford or Cambridge, was to the eyes of the British Colonial Office in London-an illiterate desert rebel standing in the way of Christian civilisation. It was immaterial to the British that Al Mahdi could read and write, was a *hafidh* (a Muslim scholar who has committed the whole Qur’an to memory) and was the Commander in Chief of the *Ansar*. In the struggle between the *Ansar* and the British army under General Gordon the British army was defeated on several campaigns although eventually the *Ansar* were defeated and Sudan was “pacified”.

Despite this defeat, the Sudanese were able to preserve Islamic Culture and the *Ansar* endured as a “tariqa” (one of the two major “tariqas” in Sudan, the other one is the Khatmia) to become a standing army of the Umma Party when it was founded in 1914 by a descendant of Al Mahdi-Sheikh Abdulrahman Mohamed Ahmed Mahdi. In the *Ansar* the Umma Party had a military unit reminiscent of the mahdist movement of the great Al-Mahdi and in Islam the Party had ideology to direct politics. The Umma Party gradually become a symbol of Islamic revival in Sudan and when nationalist politics and modernisation process began in 1950s Sadiq Mahdi (the great grandson of Al Mahdi) Oxford trained, introduced into the Party modern organisational method to conform with Islamics.

Over the years and since independence in 1956, *Ansar*’s ambition as a standing army of Muslims and the Umma Party was to establish an Islamic state and re-introduce the *Sharia* as a logical conclusion to the struggle which had begun in late 1800s. Al Mahdi declared jihad against the British to sweep away foreign domination, wipe out corruption and managed to establish an Islamic state for a short time. I here wish to emphasise that Al Mahdi in his war against the British used Islam as an ideology of mobilisation and did not identifying his revolution with Arabism. Colonialism in Sudan went out of its way to built up Christianity as more humane that Islam and more sensitive to the plight of Southerners who are identified as Africans than the “Arabs” in the north.

While the *Ansar* were preserving Islamic culture, the elite’s in Sudan as it in many Islamic countries, responding to the modernisation process adopted a nationalist secularist ideology in the struggle against colonial rule. The intelligence influenced by western education and therefore more respective to modernisation felt more at home
with secularism. The elite’s did not fancy joining the Umma Party and be identified with the *Ansar*. The educated Sudanese believed in separation of religion from politics. The Umma Party was generally perceived as an archaic, rigid traditional institution past its time. The elite’s were at ease with conventional political parties which they thought were more in keeping with their status and appropriate for the establishment of western style democracy in Sudan. Party leadership in such a political system being ascriptive seemed to be incompatible with their training and fertile ground to further their political ambitions in free Sudan, than total allegiance to the “Imam” of the *Ansar*.

The intelligentsia was therefore unconsciously through secularism helping the British in their zeal to spread Christian civilisation in Sudan while at the same time sowing seeds of anti-Muslim sentiments in their own fabric. It was this situation which created the Sudan Community Party and provided Marxists with a political base from which to operate and subvert Islam. When Anyanya I, Anyanya II and Garang’s war came, it found the political system in Sudan still searching for an Islamic identity. All this notwithstanding this Christianity could not take root in Sudan. However Garang picked up from here to wage war against Islam.

With the triumph of the Iranian Revolution under Imam Khomeni and the victory of Afghanistan *mujahidin* over the Red Army of the Soviet Union still fresh in mind, Christianity and the West cannot afford to see the triumph of Sudan as this will mean Islam is invincible and would ever be on the ascendency. What is even more distributing is the fact that while military governments in Africa identifies themselves with all sorts of schism, the military in Sudan has stood firm on *sharia* and this is unprecedented. The army in Sudan cannot be identified with the wine, women and song mentality typical of the government in Africa. This is in conformity with Sudan’s long Islamic history in the struggle against anti-Islamic forces when Al Mahdi first took up arms against Christian civilisation.

Unlike Tanzania internal opposition to the *sharia* is weak and uncoordinated. At the University of Khartoum intellectual activity is robust with the wall literature divided between the Islamists and secularists. The Muslim Brotherhood *Ikhwan Muslimin* is very active at the campus spreading Islamic political thought among the populace in and off the campus. However like Tanzania the revival of Islam and its revolutionary concepts
have not been able to penetrate the conservative tariqas. The Ansar and other tariqas which traditionally have stood firm against Christianity and Western values are still standing on the sidelines. The Ansar as military wing in Sudan has been slow in absorbing the changes taking place in its own doorstep. This can be explained from the fact that successive leadership in Sudan both civilian and military like that of Jaffar Nimier and that of Sadiq Mahdi has been shy to mobilise the Ansar against Garang and the SPLA. Ansar’s potentiality as a reserve army is yet to be tapped. But it is obvious that if military assistance to Garang increases thus escalating the war, the Ansar would have to be mobilised in defence of Islam. Should this happen the Ansar would be continuing in their war which had begun in the last century. The Ansar are of the opinion that anything short of this would be a betrayal to the Great Mahdi who had open up the path of Jihad to Muslims in Sudan.

There are no indications that the Ansar spirit of Al Mahdi will ever be reactivated as a fighting force. Even when Sadiq al Mahdi as the Commander in Chief of the Ansar was in power this was difficult terrain which he could not trod upon. Garang has capitalised on this static situation to emerge with arrogance and strong rhetoric’s against all successive governments since Jaffar Nimier. But by an chance should the Ansar be mobilised against the SPLA the consequences are obvious. It is therefore important that the Ansar shifts its base from sufism to play a leading role in politics even in the present absence of the Umma Party now banned. The Ansar should venture into politics and economic enterprises as the Khatimia are presently doing.

Sudan like Tanzania has the highest number of mosque per population in Africa, 13000 mosques in all. It is yet to be seen whether these would be effectively used as mobilisation centres against anti-Islam forces. But the signs are very encouraging, where as only few years back students at the University of Khartoum used to pray in hiding, today girls walk into lecture rooms in hijabs with the Friday Prayer being a very big weekly occasion at the University mosque. Whatever the outcome of politics, Sudan cannot be anything but Islamic.

In Tanzania traces of Muslim militancy were seen during the Maji Maji war in 1905. From that time militancy expressed in armed combat waned away. From that period it was safe for missionaries to conduct door to door preaching trying to convince Muslims to accept
Jesus and be saved. Muslims were not intimidated by these campaigns. On the contrary they took that kind of preaching as amusing. This campaign became more serious in 1960s after independence. The thrust and vision of the Church was to turn Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika into Catholic states through the control of indigenous governments. The Islam in Africa Project with its headquarters in Kenya was formed with the specific aim of converting Muslims to Christianity. This project was under Rev. James Ritchie advisor to the National Christian Council of Kenya. The evangelisation campaign went well and by 1965 in East Africa there were 9171 Muslims who were converted to Christianity while Christian who had converted to Islam were a mere 3151.

The church campaign was a success because it was concentrated in rural areas where a majority of the people lived avoiding urban centres which Muslims are a majority. The Daystar University in Kenya allocated 56 m. Sterling pounds to counter the spread of Islam in East Africa. This money was to be used as small hand-out to Muslims who have converted to Christianity, and to provide scholarships to their children; and to build schools and clinics in Muslim majority areas. Other strategies to subvert Islam was to subvert Islam through an organisation known as Life Challenge which has its headquarters in Nairobi under the tutelage of Padre Gerhad Hehls. Padre Nehls was given the task of preparing a book, Our Challenge, Our Chance which is a manual on how to convert Muslims to Christianity in East Africa.

But the emergence of Muslim Bible scholars changed the tide. Along with this resurgence of Islam, Muslims in East Africa began to see their governments in their true colours. They were not truly secular as they pretended to be but Christian government hostile to Islam. Muslims began to organise themselves in whatever manner possible to safeguard Islam. The Bible scholars and the emerging Muslim political parties were part of that effort. This was time when two Islamic parties were formed in Kenya, Uganda and Zambia. The Islamic Party of Kenya (IPK), Uganda Islamic Revolutionary Party (UIRP) and The Islamic

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47 James Holway; Mimeo 1965 quoted in *Historia Fupi*...


Party of Zambia. The IPK was engaged in violent politics against the government of President Moi. In return Khalid Balala the moving spirit of Kenyan Muslims was detained. The Ansar in Tanzania petitioned to Moi to release Balala unconditionally.

Parallel with this was the mass conversions of Christians to Islam particularly in Tanzania. In Sumbawanga a predominant Catholic area at one time 2000 Christians converted to Islam and in Kagera 3000. In Kagera Yusuf Makaka a pastor from the Lutheran Church reverted to Islam, was able single handed, to convert 3000 Christians in rural Lake Region and built a mosque. Encouraged by the success in Tanzania Sheikh Abubakar Mwilima, Ngariba and Kawemba were invited to Kenya. Their reputation had preceded them. The Bible Scholars were household names Mombasa through audio and video cassettes. The Bible preachers held a very big meeting in Mombasa. What had taken place in Dar es Salaam when Sheikh Deedat preached for the first time took place in Mombasa. There were conversions of Christians to Islam. Others went to their churches to demand answers to basic questions in the Christian beliefs.

The Church in Kenya was aware of the menace of the Muslim Bible scholars. It did not therefore even attempt to confront them with counter arguments. It asked the government to withdraw the permit it had issued which allowed them to preach in Kenya. The Bible scholars were rounded up and escorted to them border under heavy guard just as they were preparing to hold a congregation. When Muslims were informed that the permit for the meeting was withdrawn by the Provincial Commissioner of Coast Region, they marched to his office to demand explanation. The crowd rioted and there were arrests and loss of property. As it had been in Tanzania, wherever Muslims Bible preachers passed when they left, they usually leave Christianity shaken and Islam firm.

In Nairobi Cardinal Otunga sounded a warning that Christianity was on the verge of dying a natural death on the face of Muslim onslaught through the Muslim Bible preachers. The government had no means to counter the Muslim onslaught short of outright ban on

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Islam. The Church was being pushed to the wall and it had to act fast before it was too late. Soon after Cardinal Otunga’s statement, on 28th February, 1993 the Tanzania Episcopal Conference (TEC) issued a statement warning that it would be bloodshed if Muslim Bible preachers do not stop their preaching. But this was not the first time the Church had talked about shedding blood. In 1989 the CCT issued a statement warning the government that it would find itself faced with a much bigger problem if it does not restrain Muslim Bible scholars from preaching. The CCT statement accused Muslim Bible scholars of being supported by a foreign Muslim power. The statement claimed that Muslims have been given 6 m. US Dollars to support their activities.⁵⁴

In Tanzania the state-radio, the government and party daily gave statements by the Church statement wide publicity. These party and government institutions became propaganda tools of the Catholic Church. These were insinuations and direct message to Muslims that the powers that be were behind that statement. In many of his speeches Mwinyi tried to restrain the Bible scholars but failed. In his untiring efforts to solve this problem he convened a meeting at the state house between the Church leaders and sheikhs to discuss the problem of Muslim Bible scholars and their open air preaching. Baraza Kuu sent a powerful delegation of knowledgeable sheikhs. The Church leaders could not and asked for a postponement of the meeting to a later date to enable them prepare their case. The Church leaders did not come back. From this time the thrust of the Church changed from the media campaign to restrain Muslims from Bible preaching to forcing President Mwinyi to use absolute powers of his government to curb the Muslim preachers. But the pace of the movement remained unabated. The Islam in Africa Project of 1960s turned out to be a bad omen to Christianity in East Africa in 1990s.

The First Vice-President and Prime Minister, John Malecela in one of his speeches in winding up government business and adjourning the Parliament, issued a strong statement banning the Muslim Bible scholars. Emphasising to the Speaker that he was speaking as an Anglican Christian, he issued an order banning open air preaching of

⁵⁵ Uhuru, 2 March, 1993.
Muslims confining them to mosques  

Sheikh Kassim bin Juma challenged the Vice-President, the CCM and the government and called upon Muslims to defy and ignore any order from whatever power repugnant to Islam. In a press conference Nyerere warned of the dangers of to the nation of mixing politics and religion, castigating those who mix the two as “conmen,” and “politically bankrupt.” Baraza Kuu unofficial mouthpiece *An-nuur* attacked Nyerere in no uncertain terms accusing him of abusing his privilege as president during his 24 years reign as president to subvert Islam. The attack from Muslims and from Sheikh Kassim was so fierce and convincing that from that time Nyerere avoided being engaged in discussing Muslim-Christian relations in the country. Mtikila also tried to force the government to stop Muslim Bible scholars laying the burden on President Mwinyi but because of his stand as a radical politician he was ignored. In 1994 the Minister of Judiciary and Constitution Affairs, Samuel Sitta told the Parliament that the government would pass law which would ban Muslim Bible preachers. Baraza Kuu’s response was that Muslim would oppose that law if passed. Baraza Kuu argued that the teachings of the two faiths were opposed to each other in all aspects. While it is the basic foundation in Christainity to believe in that Jesus Christ is God or he is the son of God Jesus, that he died on the cross; to a Muslim that is blasphemy. The law which is intended would aim as its basic tenets to prevent Muslims from propagating techings contrary to that. To pass that kind of law was unconstitutional as the government which is secular would be directly indulging in religious affairs by safeguarding the teachings of Christianity at the detriment of Islam.  

In desperation the Christian lobby played its last card. As the problem of Bible scholars remained in stalemate, then the unthinkable happened. While Muslims as well as Christians were assembled at Picha ya Uwanja wa Ndege Mosque in Morogoro to lend an ear to the Bible preachers *Al Malid* from Dar es Salaam, riot police in five Land Rovers and 2 small cars surrounded the place and attacked the mosque with tear gas bombs firing bullets into the air. As people ran into the mosque to seek refuge riot police in hot pursuit followed them into the mosque in hot pursuit and beat them up. To ensure that maximum damage was inflicted to the Bible scholars, the expensive equipment which they used was completely wrecked. Muslim Bible scholars were arrested including some of the people in  

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56 May, 1992 Parliamentary Session.  
the audience. Two Muslims died as a result of the beatings. More than 60 canisters were exploded. Some canisters failed to explode and were tendered in court as exhibit of police brutality towards Muslims. A month before the police attack Al-Malid challenged the police to come to their meetings to learn the truth in order to prove the innocence in its preaching.

When it came to be known that those arrested included Christians and after seeing their statement which stated that they did not find the preaching offensive and that is why they went to those gathering, they were released without charges opened against them. Muslims were charged for unlawful assembly.

The attack on the mosque was not spontaneous. It was a calculated move organised and planned well in advance with the help of BAKWATA leadership in Morogoro. A few days before the fateful day, a meeting between the government and BAKWATA was held. In attendance was the MP for Morogoro, Shamim Khan. This meeting was preceded between BAKWATA and CCT. This meting was also attended by the Ambassador of Denmark in Tanzania. In this meeting the Chairman of BAKWATA castigated Muslim Bible Scholars and called upon the police to arrest them as people who endanger peace.

Muslims throughout Tanzania were horrified by the act of the riot police to invade and smoke-bomb a mosque under the pretext of breaking an unlawful assembly. But where relieved of the prospect of the case going before a court of law. Muslims thought that was their chance to pit their belief against what Christian teachings. Muslims believed that if Christian believed that Jesus was God and they were allowed to proclaim that belief Muslims likewise have the right to proclaim that Jesus was a prophet. Muslims thought the court would provide this opportunity to them. This was not to be. The ever unseen hand of the Christian lobby came to realise the futility of the case in their hand. If the case gets a hearing a lot of groundwork which had gone into preparing the attack would be revealed in the court. Muslims had done their home work and had a lot information which in a court of law would prove conspiracy against Islam and the Bible scholars. Such negative publicity

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59 Almarkazul-Islamy L’Itanbih L’Ghaflina Fidin (Almallaid) to Inspekta Jenerali wa Polisi, 1 June, 1994.

at the time when the Christian lobby was preparing to capture back the seat of power it had missed for the last ten years was unpalatable. Muslim votes were needed and therefore any negative publicity was to be avoided. It blocked the case from proceeding.

Meanwhile at the international level the Church wanted the world to believe that the problem was not Islam but “Muslim fundamentalists.” While visiting Tanzania the Archbishop of Canterbury Dr. George Leonard Carey warned the country of “Muslim fundamentalists” as a danger to peace. Likewise in a special synod held in Rome on Islam, the Catholic Church singled out “Muslim fundamentalism” as its greatest challenge. 61 To echo the voice from Rome Shaba one of the papers known for its anti-Muslim stand published a story that a group of Muslim from Tanzania have travelled to the Gulf States with the aim of plotting against peace and security in the country. Interesting was the fact that, all those who were mentioned in the report to have travelled outside the country were Muslim Bible Scholars and all of them with the exception of one were in the country. 62

Chapter Eight
Zanzibar Membership to Organisation of Islamic Conference and Islam in Africa Organisation
For the first time in the history of Tanzania did the power of the Church displayed openly in the instruments of power in its entirety than in the OIC saga. The Zanzibari MPs were not aware of the under currents against Islam. Since ministers as a matter of principle could not oppose the government in the House, ministers colluded with back-benchers to oppose their own government with the aim of embarrassing President Mwinyi or a Muslim minister like Prof. Malima or Ahmed Hassan Diria. Sensitive government documents were in this way exchanged of such paltry favours from the MPs. And the Christian lobby in the Parliament was more than willing to do the work. The reports that Zanzibar had joined the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) and Islam and Africa Organisation (IAO) came at a time when there were religious tension in the country. The Zanzibar government first requested the government of the United Republic to apply for observer status of the OIC in 1989. The then Prime Minister, Joseph Warioba referred the application to Deputy

Prime Minister Salim Ahmed Salim. Salim a Zanzibari Muslim himself, blocked the application on the grounds that the OIC would meddle in Tanzania’s political affairs.  

The government of the United Republic refused. Zanzibar then decided to go it alone. Then it was in the press that Zanzibar had joined the OIC. The controversy caused the lobby to organise itself into a group of 55 MPs who were later to be known as G55, to demand restoration of the government of Tanganyika within the union. This threatened the union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar. Unique with the G55 was that all of them were from a distinct group in the Parliament which had excelled and was known throughout the country and inside and outside the Parliament for its subtle anti-Muslim stand. But as tension between Muslims and Christians increased came out into the open, the lobby’s hatred of Islam manifested itself on Prof. Malima- a moving spirit of Muslim’s struggle for justice and equality. This was the first time that it became clear that Church was indeed in control of all instruments of power in the country.

When the Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation, Ahmed Hassan Diria was quizzed by the press he denied that Zanzibar had joined the OIC. Diria issued a statement denying those reports. The ink on Diria’s statement was barely dry when copies of official documents proving Zanzibar’s application and acceptance by the OIC were published in the press. It is believed that the letters which were published by the press which for the first time brought the OIC into public notice were stolen from a confidential file of the Chief Ministers Office in Zanzibar. What caused concern was the connection between OIC and Islam in Africa Organisation (IAO). It was reported that the OIC had a secret agenda to annihilate Christianity in Tanzania through the Islam in Africa Organisation (IAO).

The problem of Zanzibar membership to the OIC was connected with the so called conspiracy of the OIC to undermine the Church. The lobby approached the issue of OIC

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63 Salum Khamis Supreme Council of Islamic Organisations and Institutions (Baraza Kuu) to the Speaker of the National Assembly letter BK/J.1.5/1 June, 1993. Also see Mfanyakazi, 27 January, 1993.

64 During Mwinyi’s government many confidential documents were stolen and exposed to general public through the press. President Mwinyi confided to close associates that he lived under perpetual fear of being bugged by his own security personnel. Indeed a conversation between Principal Secretary Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Ibrahim Msabaha and the Tanzania Embassy in Washington was bugged and transcript of the conversation published in the private press. Dr Msabaha went to court to contest the publishing of confidential government information and lost the case with costs.
not as a serious breach of the constitution but also as an hostile act of one part of the union forming a conspiratorial alliance with an organisation which its main objective was to annihilate Christianity in Africa. In response to this the Church, the press and the ordinary Christian in the street was up in arms against a Muslim president who allowed his government to conspire against the peaceful Church. The Christian lobby in the Parliament had evidence to prove the allegations. Among the objectives of the IAO which caused the concern of the Church were purported to be taken from a “secret document,” were the following IAO objectives:

1. To ensure the appointment of only muslims into strategic national and international posts of member nations. To eradicate in all its forms and ramifications all non-muslims religions in member nations (such religions shall include Christianity, Ahmadiyya and other tribal modes of worship unacceptable to Muslims).

2. To ensure that only Muslims are elected to all political posts of member nations.

3. To ensure the declaration of Nigeria (the 24th African and 46th World member of the OIC) a Federal Islamic Sultanate at a convenient date any time from 28th March, 1990, with the Sultan of Sokoto enthroned the Sultan Supreme Sovereign of Nigeria.

4. To ensure the ultimate replacement of all member nation before the next Islam in Africa Conference.

Towards the attainment of these ends, therefore, a Steering Committee, with membership drawn from the following countries as well as the Islamic Council, London and the Organisation of Islamic Conference, OIC, has begun set up, viz: Nigeria, Mauritania, Tanzania, Niger, Senegal, Sudan, The Gambia, Libya, Tunisia...the Steering Committee should also work out detailed plans for transforming a national political party in each member nation into a National Islamic Party... These political parties so approved shall be the only ones to produce leading government (executive and legislative) functionaries...

When this “evidence” was presented to the government by the press the President did not know what to do. The OIC issue was not even taken as a government crisis which concerned the cabinet. In a predominantly Christian government the Christians in the cabinet considered themselves an aggrieved party. They folded their hands and sent on the fence to see the ship sink. It was left to the G 55, the fiery Christian back-benchers in the Parliament to take President Mwinyi to task. The CCT issued a strong worded statement condemning the government. The Christian lobby joined by few Muslims in the Parliament demanded immediate withdrawal of Zanzibar from OIC. The lobby wrote to the Deputy Speaker, Pius Msekwa demanding an enquiry into the matter. This request was granted and the Parliamentary Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committee headed by Philip Marmo, an MP for Monduli. Among the committee members was Joseph Warioba, a former Vice-President and Prime Minister dropped from the cabinet by Mwinyi. Apart from two Muslims, the rest in the twelve-men committee are Christians. Muslims dismissed the committee as “church committee” which could never conduct its affairs with impartiality.

As the conflict escalated in the press it became clear that there was more what the minister was willing to reveal. When it admitted that Zanzibar had indeed joined the OIC and IAO despite of all the denials and had in fact even attended one of OIC meeting, the Parliament threatened to impeach the president for contravening the constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania. When President Mwinyi thought all was lost, hope and solution to the quagmire came from very unexpected quarters—the Baraza Kuu. Baraza Kuu wrote to the Deputy Speaker and the letter copied to all Members of the House. Baraza Kuu queried why the government refused to apply for membership when the Zanzibar requested it to do so. Baraza Kuu widened the theatre of conflict. Baraza Kuu accused the Parliament of being turned into venue for anti-Islam propaganda. Before 1985 when Mwinyi came to power there were no contradictions in the Parliament. Government business in the Parliament was plain sailing. It pointed out at the Memorandum of Understanding which was an agreement signed clandestinely between the government and the Church in which government schools and hospitals were to be run by missionaries on grounds that the government no longer had the ability to support them.

66 This agreement was prepared by Dr. Costa Mahalu, Dar Es Salaam University Faculty of Law and was signed by Minister of State in Prime Minister’s Office and First Vice-President, Edward Lowassa. The main purpose of the agreement was to turn over education, health and social services to Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT) and Tanzania Episcopal Conference (TEC). These social services were to be run jointly between the government and the Church. This agreement, that is, the Memorandum of Understanding was
Baraza Kuu quizzed the Parliament why that did not raise government concern. Baraza Kuu pointed out that minority Muslim countries like Uganda and Mozambique were members and there have been no complains of the OIC meddling in the affairs of those countries. The government of Tanzania does not want to join the OIC because it is its desire to weaken Muslims. Baraza Kuu impressed upon the house that if it were impartial it would have investigated the appeals on discrimination of Muslim on education but chose to ignore. While the government was under this tremendous pressure from the Christian lobby a Zanzibar member of Parliament and Secretary of the CCM Youth Sukwa Said Sukwa, was quoted to have said that the only person who could solve the problem was Julius Nyerere. Nyerere’s response to Sukwa’s statement was that he was not going to involve himself in the problem unless first Zanzibar withdraws from the OIC. For the first time Julius Nyerere came out in the open to show his true feelings against Islam and Muslims of Tanzania.

Chapter Nine

Prof. Kighoma Ali Malima 1938-1995

Prof. Kighoma Ali Malima was born in Marui village Kisarawe District on 15 December, 1938. He was named Abdallah, meaning God’s servant, after his paternal grandfather who died in the World War I. He was born to Ali bin Abdallah Kighoma Malima and Habiba bint Suleiman wa Bura. He attended primary and secondary school from 1948 to 1957 in Marui Primary School and then proceeded to Mzumbe and Tabora Secondary School. In school

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69 Written with the help of notes provided to the author by Adam Malima, son of Prof. Malima from conversation Adam Malima had with his father over a period of time in Dar es Salaam and London. Other information is from direct interaction between the author and Prof. Malima during the last days of his life in 1995 and from interviews with people close to Prof. Malima.
Malima was known for his gift in mathematics. Malima cut short his studies in 1957 to join TANU and struggle for independence under the leadership of Julius Nyerere. Reflecting on that decision Malima said. “What was the use of being in school while the country was under colonialism. I did not leave school because I was performing poorly, far from that, I was a promising student and always came on top of my class.”

Prof. Malima remembers a childhood friend who grew up with him in Kisarawe, Masoud Mtandika. Mtandika came to be a powerful party cadre and a fiery enemy of Prof. Malima. He would come to be used by Prof. Malima’s enemies to undermine him at whatever opportunity available). Prof. Malima when asked why Mtandika was hell bent against him, in a light touch Prof. Malima used to say that Mtandika was his friend since childhood. Prof. Malima recalls that when he (Malima) was going to school Mtandika stayed behind at home busy felling logs. In 1958 he became TANU secretary in his home district, Kisarawe.

After independence Malima was appointed District Secretary in Masasi and Njombe. In June 1961 he attended a short course at Kivukoni Ideological College, Dar es Salaam before leaving for United States in 1962 for further studies at Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire where he obtained a BA in Economics in 1965. He then attended Yale University, New Haven Connecticut and graduated with MA Economics in 1966. He then proceeded to Princeton University and was awarded another MA in Economics in 1970. He then became a lecturer at Dar es Salaam University. Prof. Malima was the first Tanzanian to teach economics at Dar es Salaam University. Soon after he began to work on his Ph.D. (International Trade and Economic Development) from Princeton University which he successfully defended in 1971.

Malima worked with the UNDP in New York for two years from 1972 to 1974 when he was recalled by the government to become the first Tanzanian Director of the Institute of Finance Management. In those years Tanzania was experiencing a very difficult time due to failure of socialist policies. There was a shortage of everything from food to clothing. It was a blessing for a government official to be working outside the country. Rather than chose to remain in the United States and continue with his carrier with the UNDP, Malima

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70 Kivukoni College was established in the tradition of Ruskin College of Britain. Kivukoni was and still is a training centre for propaganda and mass indoctrination for CCM cadres.
responded to Nyerere’s call and came back home. In February, 1975 President Julius Nyerere appointed him Principal Secretary to the Treasury until 1977 when he was transferred back to Dar es Salaam University, Economics Department as head of department. His transfer was necessitated by a matter of principal on award of government tender into purchase of a ship which Malima could not stand to see violated. By sticking to that stand President Nyerere removed him from the Treasury. The Minister of Finance at that time was Amir Habib Jamal. In the time he was at the University he became an Associate Professor and became full professor in 1978. But his ascendancy was not without problems. There are in existence records which show that the university under Pius Msekwa who was the Vice Chancellor was deliberately delaying his promotions despite of Malima’s prolific authorship of papers.

**Political Carrier : The Beginning**

In 1978 Prof. Malima was to make a decision which came to change his life completely. The previous year TANU and ASP had merged to form a single party CCM. In that year he contested for a seat in the National Executive Committee of the ruling party the CCM. After this victory Prof. Malima was elected in the Central Committee of the party and was made secretary of the Economic Planning Department of the party. This department was under the Vice-President of CCM, Aboud Jumbe. Prof. Malima was also selected secretary to the Parastatals Management Department under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Edward Moringe Sokoine.

After serving in the Central Committee and the National Executive for two years, in January, 1980 Nyerere appointed Prof. Malima to his cabinet as Minister of State for Planning and Economic Affairs in the Vice-President’s Office. Prof. Malima served under Vice-President Jumbe who resigned in January, 1984 in Dodoma after a stormy meeting of the party as a result of political situation in Zanzibar. Prof. Malima for the first time tasted intrigue unleashed against him in 1982 when one of the most powerful party leaders

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71 The ship is MV Bukoba which due to defects in its design and due to pressure from above was bought and allowed to sail. This ship sank in 1996 killing more than a thousand people.

72 Part of this chapter particularly on Nyerere’s governance and his relationship with President Ali Hassan Mwinyi’s government was written with assistance of notes provided by a senior civil servant in Mwinyi’s government.
was bracing himself for the top executive post of the party. The party stalwart was convinced that the most qualified person for the post was Prof. Malima and due to that he would stand no chance against him. He therefore put into operation a conspiracy which involved other powerful people in the party and Prof. Malima lost his NEC membership as representative of Dar es Salaam Region. The party bureaucrat was side stepped and Nyerere supported the candidature of Rashid Mfaume Kawawa, his long time friend and faithful lieutenant much to the annoyance and disappointment of the conspirators.

After Jumbe’s oust from power, Prof. Malima’s relations with Nyerere were not at their best even though Prof. Malima did not take sides in the Jumbe-Nyerere conflict. But the manner in which Jumbe was sacked from the government and party, raised questions in the mode in which executive power was expended. Suddenly a few started to ask questions if there was no hidden agenda in the administration of the country. Prof. Malima was among those few who feared that the country was being influenced by powers outside its echelon. But it was only a fear. Prof. Malima was to live to confirm his fears. In 1985 power changed hands in Tanzania when a Muslim from Zanzibar became president. His ascendancy to the top post was by default. In order to understand why Mwinyi came to power by default we need to learn how Nyerere ruled.

When the British relinquished power they left behind a sound economy and administrative machinery free from nepotism and corruption. The British trained civil service was efficient, principled and highly motivated. The British had established in Tanzania a high level of standards and code of conduct to see Nyerere across many a troubled waters. In search of his own identity and in asserting his own position Nyerere embarked on dramatic economic policies some of them banking on adventurism. Within a span of ten years the country was pushed through the Arusha Declaration, mass collectivisation, nationalism and party supremacy. To support these policies Nyerere built a huge bureaucratic system. Central planning eroded administrative powers vested on managers. Complacency set in and motivation was stifled. The villagisation policy had misplaced the small producer and as a result there was acute food shortage and this became a common occurrence in Nyerere’s rule.⁷³

⁷³ In 1974 Tanzania used its entire foreign exchange reserve to import maize.
The import substitution industries were producing below capacity due to poor management resulting in shortages. Another common occurrence under Nyerere’s rule. The land could no longer support the peasantry while the ailing industry could also not keep its labour force in permanent employment. Life became unbearable both in the rural areas and urban centres. Rural - urban migration which Tanzania had never experienced before took place in a massive way. There was no longer any incentive to farming. Isimani area in Iringa which before collectivisation fed the whole country and had surplus maize for export was now a barren land. The economy was in deep stagnation. The economists in the Ministry of Economic Planning knew exactly where the problem was, but none of them dared pointing a finger at Nyerere’s policies as a failure. Nyerere was to continue like this until when he was woken up from his deep slumber by the IMF and an attempted coup which it was later revealed would have him assassinated as part of the coup plan. It was then he came to realise that the people had had enough and it was time for him to step down.

During Nyerere’s rule (1961-1985) Tanzania was known as an egalitarian society where justice and equality under Nyerere’s socialist policy of ujamaa were purported to be the cherished ideals. Western powers including Japan, poured development aid into the country making Tanzania among the leading recipients of external aid in Africa. Contrary to the belief of outsiders, Nyerere achieved this stability through an authoritarian regime in which opposition was completely stifled. Dissent was discouraged through statutes and rarely was Nyerere required to use actual force to counter opposition. To the outside world the country gave an impression of unity and stability- a role model for other African countries engulfed with persistent internal strife to imitate. But there was more than what met the eye.

What the world was not told was that Nyerere was conducting his own type of apartheid against Muslims. His persecution of Aboud Jumbe forcing him to relinquish all his posts in

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74 With such performance Nyerere was protected and there was no open criticism against his leadership. Compare with Mwinyi’s rule in which the 1992 Human Development Report ranked Tanzania as the 126 out of 160 countries that were analysed using updated Human Development Index (HDI). HDI has emphasis on life expectancy, literacy and income per capita as criteria for development. Mwinyi’s government made significant development in a number of areas. In HD1 reports of 1991 and 1992 data nowhere is it shown of people in Tanzania below poverty line. The growth was four per cent per annum, population remaining around 2.8 with substantial increase in importation of goods and services. This data concealed major social imbalances which are the source of internal conflict in religious and regional imbalances. Despite of Mwinyi’s performance the Christian lobby refused to acknowledge his achievement and resorted to finding faults and expose them in the media.
the government and party was not at all unconnected with him being a Muslim. He was reported to have been initiating a Muslim movement to strengthen Islam while still in office and Nyerere had already issued a government circular to warn against that. Aboud Jumbe had antagonised the status quo. Jumbe is the only Zanzibar who has involved himself with the problem of marginalisation of Muslims in the mainland. Zanzibar Muslims usually are not bothered about Muslim problems in the mainland. With this background Nyerere did not wish Jumbe to succeed him. He groomed Moringe Sokoine, a fellow Catholic to succeed him. Nyerere knew that with Jumbe as his First Vice-President his succession plan would encounter problems as it would be impossible to bypass Jumbe in favour of Sokoine, the Prime Minister short of amending the constitution. The government controlled mass media under Nyerere’s instructions went on image building exercise never given to any leader in the history of Tanzania. Sokoine was fully covered by newspapers and his speeches though boring were repeatedly broadcasted by the national radio. Nyerere conferred executive powers to Sokoine and was therefore very powerful and came to be feared by all members of the cabinet.

