



REDET - LEAD AGENCY OF TEMCO

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ISSN: 0856-7743

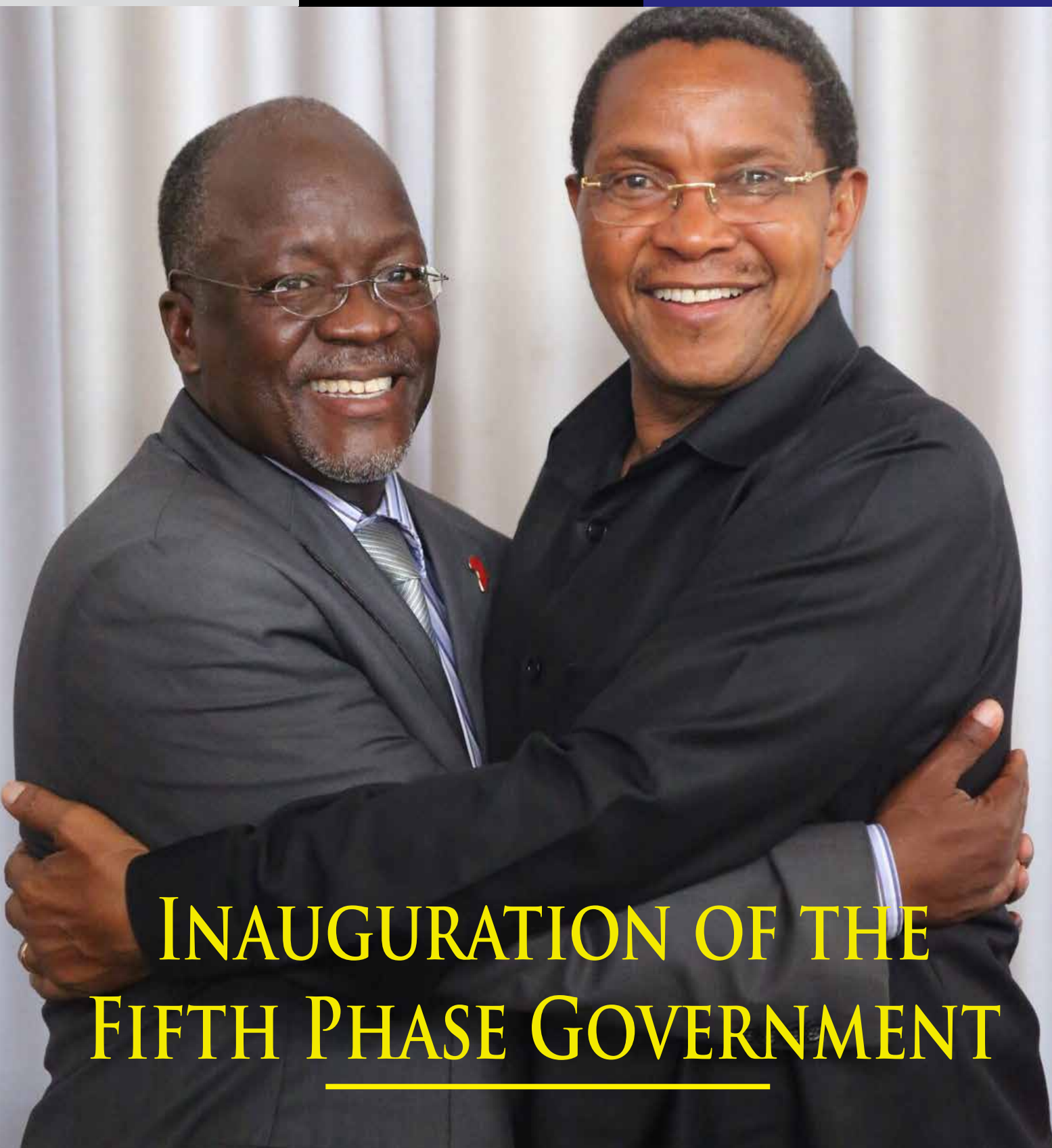
Volume 1

Issue No.7&8

October 2015

Newsletter

On behalf of the citizens, TEMCO evaluates elections to determine if they are credible, free and fair



INAUGURATION OF THE FIFTH PHASE GOVERNMENT

TEMCO's Values

- Impartiality
- Objectivity
- Credibility
- Accountability
- Integrity
- Transparency
- Professionalism
- Legality



TEMCO NEWSLETTER ISSUES 7-8 COMBINED, OCTOBER 2015

CONTENTS

2

Towards the 2015 elections: highlights on election manifestos

3

Political parties mount peaceful campaigns

12

Voting intentions: opinion polls ahead of the October elections

15

Voting, vote counting and declaration of results

19

Inauguration of the Fifth Phase Government

- New President's first days in office

28

TEMCO issues a "Qualified Free and Fair" Certificate to the 2015 elections

31

Media monitoring brief

- Cybercrime Act starts to bite
- Print media propping up Edward Lowassa and John Magufuli