Nyerere having put Sokoine in a powerful position began to court young Seif Shariff Hamad. He moved Seif Shariff from Zanzibar to Dodoma, the power centre of Tanzanian’s politics. When the time came for Jumbe to be ousted from power in 1984 Seif Shariff was readily available as Chief Minister and Mwinyi as President of Zanzibar. When Nyerere fell out with Seif Shariff Nyerere as if to spurn him boasted that he had made him Chief Minister of Zanzibar. But times had changed, Nyerere was not the only tactician around even Seif Shariff could play the game. If Nyerere had his goals, Seif Shariff Seif also had his. Who was to owe allegiance to who. Shariff once too often retorted back on Nyerere’s face to the dismay of onlookers that it were the people of Zanzibar who made him Chief Minister. It was not long before he was labelled in 1988 like Jumbe as “enemy number one of the union.”

75 During Nyerere’s rule, Muslims were marginalised to the extent that the country gave an impression of being predominantly Christian. Although Tanzania has the largest population of Muslims South of the Sahara. The total Muslim population in Tanzania is close to 19 million in a country of 26 million people. However, this was not reflected in the power sharing between them and Christians in the political system.

76 See Fr. Peter Smith, Some Elements For Understanding Muslim-Christian Relations, p.7.
With Jumbe out of the way after his resignation in 1984 as “enemy number one of the union”, the road was now clear for Sokoine to take over the leadership of the country from Nyerere. Sokoine had all the necessary qualifications as per CCM’s standards to lead the government and later when the time was appropriate, the Party. Although Sokoine was awarded top marks by Nyerere, his education was mediocre, it needed some up-grading. Nyerere advised Sokoine to resign his post as Prime Minister on medical grounds to go to Yugoslavia for studies. Sokoine came back from Yugoslavia with a diploma and Nyerere wasted no time and appointed him Prime Minister for the second time. Sokoine did not waste time either, he enrolled at the Dar es Salaam University as a post-graduate student.

This is how powerful and influential the Christian lobby is. Sokoine did not obtain his masters degree as he was killed a road accident in 1984 while travelling from Dodoma to Dar es Salaam.

Nyerere shed tears openly for all and sundry to see. His succession plan had crumbled. The race for the presidency was now open for all. Nyerere was at loss as how to shuffle his cards once again as the card game was becoming too elusive for his intelligence. Nyerere had to look for another candidate to groom fast to succeed him. If he had a choice he could have by pass Salim Ahmed Salim but the political scenario as at was at that time, there was no way he could have passed Salim. Short of options and the elections being around the corner, Nyerere backed Salim Ahmed Salim against Mwinyi who was at that time the President of Zanzibar. Salim was the most able than any other person in the whole cabinet. He settled for Salim as the person to succeed him after his retirement. A constituency was established for Salim in Pemba, his home area. Salim was elected member of parliament and Nyerere included him in his cabinet. Nyerere’s plan was torpedoed at the last minute when CCM NEC members refused to by pass Mwinyi then president of Zanzibar for Salim.

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77 This is how powerful the Christian lobby is. If by a very remote chance a Muslim would have raised to that position with that kind of education that would have been the topic for the papers that he was a person with inferior capabilities and therefore the nation can not entrust him with such a high position. Mustapha Nyang’anyi one of the Muslim ministers was a focus of ridicule for what the Christian lobby perceived as his inferior education.

78 It is said that in a stormy meeting of the CCM in Dodoma, the original members of Revolutionary Council of Zanzibar led by Seif Bakari, Hassan Nassor Moyo and others which ousted Sultan, Jamshid bin Abdullah, refused to endorse Salim because of what they considered his “Arab blood.”
Thus from day one Nyerere never liked Mwinyi simply because the later was not his preferred choice. This dislike explains Warioba’s imposition as Prime Minister and accounts for Nyerere’s attitude towards Mwinyi’s government. Many wondered what foolish audacity on the part of Nyerere to try to bypass Mwinyi. But Nyerere was not to be defeated easily. While handing over power to Mwinyi, he submitted a proposal to for the new cabinet in which an unknown and new face in the cabinet with no CCM credentials whatsoever, Joseph Sinde Warioba from Nyerere’s home area was chosen as First Vice President and Prime Minister. Nyerere had once again by passed experienced people with support of the party like Rashid Kawawa, Cleopa Msuya, Daudi Mwakawago. Prof. Malima qualified as he is did not feature in Nyerere’s proposal to President elect Mwinyi. The very act of Mwinyi ignoring some of the suggestions put to him by must have angered Nyerere.

In 1985 Mwinyi inherited a state in condition of crisis in which the single party system with all its paraphernalia of authoritarian and monopolistic tendencies had resulted in political and economic stagnation. As in other African states President Mwinyi inherited a state characterised by economic and social decadence. The close relationship that existed between Prof. Malima and President Mwinyi, which dated back to their days when they were both Ministers of State in the Vice-President’s Office came into effect. Amidst all the interference and Nyerere’s influence, President Mwinyi appointed Prof. Mailman as his closest advisor and top assistant and confidant in government affairs by making him Minister of State in the President’s Office responsible for Cabinet Affairs and International Affairs.

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79 In election case it was reported in the court that Mohamed Nyaobwa who contested for Ikwizu constituency with Warioba, Nyaobwa a junior CCM executive was offered bribes by the Party in Musoma so that he removes his name from contesting for the Ikwizu seat to allow Warioba pass unopposed. This gesture was taken as necessary to give an impression of the latter’s support from the people. Nyaobwa refused and as a result received death threats. State Intelligence officers in collaboration with CCM secretary in Musoma Joseph Butiku, former personal aide to Nyerere were also used to intimidate him. The incumbent Stephen Wassira obliged and removed his name from the race. Is it difficult to guess who could be behind such manoeuvres?

80 In the Presidential Election of 1995 Julius Nyerere would again openly work against John Malecela and bar him from the race. If it were not for that Malecela would have assumed the presidency for being the vice-president under the incumbent.

81 Compare this with the effort done by the CCM when it wanted to propt Salim Ahmed Salim into position of leadership. Salim did not have a political base in Pemba because throughout his life he has been in the foreign services as a carrier diplomat and was literally unknown in his home region. But through power manipulation he was able to be provided with a constituency in Pemba. Salim Ahmed Salim is perceived by the lobby as a “good Muslim”. While the lobby went an extra mile to have Salim in the government it worked hard to oust Prof. Malima from it for being a “radical” Muslim. Also compare this with the rise of Seif Shariff Hamad in the party and government and his down fall.
Co-operation. The Christian lobby was unhappy with Prof. Malima’s appointment. That position was its domain it therefore felt as if it has been locked out.

The Hostile Environment

The powerful Christian lobby detested Prof. Malima. There were three reasons for this: First, while as Minister for Cabinet Affairs and International Co-operation in Mwinyi’s government, Prof. Malima advised President Mwinyi to dislodge the Musoma connection in the office of the president. Musoma is the home area in which Nyerere is hailing from. During his rule Nyerere pointed people from his home area to serve in the office of the president. This was the clique which dominated the office of the president during Nyerere's rule. When he came into office President Ali Hassan Mwinyi maintained the staff which had diligently served his predecessor. This staff could not conform to the new order and there were reports of disrespect, disloyalty, split of allegiance and abuse of trust. Confidential information found their way out of the President’s Office into front pages of the private press. They were able get several confidential memos and exposed them to the public through the press. One can just imagine and speculate the power of the Christian lobby.

Prof. Malima advised Mwinyi to sack the whole lot because they had betrayed the government code of secrecy and have therefore proved to be untrustworthy. President Mwinyi did just that. The lobby knew alone President Mwinyi as a Zanzibari he was careful not to antagonise the status quo and would not have the courage to sack them from the President’s Office. They knew the person responsible for Mwinyi’s decision against them was Prof. Malima. The Christian lobby declared war on Prof. Malima and they vowed to smoke him out from the Office of the President. And to this they were successful when Mwinyi transferred him to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to form Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation. Prof. Malima found himself working out of the President's Office. What prompted or influenced the president to make that decision no one knows but it is known that the lobby with its peculiar means of influencing decisions was responsible for Pro. Malima’s transfer. The Christian lobby can threaten and intimidate without being seen to do that. It needs someone with very strong will power to withstand its force and intrigues. President Mwinyi was in no position to ignore or fight back such power.
Prof. Malima was already getting used to the idea of being unpopular even within his own party and government to the extent that in 1986 he was to face an unsuccessful attempt to nullify his Parliamentary seat in the courts that would automatically disqualify him as cabinet minister. This conspiracy was staged by member of the Central Committee of the party, Paul Sozigwa in collaboration with a member of the National Executive Committee, Masuod Mtandika. This is how the Christian lobby works. If it would have been Sozigwa alone a Catholic, who was plotting against Prof. Malima the picture unfolding would have been much clear to Muslims that of a Christian against a Muslim. But with Masuod together with Sozigwa the picture assumes quite a different posture. Masoud a semi-illiterate power broker does not have the intellect to appreciate the game which is being played. His mind can only understand the rewards to be gotten from false sense of importance and power for undertaking what he believes is a noble battle on behalf of the party. His simple mind cannot distinguish between the party and the Christian lobby. In the court Prof. Malima while responding to a question and seemingly addressing the audience said that Paul Sozigwa hated him for his academic achievements. In other words Prof. Malima was telling Muslims that he was hated because of his qualifications. That kind of education should not have been conferred to a Muslim because the Christian lobby, that is education misplaced.

But what about those educated Muslims in the Christian lobby? Experience has shown that they are used as pawns because of fear. Privately with fellow Muslims they admit that Muslims are being oppressed and therefore have genuine grievances but they argue that Muslims have to fight for their rights in a more ‘civilised and diplomatic manner’ to avoid confrontation with the government. When asked if they fear that they oppose the strategy because Muslims would not be victorious they intelligently agree that under such a strategy history has proved that the oppressed always rejoice over oppressors. But what these privileged Muslims don’t want to admit is the fact that they fear that any civil upheaval would deprive them of the comfort assured them by the status quo.

During the duration of the conflict there were psychological gains in the Muslim camp. For the first time there were overtures from Muslim bureaucrats in the so called sensitive posts wanting to help the movement. These overtures came into the fore at this particular time because Muslim bureaucrats in the party and government came to realise that indeed Tanzania was a Christian state in the making and was not at all secular as the government
wanted people to believe. Opening to the contact between Muslims and their brothers came during the OIC saga in the form of providing privilege information and exchange of strategies with Baraza Kuu on how to deal with the case. During the pork butcheries case Muslims working in government offices and parastatal organisations contributed money for legal aid and support of the victims when they were jailed. Such solidarity had never been seen before. But the most important accomplishment was the breakdown of that psychological barrier where Muslims now discussed their problems with the government and the Church openly and without any fear. Muslims began to talk about translating their feelings into political action.

In the second term of President Mwinyi Muslims were agitating against the government on power distribution between Muslims and Christians. Mwinyi being the first Muslim president in Tanzania, Muslims had hoped he would be bold enough to make changes which would amicably end Christian dominance in the government. Mwinyi as a Zanzibari Muslim thought he was under no obligation to tackle the sensitive problem head-on. Mwinyi had learned through prof. Malima’s crisis in the Ministry of Education that Muslim-Christian problems were issues which should not be put under agenda.

Muslims in Dar es Salaam started a mass exodus from the CCM handing back the party membership cards to a special committee at Mtoro Mosque. This act of withdrawing from the party could be translated into many ways. First it was a show of Muslim anger towards the government. Second it could be translated as an indication that Muslims were withdrawing from the party because the party has been hijacked by Christians and Muslim interest has been displaced. The party was therefore of no use to them. This meant for Muslims to continue membership and to support a party which ignores them was tantamount to accepting their own suppression.

Amidst this conflict between Muslims and the government, it was published by the press that Muslims were to embark on a systematic campaign to elect a Muslim president in the elections of 1995. This in its entirety was a mere psychological warfare leashed by the Christian lobby upon Muslim ministers in the cabinet who anyway were far from Muslim politics. The bombardment from the press and within the Parliament was so overwhelming.

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82 Secretary, Supreme Council of Islamic Organisations and Institutions of Tanzania to All Muslims, 18 January, 1995.
to those Muslims ministers allegedly mentioned by Muslims as possible presidential candidates that they had to stand up in the Parliament as Muslims to deny their capability to lead the country and disassociate themselves from the Muslim movement. Prof. Malima refused to be humiliated, he was of the opinion that the move by Muslim ministers was uncalled for and unnecessary. To him Muslim ministers were just as qualified as any Christian to aspire for the presidency. His signature was not among those which Muslim ministers issued to the press as binding document of their commitment not to aspire for the highest office in the country. Jakaya Kikwete was among the signatories. We will return to Kikwete later. Soon after this proclamation, the bombardment from the press from the Christian lobby in the Parliament subsided.

The Marginalisation of Muslims in the Ministry of Education

To understand the problem of Muslim stagnation in education we need to go back to the history of Islam and its relation with missionaries and colonialism. When colonialists and missionaries set foot in the East African coast their main aim was to wipe out Islam. Muslims in the East African coast which was then known as Zanj had their first glimpse of what Christianity was all about in 1498 with the arrival of the Portuguese. In 1567 Augustinian order was established in the East African coast to counter the influence of Islam so that Christianity becomes the religion of the whole world. Cardinal Lavigirie founded The White Fathers the Catholic institution whose purpose was and still is to counter Islam. 83 About the same time period Church Missionary Society (CMS) imposed upon itself the duty to deliver the world from Islam, ignorance and darkness. 84 The White fathers are in Tanzania and are still involved in the work which brought them to the country more than a hundred years ago.

When the Germans first arrived in Tanganyika they found Muslim already literate, they could read write and count. The missionary Ludwig Krapf when he arrived at the court of Chief Kimweri of the Sambaa in 1848 he found him and his children literate. They could read and write with ease. 85 The medium of instruction was through the Arabic script. Being literate Muslims were employed by the German colonial government as teachers, interpreters and administrators. Missionaries and colonialists were envious of

the level of educational advancement and the culture of Muslims. The institution responsible for all this excellence and achievement was the madras. They initiated plans to subvert all this progress.

The Arabic script which was in use was abrogated by the British in favour of the Roman script at the turn of this century. By a stroke of a pen people who were educated were overnight reduced to illiterates. All these machinations against Muslim were part of a systematic campaign as provided in article IV of the Berlin Conference of 1884 which stated that Christianity should be safeguarded and given special preference over Islam. Between 1888-1892 in compliance with that article as agreed in the Berlin Conference, Imperial British East Africa Company used political and military force to prop up Christianity in East Africa. The vacuum created by the abrogation of Muslim education was filled with missionary education in Tanganyika with the British colonial government as the overseer. The Church has been making propaganda that it was itself which laid down the first foundation of education in Tanganyika. The truth is that the missionaries followed the madras education system and the teachers they employed in their schools were Muslims who were not products of missionaries but of madras. Abel Ishuwi, an educationists has revealed this fact in his work, *Education and Social Change*, (1980).

Realising the importance of education Muslims initiated their own schools under colonialism. These came to be known as Muslim schools. Where as missionary schools were being provided with assistance by the government known as *Grant-in-Aid*, this privilege was denied to Muslim schools. Mission schools were well equipped and could afford well trained teachers. It was therefore impossible for schools run by Muslims to compete with missionary schools. Muslims therefore were the most oppressed people by colonialism compared to other communities. The propaganda being spread far and wide by enemies of Islam in Tanzania is that Muslims do not value education and that is why they lag behind is false and malicious.

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TANU was therefore committed to justice and equality to all and this was its main doctrine during the struggle for independence. In 1962 Nyerere as president of the country realising on the problem of imbalances between different communities had this to say to the Parliament:

There is no quick way to cancel out the present difference between our African and non-African citizens; there is no easy way to remove the existing disparity in education between Christians and Muslims, or between the educated few and the majority of our people; there is no short cut by which the Masai and the Wagogo can become Wahaya and Wachagga and Wanyakusya.\(^8\)

Among the disadvantaged groups were Muslims, Masai, Barabaig, Wamang’ati and Wahzabe. Nyerere was confirming the fact that colonialism had severely oppressed certain communities and benefited others in Tanganyika particularly in education. It was therefore imperative that his government redresses the anomaly in free Tanganyika. Nyerere chose to issue this statement in Parliament to give it a force of law.

In 1976 TANU having realised that women were disadvantaged just like Muslims and other tribes passed a resolution which favoured them in university admission.\(^9\) TANU Central Committee supported the proposal and the National Executive Committee endorsed it. This was positive discrimination. The party was discriminating men in favour of women so that they too progress with the rest of the population. The Party had from the beginning of independence a deliberate policy of uplifting communities which due to colonialism were left to stagnate. The government soon after independence effected policies to develop those tribes. But did nothing to elevate Muslims.

In 1987 Prof. Malima became the first Muslim Minister of Education. This ministry had consistently been under a Christian minister since independence in 1961. There were accusations that the ministry was a Christian stronghold particularly when at one time a pastor was appointed minister to head the ministry. When Professor Malima became

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\(^9\) See *Maamuzi Yasiyotekelezwa ya TANU na ASP*, Makao Makuu ya CCM, Dodoma, p. 80.
minister of education he thought it was imperative that some changes be effected in the ministry to win back the confidence of Muslims. There were accusations that the ministry was discriminating against Muslim youths barring them from higher institutions of learning and was frustrating career advancement of Muslims functionaries in the ministry.

Table 5
University of Dar es Salaam Student Enrolment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Christians</th>
<th>Muslims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1985/86</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986/87</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988/89</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989/90</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Research Data

Table 6
Muslim and Christian Appointments in the Ministry of Education 1961-1989

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Muslim Directors</th>
<th>Christian Commissioners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commissioners 1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim Directors</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Directors</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Research Data

Prof. Malima found out that professionalism and objective decision making had long been forgotten in the ministry. Examinations were marked using candidates actual names instead of numbers as is the norm the world over. This created an environment in which it was easy for Christian candidates to be favoured. Prof. Malima also found that Muslim
functionaries were barred from promotions. Prof. Malima had to rectify the discrepancies at the ministry. First he promoted three Muslims whose promotions were long overdue after retiring three Christians whose retirement was long overdue. Prof. Malima also promoted a Muslim to the post of commissioner. This change made the balance of distribution of top post at the ministry between Muslims and Christians to stand at 30% to 70% scales still tipping in favour of Christians.

Yet inspite of this imbalance Christians in the ministry complained that Prof. Malima’s promotions were religiously motivated. Prof. Malima found out that the population of Muslim students in primary school was more than 50% but they were few in secondary schools. He realised something must be seriously wrong and he therefore directed that examinations numbers should be used in marking examinations. After these changes the number of Muslims students admitted to secondary schools increased by forty percent. Prof. Malima fears were confirmed that there was cheating in the ministry. And that kind of cheating was worse than ordinary cheating. Those who were playing that kind of game were poising to put the country in a dangerous path which could coast the nation dearly.

Prof. Malima wrote a confidential report to the President on the state of affairs he had found in the ministry. In that report Prof. Malima mentioned the stagnation of Muslims and women in education. Prof. Malima warned that if this problem was not solved it was going to create problems to the country in the future. Prof. Malima’s report got leaked to the press. This letter by Prof. Malima made him a hero to his own people and a villain to the establishment and to the most fervent enemies of Islam in Tanzania. There was panic in the ministry.

It is said that among those who received the report was the former Vice-President and Prime Minister Joseph Warioba. It was obvious that Nyerere was monitoring President Mwinyi in everything he did. To be able to do what he did Nyerere had to have people deep inside President Mwinyi’s establishment. Nyerere and Warioba were outraged by the letter and tried to have him sacked from the government and party in the same style which ousted Jumbe four years earlier. But this time the issue on the agenda was more sensitive and transparent then was the case with Aboud Jumbe which was covered by political

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intrigues. Muslims were following closely Prof. Malima’s fight against the Christian bastion with great interest.

Persecution

Prof. Malima had said something which was gnawing Muslims for many years. Muslims supported him. This support by Muslims increased hatred against him from the Christian camp.

The Christian lobby felt doubly threatened. Already there was tension between Muslims and Christians. With Prof. Malima heading the ministry it could not have the free hand it once enjoyed. A campaign of hate and misinformation against Prof. Malima was unleashed by the press. Prof. Malima was branded a Muslim ‘fundamentalist,’ accused of religious intolerance and excessive partisanship. President Mwinyi instead of directing the government to investigate the problem of Muslim being purposely denied opportunities he referred the issue to the Party for discussion. This issue went before the Party in Dodoma under the chairmanship of Mwalimu Nyerere for discussion.

The Christian lobby in the CCM wanted Prof. Malima to be ousted from the party. Nyerere clever as he is objected to that decision. He knew that to expel Prof. Malima for speaking on behalf of Muslims would make him an instant hero in the eyes of Muslims and if that happens CCM had no means to deal with such kind of a situation. When the issue went before CCM instead of discussing Malima’s report and find solution to the Muslim stagnation, the victim and not the perpetrator of the crime was put on trial by the party. The party did not want to discuss Prof. Malima’s report which centred on Muslim’s stagnation. CCM was only keen to discuss Prof. Malima. President Mwinyi succumbed to the powerful Christian lobby.

This was the first time the Church through the Christian lobby intervened openly to protest on Muslim appointments. The Christian lobby put forward a proposal that Prof. Malima be expelled from the CCM. In his defence Prof. Malima stood to what he had written in his letter to the president. Prof. Malima’s defence was that never had Muslims questioned promotions of Christians why should the Church interfere in his appointments and in his report to the president. Strangely, Nyerere blasted those who were condemned
Prof. Malima. He told them that the Church had its own way for too long and it was high time it prepared its followers for changes. Nevertheless Nyerere who had become president behind the president ordered him removed from the Ministry of Education. Prof. Malima was found to have overstepped the norms built in the ministry for many years and was therefore relieved of his post and President Mwinyi appointed Amrani Mayagila in his place.

This is how unconsciously Muslims are made to conform with the wishes of the Christian lobby. If President Mwinyi would have appointed a Christian to succeed Prof. Malima he would have pulled the carpet under the lobby’s feet. That act would have given Muslims more fuel to fan the fire against the Church. But by appointing a weak Muslim to the post he had given the impression that the ministry was still under a Muslim minister while in fact it was not. All decisions were done by the lobby as evidenced by the decisions which were passed to reverse all achievements gained under Prof. Malima.  

Muslims who were following Prof. Malima’s “trial” could not tell whether Mayagila the new Minister of Education was a Muslim or a Christian. It was only after a lot of enquiries that they came to confirm that Mayagila was after all and indeed a Muslim. His fellow Muslims in the party and government were terrified of Nyerere and decided to remain uncommitted to the Muslim problem, yet privately they admitted that what Prof. Malima was saying was true. Prof. Malima did not write that report to the president because of hatred to Christians much as he did not join TANU because he hated the British. TANU fought for independence because it is the right of all people to be free from foreign domination. Prof. Malima wrote that report because he had seen a cherished principle being violated. It is imperative of any government to do justice to all its citizens. Prof. Malima report and the decision taken against him had confirmed one thing, that is, Muslims were second class citizens in their own country. The question was who was preventing justice to be done and for whose interest?

Having realised that it was the Church’s pressure on President Mwinyi which precipitated the decision to remove Prof. Malima from the Ministry of Education, various Muslim organisations pressed on BAKWATA to prepare a memorandum to the government on

91 After the removal of Prof. Malima from the ministry the ministry reverted back into marking examination using names of candidates instead of numbers. Muslim student admission to secondary school once again dwindled.
education disparity between Muslims and Christians and to support Prof. Malima on the issue. This advise was ignored by BAKWATA. Muslims were enraged by the apathy of BAKWATA and word was passed around that BAKWATA should be overthrown at whatever cost and by all means to save Muslims from perpetual bondage. WARSHA sent a petition to the Speaker of National Assembly to look into Muslim marginalisation in education. Pamphlet and leaflets were distributed throughout the country calling upon Muslims to raise against the puppet leadership of BAKWATA even at the point of defying the government. In avoiding to deal with problems affecting Muslims BAKWATA had denied its own existence and losing credibility fast. BAKWATA soon became emasculated failing to control events and politics involving Muslims.

President Mwinyi transferred Prof. Malima to a newly created all powerful National Planning Commission as Vice-Chairman and Minister of State President’s Office with President Mwinyi himself as the Chairman and Prof. Malima as his deputy. Working under Prof. Malima were three commissioners who were senior figures in the party and government, Pius Msekwa who was Deputy Speaker, Mustapha Nyanganyi, long time cabinet minister, Damas Mbogoro, new comer in the cabinet, and Colonel Nsa Kaisi Regional Commissioner in various instances. Secretary to the Commission was Fulgence Kazaura an experienced civil servant and former diplomat. Leading such a prestigious institution, the historical setting of the appointment and the personalities under his leadership did no harm to Prof. Malima’s political carrier. The Christian lobby felt let down by President Mwinyi.

All types of stories were published by the private as well as party and government papers against Prof. Malima but the persecution took a more vicious form when President Mwinyi appointed him Minister of Finance in May, 1992. Mwinyi had offered the portfolio to Prof. Malima earlier but had refused preferring to remain in the Planning Commission. The press accused President Mwinyi of picking up a Muslim Minister for Finance as he had done for no other reason but his Islamic credentials. The press failed to inform readers that Prof. Malima was the most qualified Minister for Finance who had ever been appointed to the post in the history of Tanzania. The Christian lobby failed to mention that his predecessor the late Steven Kibona was not only a student of Prof.

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92 Warsha ya Waandishi wa Kiislam, “Hoja ya kuchunguza Dhulma Dhidi ya Waislam wa Tanzania Katika Elimu,” 18 Julai, 1991,
Malima at Dar es Salaam University but was also far less qualified and experienced in matters of government business, finance and the management of such. The press did not tell is readers that President Mwinyi had appointed Kibona Minister for Finance in March 1990, because he was a Roman Catholic. It was only when a Muslim Professor of Economics was appointed Minister of Finance that it became an issue notwithstanding his qualifications.\(^{93}\)

**Resignation from the Party and Government: The tax Exemptions Saga**

On 1 June 1992 Prof. Malima entered the Treasury as Minister of Finance. In the same month during his first Budget Speech as Minister of Finance Prof. Malima proposed abolition of tax exemption.\(^{94}\) This was in response to Mtei’s Commission which recommended such action. Prof. Malima had also come to realise that the tax exemptions were being abused and the country was losing revenue. But the Parliament refused to support his recommendations and tax exemptions continued to be given. Again Prof. Malima during the Budget session in June 1994, he proposed to the Parliament that authority to issue tax exemptions was too diversified and should vest on sole authority of the Minister for Finance. Prof. Malima went further to propose that tax exemptions including those under Investment Promotion Centre (IPC) under George Kahama should also be abolished except those from religious organisations and embassies.\(^{95}\) The Parliament passed these recommendations in record time of three days instead of seven. His enemies cried out that Prof. Malima was trying to gather power for himself. However sense prevailed and the bill passed through.

\(^{93}\) Prof. Malima while Minister of Finance was accused of favouring Muslims in his appointments when he recommended Dr. Idris Rashid for the post of Governor of the Central Bank despite of Dr. Idris’s qualifications as a bank director and Ph D holder in economics. Never had the bank had a governor as qualified as Dr. Idris.

\(^{94}\) Tax exemptions were introduced by Cleopa David Msuya then Minister of Finance in 1986/97. His predecessor in 1990 Steven A. Kibona continued with tax exemptions.

\(^{95}\) Exemptions by the IPC were abused. It was passing tax exemptions on items such as cars, luxury goods food stuffs etc. which did not qualify. Initially all tax exemptions by the IPC had to be approved by the Minister of Finance. In May 1992 the statute for establishing the IPC was amended so that it was not mandatory for IPC tax exemptions to be approved by the Minister of Finance. Between July and September 1994 tax exemptions amounted to shs billion 19.36. IPC passed exemptions amounting to shs billion 11.61 equivalent of 60% of all tax exemptions given. Tax exemptions for raw material for industries was shs. 3.3 billion equivalent to 17.1% while exemptions for Registered Dealers Certificate (RDC) was 3.04 billion equivalent to 15.7%. This was in actual fact not tax exemption but deferred tax. See Bahari, “Taarifa Maalum,” Juni 14-18, 1995.
A month later when Prof. Malima was outside the country, the cabinet was urgently convened on 15 July, 1995 under pressure from the Prime Minister, John Malecela with the support of other four senior ministers and overturned the decision passed by the Parliament only the previous month. The IPC was given back its powers to pass tax exemptions. When Prof. Malima returned to the country two days after the cabinet meeting had reversed the decision by the Parliament, he warned President Mwinyi of the consequences of going against the Parliament first as a peoples' representative and wishes of the donor community. It is not as if the President was not fully aware of the significance of the Parliament, far from that he fully understood the meaning of cabinet’s capitulation. The problem was that there was other interest in the decision far removed from national interest. And that interest involved the powerful and the untouchables Christian lobby. The president in absence of Prof. Malima had no muscle to withstand their power.

The President reconvened and sat for four days. Prof. Malima withstood all bombardment and defended the earlier decision passed by the Parliament. After debating for four days, the cabinet reverted to the initial decision, the one upheld by the Parliament. Prof. Malima walked out of the cabinet meeting with triumph. When the ground was level no one could beat Prof. Malima, at least not in matters of economic policy. Interesting is the fact that although the Parliament was aware that the cabinet had breached its powers by rescinding an earlier decision of the august body there are no records which indicates that it took the government to task for that violation. The act of the government to interfere with the budget which had already been passed by the Parliament was an act of insurbodination. The Christian lobby can get away with anything. The target was to get Prof. Malima nothing else mattered.

The going was proving to be too difficult for anti-Malima Christian lobby. The Christian lobby finally decided to that something must be done to stop Prof. Malima’s seeming invincibility. A strategy was laid out and it was to require major help from everyone who could take part actively including those who were apparently Prof. Malima allies. These were to be made to sway to the enemy camp. A fellow Muslim\textsuperscript{96} was recruited by the

\textsuperscript{96} The Muslim was a prominent businessman and Chairman of a financial institution appointed by Prof. Malima. He was in 1998 appointed minister in President Mkapa’s government following government reshuffle.
Christian lobby to lead a campaign to raise panic in the donor community due to failure to reach targeted revenue collections which was to be blamed solely on Prof. Malima.

Internal subversion on Prof. Malima was overwhelming. His subordinates in the Treasury turned against him and joined the crusade against him. Prof. Malima had to go by whatever means.

In utter desperation the Christian lobby with the help of senior officials in the ministry stoop as low as to steal the 1994 Ministry of Finance Budget speech before it was presented to the Parliament by Prof. Malima. The day before the budget speech the conspirators locked themselves in a hotel room in the city centre coaching each other on how to tackle Prof. Malima the following day. Reflecting on the stolen budget speech Prof. Malima said that the moment the lobby began commenting on his speech he had a vision of marking a paper of dumb students who had cheated an examination. Malima was always able to hold his own against all that hostile opposition. Prof. Malima was to admit that he very much enjoyed the encounter with the novices. They made his life in Parliament interesting. Privately his opponents admitted that Prof. Malima was a brilliant economist and none of them could fit into his shoes.

The persecution on Prof. Malima would not stop. It continued unabated Malima began to receive threats through the mail which in turn he turned over to the State Intelligence. Naturally nothing came out of it. The Christian lobby organised psychological war against Prof. Malima. His enemies inside the Parliament formed an anti-Malima committee financed and supervised by known personalities inside and outside the House. The campaign entailed organising a group of about 60 to 80 Christian MPs who would jeer at him every time he spoke inside or outside Parliament buildings or during debating of bills that he was supposed to defend. The anti-Malima committee had journalists in its payroll who would in their papers portray Prof. Malima negatively. In desperation the Roman Catholic paper  

97 Prof. Malima has gone on record as the only minister who was able to collect more revenue than his predecessors.
98 The paper wrote that President Ali Hassan Mwinyi was requested to relieve Prof. Malima from his portfolio for presenting a mini-budget to the Parliament arguing that the act was unprecedented. The editor was not aware that mini-budgets were presented in 1978, 1983 and 1987. See Kiongozi Machi 1-15, 1994.
as Minister of Finance. This was a lie. The IMF representative in Tanzania Mr. Elwaleed M. Taha wrote to the editor refuting the story:

"... I wish to inform you that IMF respects the sovereignty of the Government of Republic of Tanzania and is here to work, in an advisory capacity, with public officials. To avoid erroneous reporting about IMF in the future, your reporters are welcome to contact me... I look forward to reading a correction in the next issue."

likewise the Canadian Government made a similar correction to Business Times. None of them was ever published nor did the editors apologised even in private.

It became customary that the anti-Malima committee to meet every time a few weeks before Parliamentary session to prepare ways and means to attack Prof. Malima- and the public waited anxiously for the tussle between Prof. Malima and the Christian lobby.

In November, 1992 the CCM Secretariat asked Prof. Malima as Minister for Finance to authorise an allocation of funds to the CCM National Conference. The amount required was 350 million shillings. Prof. Malima refused to yield to this request by party bureaucrats. Prof. Malima’s stand on the issue was that the government would be setting a dangerous precedent if the Treasury was to positively respond to CCM request, other political parties would also have the right to demand such financial support as granted to CCM. He advised CCM to find its own means to support itself and let national resources be used for socio-economic development. The powerful party bureaucrats was furious and demanded Prof. Malima’s blood. The President had to intervene and Prof. Malima scaled the amount from 350 to 50 million and approved the CCM budget for the party conference. Prof. Malima was contesting for a seat in the National Executive Committee during the conference. The Christian lobby made sure that all the delegates understand that Prof. Malima or the “Second President” as he was now labelled by his enemies was to blame for impoverished conditions of the conference. Prof. Malima lost by a meagre 20 votes.

While Prof. Malima was Minister for Finance he ordered a private toilet to be built in his office to avoid the embarrassment of the Minister and at times his guests to share common toilet. Malima used to offer his prayers in office. It was probably more for this reason that he had the toilet built in his office. In August 1992, The press accused him of building a ‘mosque’ in the Ministry of Finance. The Family Mirror one of the papers under the influence of the lobby and which was very hostile towards Muslims published an article that Prof. Malima had built a mosque in his office at the Ministry of Finance. By any stretch of imagination what Prof. Malima had ordered to be constructed in his office could not qualify for a mosque. What Prof. Malima had ordered to be built into his office was a private toilet to be used by him or any other minister occupying the office because previously the minister had to share toilet facilities with surbodinates. But the private press in its blind fury and hatred against Islam and Muslims could not distinguish between a toilet and a mosque.

Such attacks instead of lowering the stature of Prof. Malima in the eyes of Muslims, raised his stature even higher. Prof. Malima was to comment that it is not that he hates to be associated with building a mosque, his only regrets is that he has not been able to do so and therefore he thought he did not deserve the honour in the compliment. When Malima went to pray to any of the mosques in town he was mobbed by Muslims. In response to these attacks Sheikh Kassim in one of his Friday khutbas warned that, if again false accusations are levelled against Prof. Malima he would lead Muslims in a demonstration against enemies of Islam. From this time Sheikh Kassim also became a target of attack by the press.

Prof. Malima was in London when Ambassador Ali Mchumo informed him that he had received news from home that the President had dissolved the cabinet. Prof. Malima returned home immediately hoping to persuade the President to give him a less demanding job or leave him out of the cabinet altogether. President Mwinyi appointed

1. Prof. Malima was secretary to Parastatal Organisations Committee of the CCM(1977-1982).
2. Secretary Economic Planning and Development Committee of the CCM (1977-1982).
him Minister of Trade and Industries. Prof. Malima was caught in a dilemma. He had hoped the President would have consulted him before appointing him to the post as he used to do whenever he wanted to give any post to him. This time round President Mwinyi did not do so. Had he consulted him on his appointment as Minister of Trade and Industries, Prof. Malima was to say, he would have declined the offer. Was he to decline the post after it had been made public, his enemies would say he was sulking because he had been removed from the Treasury. But all said and done Prof. Malima was a giant. His qualification and experience in finance was second to none in the whole country. This was a fact that even his enemies could not deny and for them to keep into safe grounds they did not dare to venture and question his credentials. His credentials was a go no area. They made deliberate efforts not to antagonise him in that area. Prof. Malima was a person who at times met fire with fire. After being attacked in the papers for his economic policies he remarked that some of those who dared to criticise him were not even qualified to sit in his lectures for economics for under graduates.  

About this time a Muslim newsletter, Al-Bayan which was beginning to gain popularity among Muslims published an article which literally was asking Muslims to convince Prof. Malima to resign from CCM so that they support him for presidential nomination.

During the celebrations of Muharam 1416 A.H (1995). the New Year in the Muslim calendar at Mnazi Mmoja Grounds organised by Muzdalif Muslim Academy under the chairman of Tewa Said Tewa, Sheikhs, Khalifa Hamis his eloquence in full force in his


101 Among his research papers are:


103 Tewa Said Tewa was a member of the TAA and founder member of TANU. He was in the first independence cabinet and was president of the EAMWS Tanzania Council until when it was banned by Julius Nyerere in 1968. Tewa was Tanzania’s first ambassador to the Peoples Republic of China in 1965. He fell out with Nyerere because of his stand on Islam.
khutba to Muslims, drew their attention to the hostility unleashed on Prof. Malima by Christians. Sheikh Khalifa challenged Prof. Malima who was present at the ceremony as a guest of honour, to resign from the CCM and government to lead Muslims in the coming elections. In similar Muslim occasions Muslims had come out to ask Prof. Malima to resign from the CCM and lead Muslim movement. Chief Abdallah Said Fundikira was the first Muslim leader to come out openly to invite Prof. Malima to lead his party the UMD. It is said it was one of the leaders of Muzdalifia who first approached Prof. Malima with a serious offer asking him to resign from the CCM and lead a political party of his own.

There were calls from Muslim to Prof. Malima to resign from CCM and lead Muslims from bondage. The Christian lobby approached President Mwinyi and advised him to send him out of the country because he was becoming influential and popular among his own people. President Mwinyi agreed to the proposal. On 17 February, 1995 during the Holy Month of Ramadhan President Mwinyi summoned Prof. Malima and informed him of his decision to appoint him ambassador to Brussels or Geneva depending on his preferences. He was told to decide which of the two places he wanted to go. It is not difficult to understand why the Christian lobby wanted Prof. Malima out of the country at that particular time.

On the morning of 9th March, 1995 at around 08:45 hrs a few minutes before president Mwinyi was to leave for state visit to Copenhagen Prof. Malima went to the State House and handed over his resignation. The president was puzzled and became defensive. The president shocked, told Prof. Malima that probably they had both failed to communicate very well and that maybe Prof. Malima should reconsider his resignation. Prof. Malima insisted that when the president got back he would have packed and left. Over breakfast the president pleaded with him not to do anything which might have drastic consequences.

Prof. Malima knew that the President was worried about the reaction of Muslims towards his resignation. President Mwinyi knew his government did not have the capacity to handle the anger of Muslims. That would have put him in a difficult situation in deed. As it was the Muslim-Christian hostility were fever pitch. Mwinyi now found himself vulnerable from both sides. He was unpopular with the powerful Christian lobby who
were sending signals to him as to what he would have to face after his retirement while at the same time he had lost the support of Muslims. But to understand this we have to learn of the Muslim attempts for change through political means. Muslims were now treating Prof. Malima as their leader, someone who had the guts to stand against Christian establishment in the government.

Prof. Malima saw through the scheme of his opponents. President Mwinyi had consulted Cleopa Msuya and John Malecela on Prof. Malima’s letter of resignation and the two told the President not to allow Prof. Malima to resign because that would anger Muslims. Malecela being the First Vice-President was sure he would succeed President Mwinyi and since he had the ambition to become the next president he knew somewhere in his race to the top post, he would need the support of Muslims. Msuya had his eye on the premiership and he too because of that ambition did not want Prof. Malima to resign for the same reason. On the other hand Mwinyi was convinced that Malecela would succeed him and for that matter his safety after he retired would be solely in the hands of Malecela and Msuya and for that reason he had to be nice to them so that they look at him with a kind heart when he was out of power.

It will be remembered that Prof. Malima had submitted his resignation in March when President Mwinyi was leaving for Copenhagen. Upon his return Mwinyi was silent on Prof. Malima’s letter of resignation. Three days letter after his return, on Sunday 19 March, 1995 following a cabinet meeting President Mwinyi summoned him at 14:30 hrs and President Mwinyi flatly refused to accept Prof. Malima’s resignation. Mwinyi told him that the Muslim community would not forgive him for allowing him to resign because of pressure from Christians. President Mwinyi had Malecela and Msuya in mind. At the same time the president was guarding himself from the wrath of Muslims. Suddenly an amicable co-operation was booming towards the two President Mwinyi was now increasingly bending over to backwards to Malecela and Msuya. Prof. Malima obliged and waited.

Soon after Prof. Malima left for Mecca to perform the annual pilgrimage. In Mecca Prof. Malima met with different Muslim personalities from home and other parts of the world. President Mwinyi was also in Mecca and he took the opportunity of the tranquillity of the holy place to discuss with him serious issues which faced Muslims in Tanzania at the
face of Christian hegemony. Prof. Malima was to admit to his close confidants that he was convinced that President Mwinyi was weak but not malicious he just did not have what it takes to confront the Christian lobby. One afternoon they sat alone in the presidential suite in one of the holiest places in Islam, Mina. Prof. Malima was to confide to his close associate that he thought being at such a holy place would be the right place and setting to discuss and bury their differences. Prof. Malima informed the president of all his plans and his wish to contest for the presidency of the country in the forthcoming multi-party elections and he hoped President Mwinyi would do everything in his powers to ensure continuity of a Muslim president capable of breaking the Christian hegemony in Tanzania. The president sat and listened all the details, strategies and plans which Prof. Malima and his allies were building up for the forthcoming elections. The president was amazed by the ingenuity of Prof. Malima. They agreed to draw up a strategy based on development as they were finding them back home. The conversation went so well that he actually thought that they were having genuine conversation like the old days before the president had shifted his allegiance from his as his confidant to Malecela and Msuya. Prof. Malima was wrong.

But to be able to understand the mechanisms of power acquisition in Tanzania elections particularly presidential election we need to appreciate the significance of the Muslim vote. Muslims being the majority hold more than fifty per cent of the votes. To get a clear picture of this one need to revisit how elections have been conducted in the country. The Muslim vote is the vote which can make or break efforts to acquire the highest post in the country. This has a history going back to 1958 when TANU under Julius Nyerere was struggling for independence from the British. The country voted in the parliament elections the first time in 1958. The Muslim vote was very important though at that time religion had no significance due to the fact that there was no contradictions whatsoever among the people. The enemy which all Africans wanted to get rid of was colonialism and whoever wanted to infuse Muslims sentiments even in good faith as to want balance of power between Muslims and Christians was seen as a dangerous enemy who had to be confronted and fought as severely as the British. A group of Muslims who believed in sharing of power between Muslims and Christians resigned from TANU and registered a political party, the All Muslim National Union of

105 There was quite a sizeable number of CCM members who had secretly paid allegiance to Prof. Malima in what they perceived his search for justice.
Tanganyika (AMNUT) but died a natural death for lack of support from Muslims. At that time there was strong solidarity between Muslims and Christians and Muslims saw no reason to support AMNUT which was seen as a divisive. Such a party was perceived as dangerous to national unity.

Apart from the short period at the turn of the century during German rule, when Muslims rose up in arms against Germany colonial government in 1905, and the period between 1929 and 1961 when Muslims mobilised themselves as a distinct group to confront the British in the independence struggle, there are no records which shows that Muslims have, under independence government, organised themselves as a distinct class under Islam as an ideology to oppose the government of the day.106

In 1995 Muslims were facing a different scenario altogether. They had come to realise albeit too late that Christianity had overtime transformed itself into a colonial entity of sorts. It had replaced colonialism and they had remained as subserviants as they were under the British. They believed a Muslim political party could be the solution to their problems. This time for the first time in the history of Tanzania religion was to become decisive in electing the president and members of parliament. Muslims had lost faith and hope to any government led by a Christian. As the country was moving towards multi-party democracy it was obvious that religion would occupy centre stage. In a paper presented at symposium organised by Society for International Development (Tanzania Chapter), Mwapachu had this to say:

...Parliamentary and presidential elections are coming at a time when a state of disunity and social fragmentation is creeping into the national body politic. This disheartening environment is threatening the solidarity, peace and tranquillity which Tanzania has enjoyed since attaining political independence in December, 1961.107

This is the position and philosophy prevalent in the psychology of Tanzania intellectuals. They do not want to go behind the veil and uncover why Muslims are agitating against the

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government. The analysis of these intellectuals does not transcend beyond the past history of Tanzania’s tranquility. Even from few Muslim intellectuals like Mwapachu, who being a Muslim should have a different perception of the problem, their analyses is not different from non Muslims. Most of Muslim intellectuals are so removed from the political realities of the Muslim plight to the extent that they perceive any effort by Muslims to challenge the status quo as violent politics against the government which would end in a social upheaval. The fact that there is imbalance between Muslims and Christians which is the source of conflict is completely disregarded. President Mwinyi was not oblivious to these realities. He knew Prof. Malima had the support of Muslims and should he resign from the CCM to lead Muslims the country would face a Muslim awakening never experienced in its thirty-one years of independence.

The President also knew the Christian lobby loathed Prof. Malima and would do anything just anything to destroy him and any who supported him. President Mwinyi knew Muslims were only waiting for a leader to come and free them from bondage and at long last that leader had come. The President knew Muslims hold more than fifty per cent of the votes but for Prof. Malima to get those votes he would have to convince Muslims that they can vote themselves out of bondage by a stroke of a pen or they can vote themselves into continuing bondage by not voting for him. The President knew much as the Christian lobby knew that Prof. Malima was a very brave man and was capable of mobilising Muslims behind him. The President shuddered even to think about the coming election with Prof. Malima confronting the Christian lobby with the support of Muslims behind him. There is no single leader is not scared by such a scenario. President Mwinyi was of no exception. He knew chickens were about to come home to roost.

President Mwinyi retreated. He became terrified of the possibility of the Mina plan to leak to the Christian lobby. Lest he should be called to account for that he thought it wise to reveal the Mina plan to them. President Mwinyi called upon Malecela and Msuya and informed them of the Mina plan. Thereafter he called Prof. Malima and told him that he thought it was no longer a good idea for him to pursue the Mina plan together. Not even the Holy and beautiful setting of the holy land and the support shown by Muslims for change could prevent President from compromising with the Christian lobby. Even as President Mwinyi was disassociating himself from the Muslim movement the Christian lobby was setting up strategy to encounter Prof. Malima’s impending announcement as
presidential candidate and kill the Muslim movement in the bud. The plan to finish Prof. Malima would arrive in the form of what came to be known as ‘tax aversion scandal’ which *Family Mirror* reported, “Prof. Malima personally benefited from dubious transactions leading to the loss of billions of shillings in government revenue.” The government moved to probe into the “scandal.”

Mohamed Aboud, Auditor Exchequer and Auditor General compiled what came to be known as Presidential Probe Report which implicated Prof. Malima in tax exemptions. This report was submitted to the Minister of Finance Kikwete. President Mwinyi called Prof. Malima on Monday of the same week which the report was submitted and informed him that Kikwete and Aboud had presented to him a report which was extremely damaging to him. Prof. Malima was presented with a copy which he took home. He called back President Mwinyi and informed him that the report was full of lies and he was ready to provide the truth to all the allegations levelled against him in detail. This was a game which Prof. Malima had excelled. Throughout his political carrier and since he stood up to challenge the Christian lobby in the government. He had got used to lies being hurled against him and consequently to provide definite answers to them. The Christian lobby being aware of Prof. Malima’s ability of elaboration of details and with precision and with his gift of retention of facts and figures and of his command of both languages that is Kiswahili and English was scared he would ridicule them both in the cabinet and in Parliament.

On 8 June, 1994, Kikwete called a press conference and attacked Prof. Malima for poor administrative policies and for contravening tax exemptions. The press was in frenzy believing that now it had Prof. Malima where it wanted him. This was the kind of material

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108 It was reported in the press including government (*Daily News*) and party (*Uhuru*) dailies that Prof. incorrectly advised president Mwinyi to pay USD 12 million as compensation to one H.P. Steyn for property acquired by the government in 1992. The truth of the matter is that the property was acquired as per Acquisition and Transfer of Management Act. No. 20 of 1980. Section 11 of the provides for compensation. Interesting is the fact that five members in the Christian lobby had by dubious means appropriated 2000 hectares of Steyn’s farm (Laigwan Ranch). The decision by the government to pay compensation and return part of the land to Steyn threatened the interest of those members.

109 Between July and September 1994 tax exemptions amounted to shs billion 19.36 was passed. IPC passed exemptions amounting to shs billion 11.61 equivalent of 60% of all tax exemptions given. Tax exemptions for raw material for industries was shs. 3.3 billion equivalent to 17.1% while exemptions for Registered Dealers Certificate (RDC) was 3.04 billion equivalent to 15.7% but this was in actual fact not tax exemption but deferred tax. See *Bahari*, “Taarifa Maalum,” Juni 14-18, 1995.
which you could sell papers with for days. Prof. Malima was full aware of the kind of game which was being played between the President, Kikwete and the press. He knew all the three parties were dancing to the tune of the Christian lobby. He too, had his own plan.

On 5 June, Prof. Malima had drafted his resignation letter and in the afternoon of 8 June, after Kikwete’s press conference, he redrafted his resignation and wrote his Press statement. The following morning President Mwinyi called and told him that it was time he resigned. Prof. Malima reminded the president that he had wanted to resign since March, and had stopped him. President Mwinyi told him that Kikwete’s stand and the press was too much for him to bear. He told Prof. Malima that he knew in his heart of hearts that all that was said about him were lies but the pressure upon him was unbearable. Prof. Malima had enough of the president. He handed him his letter of resignation and copy of the Press statement. President Mwinyi refused his letter of resignation and would only accept it minus the Press statement. President Mwinyi was shocked in what he found Prof. Malima’s statement to the press. Prof. Malima was opening a new front. If that information becomes public he would have to form a probe committee to investigate the facts. The government at that particular time was in no condition to face Prof. Malima and his Muslim supporters. The easy way out for president Mwinyi was to gag Prof. Malima. By refusing the Press statement, Prof. Malima was being denied the right of being heard. People were being denied the right to know the other side of the story. The following day on Friday, President Mwinyi accepted Prof. Malima’s resignation. Finally, and at long last, Prof. Malima was out of the cabinet after 15 years in the government. The Christian lobby had scored their first goal against Pro. Malima.

Attempts for a “Muslim” Political Party: In Search of the Muslim Vote

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110 The Press statement among other issues would have analysed tax exemptions given by Prof. Malima vis-à-vis that approved by Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete, the new Minister of Finance with facts and figures. Kikwete in one month and in one single exemption he had approved 1.5 billion for Sheraton Hotel, ten times as much in comparison of what Prof. Malima approved in thirty months. The Press statement would have also dealt with the problem of compensation to Steyn and the acquisition of Laigwan Ranch by the five members of the Christian lobby which was public property, and more. Please refer to above footnote. One of members of the Christian lobby then a minister was dropped in President Mkapa’s cabinet but was appointed to the cabinet in September, 1998.
Christians having being privileged by successive government beginning with Julius Nyerere to Ali Hassan Mwinyi found themselves in situation where they controlled the government and all its institutions. Among them were thirteen political parties, non-government organisations (NGOs) and the mass-media both state owned and private. Thirteen political parties were registered almost all of them with Christian leadership with the exception of United Movement for Democracy (UMD) which was led by Chief Abdallah Said Fundikira, a Chief of the Nyanyembe and one time Nyerere’s adversary. These political parties did not make any effort to try to understand the current religious tension, or come to terms with Muslims. The only matter they were interested in was to attract Muslim support because in Tanzania no party can win election without Muslim support. All those parties including the ruling party CCM, knew it would be the vital Muslim vote which would decide who and which party forms the next government.

There were conflict between Muslims and the government. During the duration of the conflict there were psychological gains in Muslim camp. For the first time there were overtures from Muslim bureaucrats in the so called sensitive posts wanting to help the movement. These overtures came into the fore at this particular time because Muslim bureaucrats in the party and government had come to realise that indeed Tanzania was a Christian and was not at all secular as the state wanted people to believe. Opening to the contact between Muslims and their brothers came during the OIC saga in the form of providing privilege information and exchange of strategies with Baraza Kuu on how to deal with the case. The forty one Muslims MPs from the Mainland together with fifty-five members from Zanzibar failed to defend Zanzibar’s position on the OIC crisis nor challenge Vatican’s accreditation to Tanzania. The OIC saga which nearly had the president from Zanzibar impeached for allegedly “breaching the constitution.” Muslims began to talk about translating their feelings into political action. Muslims felt let down by their politicians. There was also information that the Christian lobby working overtime was persuading the government to re-establish diplomatic relations with Israel broke since 1967 following the six-day war while at the same time stalling relations with the government of Saudi Arabia.

111 In the Union Parliament (comprising members from Tanganyika and Zanzibar) out of a total of 168 seats for the Mainland, Muslims occupied 41 seats (24.4%). 55 separate seats were held by Zanzibar which is predominantly Muslim. Among cabinet ministers in the government, only 4 were Muslims (22.2%). Among 12 Junior Ministers, 2 were Muslims. Among 19 principal Secretaries in the government 3 were Muslims. Among 20 Regional Commissioners in the government only 5 were Muslims (25%). Among 118 District Commissioners only 8 were Muslims (6%).
The Christian lobby confidence in parliament had grown so much that Basil Mramba, a senior cabinet minister called for abrogation of *sharia* and also requested the government to ban the calling of *adhana* through loud speakers. Strange is the fact that the honourable minister was coming from an area where Muslims were a minority and there was no adhana to disturb the peace of his constituency. The Parliament was being manipulated by the Christian lobby to spread anti-Islam propaganda. The Church warned of “Muslim fundamentalism. Nothing than that could have proved the fact that there was a serious conflict between the government, Church and Muslims on the role of Christianity in Tanzania’s political system. Slowly but steadily Tanzania was moving towards a serious religious conflict. *The Hansard* recorded that there is a section of the population which was not tolerant towards Islam and have shown their feelings in the law making body.”

Muslims did not have then nor do they have now institutions or manpower to match Christian establishment and the anti-Muslim propaganda. Muslims forming most of the uneducated have failed to produce a middle class which could have cushioned the bombardment from Christian intellectuals and fairly and clearly put across in right perspective Muslim grievances. This could have at least establish a channel of communication and understanding between Muslims and the government. The government though pretending to be secular its actions has proved overtime that it perceived Islam as a major threat, barbaric, archaic and therefore has no place in the country. The government perceive Christianity as synonymous to western values and therefore progressive and relevant to Tanzania including Zanzibar which is hundred percent Muslim. In defiance Muslims organised themselves in vigilante groups. While the Church is subtle in its campaign Muslims responded overly using the pulpit, the audio cassette and the only Muslim weekly paper, *An-nnur* calling upon Muslim throughout the country to demand restoration of their rights.

Muslims began to demand the re-establishment of *kadhi*, incorporation of *sharia* in the judicial system and equal distribution of power between Muslims and Christians. Stability and national unity which used to be the hallmark of Tanzania became history. Unique in Tanzania’s politics is the fact that tribalism which is a problem in many African countries is not a threat of unity in the country. Islam having established itself for over a thousand years and survived many years of colonialism has de-tribalised Muslims. The country
having more than 120 ethnic groupings and because of its Muslim majority Muslim identify themselves by their faith rather than by tribe. And due to the fact that all Muslim have Kiswahili as the mother tongue this has further consolidated Muslim unity.

Muslims realising that the government was not even handed Muslims were mobilised in Dar es Salaam and a mass exodus from the CCM began. Muslims surrendered CCM membership cards to Mtoro Mosque. This act of withdrawing from the party could be translated into many ways. First it was a show of Muslim anger towards the government. Second it could be translated as an indication that Muslims were withdrawing from the party because the party has been hijacked by Christians and Muslim interest has been displaced. Muslims argued that they could no longer distinguish between a Christian bureaucrat and a government official. The party was therefore of no use to them. This meant for Muslims to continue membership and to support a party which ignores them was tantamount to accepting their own suppression. It seemed Muslims were now ready to turn their grievances into a nucleus of a political movement.

Donor countries all of them from the Christian world who supplements fifty percent of Tanzania’s development and recurrent budget and investors began to have second thoughts on Tanzania’s stability. They started to point fingers at the division. Their early warning system was put into full gear. It is warned the government that, indications were that, Tanzania could be the next flash point in Africa after Rwanda and Burundi. Donor countries saw Tanzania slowly but steadily moving towards a serious religious conflict. The question was were Muslims bracing to rise against an unjust system? It is in the Muslim disillusionment in the unfulfilled promises of independence which was the source of that tension.

It was clear that a potential crisis being based on religion in black Africa, could turn out to be more dangerous and volatile than the strife in Rwanda or Burundi. It was feared that a Muslim-Christian conflict in East Africa at the time when all its neighbours were in a political crisis could be disastrous. In their dispatches to their governments back home western embassies expressed their apprehension and warned the Tanzania government of an impending threat. Their advise to the government was that, the Muslim question was a time bomb which had to be defused. The government was advised to open dialogue with the legitimate Muslim leadership in Tanzania and not with puppet organisations like
BAKWATA, the so called Muslim National organisation which was formed with the help of Nyerere in 1968. Donor countries and the average person understood the mistrust between Muslims and Christians as the case of power struggle and political analysts traced the tension facing the country from that perspective. Nyerere perceived the problem as Mwinyi’s failure to control Muslims. It was imperative upon himself to rectify the situation.

Nyerere a staunch Catholic, an ascetic and a committed socialist was tired with the way the country had been run by his successor President Ali Hassan Mwinyi. He therefore decided to change the direction of the country but before he could do that he had first to reverse the mode of succession. Retired president Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere is known to be a master tactician who plans his moves very carefully and plays his cards close to the chest.

Amidst this conflict between Muslims and the government, it was published by the press that Muslims were to embark on a systematic campaign to elect a Muslim president in the elections of 1995. This in its entirety was a mere psychological warfare unleashed by the Christian lobby upon Muslim ministers in the cabinet who anyway were far from Muslim politics. The bombardment from the press and within the Parliament was so overwhelming to those Muslims ministers allegedly mentioned by Muslims as possible presidential candidates that they had to stand up in the Parliament as Muslims to deny their capability to lead the country and disassociated themselves from the Muslim movement. Prof. Malima refused to be humiliated, he was of the opinion that the move by Muslim ministers was un-called for and unnecessary. To him Muslim ministers were just as qualified as any Christian to aspire for the presidency. His signature was not among those which Muslim ministers issued to the press as binding document of their commitment not to aspire for the highest office in the land. Jakaya Kikwete was among the signatories. We will return to Kikwete later. Soon after this proclamation, the bombardment from press and pressure from the Christian lobby in the Parliament subsided.

This apathy withstanding there has been several attempts by Muslim activists to form a political party through which they could articulate Muslim interests and establish equality and justice. A group of young Muslims began to tour the country speaking in mosques asking Muslims to support formation of a Muslim party.
Tension between Muslim and Christians had been gradually building up for many years under the surface and was intensified when President Mwinyi came to power. Christians began to question each and every appointment made by the President insinuating that they were religiously influenced and motivated. But the fact was that Mwinyi had maintained the same power structure he had inherited from Julius Nyerere. When Mwinyi came into power he faced Muslims who had been subjugated by Nyerere’s regime for almost a quarter of a century. It was not a surprise that during his tenure, Tanzania experienced religious tensions never experienced since independence.

In the last years of Nyerere’s regime and during Mwinyi’s government Tanzania witnessed Muslims agitation against the government which gradually built up from a localised defiant movement of youths mostly based in Dar es Salaam and other urban centres to a nation-wide anti-government, anti-Christian movement. Muslims argued that the government has lost credibility when it allowed itself to be used as an appendage of the Church. Muslims maintained that they could no longer distinguish between a Christian bureaucrat and a government official. The tension was more potent because Mwinyi’s reign coincided with inevitable changes in Tanzania- multiparty democracy, that is, resurgence of religious radicalism and the free press. Three factors could be responsible for that state of affairs.

First was the discontinuity of the Church access to Tanzania's top executive post where the Church and the presidency used to enjoy mutual confidentiality. This denial disoriented the Church as it could not confide with a Muslim president. It was the practice during Nyerere’s reign, the Church had unlimited access to the government. There are reports as revealed by Bergen\textsuperscript{112} and Sivalon\textsuperscript{113} that Christianity was given a special preference in power distribution and other opportunities. The overthrow of colonialism did not affect the hold which the Church had over the state. Church ensured that the


overthrow of the colonial state, was not a setback to Christianity much as it was to be expected that the Church would have suffered with the fall of colonialism.

Throughout its hundred years existence the Church was therefore comfortable in its role as a true saviour of souls. Since the first independence government was in the hands of a Christian president, it was secure and did not encounter a situation demanding it to assert its position or flex its muscles against the government. Religious tension was absent in the early days of independence because there was no reason for it. Muslims had confidence in Nyerere, they believed in due time the imbalances inherited from colonialism would be corrected. But as years passed and nothing was done to rectify the imbalances and Nyerere turned to detention as a way of preventing Muslims from claiming their rights, gradually tension between Muslims and the government began to build only to surface more forcefully under Mwinyi’s government.

All who had taken forms to contest for presidential nomination were Christians with the exception of Prof. Malima. Prof. Malima was later to reveal that he had no intention to take the forms to contest for presidency under the CCM but for a headline banner in the gutter press which said Muslims were petrified of *Ikulu*. (Residence of the head of state like the White House in USA or No. 10 Downing Street in United Kingdom)) Prof. Malima took this as a challenge and ridicule to Muslims. He decided to accept the challenge, first to wipe out the notion that Muslims were incapable to lead the country and second to throw back the taunt to the press and obviously to the Christian lobby which was in control of the press.

Prof. Malima arrived in Dodoma shortly after dark and went straight to Dodoma central mosque for *isha* prayers, just as people were flocking out the mosque. Upon seeing Prof. Malima in Dodoma at that particular time they suspected that Prof. Malima had probably come to collect nomination forms. A sizeable group of Muslims collected outside the mosque to know what business had taken Prof. Malima to Dodoma. Prof. Malima told the group which was waiting for him there at the mosque that he had come to Dodoma to collect presidential nomination forms. The group volunteered to escort him to the CCM headquarters the following day to collect the forms.
All presidential aspirants who had gone to collect forms had gone there with pomp and fanfare. Prof. Malima thanked them and told them there was no need for that, he would collect his forms in low key. By taking the forms Prof. Malima had complicated the presidential race. Being the only Muslim candidate in the CCM, there was a possibility of Prof. Malima to attract the vital and all important Muslim vote in the CCM congress which would nominate the name of one CCM member to contest for the presidency. Nyerere could not allow Prof. Malima to be the only Muslim candidate. The political climate was not conducive to pit Prof. Malima with Christian candidate. There was possibility of having another Muslim president. Nyerere in his analysis of presidential hopefuls had privately admitted that Prof. Malima had all the qualification, experience, support of many Tanzanians, constitution and base to become the next president. That could not be denied. Nyerere is reported to have admitted. But he gave special blessing to Benjamin Mkapa and Joseph Warioba as CCM members who one of them should be voted by CCM to stand for presidential elections. Nyerere had accused Mwinyi of "religious partisanship." Nyerere uttered these words in his home village, while presiding in the opening of a Catholic church in Butiama and he hoped that the next president would have to eradicate this malice. To Nyerere that meant perpetuation of Christian rule in Tanzania. Surely Nyerere did not hope if chosen Prof. Malima would be the kind of person to do that.

Most of the presidential candidates harboured the feeling that the whole exercise was a serious effort to get the most qualified Tanzanian to lead the country. Prof. Malima was not fooled. He knew the whole thing was an orchestration, a charade for the democratic world and an effort to legitimise the political process. Prof. Malima made his feelings known to Mark Bomani a fellow presidential aspirant when they were in the waiting room in Dodoma waiting for their turn to walk into the conference hall to be interviewed by the Central Committee of the Party. Bomani, a judge of the High Court was going through a thick ward of papers busy reading from his papers and marking sentences and passages. In a friendly jest Prof. Malima asked Bomani what was in the papers. Bomani told him that it was his speech to the Central Committee. Prof. Malima laughed. He told Bomani he would not be given time to deliver his speech. Bomani was really flabbergasted. He told Prof. Malima then the CCM-CC was not serious. Prof. Malima told him he has been with

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Se See Bahari, Juni 19-25, 1995.

the Party for a very long time and he knew it very well. He told Bomani they would be lucky if the committee gave them three minutes.

Prof. Malima with his sense of humour was to narrate that when he walked into the conference hall he found Nyerere sitting close to Mwinyi as if he was a co-chairman. Prof. Malima was going along with the charade because he was amusing himself. He knew Nyerere wanted Mkapa as president and the process which the party was painfully and methodically going through was a farce, it was the only way in which Nyerere could have legitimacy for his candidate to rule. In no time Prof. Malima was interviewed and was out of the hall. As he bid farewell to Bomani, Bomani asked him why was he not waiting for the result? Prof. Malima was amazed that how come an intelligent and experienced person like Bomani could not see through those people inside the conference hall. Prof. Malima did not wait for the results. He knew not him nor Bomani stood a chance with the Central Committee. Bomani waited outside the conference hall for the announcement of the results. The Central Committee endorsed Kikwete, Mkapa and Msuya as the names which would go before the congress for the election of one name to stand for the presidency on CCM ticket.

In terms of experience none of the presidential aspirants could fit into Prof. Malima's shoes. Prof. Malima had impeccable academic qualifications. In any position in which Prof. Malima served he were naturally the most qualified ever even for the presidency. Nyerere had successfully accomplished the first part of his plan that of having Jakaya Kikwete as a Muslim decoy to prevent Prof. Malima going through and neutralise his candidacy. The Christian lobby was scared of the prospect of a Muslim president of Prof. Malima's calibre intelligent and brave.

**Muslim Activists and Politics**

The earliest attempt by Muslims activists to try to provide Muslims with a political platform was through the United Movement for Democracy, (UMD) a party which was under Chief Abdallah Said Fundikira. But it was soon realised by the activists who had penetrated into the party that the Church was in control of most political parties. It was not the CCM alone which had been hijacked. When the UMD leadership realised that it had "fundamentalists" among its midst, they were expelled from the party in a meeting of the national executive which took place at Msimbazi Hall of the Roman Catholic Church in Dar
es Salaam. The second attempt was more daring as the activists registered their own party the United Peoples’ Congress (UPC). UPC received its preliminary registration pending full registration upon completion of the laid down regulations as specified by the law. The party began membership drive but these efforts were bogged down by the secrecy which was surrounding the party. The membership drive could not come out into the open because the law establishing political parties barred religious as well as regional based parties. Despite of all these obstacles UPC leadership believed the party had a special mission to create a political platform for Muslims and would try to have the party registered.