33

**Race to the Speaker of the National Assembly
TEMCO interim statement on the 2015 Tanzania elections**

TOWARDS THE 2015 ELECTIONS:

Highlights on Election Manifestos



2015 election manifestos of four political parties, ACT, CCM, CHADEMA and CUF



Elections bring exhilaration, hopes and expectations, rousing citizens' imagination of a better life in the aftermath of the poll. They are the heart of modern representative democracy. Ideally, elections avail a chance for the rulers and the ruled to renew a social contract after every specific period of time (five years in Tanzania). It is a time for taking stock of what the ruling party achieved and on that basis decide if it deserves another term. Political parties contesting in elections declare their intentions, motives and policy priorities through their manifestos. An election manifesto is, therefore, an important document for it is actually an official policy of the "would be" government and enables the electorate to decide who to enter the contract with among the competing political parties.

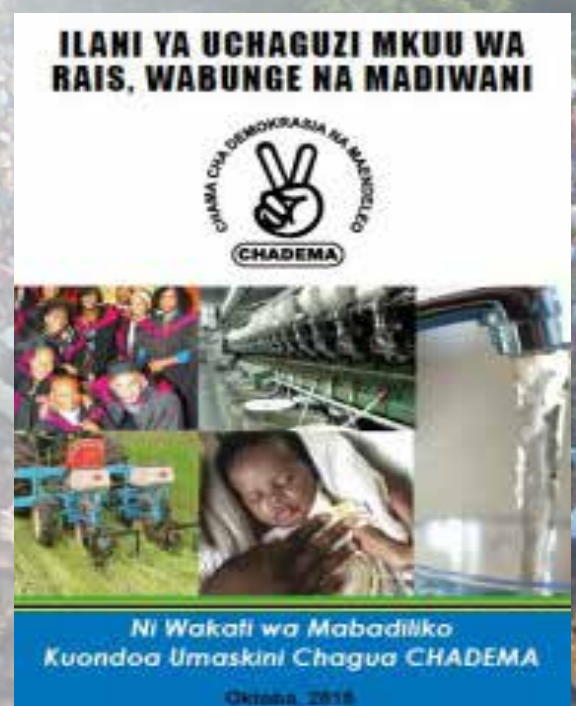
A total of 22 political parties participated in the 2015 elections, eight of them fielding presidential candidates. Parties with presidential candidates were Alliance for Change and Transparency (ACT-Wazalendo), Alliance for Democratic Change (ADC), Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA), Chama Cha Ukombozi wa Umma (CHAUMMA), National Reconstruction Alliance (NRA), Tanzania Labour Party (TLP) and United People's Democratic Party (UPDP).

The CHADEMA's presidential candidate was also supported by three other political parties under the *Umoja wa Katiba ya Wananchi* (UKAWA) coalition. The evolution of UKAWA and the defection of Edward Lowassa, one of the political luminaries in CCM to become the CHADEMA's presidential candidate meant the 2015 elections were to be hotly contested.

In Zanzibar, stiff competition has continued between CCM and CUF. This issue of TEMCO Newsletter, Number 7 and 8 combined, is dedicated to analysis of election manifestos of four political parties namely CUF, CCM, CHADEMA and ACT-Wazalendo. Other political parties neither prepared elaborate election manifestos nor held parliamentary election campaigns consistently and comprehensively for the electorate to be able to discern what they stood for.



CCM 2015 election manifesto displayed at a campaign rally



CHADEMA's 2015 election manifesto

If there was one overriding theme that dominated election campaigns of both the ruling party CCM and the opposition alliance UKAWA, was *Mabadiliko* (change). Both CCM and CHADEMA seemed to suggest that they believed that Tanzanians were not satisfied with the status quo and wanted significant improvement of the situation. The question that remains to be answered is: What exactly needed to be changed and how? Table 1 gives a glimpse of what the two stronger parties viewed as the key challenges facing the country.



A cartoonist impression of the top 2015 election agenda

Table 1: CCM and CHADEMA/UKAWA key issues in election manifesto

Party	Key challenges
CCM	Poverty, (youth) unemployment, threats to defence and security, corruption and mismanagement and embezzlement of public funds.
CHADEMA/UKAWA	Need for peoples' constitution, declining ethical leadership and good governance hence corruption and embezzlement of public resources, politics taking primacy over the economy, and single party predominance.