Islam was a sensitive issue in the country and the act of Parliament establishing political parties forbids religious parties. The manifesto of the party therefore had to pass by word of mouth to Muslims. The word of mouth is slow. A political party has to operate publicly and through open campaigns. Because UPC was shrouded with secrecy, the very Muslims which the party were targeting were not aware of the existence of UPD or its objectives save the Muslim activists themselves. UDP managed to recruit few Muslims activists in Dar es Salaam and other urban centres. But the most pressing problem for the party was finance. The party did not have resources to enable its leadership to manage day to day activities of the party. The Registrar of Political Parties used every excuse in the book to frustrate UPC and it could not therefore acquire full registration.

Failing with UDP the Muslim activists sought another avenue. They were worried with the possibility of facing the first multi-party elections without a Muslim presidential candidate. In April a two-man delegation from the Muslim circle in Dar es Salaam went to Zanzibar to contact the leadership of another political party, the United Peoples’ Democratic Party (UPDP) which had full registration. A request was put to UPDP that the party should be used as a base out of which Muslims would articulate their conscience as a people disillusioned and therefore have to stand up to the Christian leadership in the government. This idea was accepted even though at that time UPDP was engulfed in an internal crisis. Another meeting was held in Dar es Salaam between UDP and UPDP to discuss on how to integrate the membership of the two parties and open an office in Dar es Salaam to work out on how to popularise the party. UPDP was easily registered in Zanzibar because in its urge to prove to the Western powers that the country was abiding to the democritisation process the early parties in Zanzibar like UPDP and National
Reconstruction Alliance (NRA) in the mainland did not encounter obstacles from the government.

But the government did not leave these parties to operate freely weak as they were. They had to be chaperoned. State Intelligence personnel were infiltrated into all the opposition parties to inform on their daily activities. The government was informed that “Muslim fundamentalists” had taken over UPDP and have formed a secret alliance to merge it with the UDP with the aim of turning the party into its own sphere of political influence to confront the Christian dominance in Tanzania mainland. In its own ways the government in Zanzibar contacted the UPDP leadership and was warned of ‘mixing politics and religion.’ UPDP therefore did not turn up at an executive meeting of the two parties which was scheduled to take place in Dar es Salaam on 21 May, 1995 which was to finalise the pressing issue of membership drive and opening of party branches in the urban centres of the mainland where Islam has a huge following.

But the most imaginative and daring attempt to organise Muslims as a political force was through the National Alliance for Mass Advancement (NEMA) which was registered on 19 May, 1994. Different to any of its predecessors, NEMA was relatively better off in resources. After receiving its preliminary registration the party was able to establish contact in almost every region in the country. This was possible because the party had among its leadership the executive of Baraza Kuu. But what bogged down earlier parties with Muslim inclination the same malaise also affected NEMA. The party did not have the leadership which people could identify with any political authority. However the party captured the imagination of young Muslim intellectuals and activists throughout the country. But since membership drive was done in clandestine, not many people came to know much about the party and what it represents. The party received its free publicity when the Christian lobby started to work on NEMA. But NEMA as UDP and UPD the party was subverted from within. NEMA had all the traits of a Muslim party not only because of its all Muslim leadership but even its membership was almost all Muslim. One of the leading anti-Muslim paper under control of the Christian lobby, Shaba accused NEMA of being a

Muslim party. Although NEMA tried to deny its identity, it was not completely successful.

Strange was the fact that much as almost all the other parties had a predominantly Christian leadership, the press did not attack these parties as being religiously motivated. Papers were instructed to begin to accuse it of being a Muslim party and a possible mainstay for Muslim challenge against the ruling party the CCM. The party was feared would unite all Muslims against the Christian hegemony which had ruled the country since independence. NEMA was poised to reintroduce Muslim sentiments in politics which had guided nationalist politics of 1950s. History shows that Muslims in Tanganyika had fought and resisted all kind of oppression. Since 1900s. It was worrying the Christian lobby that NEMA was going to become a popular mass party supported by Muslims as TANU was. The question was, was Tanzania about to witness a civil upheaval, were Muslim on the path of forming a militant movement of agitation against the status quo? The answer was not difficult to guess.

The registrar of political parties did everything within its powers to frustrate the party. A year after the party had applied for permanent registration the registrar did not respond. Eventually NEMA was refused registration on the pretext that it did not fulfil the requirements laid down by the law. This was the most serious blow to Muslim activists because NEMA was a brainchild of Prof. Kighoma Malima and it was very unlikely that the government and ruling party were unaware of this. Attempts were made to link NEMA with Prof. Malima and with Dar es Salaam University Muslim Trustee (DUMT). But there was no solid evidence to support the allegations. It should be beared in mind that these efforts by Muslim activists were not co-ordinated, each party worked on its own. When NEMA failed to get full registration for a time it was thought as if Muslims would participate in multi-party elections without a Muslim candidates they could identify with their cause. But NEMA was a decoy. Prof. Malima knew exactly what would eventually happen to the party. He had a contingent plan moving parallel with the NEMA. even his most close confidant were kept in the dark.


In mid May, 1995 the one of the leaders of UPD who had gone to Zanzibar to seek alliance with UPDP, contacted Abubakar Olotu, the chairman of NRA. The activists went with a proposal that they want to provide NRA with UDP members and strong leadership before elections. At that time NRA was in existence in name only. It had scanty membership and some executive positions were not filled. Another meeting was soon to follow. This time a top delegation of the UDP went to Olotu’s residence for further discussion on how to invigorate the party. In this meeting Olotu offered some of the vacant executive posts to UDP leadership which were accepted.

The response from the emissary was that Prof. Malima’s response was encouraging but a lot of ground work needed to be done before a definite answer is given. Soon after this response Prof. Malima was given a code name “John” of which he was referred to in all communication with or about him. The committee which dealt with the recruitment of Prof. Malima sworn itself to secrecy. While contact with Prof. Malima was made, the Chairman of NRA Olotu was kept in the dark. He was kept in the dark until the very last minute when they were waiting for Prof. Malima in his sitting room and Prof. Malima appeared to receive them. That is when Olotu realised that they were in Prof. Malima’s house. And even then he did not know what was to be discussed. Prof. Malima had met the other members of the committee except Olotu. The two were introduced after which he took them to his special room, the zawiyya—a sanctuary prayer room. This was the room which Prof. Malima received his important guests and a room which he used for prayers.

The room did not have chairs, it was fitted with carpets. It was full of books on shelves and on one side of the room was a desk on top of which there was a computer and printer on a work station. Qur’an was recited before discussions began. After the dua was recited that the spokesman of the committee told Prof. Malima that before they can begin to say what they had come to say they want him first to forget what he was and to bring his mind to the simple truth that those who are before him are Muslims and they want to talk to him as one Muslim to another. The spokesman, Sheikh Mabruk ended his introduction by saying that, that would make their work easy. Prof. Malima agreed. It was after this brief introduction that they told Prof. Malima that they had come to invite him to lead the NRA and stand as its presidential candidate to deliver Muslims from bondage. Olotu then presented the constitution and registration of the NRA to Prof. Malima. As a
conclusion to the talks the oldest member of the committee, much advanced in age than all of them in that room, spoke to Prof. Malima directly.

He told him that the time has come for Muslims to benefit from him as other people were gaining from their own sons. Prof. Malima did not say anything, he was quiet. By then it was time for *maghrib* prayers. After the prayers Prof. Malima spoke giving his own experience and personal history in the effort to form a political party. While the committee was under the impression that it was recruiting Prof. Malima, unknown to them was the fact that Prof. Malima had in actual fact in a way recruited them. Prof. Malima had begun his plan for a political movement much earlier than any of them could possibly know. But Prof. Malima’s efforts were hindered by betrayals. He told the committee that before he went for pilgrimage to Mecca the previous year, he left the task of opening negotiations with UMD, CUF and NRA to certain people he once thought he could trust. The aim of opening negotiations with those parties, Prof. Malima told his audience was to convince them to unite after which he would resign from the CCM and join the united force. But negotiations did not go as Prof. Malima had expected. This option of uniting the parties was a result of NEMA being refused registration. After giving his experience which was full of disappointments, Prof. Malima requested the committee to give him time to think over their proposal.

The committee was stunned as they had gone there with very high hopes. They thought Prof. Malima had politely declined their proposition. Prof. Malima was the hope of every Muslim. He was the only Muslim in the history of Muslim cabinet ministers to have put the problem of Muslim-Christian disparity in distribution of power and education opportunities on the government agenda at the cost of his own future. In his narration to them it was not difficult to see that Prof. Malima had impressed upon them of the fact that he had been let down and to some extent betrayed by the very people he had trusted. Why should he trust this group of people who he hardly knew who had come to invite him to a party which he did not know of its direction and objectives? Once again it seemed Muslims were witnessing another door to their future slammed shut on their faces. Heads bowed the members of the committee quietly forced back tears which however rolled down their cheeks. As the committee left it was under the impression that Prof. Malima had ruled them as *munafik*-hypocrites, double faced Muslims who are untrustworthy.
But unknown to these people were that Prof. Malima had by then made his decision to lead the nation towards justice and equality to all. That was the decision which was to cost his life. It is believed that this decision was made on 26 February, 1995. Prof. Malima decided once and for all to tackle the Christian lobby head on. He decided to hold the bull by the horn. Prof. Malima had already decided to resign from CCM and government. No Muslim had gone that far. What was left was for Nyerere to sort out Kikwete who had his eye on the presidency.

Kikwete knew he could not go into the race for presidential nomination without first patching up with Prof. Malima. He sent a delegation to him calling for reconciliation between the two. Prof. Malima told Kikwete’s delegation that there was no need for that but he told the delegation to tell Kikwete that he should not be deceived by pomp and ceremony. He had served the enemies of Muslims well and he should except nothing in return but disappointment.

After his resignation many Muslims to see Prof. Malima to congratulate him. The political committee went to congratulate him for his resignation from the government as Minister of Trade and Industries. Then two days later Prof. Malima through Sheikh Khalifa Hamis suddenly summoned the committee to his constituency in Kisarawe where a meeting was held. After salat isha Prof. Malima told the committee that he has accepted their proposal and NRA should start preparations for meeting of the National Conference to be held in Tabora from where in a public rally he would announce his resignation from the CCM. At that time NRA had managed to establish branches in Kigoma, Mpwapwa, Igunga and Tabora.

Sheikh Khalifa Hamis had gone to Tabora to prepare the terrain for Prof. Malima’s trip to the town. NRA had a branch in Tabora but it had scanty membership. The chairman of NRA Tabora branch was a retired army captain Mustapha Kivuruga, son of Abdallah Kivuruga founder member of the TAA in Tabora in 1945 and founder member of TANU in 1955. Mustapha Kivuruga joined the army and was trained in Israel. Abdallah Kivuruga and his brother Maulidi Kivuruga had been important personalities in the local politics of Tabora. Sheikh Khalifa held a meeting with the cream of the Muslim activists in Tabora at
the Nujum Muslim Centre. Among those in attendance was Bilal Rehani Waikela a veteran of the Muslim struggle against injustices and Christian hegemony.

The activists were informed that Prof. Malima was coming to Tabora and would announce his resignation from CCM at a public rally. It was now upon them to lay down strategy for the success of Prof. Malima’s trip and revitalisation of NRA. Following this meeting elections were called at the Adult Education Centre and Waikela was elected NRA Tabora Regional Chairman replacing Kivuruga. Kivuruga became district chairman. It was from this meeting that membership drive for the NRA began. Tabora has always carried with it a grudge against the government. The place was completely forgotten. Like many Muslim areas, no meaningful development had taken place since independence. The people in Tabora saw this as their opportunity to have their own back against the government and the CCM.

Prof. Malima and his entourage was booked to fly to Tabora on Friday morning aboard Air Tanzania. Their bookings were confirmed but when they presented their tickets, they were told that the flight was fully booked. Their protests to the fact that there bookings were confirmed fell into deaf ears. Prof. Malima decided to travel to Tabora by road. Meanwhile the Christian lobby had been busy. It had constantly working on plots to discredit Prof. Malima in the eyes of the right thinking people. The press both private and that owned by the government and party, including the state-owned radio; and the office of the president, has been Muslim’s worst enemy in its struggle against injustice. The media fabricates and publishes negative stories about Muslims with impunity.

The propaganda is given an angle of Muslim radicals harbouring the desiring to overthrow a legally constituted government. Muslims have suffered in this campaign with Prof. Malima. The Friday papers Majira, Nipashe, including CCM daily Uhuru and the Tanzania News Agency (SHIHATA) carried stories in banner headlines that Prof. Malima was on that day Friday the 15 July, 1995 going to announce his resignation from CCM at Tabora in the Friday Mosque after Friday Prayers. What this negative publicity wanted to achieve

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was to portray Prof. Malima as dangerous man who wanted to pit Muslims against Christians to acquire power for his own selfish ends. The end result for such an eventuality was obvious civil upheavals.

On that Friday morning Muslim notables and leaders and members of the NRA in Tabora went to the Air Port to meet Prof. Malima. The plane flew in without him. In Tabora town rumor was spreading that Pro. Malima was to address Muslims and announce his resignation from CCM from the pulpit of the Tabora Friday Mosque. Even before the time for the Friday prayers was due, the Friday Mosque was filled to capacity and some of the worshippers were sitting sprawled outside the mosque grounds. But few knew that Prof. Malima was not in Tabora that day anyway.

The previous day Regional Police Commander called on the BAKWATA leadership in Tabora and informed them that Prof. Malima was to address Muslims at the Friday Mosque. The police commander insisted upon BAKWATA leadership that that was mixing religion and politics; and that was not acceptable. The government would not allow house of worship to be used as political arena. It was therefore up to BAKWATA to ensure that Prof. Malima does is not allowed to announce his resignation from the CCM from the pulpit. Security personnel was deployed to the mosque early morning on Friday. There were uniformed and plainclothes policemen on beat around the Friday Mosque since day break. In the afternoon police cars arrived at took strategic positions around the mosque. State Intelligence personnel was very much in evident mingling with Muslims outside the mosque. This created tension inside and outside the mosque.

Few minutes before prayers was to begin, Sheikh Mavumbi from BAKWATA arrived at the mosque in a police car escorted by the Regional Police Commander. Sheikh Mavumbi went infront of the mosque and through the public addressing system he warned of the dangers of mixing religion and politics. People were dead silence listening to Sheikh Mavumbi. He said he has been informed that Prof. Malima was to address Muslims from the mosque that day and he has come to announce that he is forbidden to do that in that mosque. As soon as he uttered Prof. Malima’s name there pandemonium in the mosque. Muslims shouting asking Sheikh Mavumbi his source of that information. Sheikh Mavumbi seemed confused as there were shouts from every angle of the mosque. Muslims looked threatening and the mood inside the mosque was fiery. Tabora Friday Mosque is under
imam Issa Mzee, a young man in his mid-thirties. He rose up to calm Muslims but people were not listening to him.

As things seemed to get out of control and other Muslims were rising standing up from where they had been sitting and the crowd outside the mosque was fighting to get inside the mosque, there were every indication that the sanctity of that holy place was going to be violated. It was then that Waikela moved to the front of the mosque and took up the microphone and called for peace. Waikela told Muslims not to blame Sheikh Mavumbi for his announcement. It was probable he had been told to come to the mosque to make the announcement. The best way for Muslims to do was not to condemn Sheikh Mavumbi but to ask him who told him that Prof. Malima would come to the mosque to deliver a political address. Appealing to Muslims Sheikh Waikela asked them if anyone had seen Prof. Malima in the mosque. The crowd answered in the negative.

Islamic law demands that when there is a controversy between two parties, both parties should be heard before passing judgement. Sheikh Mavumbi had judged Muslims without giving them chance to be heard. Amidst boos from Muslims, Sheikh Mavumbi ashamed was led out of the mosque through the back door of the mosque and on into the waiting car of the police. Was he to walk out from the main door Muslims would have beaten him. It was then when the police were whisking him away from his fellow Muslims that Sheikh Mavumbi realised that he had been a fool and the government had used his religious position among Muslims for its own political ends. People have simple minds. Any announcement through the radio or the printed word is bound to be taken as the truth. For how could the government allow its media to be used for propaganda and spread lies against Muslims? If an announcement is on the radio and newspapers then it is the truth. Sheikh Mavumbi like many people in Tabora believed in what they read and heard on the radio that Prof. Malima was going to make a major political statement from the pulpit. On that Friday Prof. Malima spent the night in Nzega and arrived in Tabora Saturday afternoon and stayed at the house of Suleiman Marjebi one of the notables of Tabora.

On Sunday 17 July, 1995 thirty-seven years since TANU held its 1958 annual meeting in Tabora the meeting which paved the way to independence, Prof. Malima addressed a big rally at Uyui grounds. The Tabora meeting would be remembered for its achievement. It managed to put into Legislative Assembly Julius Nyerere, Chief Abdallah Said Fundikira,
John Ketto, Nesmo Eliufoo, John Mwakangale, Lawi Sijaona and Paul Bomani. It was in Tabora that Nyerere shed tears because of oppression of which Tanganyikans were being subjected to by the British. Nyerere said if the British did not want to set Tanganyikans free he would direct his anguish to God.

Before Prof. Malima spoke Bilal Waikela mounted the platform dressed in his prison uniform which he wore thirty years ago when he was detained by Nyerere for resisting Christian hegemony. He reminded the people of Tabora that he was detained by Nyerere for reminding him of the cherished ideals of TANU the party they had formed and built together in order for Africans of Tanganyika to be free from all forms of oppression. Waikela told his audience that and he was now returning to politics to seek for that equality and justice denied.

Prof. Malima announced his resignation from the CCM at the Uyui meeting. Prof. Malima told his audience that that oppression which made Nyerere shed tears while giving a speech to members of TANU and the people cried with him at the Tabora Central Market was still prevalent 37 year after the tears had long dried. Prof. Malima told his audience that he was resigning from the CCM because, he said, the party has deviated from its cherished ideals of justice and equality and had established classes. He was resigning and joining the opposition in order to fight for equality among all the people in Tanzania.

That Sunday night NRA National Conference was held and Prof. Malima was elected Chairman and Abubakar Olotu secretary of NRA. What had taken place in Dar es Salaam Airport repeated itself in Tabora Railway Station. NRA had booked a wagon for its delegates travelling back to Dar es Salaam and had paid for it in advance. But when they arrived at the railway station, they were told that no wagon has been allocated to them. The press had the chance to correct their earlier story that Prof. Malima had planned to announce his resignation from the mosque but it did not do so. The propaganda machinery wanted people to believe that Prof. Malima was unable to do so because Muslims did not allow him to mix “religion and politics.”
Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete

The story carried by the press was that out of their own initiative Kikwete and Edward Lowassa went to Nyerere to seek his blessing as prospecting presidential candidates. But in actual fact Nyerere had asked Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete to take nomination forms and run for the presidency. Nyerere assured him that he was his choice and would support him. Nyerere told Kikwete to start his campaign and he, Nyerere would take care of the religious and tribal sentiments for him. Why should Nyerere relieve Kikwete of the religious and tribal issues which were to crop in his campaign was at that time difficult to gauge. Kikwete gladly obliged. He thought that since Nyerere was not in the government it was inappropriate for him to take such an important undertaking and decision without informing the President and Party Chairman Ali Hassan Mwinyi. It was after informing President Mwinyi of his intention that Mwinyi advised Kikwete that it was his wish that Lowassa should also vie for the high office and announce his candidacy together with Kikwete's. Mwinyi assured Kikwete that the two had his support.

It is really not clear why Mwinyi wanted Lowassa to run for presidency along with Kikwete. May be in his ever compromising nature Mwinyi thought it was inappropriate for Kikwete, a Muslim to announce his candidature without having to balance with a Christian particularly at that time when religious tension was high. The Christian lobby used to play with Mwinyi's psyche. Rumours would be floated for example that he was contemplating appointing a Muslim personality to a certain post. The rumour would have it that such as a move was unacceptable because it favoured Muslims over Christians. Such rumours disturbed him very much and used to affect his judgement and decisions. This change of mind usually moved Mwinyi away from objective judgement and into being overly accommodating to the Christian lobby. This nature would later prove to be dangerous to those who thought they could hold him in confidence.

If one combines this with other forces in the political system exerting pressure on the presidency it is easy to understand Mwinyi's mind and behaviour particularly in the last years of his tenure. Mwinyi therefore thought by having Lowassa in the race along with Kikwete no one would accuse him of religious bias or of smacking of Islamism. It is also possible that Kikwete never told Mwinyi that he was Mwalimu's only "choice," because if he had done that Mwinyi would not have feared the consequences of being accused to favour a Muslim candidate over a Christian for the presidency. There was also pressure from
the people at that time the country needed new blood to replace the old-guards. Kikwete and Lowassa were young. The only two rising stars of the party. Mwinyi was that one kind of a president who wanted to please everyone and he would go a great length to accomplish that.

After his name had been passed in Dodoma Kikwete picked his campaign team and visits of consultations to Nyerere’s residence became a common occurrence. Unknown to him was that Benjamin William Mkapa was also having serious consultations with Nyerere on his campaign for the presidency of the country. There were stories from Mkapa’s neighbours that Nyerere was seen visiting Mkapa late in the night. There were also reports that Mkapa was also visiting Nyerere at his Msasani residence at very odd hours. Surely Nyerere was not taking all that precaution of sneaking into Mkapa’s house for nothing. As fate would have it there came a day when Kikwete went to see Nyerere he was told to wait. This was unusual as normally he was ushered in without any delay. On that day Mkapa had gone to see Nyerere. Nyerere had to finish with Mkapa before he saw Kikwete. Kikwete found Nyerere raving mad complaining about Mkapa wasting his time. He told Kikwete that Mkapa had come to him to seek for his support. Nyerere said he had no time for Mkapa because he had been given several opportunities and had failed. He saw no reason to now come to his rescue.

On that particular day Kikwete had come to report the progress so far made and the ground which remained uncovered. Kikwete had been unable to campaign in certain areas and one area was the south Mkapa’s home area. Nyerere listened and promised him that he would call the CCM chairman in Songea and line him up. Kikwete saw that as good opportunity to find out what kind of game Nyerere was up to. He had a feeling that Nyerere was not straight with him so he vowed to find out. He initiated his own plan to find out the truth. The grapevine assured him of his fears. Nyerere was not doing anything to further his presidential ambitions. Nyerere’s choice was none other than Benjamin William Mkapa his former student and a fellow Catholic. It was then that Kikwete came to know that Nyerere had taken him for a ride. By then Kikwete was far into the campaign and had supporters all over the country. Kikwete was not to be deterred by Nyerere’s intrigues he decided to continue to campaign and wait for the National Executive Committee Conference due to be held in July to decide.
But before the conference Kikwete went on record to complain that the secretary of the party Dr. Lawrence Mtazama Gama, a Catholic, and hailed from the south like Mkapa was undermining his campaign on religious grounds. Nyerere who had earlier and eloquently promised him that he would take care of religious sentiments for Kikwete, was suddenly dead silent. For a time it seemed as if the party was to engulf into a religious crisis involving its own top leadership. Religion was a sensitive issue and CCM had always maintained that the party did not discriminate its members on religious grounds. The conflict between Kikwete and Gama was an embarrassment to the party. In a strange turn of reconciliation effort CCM issued a statement that Gama had apologised to Kikwete. Kikwete did not reveal what religious issue became the source of conflict that the party had Gama to apologise. The thought of Gama apologising to Kikwete was a humiliation to Gama not only because of his seniority but because of other factors.

Gama had married Nyerere’s sister but the wife had died; and had once been the Director Intelligence. In the manner in which Dr. Gama quickly apologised and the party solved the problem, it was obvious to any intelligent person that something was being cooked up and the party did not want what it considered as trifle matters to get into its way. Dr. Gama had replaced Horace Kolimba who was axed from the post together with Malecela. It is now obvious that Nyerere did not want him as secretary of the party at that material time when he was in the process of slotting in Mkapa into the presidential seat. Was Kikwete aware of the strategy which was being laid out for him? The strategy which was now involving the top brass of the party including not only his opponent Mkapa, Nyerere but the secretary of the party as well.

Kikwete therefore went to face the CCM National Executive Committee conference with Nyerere, the Father of the Nation covertly hell bent against him and the secretary general of the party and a former Director of Intelligence not too happy with him. Kikwete candidature was guided since its inception. He had taken nomination forms at the eleventh hour. Kikwete had gone to Dodoma by charter plane to collect his forms. Like magic he was able to travel around the country and was able to get the required two hundred signatures of CCM members to support his candidature. For anyone who is familiar with transport problems of developing countries and the amount of time it takes to accomplish simple administrative paper work, would not fail to admire the logistical efficiency in which the two hundred signatures were collected. Did Nyerere pull strings which made it easy for
Kikwete to accomplish that? Was Gama part of that scheme? Nyerere kept part of his part of promise. He made sure that Kikwete was made one of the presidential candidates for CCM during the nomination and selection process.

The difference between Prof. Malima and Kikwete was that, while Kikwete really believed that he was a serious candidate for Nyerere, Prof. Malima knew Kikwete was thrown into the race by the Christian lobby to block him. The rule of the game was to play a Muslim against a Muslim. But Kikwete was too naïve to understand that. His background had not prepared him to understand the intricacies of the politics of Tanzania as it relates to dealing with Islam and Muslims. If he had taken some time to think long and hard he would have realised that if experienced people like Malecela, Msuya and Kolimba were not seen as fit to rule the country despite of their long service to the country which span more than three decades how possible could he supersede them be a better candidate than those old guards?

Mkapa was forced to pick his campaign committee from people outside the inner circle of the party. Two of newspapers publishers were in his committee Damian Ruhinda and Jenerali Ulimwengu. The special NEC Conference convened to elect one CCM member to stand for presidential candidate elected Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete in the first round with Mkapa coming close second and Msuya was last. But since he had not commanded an absolute majority voting had to be repeated. There was tension in the conference hall as CCM delegates voted to choose between Kikwete and Mkapa. Christians were heard to whisper to each other that they should not again allow a Muslim to govern the country, never again they whispered to each other. And when Mkapa won hymns were sung.

In 1992 the Christian lobby made sure that Prof. Malima failed in his bid to get elected into the 20 seat National Executive Committee (NEC) of the CCM at the Chimwaga Conference in Dodoma in what Muslims believed was an outcome of a systematic campaign of the Christian lobby to undermine Prof. Mailman’s political career. This failure barred Prof. Mailman from the highest policy making body in the country. It was reported that Christian delegates were seen celebrating his defeat all night through drinking beer and singing hymns. When Prof. Mailman the “Muslim fundamentalist” was defeated in 1992 hymns were sung. In 1995 when Kikwete was defeated hymns were sung. A Muslim by any other hue was not acceptable.
The Sudden and Mysterious Death of Prof. Malima

Soon after returning from Tabora Prof. Malima travelled to Mecca and from there he went to London. Meanwhile NRA was preparing for a big welcome of Prof. Malima which would be followed with a meeting of Dar es Salaam Elders in which he would tell them why it was necessary for him to resign so that they charter a new course which would ensure justice and equality to all. This meeting would have been followed the next day with a meeting with foreign journalists at Kilimanjaro Hotel. It is said Nyerere and Kikwete separately flew to London some time towards the end of July after it was known that Prof. Malima would go there. It is not known whether Nyerere went to London with the intention to meet Prof. Malima. But what is to arise curiosity is the fact that Nyerere’s trip to London was unannounced contrary to practise, no newspaper radio or TV station mentioned the fact that Nyerere was out of the country. Prof. Malima died in London on Friday night the 4 August, three weeks after resigning from CCM and announcing he was standing as a presidential candidate under NRA. He died while Nyerere was also in London. On 7 August Nyerere returned from London and went straight to KCMC Hospital, Moshi. On 9 August Prof. Malima’s body was flown back to Dar es Salaam for burial. The government took upon itself to take over the funeral on what it said was Prof. Malima’s “commitment in serving the country diligently and honestly”

In his last act in before his death in London, Prof. Malima took wudhu (ablutions) as if he was getting ready for salat (prayers). Around 01:25 hrs in the morning he laid down in bed. At around 01:30, precisely five minutes, he rose suddenly as if from a deep dream and said softly and pleasantly, “Alhamdulillah.’ (All praise and gratitude is for Allah). He then fell back again in a sleeping posture. He was gone.

Polycarp Pengo head of the Catholic Church Dar es Salaam Region, issued a statement calling Prof. Malima a “highly dangerous individual who had to be contained” for his decision to stand as presidential candidate outside CCM. A new journal, Tanzania Analysis in its maiden issue carried a report that Prof. Malima was part of a plot to smuggle arms into the country to be used by “Muslim fundamentalists” to disrupt the coming general election.

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This was a treasonable offence if the allegations could have been substantiated. Prof. Malima would have been arrested for treason. But his enemies knew that what was being hurled at Prof. Malima was all lies but they had a mission to fulfil nothing mattered.

As Nyerere was surveying the political situation tension between Muslims and Christians were at fever pitch. All this propaganda including the lies about Prof. Malima announcing his resignation from the mosque in Tabora has to be analysed from this background. Muslim activists are convinced that Prof. Malima was a marked man since the day he resigned from the CCM and wonder why Nyerere not in any way concern himself with Prof. Malima’s funeral arrangement or went to pay respect to his body although he was there when Prof. Malima died? Why did he distance himself from Prof. Malima at the time of his mourning. Why the cold shoulder to Prof. Malima at a time when he was no longer alive? There were reports that members of the NCCR-Mageuzi in Moshi celebrated the death of Prof. Malima by hooting car horns. There were also reports that information about the cause of death of Prof. Malima were in the hands of the media in Dar es Salaam even before his son Adam who was in London was aware of the death of his father.

The death of Prof. Malima still remains a mystery. In London a group of people in the medical profession known to Prof. Malima tried to discuss with the coroners in confidence in the morning of 8 August the cause of causes of his death. Post-mortem for the body was delayed for some unknown reasons. The coroners were baffled after they had received a detailed medical history and report of medical check up conducted in London in October, of the previous year which seemed to reject the diagnosis derived by the coroners. Soon after Prof. Malima’s his death, Rai one of the a newspaper under the Christian lobby published a story that the paper had received report from Dr. Roger Soster Smith on 9 August from the Coroners office of Ealing Hospital detailing the causes of death. This was even before the immediate members of the family had received any communication of the cause of death from the hospital. Contacted by the family, Dr. Smith denied any communication whatsoever with Rai.

122 *Tanzania Analysis*, 22 July, 1995. It was later revealed that the journal had its offices in the BAKWATA building.

123 See *Ummah*, “Kifo Cha Malima,” 18 August, 1995

124 *Rai*, 10 August, 1995
Muslims in Dar es Salaam staged a funeral procession which has never been seen in Dar es Salaam and probably never will. A crowd never seen before came to mourn Prof. Malima. Prof. Malima’s *salat janaiz* was held at Mnazi Mmoja Grounds, as no mosque was large enough to accommodate all who wanted to stand behind his coffin to pray that last prayer. Throughout their history Muslims in Tanzania have never offered a *salat janaiz* on open ground because there had never been a reason to do so. Mnazi Mmoja grounds have a special place in the hearts of Muslims. This was the ground which the early meetings of the labour and independence movements were held.

To hold Malima’s funeral prayers at the grounds was an honour not bestowed to any Muslim before. Prof. Malima was associated with the Muslim’s struggle for equality and justice. It was only right that he be buried as a *shahid*, a person who laid his life down for the sake of Allah. His coffin was mobbed by Muslims making it difficult to move in that crowd. Women also came to the grounds dressed in khanga to pay their last respect. Muslims who turned up that day at the grounds proved to the Christian lobby that Prof. Malima was popular and had a big following. That huge crowd were Muslims who would have voted for Pro. Malima. Prof. Malima was laid to rest the same day, late in the evening at his home village, Mkamba a few miles from Dar es Salaam.

It was a fact that Prof. Malima would have pinned his presidential campaign on the plight of Muslims in Tanzania putting across his message with facts and figures which his opponents would not have been able to dispute. It also a fact that Prof. Malima would have faced momentous opposition from the Christian lobby. But it is also a fact that Muslims would have backed Prof. Malima in a way never seen since the support of Julius Nyerere during the struggle for independence in 1950s. The electoral would have split votes on presidential nomination on Muslims-Christian pattern. Even if for the sake of argument Prof. Malima would have lost to Benjamin Mkapa, Tanzania would never have been the same. Muslims for the first time since independence would have succeeded to put its plight on the agenda and no government in power would have dared to ignore its force.

What killed Prof. Malima? Why should he die at that all important time in the history of Muslim struggle. This was the question which puzzled Muslims. Was his death natural or was it an act of God or was his death induced? caused by political opponents who were
afraid of his mobilisation of Muslims? It is reported that Nyerere although officially on retirement was receiving intelligence report as if he was still in office. He probably was briefed of Prof. Malima's moves. Nyerere somehow had come to know of Prof. Malima's intention to resign from CCM and had send emissaries to ask Prof. Malima to go and see him. Prof. Malima's response to Nyerere's overtures was that he had nothing to discuss with him. Prof. Malima sent a message back to Nyerere to tell him that the time for discussion had long passed. After all where was Nyerere when the Christian lobby was colluding and plotting against him and Muslims.

Nyerere had no doubts whatsoever that if Prof. Malima crossed over to the opposition, the nation would be divided into two hostile camps, Muslims would definitely support Prof. Malima and his new party for the presidency of the country. Nyerere could not allow this to happen. Ways had to be sought to prevent Prof. Malima from mobilising Muslims against the status quo. He had received information that Prof. Malima's objective was to free Muslims from the Christian bondage. It is said that Nyerere had confided to his close associates that he was not against that, but he would not want that to happen while he was still living, "Let Prof. Malima do that when I am gone." Nyerere is reported to have said. Was Prof. Malima's death the solution which the Christian lobby formulated as the most convenient way to solve what they perceived as an impending danger to its hegemony? Only time and history have the answers.

Epilogue
After the funeral of Prof. Malima Muslim activists met to analyse the situation. It could not been denied that the movement was met with its greatest challenge and set back. Prof. Malima had been the moving spirit. His death signalled an end to what had wanted to turn into a popular uprising against Christian hegemony. In the meetings sometimes outrageous suggestions were proposed. Nothing can get a people to realise its potential like survival when faced with a ruthless and powerful enemy. At the end sense prevailed and an alternative plan was put into operation.

In the last week of August 1995 a meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Civic United Front (CUF) comprising of 280 members from Zanzibar and the Mainland passed the name of an unknown young Muslim, a professor of economics, former student of Prof. Malima, a Ful Bright scholar and a graduate of Stanford University, Ibrahim
Haruna Lipumba to stand as presidential candidate for the United Republic of Tanzania on its ticket. CUF led by Seif Sharif Hamad was a very strong opposition party in Zanzibar. At that time Prof. Lipumba was professor of economics at Dar es Salaam University recently returned from USA where he had been visiting professor at Williams College Massachusetts and when he was nominated to stand for the presidency he was engaged in negotiations with the World Bank on behalf of the Tanzanian government. It is said that Benjamin Mkapa had earmarked Prof. Lipumba as his economic advisor. At that time Lipumba was 43 years old. Before leaving for USA Prof. Lipumba was personal assistant to President Ali Hassan Mwinyi in economic affairs. The appearance of Prof. Malima in the race filled the vacuum left behind by Prof. Malima. It also sent shock waves to the Christian lobby not only in the way his nomination was kept secret by CUF but by having another Muslim candidate with impeccable qualifications. CUF although a formidable party in Zanzibar and particularly Pemba had failed to get sufficient support in the Mainland. With Prof. Lipumba as its presidential candidate, CUF found itself injected with a new lease of life in the Mainland.

The Christian lobby which had given a sigh of relief after the death of Prof. Malima came to realise that they still had to face another Muslim presidential prospect. The lobby’s first reaction was to impose a news blackout on Prof. Lipumba. All radio stations including the newspapers refused to refer to him in any way. It was as if having a professor of economics vying for the country’s top post was common place and therefore not news worthy. All of a sudden every presidential candidate had Muslim grievances on top of his agenda. News filtered to Muslim activists that CCM had Islam on top of its agenda. CCM which had for many years refused to acknowledge the existence of this problem suddenly had Islam and Muslims among its priority agenda. CCM could not afford anymore to ignore Muslims. Over night, mosques became target of positive propaganda by the CCM and part of its strategy to win the election.

There were Muslims who did not know what was happening or what had happened for the last thirty one years of independence. They were Muslims who were suprised at the

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125 It was it was earlier reported that CUF and Chadema would not nominate a candidate for the presidential seat and would support Augustino Mrema the candidate for NCCR- Mageuzi.

intensity of the campaign against Christians. There were also Muslims who had the
capacity to know of the oppression against Muslims which had lasted for three decades
but did not have the courage to stand and support the struggle lest it erupted into direct
confrontation. But there were also those few Muslims who through their social standing
the oppression could not have touched them and in deed did not touch them. And since
they were never subjugated in any way. The Muslim struggle against Christian hegemony
was not their concern. This group considered itself as prominent among Muslims. And
Muslims activists in ridicule identified them as “prominent Muslims.” From this group came
agents who campaigned for the CCM and Mkapa. There were those who campaigned
openly for Mkapa attending his campaign meetings thus giving the meetings legitimacy.
But there were also those who campaigned silently. They did not attend the meetings nor
show in any way that they supported Mkapa. These worked quiedy. Due to their social
status among the Muslim community they had access to some of the Muslim leadership
and through them were able to obtain prieveleged information of the Muslim campaign
which they passed over to CCM. This information was passed to them in good faith with
the belief that it would help in the struggle. All those prominent Muslims were rewarded
when Mkapa assumed the office of the president. 127

It’s presidential candidate, Benjamin Mkapa was calling upon “prominent Muslim”
personalities for consultation and for laying down strategy against opposition parties. In
return these so called prominent Muslim made promises to Mkapa that they would do
their best to deliver the all important Muslim vote. In those meetings it is said Mkapa was
making promises that he would look at Muslim grievances once elected president.

Likewise Augustino Mrema presidential candidate for NCCR-Mageuzi while addressing a
public rally in Tabora supported what Prof. Malima had said at the same venue only few
months back. Mrema admitted that Muslims have genuine grievances which the
government has to address. Mrema promised to alleviate Muslims in education and re-
establish the institution of the kadhi. Mrema repeated this position later in a nation wide
radio programme _Tuambie_ (Talk to us) for presidential candidates aired by the state radio.
CCM accused him of formenting religious animosity.

But the terrain was different. Years of struggle against Christian hegemony had taught Muslims some important lessons. They sent information through their established informal channel of communication that Benjamin Mkapa was Nyerere in another hue. It was Mkapa as editor of The Nationalist and Uhuru who used the two papers as tools of propaganda to subvert the EAMWS and Muslim unity. The Muslim position was that any so-called prominent Muslim who would try to negotiate on behalf of Muslims was betraying Prof. Malima. The call was that if those so-called prominent Muslims sat with Mkapa they have no right to pray with Muslims in their mosques. Prof. Malima had brought the Muslim problem before the government and the CCM and for that he was persecuted.

In one of the most desperate attempts by CCM to woo Muslims it was able through BAKWATA to organise a meeting in which was well attended both by the so-called prominent Muslims and Muslim activists. BAKWATA leadership could not answer many pertinent questions posed by Muslims on their future. It left Muslims still firm to use the ballot box to end Christian hegemony. The position of Muslims was that if Mkapa or for that matter CCM want a dialogue with Muslims than it should be official and formal not behind the curtain as was done through the so-called prominent Muslims. The prominent Muslims the communiqués argued represents no one. Muslims do not need to beg for their rights from no one and they have not asked anybody to do that on their behalf.

Dialogue between Muslims and the CCM was important for peace and stability of the country and as such any talks have to be conducted through mutual respect. If Mkapa was sincere about the Muslim problem then he should have persuaded his party to include it in its electoral manifesto. Let Mkapa speak direct to Muslims. This would not only make him a hero and a man of justice it would also make the task of prominent Muslims easier. They would not have to say much to convince Muslims that Mkapa was a man of justice. It is ridiculous for prominent Muslims to ask a people who have not benefited from the Christian leadership since independence to return to power the same faction which is oppressing them. It would have been understandable had these Muslims gone to Christians to ask them to vote for Mkapa. The doors for fighting for justice were opened by the late Prof. Malima and were still open. Muslims were capable to fight its own war. It was a shame for prominent Muslims to loose sleep campaigning for a Christian candidate. Muslims are intelligent enough to vote for a candidate of their own choice. This was the kind of message which was circulated throughout Zanzibar and the Mainland through the
prominent paper *An-nuur* and through other Muslim newsletters. Never in the history of Tanzania had Muslim articulated their thoughts so clearly.

As the days were moving towards polling day and the campaign was heating up it was clear that the religious question would determine the outcome of the presidential election. Nyerere as head of the powerful Christian lobby was campaigning for CCM candidate Mkapa. The Catholic Church supported Mkapa’s campaign through Nyerere. In campaign tours up country Nyerere was hosted by the Catholic Church. Sometimes the Church could not hide its support and its manifestation became obvious. In a campaign rally in Tanga where the previous week CUF presidential candidate Prof. Ibrahim Lipumba had conducted a very big rally Nyerere warned that blood would be shed if the people would use religion as the criteria for electing the third president of the United Republic of Tanzania. Surely Nyerere did not mean that there would be blood shed if the people elect Mkapa, a Catholic because he was campaigning for him and he would not campaign for someone whose assumption of power would tumble the country into chaos. What he meant was that Muslims should not discard a Catholic for a Muslim president because Catholics would rebel and shed blood. Such thoughts banked on treason. Nyerere was still engulfed with the thought that it was only Catholics who have the right to lead the nation. What other meaning can one attach to Nyerere’s warning?

Tanzania’s peace will depend on the government ability to promote equitable development in all regions and across all ethnic and religious groups. Tanzania is the only country which lacks an affirmative program while at the same time declaring the adherence to equality and social justice. The Christian lobby has designed all succeeding governments to perpetuate this national inequality. It should not expect to have durable peace while the majority of the population is kept poor, uneducated as the Muslims in Tanzania.

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128 Many newsletters which carried strong communiqué were published in Dar es Salaam and Tanga among them were: Al Fityyat fi Sabililah, Al Jihaad, Al Bayan, Al Islam, Al Markaz Shahid Prof. Kighoma Ali Malima etc. These newsletters attacked the Catholic Church, Julius Nyerere and “prominent Muslims” who were supporting Mkapa’s campaign. Those Muslims were identified as traitors. See Al Fityyat fi Sabililah (undated), “Uchaguzi Mkuu 1995: Benjamin W. Mkapa na Kura Muhimu ya Waislam.”

129 *Majira* 9 Oktoba, 1995 reported that Nyerere’s entourage included vehicles from the Parish in Shinyanga.

130 Nyerere speech on 9 October, 1995 at Mkwakwani Stadium, Tanga.
APPENDIX

Chapter and Clause

Last May, Mrs Sofia Kawawa managed to make herself something of a national talking-point. She is, and for years has been the top lady of Tanzania’s UWT, Association of Tanzania Women, itself affiliated to the ruling Party, the CCM. As such, UWT wields no power of its own. But in back-stage politics some UWT leaders are known to be accomplished bridge builders, freelance power brokers and generally provide charm and glamour to an otherwise drab human enterprise. However, every Tanzanian woman knows that none of their number stands
any chance of climbing to the Part’s summit to engineer real changed for the rest of her lot. The path is blocked. All key positions have been taken -- for keeps.

pro-women sloganeering apart, CCM is male chauvinistic and macho. In a predominantly Muslim nation, which Tanzania is, Mrs Sofia Kawawa urged for the abrogation of an Islamic law in terms which were candid in the extreme. Zanzibar, the island part of the United Republic of Tanzania, burst into the streets to protest. Several people died. President Ali Hassan Mwinyi says that they died in a stampede. But eye-witness reports say they were shot by the police. Medical certificates exist to prove that. In the meantime, a commission of inquiry has been appointed by the government to look into the cause of “illegal demonstration.” However, the statements made by Zanzibar leaders immediately after the event, talk about foreign interference in the islands, affairs and suggested that the whole thing was politically rather than religiously inspired. On the whole, the impression given was that it was only the islanders who were stung by Sofia Kawawa’s pronouncement. But the Muslims on the mainland were just as concerned. A document published by Warsha of Muslim Writers, only a week after Kawawa’s statement and whose English translation follows, unravels the background to this sad episode.
In the Name of Allah, the Infinitely Merciful, the Infinitely Compassionate.

Sister Sofia Kawawa/Brother Jaji Hamis Msumi.
An open letter to the Chairman of the Federation of Tanzania Women, Sister Sofia Kawawa and Justice Muslim on the comments they made at the Party seminar held in Dodoma on women.

We have a claim on you as both sister and brother in Islam. And it is in that capacity that we would like to express our anxiety about your comments on the principles of religion as enunciated in the Holy Quran. At the same time we would wish that both you and other people in general understand the esteem in which Muslims hold the Quran and their Prophet. We are doing this in full appreciation of the fact that while hostility against Islam has been in existence for a long time, it has been subtle. But that now such hostility has taken quite overt forms.

Allah tells us in the Holy Quran:

“Those who love the life of this world more than the hereafter, who hinder (men) from the Path of Allah and seek therein something. They are astray by a long distance.” (Ibrahim: 3)

“But they sought victory and decision and frustration was the lot of every powerful obstinate transgressor.” (Ibrahim: 15)

“Yet there is among men such a one as disputes about Allah, without knowledge, without guidance, and without a Book of Enlightenment, (disdainfully) bending his side in order to lead (men) astray from the Path of Allah: for him there is disgrace in this life, and on the day of Judgment We shall make him taste the penalty of burning (fire). (It will be said): This is because of the deeds which your hands sent forth, for verily Allah is not unjust to His servants” (al-Hajj: 8-10)

There are two aspects to the matter under consideration. First, there is her question of polygamy. The chairwoman contends that the Islamic Law of Polygamy denies justice to women indeed it introduces injustice. So she was quoted by Mzalendo of 8 May, 1988.
“Although members of Parliament are well acquainted with the Marriage law of 1981, and the extent to which it protects and guarantees the rights of women, they are not particularly keen in publicising it nor in educating village women about the existence of such a law.

She condemned some magistrates and judges for denying women their rights when they file their complaints before the courts.

“Ndugu Sofia talked about the need to abrogate once and for all the Islamic Marriage Law which permits a man to marry more than one wife. Now, must we abide by this law? Mama Kawawa asked. She said that the Association of Tanzania Women, UWT, as well as many women in general, reject the many-wives arrangement because it humiliates and oppresses the woman,”

We do not believe that these ideas are the lady’s own. We rather feel that through the intrigues of other people, she has been cast in the role of the amplifier. We have substantial evidence to back us on this. In the first place, there is Mzalendo which quoted the Secretary of Social Affairs of the Central Committee as saying:

The Inheritance Law should be amended so that it gives equal rights to women. Furthermore, the Association must formulate a policy which will enable women to get equal right under the Law of Inheritance.”

The Secretary said this at the session of the Central Committee of the of Tanzania Women which was held in the hall of a Catholic missionary in Singida.

Secondly, we have reliable information to the effect that the chairperson of the Association of Tanzania Women, UWT, has for a long time been subscribing to polygamy, namely that her husband has taken a second wife. Were she genuine in the pursuit of her cause, she would have left the husband if only to defy the Law as laid down by the Quran. That way she would have left her colleague with one husband. Thereafter she would have remained without husband. Then she might have set in search of a husband. Then she might have set in search of a husband to whom she was the only spouse Good luck to her.

On the Contrary, what we witness is that she has been with her husband all these years. Why doesn’t she leave? It is obvious that she is frightened of life as an unmarried person.
Now, what she herself fears, she wishes it on others who have never had husbands, without the slightest thought to the fact that this will incite spinsterhood on a large scale. After all, there are many more women than there are men. The consequence of all this would be a scramble by too many women over too few men. In other words, you have abrogated polygamy and promoted prostitution, children born out of wedlock, disputations and sexual diseases etc.

Thirdly, we feel that these ideas are not her own because this seminar was not organised by UWT. Furthermore, the organisers, the supervisors and leaders of this seminar, including the chairman of the seminar, all of them have their own religion and given to much praying.

It is clear in the circumstances that Tanzania’s socialism does not lean towards communism which denies the existence of God. All Party and government leaders believe in God. And you will notice that when they take the oath of office, they hold in their right hand the Quran or the Bible. Even those who would rather not take their oath upon the Bible or the Quran, turn to God in extremist for help and assistance. Therefore, in the circumstances and given the fact that Christianity, according to a determination of the Church rather than the Bible, forbids polygamy, there is a move to make our socialism a Christian socialism under the pretext of abolishing injustice and establishing equality etc.

There is considerable evidence to bear out this fact. The colonial administration (many of whose leaders were Christian as well) implemented a policy of barring Muslim teachers from getting involved in Islamic affairs; and it promoted large-scale pig industry, the purpose being to harass and to banish Muslims from some areas. This trend is now on the increase. Refer to Impact International. In almost every state, school pig rearing is a major project regardless of whether there are Muslims in those schools. In some of those school, Muslim children are forced to service pigs.

Fourthly, the Party and government line is that the Party and the government are secular. We are now apprehensive about this doctrine. We Muslims have been taught by our Prophet, Allah bless and grant him peace, that: “A People follow the religion of their sovereigns” What we have been witnessing for a long time now is suppression, assault and desecration of Islam. While on the other hand there are more and more moves to promote Christianity. Unfortunately, the effective and easy way which they use is to employ those who are called (poor souls, they do not know a thing about their religion) so that they serve
as amplifiers. Consequently, an impression is created that even Muslims themselves find fault with their religion of Islam.

But we are yet to hear a Christian defaming either Christianity or the bible. Now, this is open to two interpretations: that Christianity and the policy of this country are in perfect harmony or that Christians who are in the party and government are so loyal to their religion that they dare not cast aspersion against it, this despite the fact that it is Christianity which nearly demean women. Rather than this we are having the Hamisis and Sofias only abusing their religion without fear. Is it to be believed that this issue of some Islamic Laws oppressing women could only be tabled by Justice Hamisis and not any other Justice?

In the background, government leaders were heard saying that the third pillar of Islam, namely the one prescribing Zakat humiliates the receiver and therefore needs to be reexamined.

In 1971 we were handed down a Marriage Law which violated Islamic principles land by virtue of which the Party and the government legitimised adultery, fornication for its nationals. Today, the issue tabled before us is the more-than-one-wife arrangement. The point being that every Islamic Shariah will be derogated while those of Christianity remain sacrosanct.

Last year, in addition to all this provocation and a multitude of others, priests brought out a perverted translation of the Quran and came out with number of books like Maalim, Our God is Not God of Bribery, The sons of Ibrhim etc. Not to speak of sermons in public places land pursuing Muslims right into their homes. Yet they it is who have the courage to say that the Ngariba and his associates (ednote: the Ngariba and his associates are Muslim Bible scholars) are mad, and that they want to cause a breach of the peace by proclaiming the Bible in public. We believe that the peace referred to here has come about because of the tolerance of Muslims. Despite all these provocations, they have kept calm. But let it be said that tolerance is not inexhaustible. Do not over-interfere, otherwise our patience will give.

However, Sofia’s statement was corrected by the President. The chairperson concluded her speech by calling upon women to muscle through as they demand for their rights because their contenders, namely men, are strong. Then it was said that “this country cannot allow a society within a Society”. This statement clan only mean one thing, namely that they only
legal principles which will build the Tanzania society are those of CCM. Our observation, however, is that the said CCM has believers who have their own religions and it is these religions which are promoted.

What we are being told here, therefore, is that if the Muslims are allowed to adhere closely to the Quran, they would thereby be building their own society. In this vein, there will be a society of Muslims, a society of Christians, a society of members of CCM who are neither Muslim nor Christian etc who will be allowed to exist, and this is unacceptable.

Earlier on we understood the party and government doctrine that both are secular but the nationals have each their own religion. We understood that as meaning that there will be a co-existence between Islam, Christianity and Ujamaa, that is the Islamic faith, Christianity and that of CCM. In the light of that a Christian will be free to adhere to the Bible and live by his church, and will be free to proclaim his religion to all his co-religionists as part of and attempt to try and persuade other that his religion is the right one so that people may follow him. Ditto for Muslims and ditto for the Party doctrine. And that is the genuine freedom of worship as enshrined in the country’s constitution.

**The Stand of Muslims Vis-a-Vis The Quran**

As Muslims, we believe and are dedicated to the following:

Whatsoever is contained in the Quran come in its entirety from Allah, and that all *suras*, all *ayas*, all words, all letters are correct, perfect and are all for the best interests of the whole of mankind.

The perfection of the Quran as a source of guidance is beyond comparison. It cannot be compared to the UN charter, the OAU charter or CCM’s guidelines. For human guidelines cannot be held to be equal to the guidelines of Allah.
All that has been proclaimed in the Quran must be accepted in its totality. To derogate it to express doubt or reservation or to criticise even if it be but a word of the Quran is tantamount to unbelief.

*It is not fitting for a Believer, man or woman, when a matter has been decided by Allah and His Apostle, to have any option about their decision: if anyone disobeys Allah and his Apostle, he is indeed on a clearly wrong path.* (Al-Ahzab:36)

If such actions are committed by Muslims, such Muslims will, by virtue of such actions, have withdrawn themselves from Islam and when they are committed by people other than Muslims, they will thereby have mounted a provocation most grave. There is no conclave -- be it the UN, CCM or be it whatever Parliament wheresoever in the world -- which can abrogate or amend one aya or one single word in the Quran whether by vote or veto.

In the circumstances, your actions, Sister Sofia and Brother Msumi, demand of you to promptly turn to Allah in repentance. If you do not know the wisdom of the Sharia or Islamic verdict, it is better for you to study or ask or keep quiet without making any criticism rather than plunging yourselves into unbelief. Will you please repent and supplicate for forgiveness from Allah.

As for the more-than-one wife dispensation, there follows here the appropriate aya on the matter:

“If you fear that you shall not be able to deal justly with the orphans marry women of your choice, two, or three or four, but if you fear that you shall not be able to deal justly (with them), then only one or (a captive) that your right hands possess, that will be more suitable to prevent you from doing injustice.”

If you look at this aya in depth, alongside general Islamic instructions on the more-than-one-wife arrangement, you will see that:

The historical reason set out (above) is that a man sees orphans, and in Islam an orphan is the child whose father has died and the child itself is still a minor and cannot therefore look after itself. Now, if such a man finds it difficult to look after such orphans because they are away from him, indeed it is difficult so to do, then such a man is asked to marry the mother
so that the children then become his step children. Because of his love for his wife, he will look after those orphans very well.

The reasons for the more-than-one wife arrangement are human, so that the secess number of women in society can be helped.

It is best that a man should legitimately have four women and with know each other rather than have a whole throng of mistresses outside marriage with only one legitimated wife. This violates the dignity and self-respect of both men and women. And it is the source of the growth of prostitution and illegitimate children. The single most important condition in the aya is justice. If the husband finds that he cannot exercise justice among his 2 or 3 or 4 wives, then he should remain with one. Regarding her, there are a whole lot of ayas which urge that justice be done to her. To say that the more-than-one-wife arrangement oppresses women demonstrates the peak of ignorance about what the Quran says regarding this Law. Countless are the single-wife marriages which are in trouble and which are an injustice to so many women! mama Sofia, if what troubles you is jealousy, do not attribute it to Islam; it is a matter private to yourself. Let it stay there. Don’t let it out into the public arena. It is a disgrace.

Brothers and Sisters in Islam, this is but a preamble to the issue of Islam and Women or the Status and Rights of Women in Islam. By the will of Allah, in the forthcoming issues we shall deal with the various rights of women in Islam. In the lend you will be satisfied that there is no faith which defends women and accords them equality like Islam. Unfortunately, many people do not understand.

Ndugu Msumi, let us keep in touch so that we can get you books in order that you may read the wisdom of various determinations of Islamic Shariah. Shall we begin with Women’s Rights.

With Allah lies success.
SUBMISSION TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF TANZANIA ON THE MISHANDLING OF THE ISSUE OF MUSLIM PREACHING BY THE CCM GOVERNMENT

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL

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If it pleases the Learned Attorney General


"... Such (men) are to be opposed in all ways and altogether. For, even if they say something true, one who loves the truth should not even so, agree with them. For not
all true (things) are the truth, nor should that truth which (merely) seems true according to human opinions be preferred to the true truth, that according to the faith". Bishop Clement of Alexandria (c. AD 150-215) in a letter to his disciple (one Theodore) to repudiate the secret Gospel of Mark. (*Secret Gospel* by Professor Morton Smith of Columbia University).

"To arrive at the truth in all things, we ought always to be ready to believe that what seems to us white, is black, if the hierarchical church so defines". Saint Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Roman Catholic Jesuit Order in his "Spiritual Exercises".

**BACKGROUND**

The days of Thursday, 12 February 1998 and Friday, 13 February 1998, will probably go down in the history of Tanzania as one of the most revolting demonstrations of the misuse of state power to intimidate and silence Muslims from a free propagation of their religion, in violation of their God-given and constitutional rights. Muslims were killed, maimed, arrested and brutally beaten up by the police and para-military police, the Field Force Unit (FFU).

Assuredly, the action by the CCM government, taken together with subsequent pronouncements by its leaders, has done nothing but damage its image in the eyes of Muslims and freedom loving Tanzanians, which will take a long time to heal and rebuild.

No one questions the right of the government to call out its riot police on Friday 13, after the situation got out of hand and Tanzanians of all persuasions and faiths had joined in on the flare-up which had transformed itself into an anti-CCM Government riot: witness the near selective stoning of government and parastatal vehicles and the numbers of Christians also netted in the police swoop.

But while it is true that the government had the constitutional and legal right to call out its riot police in the interests of peace and security, one questions the arbitrary action taken by the CCM government on Thursday, 12 February, to break into the Mwembechai Mosque. It was that action, which was nothing but arbitrary interference with freedom of religion, precisely what triggered the chain reaction, which exploded on Friday 13. The implication of that act, coupled with the fact that the police stormed the mosque wearing boots and arresting and roughing up worshippers, in utter disregard of the sacredness of the place and Muslims'
feelings, should not be overlooked. To put it mildly, the police incursion into the sanctity of the mosque was made upon a legal, moral and political value inbred in our society. There are no examples of breaches of values more calculated to incense worshippers than sacrilegious trespass into houses of worship.

The CCM government of course wants Tanzanians and the international community to believe that its action was justified because Muslims had broken the law by allegedly conducting blasphemous preaching against Christianity and thereby endangering the peace and stability of Tanzania. Judging from pronouncements of various CCM and government leaders, it is apparent that the CCM government is trying to sell to us the "Islamic fundamentalism" bogey. The CCM government alleges that this "fundamentalism", if allowed to spread, will plunge the country into chaos and insecurity experienced by countries such as Algeria, Somalia, Burundi, and Lebanon.

It is significant that the CCM government has not been alone in this modern day crusade against Tanzania Muslims. The local media has also joined the bandwagon with shallow opinionated journalistic coverage and reporting full of Islam bashing and parroting of Western media stereotypes about Islam such as "fanaticism", "fundamentalism", "extremism" and "radicalism", all designed to misrepresent Islam as a threat to the peace of Tanzania. The local media, by falling into the trap of using loaded words like "fundamentalism", were clouded and prejudiced in their judgement and could therefore not take a balanced and understanding position on the underlying causes of the Mwembechai flare-up. With an intellectual frame made up of Orientalist and Western media prejudices and distortions against Islam, combined with their own ignorance, the local media has undeniably been subjective and hostile in their coverage of Mwembechai. Thus the portrait given by the local media of Islam and Mwembechai, apart from being prejudiced, is sensational and negative. After all, it is the negative that sells.

But there were exceptions. The editor of The African; Asha Mzava in The Guardian and Makwaia wa Kuhenga in "The Guardian" and Majira, though missing the underlying causes and thereby limited in their analysis, did call for caution, restraint and understanding by the government. The most notable exception however was the "An-Nuur" Islamic weekly paper which, with contributions from Muslim scholars and other ordinary Muslims, has week in week out underscored that at stake was nothing but the freedom of Muslims to propagate their faith. To be sure, had CCM functionaries been fair and literary inclined people and had
read the *An-Nuur* objectively, they might have approached the issue of Mwembechai in a just and reasonable manner.

But in my view, perhaps the single most important collaborator of the CCM government in this crusade against Muslims has been the Catholic clergy. It is undeniably the Catholic clergy, which has instigated the CCM government to move against Muslim preachers. The Catholic clergy has since 1993 been strident in its attack on Muslim preaching, claiming that Muslim preachers and Muslim "fundamentalists" were a threat to the peace of Tanzania. Since the adoption in 1984 by Muslim preachers of the method of propagating Islam using comparative religious study, and the corresponding rise of conversions to Islam from Christianity, the Catholic clergy has been instigating the government to ban Muslim preaching popularly known as "Mihadhara" (public debates), alleging that they were defamatory and insulting to Christianity.

It is significant to note that although the Catholic clergy has been pushing the government to ban Muslim preaching since 1993, the CCM government intensified its arrests of Muslim preachers only after January 1998. The response by the CCM government suggests a carefully planned and executed campaign. I do not think it is fortuitous that the sustained government response followed a challenge by the Catholic priest of Mburahati parish in Dar Es Salaam in a broadcast over the Catholic-run Radio Tumaini on 8 February 1998. Padre Camillus Lwambano had challenged the government to cease issuing empty promises, to ban blasphemous preaching and take stern measures against Muslim preachers. Lwambano dared the government to declare publicly that it had failed to check blasphemous preaching. It was indeed a provocative admonition. It was also proved to be ominous.

Few people can doubt that Lwambano appears to have been encouraged by the public and official endorsement the Catholic clergy had received with regard to their grievances against Muslim preaching. That endorsement had come from a fellow Catholic in the person of the President of Tanzania. On 4 January 1998 at Tabora during celebrations of the Western Diocese of the Moravian Church, President Mkapa declared war on "people who go about distributing cassettes, booklets and convening meetings where they insulted and ridiculed other religions" (*Daily News*, 5 January 1998). It is relevant that Muslim preachers are the only people using cassettes and booklets, in addition to public debates, in the propagation of religion.
It is my considered opinion that the response by the CCM government is religiously biased and prejudiced. Given the fact that the Catholic clergy had failed to prove their charges of blasphemy in a mediation meeting of Bishops and Sheikhs convened by former President Mwinyi in 1993, President Mkapa’s move of unilaterally embarking on using state power to remedy a grievance of his Church leaders without giving Muslims the right of reply suggests nothing but religious bias. Catholics are after all expected to follow whatever the hierarchical church says!

Be that as it may, what is more worrying is that the CCM government shows a total disregard of its constitutional and statutory obligations. Whatever the CCM government may say of its desire to see to it that the rights and freedom of worship of all Tanzanians are safeguarded, and that the law of the land is observed to enable people to worship, preach and conduct religious activities freely, the truth is that the CCM government has acted arbitrarily and is not alive to the grave situation into which it has plunged the country. By being biased and allowing itself to be duped by the Catholic clergy that Muslim preaching was insulting to Christianity, the CCM government has embarked on a course of action which violates the constitutional rights of Muslims to propagate religion, is arbitrary and without any regard to the due process of law. Muslim preaching is banned. Muslims are harassed and illegally arrested. Muslims are killed and maimed. Muslim women are sexually harassed. Muslim meetings are banned. Muslim mosques are ordered closed. And for what offence? Only because Muslims say that God is one and has no son, partner or equal!

President Mkapa began his term with the claim that his government was going to observe the rule of law, which in its simplest form meant that everything now was to be done in accordance with the law. What we have instead is the CCM government reneging on its promise and resorting to rule of arbitrary power. Are we to understand that in so far as Islam and Muslims are concerned issues of the rule of law and justice are of no consequence? Are Muslims not citizens of Tanzania entitled to enjoy all the rights and privileges contained in the Constitution and other laws of Tanzania?

I have stated that the heavy handed action against Muslims and Muslim preaching taken by the
CCM government is unconstitutional, religiously biased and that it has been deliberately instigated by the Catholic clergy in their campaign of disinformation that Muslim preaching was blasphemous. It may therefore be helpful to consider the nature of Muslim preaching and whether there has been any breach of law arising from that preaching; the reaction of leaders of the Catholic Church to Muslim preaching; and the CCM government’s response to the instigation by the Catholic clergy.

WHAT IS BLASPHEMY?
I have stated that the Catholic clergy has instigated the government to ban Muslim preaching for being blasphemous and insulting to Christianity. It is important therefore to briefly review what constitutes blasphemy before taking a look at Muslim preaching variously described as insulting, blasphemous, obscene, slanderous and defamatory by the Catholic clergy, the CCM government, and the media.

Definition of blasphemy
The Concise Oxford English Dictionary defines blasphemy as talking impiously; uttering profanity about; reviling. According to the Osborn Law Dictionary, blasphemy is the public or criminal libel of speaking matter relating to God, Jesus Christ, the Bible... intending to excite contempt and hatred against the church by law established.

In general, blasphemy may be described as consisting in speaking evil of God with an impious purpose to derogate from the Divine majesty and to alienate the minds of others from the love and reverence of God. It is purposely using words concerning God calculated and designed to impair and destroy the reverence, respect, and confidence due to Him as the intelligent Creator, Governor and Judge of the world. It embraces the idea of detraction, when used towards God, as "calumny" usually carries the same idea when applied to an individual. It is a wilful and malicious attempt to lessen man’s reverence of God by denying His existence or His attributes as an intelligent Creator, Governor and Judge of men and to prevent their having confidence in Him as such.

Blasphemy should be distinguished from heresy, which Osborn Law Dictionary describes as an
ecclesiastical offence consisting in the holding of a false opinion repugnant to some point of doctrine essential to the Christian faith.

Attack on truth of Christianity not an offence at common law

Stephen’s Digest of Criminal Law (9th edition) states the law of blasphemy at common law as follows: "Every publication is said to be blasphemous which contains any contemptuous, reviling, scurrilous or ludicrous matter relating to God, Jesus Christ or the Bible or the formularies of the Church of England as by law established. It is not blasphemous to speak or publish opinions hostile to the Christian religion or to deny the existence of God, if the publication is couched in decent and temperate language. The test to be applied is as to the manner in which the doctrines are advocated and not as to the substance of the doctrines themselves" (emphasis added).

In the case of Bowman v. Secular Society (1917), the House of Lords decided that an attack on or denial of the truth of Christianity, unaccompanied by vilification, ridicule or irreverence, was not contrary to the law. And in the case of R.v. Lemon (1979) whereby the publishers of the "Gay News" were convicted in 1977 for publishing a blasphemous libel consisting of material calculated to outrage and insult a Christian’s feelings (my respect and love for Jesus (peace be upon him) prevents me from repeating the actual facts), the Court of Appeal was of the view that a statement might be blasphemous if its tone was that of offence and insult, appealing not to reason, but to the wild and improper feelings of the human mind. Later on in the same case, the House of Lords underscored that in blasphemy, the test was the likelihood of outrage and insult and not the likelihood of breach of the peace.

It is therefore recognised under common law that it is not blasphemous to attack the fundamentals of religion if the decencies of controversy are observed. In fact the Law Commission of England was in 1985 of the view that the criminal law is not an appropriate means of enforcing respect for religious beliefs and that the common law offence of blasphemy should be abolished especially because there are other statutory offences aimed at offensive conduct which disturbs public worship or insulting behaviour directed at members of a religious group and likely to lead to a breach of the peace. It is relevant to note that in the U. K., prosecutions for blasphemy have been rare and in fact the Lemon case was the first prosecution in sixty years.
Law of blasphemy a criminal restraint on freedom of religion
The law of blasphemy is closely linked to the fundamental right of freedom of religion. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. Although freedom of religion includes the right to manifest religious beliefs by worship and practice or by teaching and dissemination, the law recognises such limits as are necessary to protect public safety, order, or morals or the fundamental rights and freedom of others. Therefore what is not prohibited is permitted so long as it is not restricted by other laws. For example, the criminal restraint in the law of blasphemy. This does not however mean that what may appear true to one religious group or to the state acting at its behest, may for religious purposes be imposed upon citizens who take a contrary view. The law safeguards religious groups from the threat of the tyranny of another religious group. Therefore so long as criticism, however disconcerting it may be to prevailing orthodoxy, is a search for the truth, it is not against the law. People cannot be punished for acting lawfully simply because of opposition from another body.