Source: CCM (2015), CHADEMA/UKAWA (2015)

Election manifestos of CUF and ACT-Wazalendo, also echoed similar concerns: unemployment, corruption and embezzlement of public resources. They considered these as serious evils devastating the country. The call for improvement of social service delivery, application of science and technology in the production sectors of the economy to get Tanzania out of poverty, launching the country into a middle income economy, all featured in the election manifestos of all four political parties. What seemed to distinguish political parties, however, was how they claimed they would prioritise, plan and strategise the implementation.



Leader of ACT-Wazalendo, KabweZitto displaying the party's 2015 election manifesto during the inauguration ceremony

Reinstating the people's constitution was a central concern of the parties within the UKAWA coalition. UKAWA was a product of a political scuffle within the Constituent Assembly between those who agitated for adoption of the "Warioba" Draft Constitution, which ushered in a three-tier Union structure, and those who wanted the provision to be revised back to a two-government structure. When the latter swayed, four political parties namely CHADEMA, CUF, NCCR-Mageuzi and NLD marched out in protest, arguing that the Constituent Assembly had trampled on the wishes of the people. They immediately signed a unity deal pact in Dar es Salaam in October 2014 agreeing to wage a concerted countrywide campaign against the Proposed Constitution, of which referendum was scheduled for April 2015. Eventually, UKAWA agreed to jointly field presidential, parliamentary House of Representatives and councillorship elections. Using this formula, where one of them was contesting, the rest backed down and supported the single coalition candidate.

Concerning the union, CHADEMA's election manifesto recalls UKAWA's fundamental aim: "the three-tier government structure that will fairly distribute power for Zanzibar, Tanganyika and union governments". The union question is strongly echoed in the CUF election manifesto. Actually the spirit of the CUF manifesto is Zanzibar. Tanzania Mainland is mentioned only peripherally. On the top cover of the election manifesto is the 2015 CUF slogan: *Zanzibar Mpya, Mamlaka Kamili, Neemakwa Wote* (New Zanzibar, Full Autonomy, Prosperity for All). CUF calls simultaneously for an autonomous Zanzibar and a strengthened union. Regional integration theorists would find this to be rather contradictory.

ZANZIBAR MPYA

MAMLAKA KAMILI, NEEMA KWA WOTE



CUF's 2015 election manifesto

Political parties set their preferences differently in their election manifestos. CCM's top priority included in its election manifesto going under the slogan of *Umoja ni Ushindi* (Unity is Victory), was to combat four challenges identified as (i) eradicating poverty, (ii) addressing youth unemployment, (iii) stepping up the fight against corruption and embezzlement of public funds, and (iv) establishing light- and large-scale industries to provide employment to the jobless youth. ACT-Wazalendo had four priorities, namely (i) social security, (ii) inclusive and employment generating economy, (iii) health, and (iv) education. CHADEMA whose manifesto had the slogan *Ni Wakati wa Mabadiliko Kuondoa Umaskini Chagua CHADEMA Kuwa Chachu ya Mabadiliko Unayotaka Kuyaona* (It is Time for Change to Eradicate Poverty, Choose CHADEMA, be the catalyst for the change you want to see) had a number of preferences including (i) drafting the peoples' constitution, (ii) cultivating patriotism, (iii) reinvigorating discipline and accountability in the public sector, and (iv) running the country using the contribution of various experts.

One of the issues which for the past ten years has dominated the political agenda of the opposition political parties has centred on several corruption scandals that rocked the fourth phase government. In 2008, two years after appointment into office, the Richmond scandal culminated into resignation of the Prime Minister, forcing the President to appoint a new cabinet. Ever since, corruption or '*ufisadi*' became CHADEMA's dogmatic war cry used to drum popular political support. CHADEMA argued that *ufisadi* was responsible for the country's poverty as it dried off state's natural resource wealth. The "List of Shame" that it prepared went to the extent of naming the *ufisadi* culprits, insisting that if these individuals were not the real *mafisadi* they should go ahead and press charges in the court of law. CHADEMA's level of political support surged. Cabinet ministers going around the country after CHADEMA were heckled by the people who were made to believe that the government was a den of thugs.



A man suspected of possessing money for corrupting delegates of a party during the presidential candidate nomination process in Dodoma

CCM was forced to re-adjust itself to deal with this new CHADEMA's strategy which was slowly squeezing it into a reactive position. Its secretariat was sharpened by bringing in people who could engage CHADEMA and also reach out to the grassroots which was slowly beginning to think that CCM had ceased to be a party of peasants and workers, and had been captured by the rich and educated elite. An initiative known as *kuvua gamba* (purging corrupt elements within the party) was embarked upon to try and restore peoples' faith in CCM. Specific individuals were earmarked for purging, mainly those who had been named in the Richmond scandal. However, up to the end of the 90 days ultimatum issued by CCM nobody had resigned except Igunga MP, Rostam Aziz, who said he was tired of *siasa za maji taka* (dirty politics).