Restraint on the freedom of worship in Tanzania
Tanzania criminal law is basically received English criminal law with the main source of the Penal Code being the Draft Code of Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, of 1878. Over the years some changes have been made to reflect concrete local conditions. Thus for example in the criminal restraint on freedom of religion, all mention of Jesus Christ, Christianity and Church of England, was omitted, obviously recognising the multi-religious and multi-cultural heritage of Tanzania at the time of its introduction. That situation and those concrete conditions have not changed. Therefore Section 129 of the Penal Code which in effect imposes a criminal restraint on the freedom of religion provided for in Article 19 of the Constitution, provides that "any person who, with the deliberate intention of wounding the religious feelings of any person, utters any word, or makes any sound in the hearing of that person, or makes any gesture in the sight of that person, is guilty of an offence".

Guilt of the offence of uttering words with the intent of wounding religious feelings, depends on the proof that the uttering of the words was intended to wound religious feelings and that in fact the words wounded religious feelings.

What is blasphemy in Tanzania?
Therefore, cognisant of the multi-religious heritage of Tanzanian society, it is not an offence for a Christian to say that Jesus is God or is the Son of God this being the basis of Christian faith. Neither is it an offence for a Muslim to say that Jesus is not God or God’s son this being an article of Islamic faith that God is one and does not have equals, partners, or sons.

It is also not an offence for a Christian to state that Jesus was crucified and resurrected this being the foundation of Christianity. And neither is it an offence for a Muslim to state that Jesus was not crucified or resurrected this being part of Islamic faith that there is no vicarious atonement of sins. The bottom line is that what is blasphemy in Christianity is not blasphemy in Islam and vice versa.

To demonstrate that Section 129 was not intended to be interpreted according to either Christian or Islamic belief, let us take a look at one sample case from the multitude of such cases instituted against Muslims. The case in fact demonstrates just how spurious the contention by the Catholic clergy is and also why Muslim preaching is not blasphemous as it is widely being touted by the Catholic clergy, the CCM government and the local media. The case in question involves four Muslim preachers arraigned on 5 September 1996 as reported in the notoriously constrained government mouthpiece, the Daily News of 6 September 1996. Note that the government reporter refers to the accused in the same article twice as "Muslim Radicals" and "Muslim Fundamentalists" as if the accused were been tried for being "radical" and "fundamentalists" and not for what they are alleged to have done or omitted to do. It is apparent that in so far as this reporter and his editors are concerned, it is immaterial that this is only an arraignment, that nothing has so far been proved against the accused or the matter is sub judice and therefore it would not be in the interests of justice to start giving labels to the accused. To the obviously biased government newsmen what is important is the eye-catching phraseology and the urge to delude the public that those "radical and fundamentalist" Muslims are on the 'warpath'! Be that as it may, the article goes on to state that the accused uttered "anti-Christian" words at a sermon at Keko Magurumbasi Mosque in Dar Es Salaam on 4 September 1996 "intended to hurt Christian feelings". The news item further states that the accused are alleged to have said that "Jesus Christ was not God as explained in the Holy Trinity Doctrine" (emphasis added to show that this is obviously an addition by the reporter in his attempt to stress the gravity of the charge! No Muslim would qualify his assertion that Jesus is not God with such an equally contentious Catholic Church belief).
The gist of the charge against the Muslim preachers is that they had denied the divinity of Jesus. It is submitted that this per se is neither blasphemy nor the offence contemplated by Section 129 of the Penal Code. Whereas it might be true that to say Jesus is not God might be heretical in Christianity, it is not an offence under Section 129 or even blasphemy under the common law to deny the Godship of Jesus. For Muslims, according to the Qur’an, Jesus (peace be upon him) is not God but a prophet of God and in fact it is blasphemous to ascribe divinity to him!

We see the difficulty therefore of interpreting Section 129 strictly according to Catholic dogma. I think what Section 129 contemplates is more than that- more on the lines of the English case of Lemon (1979) referred to earlier on. There is nothing malicious or disrespectful in saying that Jesus is not God. This is an earnest pursuit of truth. And to challenge the truth of Christianity cannot per se be sufficient to sustain a criminal prosecution for blasphemy or uttering words with the intention of wounding religious feelings. Equally, it is not an offence under Section 129 for a Muslim to say that the Bible is not God’s word, because this Muslim belief is based on the Qur’an which states that the teachings of previous prophets contained in the Scriptures have been tampered with and distorted by people who did not believe in the true monotheistic religion.

But it would be an offence to say that either the Bible or Qur’an is trash; or that Christians or Muslims are fools; or that Prophet Muhammad died of AIDS. For there is nothing scholarly in such statements except insults appealing to the wild and improper feelings of the human mind.

It is relevant to note that according to the Criminal Procedure Act of 1985, the offence of intentionally uttering words which wound religious feelings is a warrant offence and a warrant is required to be issued by a magistrate in chambers following a complaint, before anyone can be arrested. What this means in plain words is that before anyone can be arrested and charged with intentionally uttering words to wound religious feelings, a complaint must first be laid and substantiated under oath in a court of law before a warrant of arrest is issued. It is therefore illegal to arrest a person against whom no charge has been formulated or warrant of arrest issued. It is relevant to note that the Tanzania Police have never observed this procedure when arresting Muslim preachers, a factor which demonstrates either their ineptitude or religious bias.

MUSLIM PREACHING
"Invite to the way of your Lord with wisdom and fair preaching; and argue with them in a way that is better. Truly, your Lord knows best who has gone astray from His Path and He is the Best Aware of those who are guided". -Qur’an 16: 125

"And who is better in speech than one who calls people to God, and does what is just and right, and says ‘I am one of those who have surrendered themselves to God’ " -Qur’an 41:33

Preaching of religion is a God-given right recognised by Article 19 of the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania. Article 19 provides in part that:

"19 (1) Every person is entitled to freedom of conscience, belief and choice in matters of religion , together with freedom to change one’s religion or belief (2)Subject to the relevant laws of the United Republic, the profession, practice, worship and propagation of religion shall be free and voluntary; ...

Why preaching is necessary

According to the Islamic world-view, from the beginning of mankind, true religion or guidance from God has always been one. People have strayed from or corrupted this guidance. True prophets have sought to renew and purify this guidance. But the various peoples to whom these prophets were sent often created their own "mixture" or religion both from what is true and from their own ingredients, additions and corruptions. To the extent that they took from what is true, we have similarities in the various "mixtures" or new-fangled religions. To the extent that they added their own corruptions, we have differences in those mixtures or religions. The one true religion has always taught belief in and obedience to the One God and this is what Islam literally is. According to the Qur’an, true religions do not exist; true religion exists. All the Prophets summoned us to one religion ; to one primary course and goal :

"God has ordained for you that religion which He commended to Noah, and that which We inspire in you ( O Prophet Muhammad), and that which We commended to Abraham, Moses and Jesus; uphold the religion and do not grow divided on it" - Qur’an 42:13
True religion or Islam has always been essentially one thing in all times and all places. A statement like "Islam was the last of the revealed religions" is therefore erroneous. All true Prophets were Muslims which literally means those who submit/surrender to the One God. Their message was essentially the same –Islam: to call men to worship and submit to One God. Adam was a Muslim; Abraham was a Muslim; Moses was a Muslim; Jesus was a Muslim. Rama, if he was a true Prophet, was a Muslim. It is against this background that Islamic preaching is undertaken. Based on the knowledge that even after he has erred or gone astray, man has the chance and capacity to return to his good nature and the Straight Path (true religion), Islam has provided the instrument of invitation or preaching (Da’wah) to bring back or call people to Islam. Calling people to Islam literally means invitation.

It does not mean coercion or force. No one can be compelled to believe or disbelieve. The Qur’an clearly states that "There is no compulsion in religion" even as it emphasizes that truth and right guidance provided in Islam has been made distinct from error. Thus invitation means calling people to Islam "with wisdom and fair preaching". Even when the Prophet Moses was asked by God to meet Pharaoh, he was told to speak to him in "gentle words" and hold out the hope of reform to him.

Muslims have an obligation therefore to people of other faiths to invite them to Islam and the worship of One God free from all human associations. As a result of the preaching, people may choose to return to their naturally good state and become Muslim or alternatively they may choose to remain in their religion. There can be no hint of arrogance and aggression in giving someone an invitation, without any coercion or force, for the Qur’an has specifically laid down: "Let there be no compulsion in religion" for "Truth has been made distinct from falsehood". Preaching is required to be practised with due attention to the Qur’anic advice "Invite to the way of your Lord with wisdom and fair preaching".

Why comparative religious study in Muslim preaching
Muslim preachers have adopted the method of comparative religion to call to Islam fellow Tanzanians who have strayed to Christianity. In that process they use both the Qur’an and the Bible to prove to Christians just how far they have strayed.
In using the Bible it does not mean that it is the only way to get at the Truth of God. The Qur’an has expounded in the most unambiguous terms on Christians doctrines:

Sin is not inherited –Qur’an 2:123;6:164;53:38-42 The ‘Trinity’ is a fabrication-4:171-172;5:73 Jesus is not God-4:171-172;5:17;5:72-75;5:116-118 Christ was never killed or crucified-4:157-158

Muslims adduce Christian Scriptures to prove their viewpoint because they are dealing with minds which have been programmed from childhood to accept dogmas without reasoning. Christians have been taught at Sunday schools and have been hearing since their childhood that Jesus is the Son of God etc. It should also be remembered that the concrete conditions of Tanzania necessitate the adoption of this method. The colonization and subjugation of Africa during the last two centuries by European colonial powers resulted in a simultaneous invasion of Africa by Christian missionaries who through guile and disinformation propagated Christianity, using schools and hospitals to lure the people. It is incumbent upon the Muslims to help their Christian brethren by freeing them from the shackles that blind their thinking for the past two thousand years:

"You are the best of peoples ever raised up for mankind; you enjoin what is right and forbid what is wrong, and you believe in God. And had the people of the Scripture (Jews and Christians) believed, it would have been better for them; among them are some who have faith, but most of them are transgressors" -Qur’an 3:110

In calling Christians to Islam, Muslims use the Christians’ own book of authority, the Bible, to refute their claims. The Qur’an commands Muslims to demand from Jews and Christians their authority for their fanciful claims that "salvation" is exclusively their right; "Produce your proof if you are truthful" -Qur’an 2:111 Christian missionaries have reproduced the Bible in over a thousand languages and broadcast it all over the world, terrifying the nations of the world to accept that "Christ died for the sins of mankind" and that he (Jesus) is the "only saviour". And all this against the clear evidence of the Bible. Muslims are therefore obliged to free Christians from their illusions and there is no better way than to use their own evidence and their own logic to refute their claims.
In using the Bible, Muslims do not attack the Bible as such. According to Gary Miller, a Canadian Muslim mathematician who reverted to Islam, Muslims "attack the unjustified attitude held by some Christian theologians concerning the Bible. Muslims believe the Bible to contain God's words, but they do not accept the entire contents as such. Deciding which portions deserve acceptance by Muslims is not a matter of convenience. It is a matter of consistency. Those portions, and only those portions, which are self-consistent, compatible with reason and self-proclaimed as divinely revealed, deserve consideration by Muslims" (Gary Miller "A Concise Reply to Christianity: "A Muslim View " in A Collection of Comparative Religion Booklets by Ahmed Deedat and others, Durban).

Similarities and Differences between Christians and Muslims

It should be remembered that in calling Christians to Islam, Muslims are aware of the many important elements that are common to Islam and Christianity. Muslims and Christians share many similar beliefs, values, moral injunctions and principles of behaviour. The Virgin Mary and her son Jesus, may peace be upon them both, are mentioned often in the Qur'an. In fact there is a of chapter of the Qur'an named after her called Maryam. The major difference between the two faiths concerns the nature and the role of Jesus.

Jesus, referred to in the Qur'an as 'Isa ibn Maryam'-Jesus the son of Mary- is one of the greatest of the prophets of God whom Muslims hold in very deep love and respect.

The Qur'an confirms that Jesus was born of a virgin mother (Mary) through the same Power that brought Adam into being without a father – "Verily, in the sight of God, the nature of Jesus is the nature of Adam, whom He created out of clay and then said unto him "Be" and he is. This is the truth from your Lord and Sustainer; be not then among the doubters" – Qur'an 3:59. Jesus, with God's permission, wrought many miraculous deeds. He was given the power to speak as a baby, to heal the sick, to raise the dead, and to reach the hearts of men with the guidance he brought from God. Finally, when he was in danger of being killed by some of his own people, he was "raised up" by God. The Qur'an states that he was not killed nor was he crucified.

The Qur'an states emphatically in passage after passage that Jesus is not God's son, that he never claimed to be God's son or of Divine nature but rather charged his followers to worship God alone. It also states that the notion of the most High God having a son is so
totally degrading to and far removed from His exaltedness and transcendence that it actually constitutes an awesome piece of blasphemy:

"Say, O followers of earlier revelation! Come unto the tenet which we and you hold in common; that we shall worship none but God, and that we shall not ascribe divinity to anyone beside Him, and that we shall not take human beings for our lords beside God" –Qur'an 3:64

"And some assert: "The Most Gracious has taken unto Himself a son." Indeed (by this assertion) you utter something monstrous, at which the heavens might well-nigh be rent into fragments, and the earth be split asunder, and the mountains fall down in ruins! That men should ascribe a son to the Most Gracious although it is inconceivable that the Most Gracious should take unto Himself a son! Not one of all the beings that are in the heavens or on earth appears before the Most Gracious other than a servant" -Qur'an 19:88-93

For the Creator and the Sustainer of this infinitely complex and vast universe is far above anything we can conceive of, and the physical attributes and limitations of created beings can never be imagined to apply to Him. If Jesus were indeed God's son, he would be a sharer in the Godhead and of Divine nature himself, and in that case God would have simultaneously begotten, been begotten, been born, lived as a human being, and died. Such a notion does not merit any comment. It has much more in common with pagan mythologies, in which "gods" fathered semi-divine children by human women, than with a true religion coming from God and based on the reality of the relationship between the Creator and the created. Hence the claim that Jesus is God's son cannot be, by its nature, other than a false one because it contradicts the very nature and attributes of the Creator Himself, bringing Him down to the level of beings He has created. In the words of the Qur'an:

"They say 'God has begotten a Son'. Glory be upon Him! Nay, to Him belongs all that is in the heavens and on earth. Everything renders worship to Him. To Him is due the primal origin of the heavens and the earth. When He decrees a matter, He (merely) says to it 'Be' and it is - 2:116:117."
Vicarious atonement for sins

Islam also does not accept the notion that Jesus died on the cross, and that he died to save humanity’s sin. It does not accept the notion of Original Sin whereby Adam’s original disobedience of God has been inherited by all his descendants. In other words, it does not accept that all human beings on earth are sinful because of Adam’s disobedience of God. Adam repented and was forgiven by God.

Islam therefore affirms that every human being comes into the world innocent and sinless. A new-born baby does not bear the burden of a sin committed by an ancestor. This would be a negation of God’s attribute of justice and compassion.

To further claim that the taint of this sin is certain to put every human being into Hell for all eternity unless the Deity sacrifices Himself for His creatures is also a denial of the justice and good will of the Creator towards His creation. No one can be saved except by the mercy and grace of God and by his acknowledging and surrendering himself to the Creator and His guidance. A person can turn to his Creator in obedience and repentance without the need for an intermediary or intercessor:

"And remain conscious of a Day when no human being shall in the least avail another, nor will compensation be accepted from any of them, nor will intercession be of any use to them and none shall be succoured" -Qur’an 2:123

Doctrine of the Trinity

Another major point of difference between Islam and Christianity is in the doctrine of the Trinity. If God is one, as Christians profess to believe just as Muslims do, there is no way by which He can at the same time be Three- that there are three Gods in One and One in three! Even a very young child can grasp the obvious truth of this. The Trinity is usually explained by Christians as meaning not three Gods but three parts or persons of the One God having different functions. But God is not like a cake or an orange which can be divided into three thirds which form one whole; if God is three persons or possesses three parts, He is assuredly not the Single, Unique, Indivisible Being which God is and which Christianity professes to believe in. To Muslims this makes absolutely no sense, and even if it is
explained by Christian theologians as being a "Mystery" too high for any human mind to grasp, belief in the Trinity is regarded by Islam as a form of polytheism.

And in any event, the Trinity is not biblical. The word Trinity is not even in the Bible or Bible dictionaries; was never taught by Jesus and was never mentioned by him. There is no basis or proof in the Bible whatsoever for the acceptance of the Trinity. Some Christians scholars have also reached this conclusion. Writes Tom Harpur, Canadian syndicated columnist on religion with The Sunday Star and former professor of New Testament at the Toronto School of Theology, in his best-selling book, For Christ's Sake (Oxford University Press, Toronto, 1986):

"In fact, very few preachers can give a reasonable account of either the doctrine of the Trinity or the doctrine of the Incarnation, that is Jesus was truly human and yet fully God. They repeat formulae that were worked out, with much quarrelling and bitterness, in the fourth and fifth centuries by men whose need, outlook, and the understanding of the universe were vastly different from our own. These formulae are no longer useful – instead, they raise an insurmountable barrier for many who might otherwise become disciples of Jesus in our day".

What is most embarrassing for the Church is the difficulty of proving any of these statements of dogma from the New Testament documents. You simply cannot find the doctrine of the Trinity set out anywhere in the Bible...Nor does Jesus himself anywhere explicitly claim to be the Second Person of the Trinity, wholly equal to his heavenly Father. As a pious Jew, he would have been shocked and offended by such an idea.

Over the last decade or so, I have talked as long and as frequently as possible about these particular doctrines with intelligent lay people and clergy of all denominations, and I have found widespread confusion – in itself bad enough. But there is worse to come. This research has led me to believe that the great majority of regular church goers are, for all practical purposes, tritheists. That is, they profess to believe in one God but in reality they worship three". (page 7) (emphasis added)

Christian theologians of course, in an attempt to support the Nicene Creed of Trinity, argue that Jesus himself had said to "Go therefore and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing
them in the name of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit" (Matthew 28:19), and thus the doctrine of Trinity stands endorsed by the Scripture and the Christ. But according to Harpur "All but the most conservative of scholars agree that at least the latter part of this command (Matt. 28:19) was inserted later". (For Christ's Sake, page 84). In any case, the most important factor is the status. Where does it say that the three identities are co-equal?

The strongest evidence for the doctrine of the Trinity was provided in 1 John 5:7-8 in the authorised King James Version of the Bible as "For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness in the earth, the spirit, and the water, and the blood: and these three agree in one" But now this part, "the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one" has been expunged in the Revised Standard Version of the Bible of 1971 and in many other Bibles, as it was a gloss that had encroached on the Greek text.

1 John 5:7-8 in the Revised Standard Version of the Bible reads as follows "And the spirit is the witness, because the spirit is the truth. There are three witnesses, the spirit, the water, and the blood; and these three agree". Most Christians, including clergy and preachers, are not aware of this.

The formulation of the doctrine of the Trinity by Athanasius, an Egyptian deacon from Alexandria, was accepted by the Council of Nicaea in A.D. 325, more than three centuries after Jesus had left. Undoubtedly, Roman paganism – the triune god – had influence in this doctrine. Just as December 25, the birthday of their sun-god Mithra, was introduced as Jesus’ birthday.

The foregoing then, is briefly, the position of Islam on Jesus and Christianity, the subject of Muslim preaching referred to as blasphemous by the Catholic clergy.

But if Jesus did not himself say that he was the son of God and saviour of the world, how is it that the Gospels attribute such a claim to him? And how is it that all Christians since his time have believed this?

It must be remembered that not all Christians, even at the present time, believe this. Some groups exist today which do not believe in his divinity, and in early times there were a
number of sects, later pronounced by the Church Fathers to be heretical when it was "decided" that Jesus was of divine nature, who differed on this matter, holding that Jesus was a human being and a prophet; among them were some which did not believe that Jesus was crucified but that another person very much resembling him was crucified in his stead.

It must also be remembered that Jesus’ humanity is not a new issue that arose with the modern criticism of the biblical texts or with the rise of Islam. The history of Christianity is rife with such discussions. Nor has there been a dearth of Christians who dared to deny Jesus’ divinity. As early as 1546 in Munster, Holland, 30,000 people were put to death because they denied Jesus’ divinity. (E. M. Wilbur, A History of Unitarianism: Socianism and its Antecedents Beacon Press, Boston 1945 (page 41 ). In 1978, Professor Robert Alley was sacked from the chairmanship of the Department of Religion, University of Richmond (Virginia), because he denied that Jesus ever claimed to be the Son of God. Times have changed, otherwise he would have lost his head – a fact Rev. John Gray, leader of Scotland’s Presbyterian Church could not resist saying on the publication of John Hick’s The Myth of God Incarnate in July 1977 : "... In a more militant age I would have laid a charge of heresy" (International Tribune, July 1977).

Be that as it may, such "heretical" sects were suppressed and almost entirely obliterated. Writes the American Muslim scholar, Suleiman Mufassir in his pamphlet Jesus in the Qur’an (Plainfield Indiana, page14 ), that "It is significant that those doctrines which the Qur’an-affirms can easily be proved to be part of the teachings of the early disciples, whereas those doctrines which the Qur’an rejects prove to be later Church additions, inspired by the philosophies and cults of pagan Greece and Rome".

As to the claim attributed to Jesus of being God’s son, it must be remembered that the four New Testament Gospels, the books of Mathew, Mark, Luke and John, were written many years after Jesus’ time. Biblical scholarship has established the fact that none of their authors was the immediate disciple of Jesus; moreover, they did not write in Jesus’ own language, Aramaic, but in Greek. By the time they wrote their accounts of his life, a great many things about Jesus had been "lost" or forgotten and many more had been interpolated, and moreover, Christianity was then being moulded into a form which would appeal to Greeks and Romans rather than to Palestinian Jews.

Contradictions and inconsistencies in the Bible
Jesus most certainly did bring a divinely – revealed scripture. However, although it is obvious from their content that the Four Gospels do contain some parts of the message of submission and accountability which Jesus brought, these are simply biographical accounts of Jesus' life and mission by four different men, not the Divine revelation brought by Jesus himself. The greater part of the material contained in the Gospels does not meet the important criteria by which a true revelation may be recognized, namely that it should be transmitted word for word as received from God by the person to whom it was directly revealed, not through a second or fifth-hand source. Even the claim that the Gospels were written under Divine inspiration does not hold together since there are many inconsistencies and discrepancies among these four equally "inspired" accounts.

It is a fact that relatively few Christians are aware of the fact that the four Gospels not only contradict each other but at times violently disagree. According to the French surgeon, Maurice Bucaille, in his book, *The Bible, The Qur'an and Science* (1979, Indianapolis, American Trust Publications), Christians are very often astonished at the existence of contradictions between the Gospels – if they ever discover them. This is because they have been repeatedly told in tones of the greatest assurance that the New Testament authors were the "eye witnesses" of the events they describe! It is also because the majority of Christians know only selected sections of the Gospels read during Church services or commented upon during sermons. Also, particularly for Catholics, it is not customary for them to read the Gospels in their entirety; books of religious instruction only containing extracts with the "in extenso" texts hardly circulated at Roman Catholic Schools. Bucaille observes that there can be no doubt that a complete reading of the Gospels is likely to disturb Christians profoundly.

The more one studies the Gospels, the more the contradictions between them become apparent. Indeed, they do not even agree on the day of the crucifixion. According to John's Gospel, the crucifixion occurred on the day before the Passover. According to the Gospels of Mark, Luke, and Mathew, it occurred on the day after. And most significantly, the Gospel of John makes absolutely no reference to the institution of the Eucharist – the consecration of the bread and wine which become the body and blood of Jesus – the most essential act of the Christian liturgy. How can this omission in John's Gospel be explained? If one reasons objectively, the hypothesis that springs immediately to mind – always supposing the story as told by the other three evangelists is exact – is that a passage of John's Gospel
relating to the said episode was lost. Explanations by Christian theologians that 'John was not interested in the traditions and institutions of a bygone Israel, and was therefore dissuaded from showing the institution of the Eucharist in the Passover liturgy' do not really help to explain the omission. Are we seriously to believe that it was a lack of interest in the Jewish liturgy which led John not to describe the institution of the most fundamental act in the liturgy of the new religion?

Nor are the Gospels in accord on the personality and character of Jesus. Each depicts a figure who is obviously at odds with the figure depicted in others – a meek, lamblike Saviour in Luke, for example; a powerful and majestic sovereign in Mathew who comes "not to bring peace but a sword". There is also disagreement about Jesus' last words on the cross. In Mathew and Mark, these words are "My God, My God, Why hast thou forsaken me?" In Luke, they are, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit". And in John, they are simply, "It is finished".

Given the discrepancies, the Gospels cannot be claimed to be divinely inspired and where they are, God's words have been deliberately censored, edited, revised and re–written by human hands.

It must be remembered that the Bible – including both the Old Testament and New Testament – is only a selection of works and in many respects a somewhat arbitrary one. In fact it could well include far more books and writings than it actually does. Nor is there any question of the missing books having been "lost". On the contrary, they were deliberately excluded. In 367 A.D. Bishop Athanasius of Alexandria compiled a list of works to be included in the New Testament. This list was ratified by the Church Council of Hippo in 393 A.D. and again by the Council of Carthage in 397 A.D. At these councils, a selection was agreed upon. Certain works were assembled to form the New Testament as we know it today, and others were offhandedly ignored. How can such a process of selection possibly be regarded as definitive? How could a conclave of clerics infallibly decide that certain books "belonged" in the Bible while others did not? Especially when some of the excluded books – for example the Gospel of Barnabas accepted as a Canonical (official) Gospel in the churches of Alexandria up to until 325 A.D., that is until the Council of Nicea when the doctrine of the Trinity was declared to be the official doctrine of the Pauline Church – have a perfectly valid claim to historical veracity?
Moreover, as it exists today, the Bible is not only a product of a more or less arbitrary selective process. It has also been subjected to some fairly drastic editing, censorship and revision. For example, in 1958, Professor Morton Smith of Columbia University discovered in a monastery near Jerusalem a letter that contained a missing fragment of the Gospel of Mark. This missing fragment had not been lost but had been deliberately suppressed at the instigation of Bishop Clement of Alexandria ("Secret Gospel", Professor Morton Smith, Columbia University).

And if Mark’s Gospel was so drastically expurgated, it was also burdened with spurious additions. In its original version, it ends with the crucifixion, the burial and the empty tomb. There is no resurrection scene, no reunion with the disciples. Though certain modern Bibles contain a conventional ending that does include the resurrection, virtually all modern biblical scholars concur that this expanded ending is a later addition dating from the late second century and appended to the original document. The oldest manuscripts of the Scriptures including the Codex Vaticanus and the Codex Sinaiticus do not have the present ending to Mark’s Gospel. In both of them, Mark’s Gospel finishes at 16:8. Both date from the fourth century, the time when the whole Bible was collected into one volume for the first time.

The Gospel of Mark thus provides two instances of a sacred document – supposedly Divinely inspired – that has been tampered with, edited, censored, and revised by human hands. Those two cases are not speculative; biblical scholars now accept them as demonstrable and proven. If Mark’s Gospel was so easily doctored, it is reasonable to assume that the other Gospels were similarly treated. The conclusion to be drawn from all this is that although in the Gospels we can find obvious traces of the message which Jesus brought in his emphasis on man’s accountability to God, the necessity of sincerity and obedience to God, and the certainty of the Day of Judgement and the Hereafter, the claim of divinity attributed to Jesus is so completely at variance not only with the oneness and uniqueness of God Most High, but also to the remainder of the message of submission to God which Jesus brought, that it is impossible to regard it as other than a fabrication. This fits in with the fact that later Christianity was abundantly interwoven with mythological content drawn from pagan sources – the cult of Sol Invictus and Mithraism, for instance – plus a theology which was produced as the need arose to suit the mentality of the times and protect the hold of a power – hungry priesthood over the masses.
Pauline Christianity

Few Christians today realise that the religion they are following contains little resemblance to the message Jesus brought. Contrary to what Christian missionaries and theologians have over the years presented as the history of Christianity from the decades following Jesus’ mission, events did not at all happen in the way they have been said to have taken place. Peter’s arrival in Rome in no way laid the foundations for the Church. On the contrary, from the time Jesus left earth to the second half of the second century, there was a struggle between two factions. One was what one might call Pauline Christianity and the other, Judeo – Christianity. It was only very slowly that the first supplanted the second, and Pauline Christianity triumphed over Judeo – Christianity.

A study of the Acts of the Apostles, the Gospel of Barnabas, the Dead Sea Scrolls and research writings of modern scholars and historians establishes beyond doubt that what we call "Christianity" today is the evolution of a movement centred on St. Paul and his teachings – a religion which came to have less and less to do with Jesus. More and more people are now aware that the Christianity they know has little to do with the original teachings of Jesus. During the last two centuries the research of historians has proven the fact that the Christ of the established Church has almost nothing to do with the Jesus of history. Christians are thus left with a dilemma towards the truth. The fundamental difficulty is, as pointed out by Adolf Harnack, (A. Harnack Outline of the History of Dogma, quoted in Muhammad Ataur-Rahim’s Jesus Prophet of Islam Tahrike Tarsile Qur’an, Inc, Elmhurst, New York , 1991), that "By the fourth century the living Gospel had been masked in Greek philosophy. It was the historians’ mission to pluck off the mask and thus reveal how different had been the original contours of the faith beneath". Harnack observes that this doctrinal mask worn long enough can reshape the face of religion:

"The mask acquires a life of its own – the Trinity, the two natures of Christ, infallibility, and all proportions seconding these dogmas, were the product of historic decisions and the situations that might have turned out quite differently...nevertheless... early or late, product or reshaping force, this dogma remains what it has been from the beginning, a bad habit of intellectualization which the Christian picked up from the Greek when he fled from the Jews"

Harnack enlarges on his theme in his other book "What is Christianity" where he admits that:
"...the fourth Gospel does not emanate or profess to emanate from the apostle John, who cannot be taken as an historical authority... the author of the fourth Gospel acted with sovereign freedom, transposed events and put them in a strange light. He drew up the discussions himself and illustrated great thoughts with imaginary situations.

Harnack further refers to the work of the famous Christian historian, David Strauss, whom he describes as having "almost destroyed the historic credibility not only of the fourth but also of the first three Gospels as well".

According to Johannes Lehmann, another historian, the writers of the four accepted Gospels describe a different Jesus from the one who can be identified by historic reality. Lehmann quotes Heinz Zahrnt who points out the consequences of this:

"If historical research could prove that an irreconcilable antithesis exists between the historical Jesus and Christ as preached, and therefore the belief in Jesus has no support in Jesus himself, that would not only be absolutely fatal theologically, as N.A. Dahl says, but would also mean the end of all Christology. Yet I am convinced that even then we theologians would be able to find a way out – was there a time when we couldn’t? – but we are either lying now or would be lying then".

Thus Christianity is in a dilemma today as regards truth. It is a serious trend, because in getting deeply involved with the details of what became of Jesus’ teaching and the Churches and sects which followed after him, the original purpose of his teaching is overlooked or forgotten.

Be that as it may, the ‘Christianity’ which evolved from St. Paul severed virtually all connection with its roots and can no longer be said to have anything to do with Jesus, only with Paul’s image of Jesus. Jesus unequivocally adhered to the Law of Moses:

"Do not imagine that I have come to abolish the Law or the Prophets. I have come not to abolish but to complete them. I tell you solemnly until heaven and earth pass away, not one dot, not one little stroke, shall disappear from the Law until its purpose is achieved. Therefore, the man who infringes even one of the least of these
Commandments and teaches others to do the same, will be considered the least in the Kingdom of Heaven...(Sermon on the Mount – Matt. 5:17-19).

But Paul betrayed Jesus’ position on the Law. In order to make his movement compatible to the Greek and Roman world, Paul, on his personal authority alone, took the fatal step of rendering almost the entire body of the Law of Moses nullified on the sophistry that "the letter of the law kills but the spirit gives life”. In the Letter to the Galatians (2:16) Paul states that "faith in Christ rather than fidelity to the Law is what justifies us, and .... no one can be justified by keeping the Law". And in the Letter to the Romans (1:17), Paul states that "this is what reveals the justice of God to us: it shows how faith leads to faith, or as scripture says: the upright man finds life through faith". This Pauline theological concept of faith also appears in the Letter to the Galatians (3:11) "...the Law will not justify anyone in the sight of God, because we are told: the righteous man finds life through faith".

It is important to note that Paul’s theological position deviated irreparably from those disciples of Jesus who adhered strictly to the Law of Moses as taught by Jesus himself. Paul in fact never pretended to be "selling" the historical Jesus. On the contrary, he acknowledged, in 2 Corinthians 11:3-4, that the disciples in Jerusalem were promulgating "another Jesus" whereas he was promulgating Christ!

Paul thus preached that men are not saved by their works but by their faith in Jesus Christ as having shed on the cross his redeeming blood for the vicarious sin of mankind. Thus he argued, whoever believed in Jesus Christ as his saviour, shall attain salvation. Henceforth, the prescriptions of the Law of Moses are annulled, except, of course, the basic moral commandments. Paul never realised that although laws in themselves cannot compel men to be virtuous, as means to that end, by encouraging the right way of life, combined with a strong social backing, they certainly are indispensable for reducing the evils to a minimum.

True enough, Jesus had most vehemently condemned an arrogant adherence to the letter of the Law while at the same time violating its spirit, but he never on that premise assumed, as Paul did, that the entire body of the Law was useless!