A CCM 2015 campaign billboard

In political twists and turns, some of the individuals named in the List of Shame became either CHADEMA's candidates for top positions or the main financiers. It was a bit helpless of the CHADEMA chairman insisting that in politics there are neither permanent friends nor permanent enemies - only permanent interests. CHADEMA also justified its decision by arguing that it was the system that was corrupt and not the individuals. It had completely forgotten that the List of Shame had named individuals and *not the system*. A few days after CHADEMA's acceptance of individuals defecting from CCM, some media outlets reported that the List of Shame had silently been removed from the CHADEMA website.

Table 2: Political parties' strategies on fighting corruption

Party	Strategy
ACT-Wazalendo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Prohibiting anyone proven guilty of corruption from working or doing business with public institutions. Enacting legislations to make sure that properties of the companies found guilty of corruption are nationalised.
CCM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Establishing a special court to prosecute corruption and economic sabotage cases.
CHADEMA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inserting a constitutional provision for code of ethics for leaders and civil servants. Establishing an independent body to monitor leaders and civil servants.
CUF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Promoting transparency.

Political parties mount peaceful campaigns

After official launching of the election campaigns, the electorate was being treated to a mixed bag of rhetoric and grandstanding promises from two main political parties CCM and CHADEMA/UKAWA. It is said that politicians can promise paradise. Campaigns provide an avenue for political parties and candidates to communicate their policies and strategies to the electorate. It is about influencing, pleasing, entertaining and canvassing votes and therefore it becomes necessary to be smart, innovative and strategic in order to succeed.

Many strategies were employed in conducting the election campaigns. Some of such strategies included the following:

- i. Artist groups were used to attract and entertain the audience. This strategy was mainly employed by CCM and CHADEMA/UKAWA. Both hired famous music artists who would entertain the audience by adjusting some of their best hits into campaign messages. CCM seemed to be leading in the number and variety of artists it used. Some film artists prepared a campaign launched by President Kikwete known as *Mama Ongea na Mwanao*. It was meant to mobilise parents to talk to their ostensibly youngsters to vote for CCM. CHADEMA also initiated an operation known as *Toroka Uje* capitalising on the defection and aimed at getting more people to defect from CCM to join CHADEMA.
- ii. CHADEMA presidential candidate largely relied on helicopter transport to move around the country. It was a fast and efficient way although it denied him the impromptu stops afforded by one using road transport. The CCM presidential candidate almost exclusively used road transport. He spent two days in each region and was able to reach all constituencies, save only five. It was tiring; nevertheless, it allowed him to expand his reach as he could flexibly have impromptu stop overs *en route* to the next destination.
- iii. The CCM candidate spent a lot of time elaborating on his plans and goals while the CHADEMA candidate spoke very little. Instead, other people, especially bigwigs who had recently defected from CCM took the lion's share of the time. In a few cases people in the audience were heard complaining that they wanted the presidential candidate to speak more and elaborate on his plans.
- iv. Physical fitness and personality issues dominated the campaigns. Each of the two main candidates tried to portray themselves as healthy and capable of undertaking the highly intellectually and physically demanding presidential tasks. The epitome of that was when the CCM candidate, Dr. John Magufuli, did push-ups on stage.
- v. Both CCM and CHADEMA deliberately or otherwise decided to put individuals ahead of the party. This was evident in speeches in campaign meetings and even in campaign materials such as billboards. Many billboards had huge portraits of candidates and the party emblem on the periphery in the background.

The message from campaign rallies especially from opposition political parties sometimes carried scepticism and implied suspicion on the neutrality of the election management body. CHADEMA and CUF in particular expressed a no-confidence in the integrity and neutrality of NEC. Campaign rallies were therefore used to mobilise voters to be vigilant of possible rigging of the elections, making sure that they turn up on the polling day to cast and guard their votes. The CHADEMA/UKAWA presidential candidate was quoted several times in his campaign meetings saying that CCM has a tendency of stealing votes and that their supporters should turn out massively to attain 90% of the votes such that even if CCM stole 10% they could simply pardon them. It was, however, not spelled out how stealing was going to be done. This statement begs an ethical question of entering into competition with a claimed "thief", instead of handling him/her to proper law enforcement organs for appropriate action.

Related to vote stealing was CHADEMA leaders' call to their members and supporters to remain 200 metres of the perimeter of polling stations after voting so as to guard their votes. NEC made it clear that such gatherings would not be allowed because political parties had their agents in polling stations to, among other things, protect the votes and ensure