Paul abolished circumcision and declared the consumption of swine-flesh, blood, carrion and the drinking of wine permissible for believers! On what authority, except his own personal convictions, did Paul have the right to declare the forbidden permissible? Even
Jesus (peace be upon him), whom Paul preached as the Incarnation of God, never claimed such pretensions.

Michael Baigent and Richard Leigh in their book, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Deception* (1991 Corgi Books London), conclude that Paul is in effect the first "Christian" heretic and that his teachings, which are the foundation of Christianity have made the latter what is today – a religion about Jesus bearing little relevance to the actual teachings of Jesus. The bottom line is that, Christians, since Paul's time, have forgotten the message and instead taken to worshipping the Messenger! There is therefore justification for Heinz Zahrnt calling Paul a "corrupter of the Gospel of Jesus" (quoted in Lehmann's "The Jesus Report", p.126), and Werde describing him as "the second founder of Christianity ("The Jesus Report", p 127). Werde says that due to Paul, ..."the discontinuity between the historical Jesus and the Christ of the Church became so great that any unity between them is scarcely recognisable". Schonfield, ( quoted in "The Jesus Report", p128) wrote that, "The Pauline heresy became the foundation of Christian orthodoxy and the legitimate Church was disowned as heretical".

Paul, a self-declared renegade (Acts 8:3) had never had personal acquaintance with Jesus and it was only his quasi-mystical experience in the desert (Acts 9:1; 22:6-16) which led him to distort Jesus' teachings beyond all recognition – to formulate, in fact, his own highly individual and idiosyncratic theology, and then to legitimise it by spuriously ascribing it to Jesus. Paul, in effect, turned away from God and established for the first time, worship of Jesus – to compete with the Greek and Roman 'gods' in line with Paul's design – in total opposition to the community of Jesus' followers in Jerusalem led by James, the brother of Jesus – to preach the message of Jesus abroad. For Jesus, adhering strictly to the Law of Moses, it would have been the most extreme blasphemy to advocate the worship of any human figure, including himself. Jesus makes this clear in the Gospels, urging his disciples, followers and listeners to acknowledge only God. In John 10:33-5 for example, Jesus is accused of the blasphemy of claiming to be God. He replies, citing Psalm 82, "Is it not written in your Law, I (meaning God in the Psalm) said, you are Gods? So the Law uses the word of gods of those to whom the word of God was addressed".

It is against this background that Muslim preaching to Christians is based. Based on the eloquent
exposition of the Qur’an on Jesus and his message and on extensive biblical studies by scholars and historians, Muslims are endeavouring to enlighten their Christian brethren that the religion they are preoccupied with is Pauline Christianity and not that brought by Jesus (peace be upon him) and that the Bible they are reading (or ought to read and study in extenso) is not wholly divinely inspired as they have been misled to believe.

It must be emphasized that, Muslims, as it has already been noted earlier on believe in Jesus as a Prophet of God as a fundamental article of faith in Islam. A Muslim can never think of Jesus in any derogatory terms. A Muslim is not at liberty to defame or insult Jesus or any other prophet of God. Although very unpopular among Christians, the Islamic beliefs about Jesus do not intend in any way to belittle his role or underestimate his character or degrade his great personality. On the contrary, Islamic beliefs depict Jesus in a most respectable manner and place him as high in status as God Himself has placed him. In fact, the Muslim is more respectful of Jesus than many Christians.

But the attitude of Islam should not be misunderstood. It must not be interpreted as appeasing or flattering or compromising. It is to be taken as the truth, in which Muslims strongly believe and will continue to believe. It is the truth of yesterday, the truth of today and the truth of tomorrow.

It must be remembered that this method of using dialogue and debates in preaching in Tanzania was first observed by Christians missionaries in Muslim areas of Zanzibar and the coast, when they were trying to convert African Muslims to Christianity and western (European) way of life.

Writing in the book Islam in East Africa (Dr. Lyndon Harries, U. M. C. A, 1954 London), Rev. Canon Broomfield talks of Canon Godfrey Dale’s missionary work, work which led Broomfield to conclude that Christian missionaries "shall make few converts from Islam through controversy on the intellectual level" - :

"Dale would have discussions with Muslim teachers, often surrounded by a large Muslim audience, it seemed to me he was quite first – rate in the way he presented his arguments and answered theirs. And they loved, it but they loved it as an argument. It was all perfectly good – tempered, and the Muslim audience seemed to
applaud with equal pleasure when a debating point was made whether by Dale or their own leaders…"

From Rev. Canon Broomfield’s observation, it can clearly be seen that public debates on religion apart from being a not too recent innovation, have also always been peaceful. But most importantly, it will also be seen that Christian missionaries and leaders are reluctant to enter into dialogue with targeted converts to win them over by reason and logic. They prefer instead to woo them by establishing schools and hospitals – to demonstrate to them of the superiority of Western ways. In the words of Dr. Harries “there is a preference (in East Africa) for the Christian hymn over the Muslim chant. The Christian hymn is related to the school and the hospital, to college and individual status in a society with a predominantly Western trend…for the progressive Africans…Christianity is responsible for the changes in traditional African society – having made a flying start over Islam” (p. 27). He further states that the future of the African peoples lies…with those progressive Africans who identify themselves with Western concepts and values”. He also argues (p. 28) that Islam has nothing to offer Africans; education after the Western pattern has been provided by Christian missions; Muslim students study in “our universities” because the standard of Western education is higher in African communities where the Christian mission is at work than in Muslim areas where the Christian mission is only represented.

Dr. Harries concludes that the direction in East Africa is towards the west and the Christian religion and away from the east and Islam! This is hardly the place to comment on such a bigoted and supremacist ideology. Suffice to say that one can see how Christian missionaries have been responsible for the spread of materialistic values throughout the world. One can also understand the truth in the argument that Christian missionaries in Africa and elsewhere were not really interested in the spiritual awakening of man but rather with assisting European colonialists in the subjugation of conquered peoples.

REACTION OF THE CATHOLIC CLERGY TO MUSLIM PREACHING

"They (Jews and Christians) have made their rabbis and priests as their Lords besides God, and likewise the Messiah, the son of Mary, although they (Jews and Christians) were enjoined not to worship any other than the One God, besides Whom there is none worthy of worship. Praise and glory be to Him, from what they associate with Him”.

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Qur’an 9:31
"They (the disbelievers, the Jews and the Christians) want to extinguish the light of Allah with their mouths but Allah will not allow except that His light should be perfected even though the disbelievers hate it" – Qur’an 9:32

"O believers, indeed most of the rabbis and priests devour the wealth of others by falsehood and hinder them from the Way of Allah" – Qur’an 9:34

Open air debates (mihadhara) conducted by Muslims have been successful in converting Christians, some of them priests, to Islam. Leaders of the Roman Catholic Church were alarmed and not having the wherewithal of intellectually checking the trend, they turned to the government, instigating it to ban Muslim preaching, alleging that it was blasphemous and insulting to Christianity. And somewhat darkly, the Catholic clergy insinuated that the preaching was a threat to the peace of Tanzania.

It is submitted that the ploy by the Catholic Clergy was nothing but melodrama and disinformation. It was a strategy by which Muslims were to be vilified as enemies of peace and draw the government as accomplices in defeating that enemy. Give the dog a bad name and then kill it!

Thus Cardinal Pengo (then Archbishop Pengo) was to say in his pastoral letter of 1993 (St. Paul Publications, Nairobi) as Archbishop of Dar Es Salaam that "...religious disputations, polemics and blasphemous debates of Muslim (groups) against Christianity is a clear sign of the emergence in Tanzania of militant Islam or Islamic fundamentalism. Cognisant of the effects of the spread of militant Islam or Islamic fundamentalism in any country or nation, we have every reason to be worried over the maintenance of peace in our country...". Cardinal Pengo goes on to state that "...at public debates on religion against Christianity being conducted by Muslim Fundamentalists, matters which are fundamental in Christian faith are attacked e.g. Divinity of Jesus, Resurrection of Christ, Christ in Holy Eucharist e.t.c.".

Cardinal Pengo’s pastoral letter was followed by an "Official Statement by the Council of Catholic Bishops of Tanzania" signed by its chairman Bishop Josaphat Lebulu. In that declaration of 1993, the Catholic Bishops stated, inter alia, that "...There is open contempt for Christianity. (There are) blasphemous public lectures; blasphemous cassettes and some insulting newspapers (presumably AN-NUUR weekly paper, the only Muslim
newspaper in Tanzania). We have discovered that the silence by the government is an excuse for encouraging this blasphemy and hate. We have discovered that believers and all people of good intention among the various religions, including Muslims, are fed up with distaste for such blasphemy; they are also fed up with government silence in not taking appropriate measures to stamp out such blasphemy”.

The declaration goes on to state that "... this situation of religious defamation nullifies all efforts (of building peace, love and understanding among the people of Tanzania). Thus instead of peace, such a situation builds confrontation; enmity instead of love; chaos instead of tranquillity and disunity instead of understanding. The end result is the spilling of blood”.

The Catholic bishops further claim that "Such blasphemy demoralises people and instils in their hearts religious indiscipline" contrary to our culture of valuing sacred matters. It must be remembered that the respect for sacred matters was the spiritual basis which made us to respect human dignity, various authorities and to value everyone’s religion. Contrary to that, defaming the faith of others (directly) leads us to contempt for responsibility, disrespect for people’s lives and degeneration into drugs and prostitution. That is why blasphemy against the faith of others is an unbearable insult. The result is REBELLION, which manifests itself in various forms and acts. Who is going to be answerable should such a REBELLION occur in Tanzania? We as leaders of the Roman Catholic Church in Tanzania built on foundation of faith in Christ, man – God who died and was resurrected for all mankind, oppose and condemn all religious defamation. We beg our government to protect the freedom and respect for religion of Tanzanians without any favour”.

It is noteworthy that the Catholic clergy launched their attack on Muslim preaching during President Mwinyi’s last term in office, insinuating that the former President, a Muslim, was encouraging it by not taking any measures to stamp it out. But Mwinyi, realising the nature of the problem, had tried to mediate in a meeting he called of Bishops and Sheikhs; the mediation failed because the Bishops could not come up with evidence to support their charges. But they continued their attack, culminating in the now (in)famous Lwambano admonition on Radio Tumaini on 8 February 1998.

Be that as it may, it is a fact that the attack by the Catholic leaders was melodramatic, provocative and full of disinformation, lacking any legal justification and deliberately calculated to stir up feelings of alarm and consternation in Tanzanians so as to ensure that
the government and average Christians come to see Islam and Muslims as a threat to the peace of Tanzania. There was absolutely no evidence of insults, hate or threat to the peace of Tanzania. Ordinary Christians (not the priesthood) and Muslims got on just fine with their lives, co-operating with each other in public and private life totally oblivious of any threat, real or imagined, to their peace and security. Their only worries centred on runaway inflation, economic mismanagement, embezzlement, high corruption, rising crime and erosion of morals in Tanzanian society. If the truth be said, if there were any threat posed by Muslim preaching, then it was to the hold of the priesthood on unsuspecting Christian peasants and workers. That is why the clergy were alarmed that Muslim preaching was doing them a disservice by enlightening Christians on the truth whereas the clergy, wanting to keep the status quo, preferred that Christians remain in the dark.

Catholic clergy shuns dialogue as a tool of preaching

For someone uninitiated in the history and organisation of the Roman Catholic Church, it would be difficult to comprehend the stand taken by the Catholic leaders in view of the fact that both Christians and Muslims in their relationship to each other recognise that "witness" is at the heart of their faiths. Freedom to witness and conversion is a basic God-given right. Just as much as the Catholic Church would like to continue with its work of "baptising" Muslims, it too must recognise the freedom of Muslims to 'witness' and for Christians to convert to Islam if they decide to do so. For at the centre of Christian faith is the compulsion and command of God to be a witness. The Catholic Church must realise that people have a right to accept the witness, which they hear. But this appears to be a forlorn hope because Catholic Church leaders have instructed their followers not to enter into dialogue with Muslims, although dialogue between faiths has always been encouraged in the Bible, for example in Isaiah 1:16 – "...Come let us reason together". The stand taken by the Catholic clergy is very un-Christian. For then how can one "Go hither and baptise them" without first giving them some kind of truth? How, indeed, can Muslims be converted to Christianity so they too "by the power of the Word will in God’s good time be brought into His Church" without first convincing or giving them proof of their supposed "apostasy from the true faith of Catholicism"?

It is also incomprehensible why Catholic leaders should shun dialogue and a critical look into the Gospels which after all the Church claims to be "divinely" inspired. Is it because the Catholic clergy, itself convinced of the truth of the Gospels likewise expects its followers
and potential converts to blindly follow the Church’s interpretation? Or is it because the Catholic clergy deeply believes that religion has nothing to do with common sense, basic logic, rationality or pure natural disposition?

Christians have the right to use their own intellect
Given the assumption that the basics of a true religion should be reasonably understandable by any normal human being who uses his or her brain and common sense, any religion which requires from a non-believer to accept its basis merely by having blind faith, is a religion which is confined to its believers. And not only that, but its credibility will suffer when exposed to basic rationalism or natural disposition. On the contrary, a religion whose basics go in harmony with the human natural disposition will maintain its credibility, even though the so-called followers may display its impracticability.

The basics of the true religion should not contradict with natural disposition or the simple means of reasoning. A true religion should not demand that only a true commitment to its teachings demonstrates its practicability. Should that be the case, that religion will give an indication that some people are born to be deprived of guidance and there is no equal chance to gain success even in the Hereafter, the eternal life.

The bottom line is that the Catholic clergy must of necessity accept that God has granted man a conscience, which registers right and wrong, and a mind, which has the ability to reason. Man has therefore the freedom of choice to reasonably weigh and consider whatever is preached in order for him to determine if it is the truth, logical and agreeable with his natural disposition and to follow it should he choose to do so. It is really not in the brief of any Church hierarchy to determine or choose for man what he or she should or should not listen to. And after all, given the fact that Christians believe that the Holy Spirit is within them to guide them in truth and righteousness (John 16:8; 16:13), there is really no need for the Catholic Clergy to fear intellectual debates and discussions on the literal truth of Christianity. Assuming of course the hierarchical Church believes in the role of the Holy Spirit and they have nothing to hide.

Catholic Clergy not champions of freedoms
It is submitted that this obscurantism of the Catholic leaders and their dislike for criticism and dialogue is directly connected with the infamous history of the Roman Catholic Church and in particular, its organisational set-up. Whatever Pope John Paul II may say in his world-
wide travels, for example in Cuba or Nigeria, the papacy is not the champion of the truth and the freedoms of man. In actual fact, the Catholic Church leadership, with its absolute control from the top, does not tolerate any freedom and discussion from any quarters, be it its own theologians or biblical scholars, holding as it were, that freedom and discussion lead to the dilution of truth.

Peter de Rosa, a former priest who says that his work is that of "a friend and not an enemy" says, in his highly acclaimed book, *Vicars of Christ* (Corgi Books, London, 1989), that assumptions that the papacy is the champion of the truth and the rights of man are false. "... Apart from the fact that the tenth – and fifteenth – century papacy was the heresy, the denial of everything that Jesus stood for, many popes have made astonishing errors. They have repeatedly contradicted one another and the Gospel. Far from championing the dignity of man, they have times without number withheld from Catholics and non-Catholics the most elementary rights ... History explodes the myth of a papacy lily-white in the matter of truth. In an age of barbarism, the popes led the pack; in an age of enlightenment, they trailed the field. And their record was worst when, contrary to the Gospel, they tried to impose the truth by force" (p. 210).

According to de Rosa, in every instance and over centuries, the Catholic Church has proudly proclaimed its dogma of religious intolerance. "Pontiff after pontiff attacked freedom with ... vehemence ... They seemed afraid that government of the people, by the people, for the people would lead to similar demands in the church. Gregory XVI, in *Mirari vos* of August 1832, described liberty of conscience as a mad opinion. Religious liberty was said to flow from the most fetid fount of indifferentism. He condemned freedoms of worship, the press, assembly and education as a filthy sewer full of 'heretical vomit'. Pius IX ... in *Quanta Cura* in 1864 ... attacked freedom of religion and equated it with the liberty of death. Among the propositions condemned in his Syllabus of Errors was this: 'In the present day it is no longer expedient that the Catholic religion should be the only religion of the state, to the exclusion of all other forms of worship'. Leo XIII ... in encyclical after encyclical ... defined liberty of religion entirely in medieval terms. The church has a right to a monopoly of religion in any Catholic state. Therefore error must not be granted freedom to spread itself. Freedom and truth are incompatible. Truth must be enforced by the state at the church’s command whenever possible. Each state... must still profess the true faith as its
official policy and tolerate the least possible liberty of conscience for the least possible length of time.

It should be emphasised that these are not mere dogmas of 19 century popes. They represent the mind-set of the entire hierarchy of the Catholic clergy even in present times. Even today, certain forms of freedom are alien to Pope John Paul's notion of Christian faith. For him, Catholic truth is absolute and obedience to it a vital necessity. He, as God's Anointed Spokesman, is obliged to demand instant and unwavering obedience of all, from the humblest parishioner to the most astute theologian.

It is important not to overlook the fact that the Catholic church is the only religious body in existence that is both church and political organization. This is why it alone among churches exchanges diplomatic representatives and claims recognition as an independent member of the community of nations. It does this not as a small state of the Vatican, but as a worldwide religious organization. This explains why for instance, Cardinal Pengo, one of the advisers of the Roman Pope has dual citizenship and passports being a citizen of the Vatican State and also of Tanzania.

It is also important to remember that for century after century, the Catholic Church was the foremost political force. It meddled in the workings of every country as and when it pleased. Pius X said in 9 November 1903:

"We shall offend many people in saying We must of necessity concern ourselves with politics. But whoever judges the question fairly must recognize that the Sovereign Pontiff, invested by God with the Supreme Magistracy, has not the right to separate political matters from the domain of faith and morals (p.195, Vicars of Christ)

Hence according to Leo XIII, politically "it is always urgent, indeed the chief preoccupation to think best how to serve the interests of Catholicism". In every election, "Catholics are obliged to vote for those who pledge themselves to the Catholic cause and never prefer to them anyone hostile to (the Catholic) religion". de Rosa observes that according to the Pope, there is a bloc vote, the Catholic bloc vote for Catholic candidates; and an attack on Catholicism is only an attack on Catholicism. After World War II, Pius XII was ready to
excommunicate any Catholic who gave his vote to a communist candidate instead of to a Catholic (p. 208, *Vicars of Christ*).

This stand on voting patterns taken by the Catholic Church was evident in the 1995 Tanzania General elections. A defeated Muslim CCM candidate in one constituency was told by sympathetic peasants why they could not vote for him even though in their opinion he was better qualified and better candidate in all aspects than the opposition candidate they voted for. Their parish priest had repeatedly warned them in church sermons and in private that if they were to vote for the Muslim candidate they would not receive communion and the Lord would be angry with them. One can only imagine the impact of such an admonition on the minds of unenlightened peasants.

Reaction of Catholic Clergy to Scrutiny of Church Dogma

Scholars attribute the intensification of the obscurancy of the Catholic clergy and its dread of freedom to the Enlightenment and to archaeological advances of the 19th century, especially the role of the latter in the study of the Nag Hammadi Scrolls found in Egypt in 1945 and the Dead Sea Scrolls found in the Qumran caves in 1947 and 1956. It was only a matter of time before scripture itself was subjected to rigorous scrutiny – disengaging fact from fiction. Perhaps the man most important for this process of questioning the literal truth of Christian teaching was the French theologian and historian, Ernest Renan, whose book *The Life of Jesus Christ* (1864), demystified Christianity. The book portrayed Jesus as "an incomparable man", an eminently mortal and non-divine personage. Renan's book transformed attitudes towards biblical scholarship almost beyond recognition.

In their book *The Dead Sea Scrolls Deception* (supra), Baigent and Leigh have this say of the reaction of the Catholic Church to the scrutiny of Catholic dogma: "Beleagured by onslaughts from science, from philosophy from the arts and from secular political powers, Rome was more shaken than she had been at any time since the beginning of Lutheran Reformation... She responded with a number of desperate defensive measures".

One such measure was the promulgation of the dogma of Papal Infallibility by Pope Pius IX on 18 July 1870. The other measure was the sponsoring of the Catholic Modernist Movement of elite intellectuals who were supposed to confront Catholicism’s adversaries. A generation of clerical scholars was painstakingly trained and groomed to provide the Church with a corps specifically formed to defend the literal truth of scripture.
However, according to Baigent and Leigh, to Rome’s chagrin and mortification, the programme backfired. The more it sought to arm the younger clerics with the requisite tools for combat in the modern polemical arena, the more those same clerics began to desert the cause for which they had been recruited. **Critical scrutiny of the Bible revealed a multitude of inconsistencies, discrepancies and implications that were positively inimical to Roman dogma.** The Modernists themselves quickly began to question and subvert what they were supposed to be defending.

Needless to say, the Catholic Church had to turn against the movement it had fostered and nurtured. Thus in 1903 Pope Leo XIII created the Pontifical Biblical Commission to supervise and monitor the work of Catholic scriptural scholarship. In 1904 Pope Pius X issued two encyclicals opposing all scholarship which questioned the origins and early history of Christianity. All Catholic teachers suspected of "Modernist tendencies" were summarily dismissed from their posts.

Such was the reaction by the Church that Antonio Fogazzaro, a leading Catholic layman in Italy, had to write in his book, *The Saint* (London, 1906) that: "The Catholic Church, calling herself the fountain of truth, today opposes the search after truth when her foundations, the sacred books, the formulae of her dogmas, the alleged infallibility, become objects of research. To us, this **signifies that she no longer has faith in herself**".

Fogazzaro’s book was promptly placed on the Inquisition’s Index of forbidden books. In July 1907 the Holy Office published a decree officially condemning Modernist attempts to question Church doctrine, papal infallibility/authority and the historical veracity of biblical texts. In September 1907 Modernism was effectively declared to be a heresy and the entire movement was formally banned. In 1910 a decree was issued requiring all Catholics involved in teaching or preaching to take an oath renouncing "all the errors of Modernism". A number of Modernist writers were excommunicated. Students at seminaries and theological colleges were even forbidden to read newspapers!

According to the Muslim scholar, Syed Abul A’ala Maududi in his book *West versus Islam* (International Islamic Publishers, New Delhi, 1991), this conflict between the Church and the upholders of the freedom of thought was the outcome of the illogical resistance by the
papacy, blindly following the old and stale Greek philosophy as the foundation of their faith. The Church feared that their religion’s edifice shall come crashing down to the ground if modern scientific researches and discoveries were accepted. This misconception led the Church to resist and even resort to the use of brutal force against new scientific theories and discoveries. Inquisitions were set up and scientists, inventors and philosophers were awarded barbarous and horrible punishments. But this movement could not be suppressed and gained momentum because it was a genuine awakening. This upsurge of freedom of thought finally wiped out the papal and ecclesiastical overlordship. This war between progressive thinking and religion or Christianity was the precursor to atheism and agnosticism, with thinkers and philosophers becoming deeply biased against every concept of Divine authority, God and spiritualism – not by any logic or reasoning, but only on the basis of the negative thinking the Church subscribed to the concept of scientific research and freedom of thought.

Therefore, oblivious to the effect its obscurantism was doing to the freedoms of expression and religion, especially in alienating scholars and intellectuals from religion, and perhaps not caring but doggedly stringent in maintaining its stranglehold on the interpretation of the scripture, the Catholic leadership has continued to muzzle and stifle criticism and biblical scholarship.

According to the *New Catholic Encyclopaedia* (Vol. XI), the official function of the Pontifical Biblical Commission established by Leo III in 1903, is "to strive... with all possible care that God’s words ... will be shielded not only from every breath of error but even from every rash opinion" and to ensure that scholars "endeavour to safeguard the authority of the scriptures and promote their right interpretation". Thus for instance, the Commission publishes official decrees on the right way to teach scripture. Thus for instance, the Commission "established" by decree, that Moses was the literal author of the Pentateuch! In 1909 a similar decree affirmed the literal and historical accuracy of the first three chapters of Genesis. And on 21 April 1964 the Commission issued a decree governing biblical scholarship in general, and more specifically, the "historical truth of the Gospels". This decree was quite unequivocal, stating that "at all times the interpreter must cherish a spirit of ready obedience to the Church’s teaching authority”.

It is noteworthy that the head of the Pontifical Biblical Commission is also the head of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, formally the Holy Office and prior to that called
the Holy Inquisition. So the head of these two Catholic organizations is in effect the Church’s modern day Grand Inquisitor. These two organizations were in June 1971 amalgamated by Pope Paul VI in virtually everything but name.

According to Baigent and Leigh, the official head of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith is always the reigning pope and the executive head of the Congregation is today called its secretary, although in earlier times he was known as the Grand Inquisitor. The Congregation is the most powerful of all the departments of the Roman Curia. Numerous contemporary priests, preachers, teachers and writers have been muzzled, expelled or deprived of their posts by the Congregation. Victims have included some of the most distinguished and intelligent theologians in the Church today, for example Father Edward Schillebeekx of the University of Nigmegen in Holland whose book, *Jesus: An Experiment in Christology* (1974) appeared in the eyes of his adversaries to be questioning the literal truth of the resurrection and the Virgin Birth. Another one was the eminent Swiss theologian Dr. Hans Kung who challenged the doctrine of papal infallibility and also criticised Pope John Paul’s rigidity on morals and dogma. On 18 December 1979, John Paul, acting on Official recommendation of the Congregation stripped Kung of his post as head of the Department of Theology at the University of Tubingen and pronounced him no longer qualified to teach Roman Catholic doctrine. In Kung’s words on what had befallen him: "I have been condemned by a pontiff who has rejected my theology without ever having read one of my books and who has always refused to see me. The truth is that Rome is not waiting for a dialogue but for submission* (Sunday Times London, 2 December 1984).

Baigent and Leigh observe that the Congregation, under the directorship of Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger as its secretary since 1981, has become increasingly entrenched, intransigent and reactionary, seeking a return to Catholic fundamentalism and reasserting the literal truth of papally-defined dogma.

In May 1990 the Congregation issued a draft of the new, revised and update ‘Universal Catechism of the Catholic Church’ – the official formulation of tenets in which Catholics are obliged formally to believe. In one particular dogmatic passage, the new ‘Catechism’ declares that "the task of giving an authentic interpretation of the Word of God... has been entrusted to the living teaching office of the Church alone".
In June 1990, the Congregation published another document written by Cardinal Ratzinger himself and approved and endorsed by the Pope. According to this document, Catholic theologians have no right to dissent from the established teachings of the Church, with dissent given the status of sin – "...infidelity to the Holy Spirit". In the same document, Cardinal Ratzinger states:

"The freedom of the act of faith cannot justify a right to dissent. This freedom does not indicate freedom with regard to the truth, but signifies the free determination of the person in conformity with his moral obligation to accept the truth"

Baigent and Leigh observe that this is a curious definition of freedom. One is perfectly free to accept the teachings of the Church, but not to question or reject them. Freedom cannot be manifested or expressed except through submission.

Baigent and Leigh conclude that such restrictions are monstrous enough when imposed on Catholics alone – monstrous in the psychological and emotional damage they will cause; the guilt, intolerance and bigotry they will foster; the horizons of knowledge and understanding they will curtail. When confined to a creed however, they apply only to those who voluntarily submit to them, and the non-Catholic population of the world is free to ignore them.

That then, is briefly, the philosophy and mind-set upon which the Catholic leaders approach or view any discussion of Church dogma. It is submitted that because the catholic Church engenders such blind obedience, conformism and submission on its own followers, it can hardly be expected to welcome dialogue with Muslims, let alone allow Muslims to tell Catholics that their leaders are erroneous and are misleading them in so far as the truth of Christianity is concerned.

And this is the crux of the matter in so far as the issue of freedom to propagate religion in Tanzania is concerned. Tanzania is a secular country and not a Catholic theocracy. There can be no question therefore of the Catholic leadership demanding non-Catholics to follow Church interpretation of the literal truth of Church dogma. Non-Christians, including Muslims, have a right to question the validity or veracity of those dogmas. It is a fundamental God-given right and not debatable. So long as this criticism is confined to an honest analysis of the scriptures and is not criminally culpable by being insulting, both the Catholic leaders and the government are constitutionally obliged to recognise this right.
THE RESPONSE BY THE CCM GOVERNMENT TO THE INSTIGATION OF THE CATHOLIC CLERGY

In the foregoing paragraphs, I have demonstrated that in so far as the laws of Tanzania are concerned, Muslim preaching is not blasphemous – or "slanderous", "defamatory" as described by the Catholic clergy, the government and the local media. I have also demonstrated that it was the Catholic clergy, which instigated the CCM government to move against Muslims and Muslim preachers.

It now remains to be considered whether the response by the CCM government was legally justified or downright interference with the freedom of Muslims to propagate their faith.

Meaning of freedom of worship

It must be remembered that a truly free society is one, which can accommodate a wide variety of beliefs. A free society is one, which aims at equality with respect to the enjoyment of fundamental freedoms. Freedom must surely be founded in respect for the inherent dignity and the inviolable rights of the human person.

It must also be remembered that the essence of the concept of freedom of religion is the right to entertain such religious beliefs as a person chooses, the right to declare religious beliefs openly and without fear of hindrance or reprisal, and the right to manifest religious beliefs by worship and practice or by teaching and dissemination.

But this concept means more than that. Freedom can primarily be characterised by the absence of coercion or constraint. If a person is compelled by the state or the will of another to a course of action or inaction which he would not otherwise have chosen, he is not acting of his own volition and he cannot be said to be truly free. One of the major purposes of the Constitution is to protect, within reason, from compulsion or restraint. Coercion includes not only such blatant forms of compulsion as direct commands to act or refrain from acting on pain of sanction; coercion includes indirect forms of control which determine or limit alternative course of conduct available to others. Freedom in a broad sense embraces both the absence of coercion and restraint and the right to manifest beliefs and practices. Freedom means that subject to such limits as are necessary to protect public safety, order
or morals or the fundamental rights and freedoms of others, no one is to be forced to act in a way contrary to his beliefs or his conscience.

Tanzania as a secular state
Tanzania is, constitutionally, a secular state however repugnant that secularism may be to some of us for being a Freemasonic concept which seeks to ‘remove’ God from all aspects of public matters and confine religion to personal matters only. It has been said that “The secular state is a state which guarantees individual and corporate freedom of religion, deals with the individual as a citizen irrespective of his religion, is not constitutionally connected to a particular religion nor does it seek either to promote or interfere with religion” (D.E. Smith – *India as a Secular State*, Princeton University Press 1963).

Secularism therefore implies a range of factors – no intrusion of religion into politics or state patronage of any religious organization; no parochial and sectarian tendencies; no alienation or marginalization of people on religious grounds; no discrimination in education, commerce or employment on religious grounds and so on. Basically, a secular state perceives the society as multi-religious and multi-cultural and constantly strives for national unity and consensus. It is not enough for the government to merely say, "it has no religion". It must earnestly work for those goals and must be seen to be truly secular.

Breakdown of secular consensus
The Mwembechai episode lends support to Muslim perception of a virtual breakdown of the secular consensus in Tanzania. The apparent apathy, negligence and complicity of CCM government officials including the Minister for Home Affairs, the Dar Es Salaam Regional Commissioner, the Inspector General of Police, the Dar Es Salaam Regional Police Commander, in their eagerness to accommodate Catholic clergy obscurantist tendencies provides grounds for presuming that the secularism of the country is all but forgotten. The police killed and maimed Muslims and savagely beat up and brutalised Muslims and other deprived citizens. Assuredly, the police and Field Force Unit behaved as if they were a force expressly organised and armed to brutalise and kill Muslims and "Machingas". Assuredly, the killings and maiming of Mwembechai will go down in the history of Tanzania as an unimaginable instance of sadism and brutality by the police.
To be sure, as a result of Mwembechai and other related incidents, there are many Tanzanians – Muslims and non-Muslims – who now feel that the secularism of Tanzania is only an aspiration; a farce, and not a reality. For, apart from the fact that it was inexpedient for the CCM government to allow Catholic clergy anxieties to propel it to brutalize Muslims, oblivious of the fact that national unity and the secular image of the government was at stake, there are also other negative indicators, namely, the absence of even the minor consolation of words of sympathy from the President to the bereaved families, giving the impression of the CCM government feeling satisfied in killing innocent citizens as if they were common criminals (even criminals deserve justice); the arrogant rejection by the CCM government of calls by Muslims for an official and impartial inquiry into the deaths of Muslims killed by the police at Mwembechai; Premier Sumaye’s congratulatory message to Cardinal Pengo on 19 January 1998 (Daily News, 20 January 1998) that the government supported Pengo’s elevation to Cardinal and assuring him of the government’s full support in discharging his duties – ominous indeed in a secular society, more ominous in view of subsequent developments; conspicuous visits by the President, Vice President and Prime Minister to churches and mosques in their official capacities wherein they use religious ceremonies to make pronouncements on secular matters; denial or reluctance by the CCM government to register Muslim and other religious societies and its threat to proscribe same without lawful cause; Vice President Omar’s assertion that the CCM government recognizes BAKWATA as the only official Muslim organization; and the refusal by some schools to allow Muslim women students to wear their prescribed dress (similar to nuns and Sikhs in same schools). The list is endless. It must be emphasised that all this is being done in complete disregard to the secular spirit of the Constitution. And it is being done by a presumably enlightened CCM government which began its term with claims of constitutionalism, rule of law, probity and transparency.

Lack of caution and wisdom by CCM government
It is therefore significant that, given the fact that Tanzania is a secular state, the CCM government should have handled the issue of Muslim preaching with caution. Mindful of the impact of its decision on the freedom of worship, and cognisant that Tanzania has laws and courts to deal with the kind of grievance being raised by the Catholic leadership, the CCM government should have adopted a passive approach and declined to intervene, allowing the law to take its course. This is more so because all along there had been no single incident of violence or any breach of peace which could be ascribed to Muslim preaching.
In saying that the CCM government should have declined to intervene and allowed the law to take its course, I am by no means suggesting that the government should have totally removed itself from the picture. It must be remembered that prior to the 4 January 1998 Tabora presidential declaration, the government had in actual fact always allowed the law to run its course. Since 1993 Muslim preachers were after all being arrested and prosecuted with increasing regularity. There is therefore no question that the government was not actively involved in the prosecution of Muslim preachers for allegedly insulting Christianity. However, in arguing for caution by the CCM government, I simply want to underscore the fact that this issue of Muslim preaching, basic to the freedom of Muslims to worship and to propagate their faith, had deliberately been misrepresented in a carefully orchestrated disinformation campaign by the Catholic leadership. It was imperative therefore for the government, always the impartial arbiter, beyond and above religious bias and prejudice, to function in accordance with the secular Constitution of Tanzania. It was therefore absolutely necessary and prudent for the CCM government to have approached the issue with all the caution it demanded.

CCM government failed to use dialogue and consultations
But even if assuming that the government was forced to act on the pretext that the situation was ‘volatile’ (which it was not) and the government was somehow dissatisfied with the manner in which the criminal justice system was handling the issue of Muslim preaching, it was still open for the government to take the other perfectly valid and sound option open to it: dialogue. Former President Mwinyi had tried this 1993 when he convened a meeting at State House of bishops and sheikhs to discuss and resolve the grievance raised by the Catholic clergy. The negotiation came to no avail following the failure by the Catholic clergy to come up, as promised, with answers to rebut the points advanced by the sheikhs in support of Muslim preaching.
But somehow, for unknown reasons, President Mkapa, the consummate diplomat with a long experience in international disputes when he was Foreign Minister, never opted for this dispute solving mechanism of dialogue and consultations, a truly valuable way of avoiding disputes especially on such an issue as inter faith disagreement. In fact there is considerable doubt as to how seriously President Mkapa has been committed to solve the dispute over Muslim preaching through discussions and consultations.
It is submitted that a good and visionary government would have anticipated the outcome of using force to end Muslim preaching. A fair and conscious government, before taking any decision or action on Muslim preaching would have held discussions with all the parties – the complainants (Catholic leaders) and the alleged perpetrators (Muslim preachers). Such discussions, wherein both sides would have had the opportunity to present their opposing views, would have provided the government with a way of heading off any open confrontation thus averting the current situation in which the CCM government is rightly perceived as being a bed-fellow to Catholic clergy obscurantism. Discussions and consultations would have furnished the government with useful data before it jumped into the unchartered waters of interfering with the freedom of Muslims to propagate their faith. It is important to remember that it is always easier to make modifications at the decision making stage rather than later. Instead now, the CCM government, having bungled, finds itself in the inevitable damage control position, having to justify its action in all sorts of manners including witch hunting. At times it is "fundamentalists" who are responsible for Mwembechai. At other times it is foreign (Muslim) countries and embassies. Sometimes it is local businessmen. Or it is opposition parties. Then it is fifth columnists within CCM etc. etc. All sorts of reasons and excuses are advanced to try and justify the action by the CCM government. And no attempt whatsoever at soul searching within its own ranks on what went wrong.

Be that as it is may, it is significant that President Mkapa has not made any public statement to indicate his position with regard to dialogue and consultations. He is however chairman of the Central and National Executive Committees of CCM (NEC and CC). These two party committees have on two separate occasions commended the CCM government for the manner in which it had handled the issue of Muslim preaching. And we know of course that because of CCM’s system of ‘democratic centralism’ those two party committees include almost the entire government cabinet members. A case of ‘toasting’ or patting oneself on the back as it were. It is therefore reasonable to assume that President Mkapa does not subscribe to the concept of dialogue and consultations as a dispute solving mechanism. Tragically therefore, the government missed the opportunity to resolve the dispute peacefully and conclusively. For at those negotiations the truth would have come out and the CCM government would have seen the frivolity of Catholic clergy claims.
Having cleverly brushed aside the option of resolving the dispute over Muslim preaching by discussions and consultations, and also denying Muslims the right to be heard, the CCM government opted for brutal force and unconstitutional means. Caution was thrown to the wind. All pretences of observing human rights were set aside. Muslim preachers became public enemies of the first priority. It is as if Tanzania was transformed into some totalitarian country of the old communist east. Assuredly, monolithic parties of former dictatorships, long used to monopolise power, are nothing but hypocritical when they talk of constitutionalism, democratisation and human rights. It is not surprising therefore why there is for instance no serious commitment by the CCM government to repeal the 40 laws found by the Nyalali Commission to be oppressive and undemocratic. Or why the CCM government is not genuinely committed to a truly democratic process of having in place a new, multi-party era constitution. CCM obviously wants to perpetuate its authoritarian stay in power.

Dispute over Muslim preaching a question of law

As I have noted earlier on, Tanzania has specific laws and courts to deal with the type of grievance raised by the Catholic clergy. There has been no claim to the effect that those laws are moribund or that the courts have failed to handle cases of ‘blasphemy’ brought before them. On the contrary, the criminal justice system is adequately disposed to cover the complaints by the Catholic clergy. The only blemishes might be police ineptitude in not adhering to laid down procedures when arresting alleged offenders and the miscarriage of justice by prosecutors and magistrates in denying bail to Muslim preachers on flimsy grounds. It might be helpful to briefly recap those laws and procedures:

1. Article 19 (2) of the Constitution provides for free propagation of religion, subject to relevant laws.
2. Section 129 of the Penal Code provides the criminal restraint on the freedom of propagation of religion by making it an offence to utter words with the intention of wounding religious feelings.

The Criminal Procedure Act, 1985 (CPA) provides that the offence of uttering words with the intention of wounding religious feelings is a warrant offence requiring information on oath/affidavit before a warrant of arrest can be issued to arrest an alleged offender.
(Sections 2 (1),13,110,112 and First Schedule, CPA). CPA also provides for bail procedures and trial by subordinate courts.

Accordingly therefore, in view of the fact that the criminal justice system in Tanzania provides an excellent mechanism for dealing with the complaints by the Catholic clergy, one would therefore have expected that the CCM government, having brushed aside the option of resolving the dispute by dialogue, to at least let that system function – let the Catholic clergy file complaints/accusations before magistrates as provided for in the CPA; let arrest warrants be issued and alleged offenders arrested; and let those alleged offenders be prosecuted and tried by the courts.

It must be emphasised that the crux of the problem revolves on interpretation of what constitutes the offence of uttering words with the intent to injure religious feelings or blasphemy. At issue is the disagreement between the Catholic clergy and Muslims on what is blasphemy. It is a dispute concerning a matter of law. This is a question of law to be determined by the courts. It is a judicial responsibility, courts being servants and guardians of the law. It is not a responsibility of the government to determine what is and what is not blasphemous.

Breach of Constitution by CCM government
But significantly, the CCM government did not allow the criminal justice system to operate fully. In actual fact, the CCM government neither bothered to observe the Constitution nor the laws it had been mandated to uphold by the people of Tanzania. It is not an exaggeration to state that some CCM government leaders behaved and continue to behave like petty village tyrants in dealing with the issue of Muslim preaching. Most importantly however, is the fact that the **CCM government has forgotten that its authority extends no further than the legitimate limits of its constitutional powers and has trespassed into judicial territory.** In its rush to appease the Catholic clergy, the CCM government, forgetting that differences do exist in content and emphasis between the claims of the Catholic clergy and Muslims, has displayed a total lack of an understanding of constitutional and legal values.
I do not think it is necessary to recount every single act and pronouncement of the CCM government in its handling of the dispute. Pronouncements by CCM government leaders were after all being made with a nauseating repetition. But a factual account can be gathered from newspapers reports and police occurrence books (if not 'doctored'). Suffice to say that after President Mkapa’s "declaration of war" on Muslim preaching made at Tabora on 4 January 1998, events moved fast. The actual responsibility of crushing Muslim preachers appears to have been delegated to the Minister for Home Affairs, the Dar Es Salaam Regional Commissioner, the Inspector General of Police and the Dar Es Salaam Regional Police Commander, with the Vice President and Prime Minister chipping in every now and then. A section of the local media acted as if it had been co-opted to whip up sentiments against Muslims.

The entire scenario was chillingly reminiscent of the 1968 TANU move to control Muslims by divide and rule tactics by banning the popular and efficient East African Muslim Welfare Society and establishing in its place the government and party approved BAKWATA. Then (as now) it was self-serving Muslim government leaders who were used as leading actors with the party newspaper, The Nationalist taking up the fourth estate responsibility of Islam bashing. It was therefore a case of old players in new hats. In fact, this is one of the factors which makes Muslims wonder if the current situation is meant to be a repeat performance of the 1968 play. The only difference this time is that it is a more serious matter concerning the right of Muslims to propagate religion, and people have been killed and brutalised.

Basically however, the effect of the CCM government’s latest crusade has been the de facto arbitrary banning of Muslim preaching, brutalising of Muslims, killing and maiming of Muslims, harassment of Muslims, illegal arrests of Muslims, miscarriage of justice by denying bail to Muslims on extremely flimsy and absurd grounds, wild accusations against Muslims (crooks and hooligans? !), threats to proscribe Muslim organisations, the unheard of sealing off and patrolling of mosques, banning of peaceful Muslim meetings, sexual harassment of Muslim women while in police custody and last but not least, general intimidation of Muslims.

The best way to describe the CCM government’s handling of the issue of Muslim preaching is that it was unconstitutional, illegal and religiously prejudiced. The CCM government has used the criminal justice system to silence Muslims simply because they are exercising their constitutional right of propagating religion. The response by the CCM government has been
characterised by abuse of power. Criticism has, de facto, been criminalized with the CCM government disregarding the fundamental principle that the guarantee of freedom of conscience and religion prevents the government from compelling Muslims to abstain from performing the otherwise harmless act of casting doubt on the truth of Christianity. Significantly, the CCM government has demonstrated that it requires Muslims to accept Catholic Church teaching as infallible and not to witness their faith among Christians. In effect, Muslims are being prohibited for religious reasons from preaching that which is otherwise lawful.

Furthermore, the CCM government, acting hastily and with little thought, at the instigation of Catholic clerics, disregarding that there are laws and courts to handle the complaints of Catholic clerics, has thus interfered with the right of Muslims to preach their faith by the simple and illegal expedience of banning Muslim preaching.

This compulsion by the CCM government on Muslims not to criticise Church dogma amounts to a protection of Catholicism. This protection of one religion in a secular state imports a disparate impact destructive of the religious freedom enshrined in the Constitution. It is indisputable that to accept that the CCM government retains the right to compel Muslims not to criticise or question Christianity is not consistent with the preservation and enhancement of freedom of worship or the multi-cultural heritage of Tanzanians. To be sure, the action by the CCM government is a subtle reminder to Muslims of their differences with and alienation from the predominant Christian culture in public matters.

It must be emphasised that it is not legitimate for the CCM government to enforce religious conformity as demanded by the Catholic clergy. Tanzania is a secular state and CCM government leaders constantly remind us that "the government has no religion". It is therefore constitutionally incompetent for the CCM government to use criminal sanctions at its disposal to achieve a religious purpose, namely observance of Catholic dogma in preference of Christianity at the expense of Islam.

CCM government does not care for justice and accountability
In addition to acting unconstitutionally and illegally, the CCM government has also demonstrated incomprehensible intolerance and arrogance in rejecting valid pleas by Muslims for justice and accountability. Of particular relevance is the outright rejection by the CCM government of the call by Muslims for the government to institute an independent
inquiry into the killing and maiming of Muslims carried out by the police on 13 February 1998. Thus the Minister for Home Affairs, Ali Ameir Mohamed, was to state on 4 March 1998 that, the government run on principles of the rule of law (?) will not be pressurised by any individual or group into doing what suited them! This is nothing but arrogance, especially from a minister responsible for police against whom there are genuine complaints of wrong-doing. Obviously the minister does not care that he is answerable to the public for police actions. Mr Ali Ameir, arrogantly or ignorantly, is not bothered that good governance and justice demand that it is incumbent for the government to publicly investigate the brutal behaviour by the police to determine whether or not criminal or disciplinary proceedings should be preferred against policemen found to have been unwarrantably excessive in the use or misuse of police powers. But even if there had been no calls by Muslims for an independent inquiry, still, in the interests of justice, the CCM government, claiming that it functions on principles of the rule of law and that it is open, transparent and answerable to the taxpayers, is duty bound to institute an independent commission of inquiry.

It must be remembered that the killings and maiming of Muslims cannot be divorced from the issue of freedom of worship. Therefore, in view of the fact that the killings are unquestionably a matter of public importance, the CCM government is duty bound to appoint a fact finding body to assist it in making up its mind as to what measures should be adopted to remedy the situation by eradicating any evils found and implementing beneficial objects the government has in its view, for instance a better trained and equipped police and also compensation to bereaved families. An inquiry would find out the genesis of the killings and maiming and would serve to restore confidence. It is submitted that if no objective public inquiry is made, the feelings of injustice and discrimination will grow. And so will unrest and insecurity, the presumed objectives of the CCM government in its attempted rationalisation. It is fair to say that a political party that does not see this is at most arrogant, insensitive and incompetent to be given by the people the mandate to govern.

There is no threat to peace and no ‘fundamentalists’

As I have noted in the introduction, the CCM government, in an attempt to rationalise its heavy handed response, appears to advance claims to the effect that it had been forced to act against Muslim preaching because of "threats to the peace and security" of Tanzania. CCM government leaders are on record as stating that Muslim preaching was being conducted by "a few fundamentalist hotheads" and that if this fundamentalism is allowed to
spread, it will threaten the country's treasured peace and plunge it into bloodshed as it has happened in Algeria.

There is of course no logic whatsoever in the claims. One does not preserve peace by arbitrary and heavy handed measures. On the contrary, one only exacerbates the situation by using illegal and brutal measures, forcing, as it were, those desired to be contained, against the wall. People forced against the wall are more prone to react violently especially when they see that they have been treated unjustly. History is full of such examples. And if the CCM government had really been interested in preserving peace, it should have exhausted all attempts to settle the dispute over Muslim preaching through dialogue and consultations. The CCM government of course rejected this option. And even if consultations could not deliver, there was still no justification to resort to unconstitutional and illegal measures instead of allowing the law to run its course.

"Insulted" people cannot convert

Nonetheless, there is not a particle of evidence, not a living soul who can prove that Muslim preaching has endangered the peace and security of Tanzania. On the contrary there is documentary evidence consisting of video cassettes shot at various public debates/mihadhara showing that those sessions have been extremely peaceful and good tempered. And most significantly, those debates/mihadhara have been marked by public attestations of faith in Islam (twenty at one such session). People who have just had their faith "insulted" as the Catholic bishops and priests would like us to believe, do not change over and convert to Islam, effectively embracing the very people alleged to have "insulted" them! It is indeed elementary; even a ten year old child can see this!

With regard to the claim of there being an Islamic "fundamentalist" menace in Tanzania, I submit that this too is an absurd and preposterous claim fuelled, one suspects, by the "CNN Syndrome" – too much watching and listening to CNN news broadcasts and coverage whereby anything to do with a struggle for Muslim rights is characteristically stereotyped as "Islamic fundamentalism". The absurdity of this policy was demonstrated when the Oklahoma bombing in the U.S.A, carried out by white supremacists was initially attributed to "Muslim fundamentalists". Fundamentalism is nothing but a conservative US Protestant theological tendency begun in the 1920s that every word of the Bible is divinely inspired and therefore true. There is no Islamic "fundamentalism" or Muslim "fundamentalists". According to Islam, there are true Muslims and Muslim hypocrites.
Algeria not a parallel

It is also absurd and irresponsible for the CCM government leaders to use the Algerian situation as a parallel to the situation in Tanzania. Algeria is a straightforward case of an outright military intervention to rob power from the Islamic Salvation Front (F.I.S.) which had been poised to win a democratically held election. F.I.S naturally resisted the right wing military insurrection. What we have today in Algeria is a dirty war being perpetrated by the Algerian military in collaboration with the ‘government’ and the government controlled militia, aimed at discrediting F.I.S. This dirty war has witnessed thousands of suspected Muslim sympathisers or supporters of F.I.S butchered and maimed by the military and militia. Recent "half-hearted arrests" of militia and civic leaders – and only after pressure for an inquiry from the international community – attest to this fact. Conversely, hundreds of Tanzanian Muslims "mihadhara" have not, as I have demonstrated, produced a single incident of violence. And moreover the backgrounds are different. In Algeria, the issue is over who has the right to govern after a democratically won election. In Tanzania, the issue is over who has the right to interpret the law of ‘blasphemy’ – is it the courts or the clergy and government. There is absolutely no similarity. One suspects however that the CCM government and the Catholic clergy would like perhaps to also discredit Muslim preachers by portraying them as dangerous militants, a'la Algeria?

It should be remembered that this world-wide perception of a threat posed by alleged Islamic fundamentalism is a brainchild of US foreign policy makers. With the end of the Cold War, US foreign policy makers concluded that "radical" forms of Islam could fill the power vacuum created by the decline of the Soviet Union and communism. "Islamic fundamentalism" was therefore perceived to be a threat to US interests around the globe with the Bush administration concluding that the "march of Islamic fundamentalism was the single most worrisome trend for policymakers". Therefore the anticommunist logic of containment of the Soviet Union during the Cold War was replaced by an anti-Islamic variant focused specifically on the variety of "fundamentalist" regimes in the Middle East and North Africa. According to Peter J. Schraeder in his book US Foreign Policy Toward Africa (Cambridge University Press,1994) the response by the US to events in Algeria is a concrete example of this policy – that containment of Islamic fundamentalism had replaced anti-communism as a security objective which overrode preferences to democratization:
"In sharp contrast to rising US denunciations of authoritarianism in other regions of Africa, the policy making establishment remained surprisingly silent when the Algerian army annulled the first multi party elections...and assumed control of the country in a military coup d'état. The reason for US silence was not a firm belief in the Algerian generals as guarantors of democracy but was rather due to the fact that an Islamic "fundamentalist" party – the Islamic Salvation Front (F.I.S) which had called, among other campaign promises, for the strict enforcement of Sharia, was on the verge of taking power through the ballot box" (p. 258).

Using live bullets on unarmed civilians is not self-defence
It is noteworthy that the CCM government has also attempted to rationalize the killing and maiming of Muslims with claims that the police and para-military police had the right to use force in defending themselves. This is irresponsible especially coming from a government duty bound to protect and preserve the lives of its citizens. Indeed it is preposterous and unacceptable to suggest, let alone imagine, that the police were justified in using sub-machine guns with live bullets to mow down unarmed fellow citizens including school children on the pretext that stones had been thrown at the police. There was no attack threatening death or serious bodily harm to the police who were positioned quite some distance from the stone throwers. No policemen had been injured or hit by any stone before the firing commenced. Firing commenced in the absence of any proclamation in the President’s name ordering those involved to disperse, in clear violation of Sections 77 and 78 of the Penal Code. Whatever happened to the concept of using minimum or reasonable non lethal force against non lethal attack constantly instilled during police training in crowd and riot control – assuming that the police undergo such drills? And what about police shields and helmets. Were those not adequate to protect the police from the stones? And what was the purpose of tear gas used if not to confuse and immobilise the stone throwers? Clearly, the circumstantial evidence indicates that live firing commenced well before the arrival of the para military police and before any proclamation to disperse had been made. It is for these reasons one finds hard to believe that Cardinal Pengo, in his interview on the Hamza Kassongo Hour on DTV on 12 April 1998, could also advance the claim of the right to self defence by the police, with his biblical David and Goliath rationalisation. Who was David and who was Goliath in the confrontation at Mwembechai whereby people were demonstrating against the encroachment on their right to preach the word of God?

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?
The foregoing, learned Attorney General, is in sum, my humble submission to you on the handling of the issue of Muslim preaching by the CCM government. It is a long submission and in view of my somewhat limited knowledge, may even be regarded as somewhat pretentious. But it was born of the conviction that not enough is known of Muslim preaching and Catholic leadership attitudes to freedom of religion. I cannot pretend that I have wholly succeeded in this aim for I am only too conscious of the gaps in my own knowledge of the matters discussed here. But if I induce you to look further into the matter, then my effort will have been worthwhile.

I hasten to add however, that I have been compelled to make this submission because there is no evidence of any attempt by the CCM government and its legal and political advisers to get to the root of the problem. Indeed, curiously enough there has been a conspiracy of silence within the official or government legal community. Of course, not being privy to whether the CCM government works on the basis of the advice given by its legal experts, I am not in a position to state with any moral certainty whether or not any legal advice was given and whether or not such advice was rejected. Be that as it may, the fact still remains that there has been no attempt by the CCM government to address the problem fairly in order to discover its causes and remedies. Conversely, there has been only arrogance accompanied by blatant abuse of state power in total disregard of the adverse consequences of alienating Muslims. In this context, I think it is important for the government not to be deluded by the apparent complicity and endorsement by some Muslim leaders and functionaries. The government should do well to remember that there are self serving Muslims just as there are sycophants in politics and public life.

Throughout the ‘confrontation’, the CCM government has been evasive and arbitrary, demonstrating neglect of the due process of law and seemingly bent on suppression of the freedom of Muslims to propagate their faith. Most importantly, the manner in which the CCM government has performed its duties is not a reflection of its concern for freedom of worship or for that matter, any concern for the feelings of millions of Tanzanian Muslims.

My effort therefore has been directed towards justice and truth and for solutions to the problems caused by the mishandling of the CCM government. You, learned Attorney General, as the custodian of the laws of Tanzania and principal legal adviser to the CCM government, have an abiding obligation and mandatory moral responsibility to ensure that the practice of using the criminal justice system to silence Muslims and other Tanzanians is
immediately stopped. In addition, you have the obligation and responsibility to respond to Muslim pleas for justice and respect of their constitutional right to propagate religion.

Learned Attorney General, at the beginning of this submission I stated that no one questions the constitutional and legal right of the government to call out its riot police on Friday 13 in the interest of peace and security after the situation had developed for the worse. I questioned however the arbitrary arrests of Muslim preachers and the sacrilegious police incursion into the Mwembechai mosque carried out on Thursday 12. I also questioned the heavy handed and rutal force used by the police on both occasions. I pointed out that those actions were nothing but arbitrary interference with the freedom of Muslims to worship and propagate their faith. Elsewhere I have demonstrated that there is absolutely no evidence to support the claim by the CCM government that its action was dictated by the need to preserve peace, which was being threatened by Muslim preaching. Throughout, my position has been that there is something else.

Something was amiss. And at stake is the freedom of worship of millions of Tanzanian Muslims. Does not it strike you as odd that up to 4 January 1998 there had been no single incident of violence which could directly be attributed to Muslim preaching? Why then the postulations of Catholic bishops and CCM government leaders that Muslim preaching was a threat to the peace of Tanzania? And if the truth be said, who were dangerously working for the destabilization of the peace of Tanzania? Is it not the Catholic clergy and CCM government leaders by stirring up feelings of hate, alarm and consternation in Tanzanians of "the looming spectre of the Mujahidin" without any justification or evidence whatsoever?

Muslim preachers still do not know what law of Tanzania they are supposed to have broken or what wrong they have done. The Qur’an tells them that Jesus (peace be upon him) is not a son of God. Evidence in the Bible corroborates their belief. Tanzania law accepts that for a Muslim to say that Jesus is not a son of God but a prophet of God is not an offence under Section 129 of the Penal Code in that it is an Islamic belief. The Constitution of Tanzania guarantees the freedom of Muslims to propagate this and other beliefs. And yet Muslims are being harassed, muzzled and prosecuted for an offence not recognized by God, the Constitution and laws of Tanzania. What conclusion should Muslims draw from this? Should they now believe that Tanzania is a Catholic theocracy; that the offence under Section 129 of the Penal Code means that saying Jesus is not a son of God is insulting to Christianity;
and that Muslims have no right to propagate their faith? Is this what is desired by CCM and Catholic leaders? Is what is desired by CCM and Catholic leaders what is envisaged by the secular Constitution of Tanzania and the laws of Tanzania? I think not. I think that the cultural diversity of Tanzania society demands more than that. Tanzania is an inclusive multi-religious and multi-cultural society which, according to the secular Constitution, is based on respect for all rights and freedoms, on non-discrimination, tolerance and security for all its citizens.

When the President, a Catholic, and therefore expected to follow the dictates and teachings of the Roman Catholic Church, speaking ex cathedra at a gathering of Christian clerics, promises to use his powers given to him by a secular Constitution, to stamp out Muslim preaching perceived by the Roman Catholic clergy as insulting to Christianity, he cannot, in all fairness, be said to have acted impartially. In actual fact, he cannot be said not to have acted unconstitutionally. I honestly think the President should do well to follow the example of late President Kennedy of the US, who forty years ago his presidential bid, facing genuine accusations of wanting to demolish the wall separating church and state, stated:

"I believe in an America where the separation of Church and State is absolute – where no Catholic prelate would tell the President how to act and no Protestant minister would tell his parishioners for whom to vote...An America that is officially neither Catholic, Protestant nor Jewish – where no public official either requests or accepts instruction in public policy from ... any ecclesiastical source ... where there is no Catholic vote, no bloc voting of any kind ... and where religious liberty is ... indivisible ... I am not the Catholic candidate for President, I am the Democratic Party’s candidate for President who happens to be a Catholic. I do not speak for my Church on public matters and my Church does not speak for me" (p. 207-208 Vicars of Christ).

Suggestions
With those concluding remarks I would like to suggest a few measures which should assist in restoring confidence and return us to sanity. I risk of course, being accused of being presumptuous in making certain suggestions. I make no apology. This is after all not a private but public matter of the greatest importance to the freedoms of millions of Tanzanians and to the peace and tranquillity of our society:
• the de facto ban on Muslim preaching be lifted immediately. The ban is not consistent with the guarantees of Article 19 of the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania which provides for the fundamental right of freedom of worship including the freedom to propagate religion.

• an impartial and independent Commission of Inquiry be instituted by the government to inquire into, inter alia:
  a) the sacrilegious police incursion into Mwembechai mosque on 12 February 1998;
  b) events leading to the riots of 13 February 1998;
  c) the fatal shooting of five Muslims by the police on 13 February 1998;
  d) the wounding and maiming of Muslims and others on 13 February 1998;
  e) the sexual harassment of Muslim women while in police custody including the arrests of those women in the first instance;
  f) the arrests and torture of Muslims while in police custody;
  g) the arrests of Muslims for having on their persons copies of extracts and translations from the Qur’an perceived by the police to be inimical to Christian dogma;
  h) whether the sealing off of Mwembechai mosque was in accordance with the Constitution and other relevant laws;
  i) whether the police and FFU executed their duties in accordance with riot and crowd control procedures contained in Sections 77 and 78 of the Penal Code, the Police Forces Ordinance and Police Forces General Orders.
  j) whether the conduct of the Minister for Home Affairs, the Regional Commissioner of Dar Es Salaam, the Inspector General of Police and the Dar Es Salaam Regional Police Commander, before, during and after Mwembechai, was in accordance with Constitutional provisions and other relevant laws of Tanzania; and
  k) specifically, whether the disagreement between the Catholics and Muslims over the content of Muslim preaching was handled by the government in accordance with the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania and other relevant laws of Tanzania.
• the Commission of Inquiry should be headed by a judge of the Court of Appeal or High Court of Tanzania with one member each being drawn from Roman Catholic Church of Tanzania, the Lutheran Church of Tanzania, the Al Malid Islamic Propagation Society, BAKWATA, BARAZA KUU, Supreme Council of Shia Ithnasheri of Tanzania, Tanganyika Law Society, TAWLA, Faculty of Law of the University of Dar es Salaam, Department of Political Science of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences of the University of Dar es Salaam and the Institute of Development Studies of the University of Dar es Salaam.

• the Commission should make recommendations as it deems fit to remedy all evils found and on measures to restore the secular consensus;

• the Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP) should undertake to review all cases of alleged "blasphemy" instituted against Muslims to determine whether legal procedures were complied with and to drop all charges found to be not bona fide, improper, malicious, frivolous and vexatious.

• the DPP should undertake to issue instructions to prosecutors not to unreasonably and on flimsy grounds insist on denying bail to accused Muslims. Bail is a right and not a privilege.

• government leaders be advised that they visit houses of worship in their individual and private capacities to pray and worship like other ordinary citizens. They should therefore abandon forthwith the practice of turning houses of worship into platforms for making pronouncements on secular and/or political matters and should decline all invitations to grace any religious function in their public and official capacities. They should also abandon the practice of turning houses of worship into virtual fortresses patrolled by armed police with the traffic police sealing off public roads whenever the leaders turn up to pray and worship (surely they have enough plain clothes bodyguards to deal with any threat, real or imagined, to their personal safety?).

• government leaders, particularly the Vice President, should be advised that in keeping with the secular Constitution the government does not officially recognize BAKWATA at the expense of or in preference to other Muslim societies, all being equal in the eyes of the law. Significantly, the government should abandon its practice of interfering with the management of Muslim societies and mosques or forcing Muslims when and where they can observe any Muslim festival.
• the government should be advised to issue instructions to all its departments, executive agencies and other public institutions to observe the spirit of the secular Constitution in their affairs. Public funds should not be used in the observance of any religious festival.

• The use by the police of sub-machine guns should be abandoned forthwith. It is a weapon of war used by the armed forces against equally armed enemies and not meant for use against unarmed civilians.

CONCLUSION
Learned Attorney General, let me conclude with a few observations. The first point is, obviously, that freedom of worship is a fundamental principle embodying a substantive value. Democratic regimes can, and do violate rights. In a secular multi-religious and multicultural society such as ours, effective procedures are required to ensure that this substantive value is not violated. A combined and total commitment by all Tanzanians to truth and justice and our determination to remain steadfast will guarantee that this and other values are not violated by arbitrary political or state powers or whims and opinions of some segments of our society. Dissension and discord between conflicting groups or interests should be dealt with in accordance with the law and mutual consultations. The government and its organs must properly discharge their functions in accordance with their statutory obligations. Only then can there be a stable growth of Tanzania society. The alternative is anarchy and oppression.

The confrontation over Muslim preaching though clergy-motivated, appears to be fuelled by ignorance, prejudices and wrong perceptions of Islam. Islam is a very misunderstood religion. The prevailing view by many people is that Islam is simply a strange Arab religious cult or sect and Muslims are fanatical and terrorists. Indeed Islam has been so gravely misunderstood and misrepresented that many people think of it as an enemy to any sort of stability, peace and progress; they mistrust it, fear it and regard it as a dire threat without as a rule knowing anything about it other than what the popular media conveys which almost invariably reflects grave inaccuracies, fallacies and errors rather than accurate information.
But Islam is the second largest religious community in the world today, the first being Christianity. It is the faith professed by nearly one billion people living in every part of the globe. It is also the fastest growing religion in the world. Americans and Europeans are turning away from Christianity to Islam.

We live in an age of tremendous upheaval and uncertainty. People around the globe are groping anxiously for something that can save humanity which has lost its way. It may be true that today we live in an era of the ultimate in material civilization and progress, but in the realm of values and morals mankind appears to be close to bankruptcy. In the Islamic view, these problems are the result of man having lost sight of who he is in relation to himself, to other human beings and above all, to God, in Whom, being itself, and all human relationships originate. And until he is able to find meaningful and correct answers to the ultimate questions, and solutions to his problems, solutions which are compatible with the fundamental realities of existence and his own nature, his life will remain adrift without a base and without a direction; his personality will be distorted and fragmented; his human nature abused by permitting its animal part to dominate, and his societies full of overwhelming problems.

Islam claims to provide such answers and solutions, ones, which are compatible with reason, logic, the realities of the physical universe, and with human nature itself. For Islam is, above all, a view of the total Reality, encompassing the existence and attributes of the Creator, man's relationship with Him, his role and purpose in this world, and the relationship between this life and the life of the Hereafter, which puts all that exists into proper perspective and gives balance and direction to the life of human beings and their societies.

It is important therefore for Tanzanians, who desire to be well informed and aware, to clear any preconceptions they may have about Islam and objectively and correctly understand Islam. Many Tanzanians have begun to do this. People around the globe are also increasingly becoming more and more enlightened about Islam. In the United States there is a growing high number of professionals – doctors, nurses, professors, engineers, lawyers, teachers, business men and women – along with blue collar workers and students, reverting (converting) to Islam. Britain's Prince Charles, as reported in the Daily Nation (Nairobi) of 29 October 1993, has also seen that judgement of Islam "has been grossly distorted by taking the extremes to be the norm". In a speech to an audience of 500 scholars, Muslim community leaders, churchmen and diplomats delivered at the Sheldonian
Theatre Oxford, under the auspices of the Islamic Society of Oxford University on 28 October 1993, Prince Charles said that: "The Islamic and Western worlds can no longer afford to stand apart. We have to share experiences, to explain ourselves to each other. Islam can teach us today a way of understanding and of living in the world which Christianity itself is poorer for having lost."

Finally, because of the issue of arbitrary interference with freedom of worship concerns millions of Tanzanians and the freedom loving world, I am forwarding copies of this submission to certain personages, embassies, political parties, the press and to interested persons and institutions.

Abu Aziz
A Muslim
15 May 1998

Copies to:
Office of the President
The Chief Justice of Tanzania
Jaji Kiongozi
Minister for Justice and Constitutional Affairs
Director of Public Prosecutions
Diplomatic Missions
Press
Tanganyika Law Society
Tanzania Women Lawyers Association
Faculty of Law-University of Dar es Salaam
Institute of Development Studies-University of Dar es Salaam
Political Science Department-University of Dar es Salaam
BAKWATA
BARAZA KUU
Supreme Council of Shia Ithnasheri of Tanzania
AL MALID Islamic Propagation Society
Khidmat Islamic Propagation Society
Muslim Students Association of University of Dar es Salaam
Roman Catholic Church of Tanzania
Lutheran Church of Tanzania
Political Parties
Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation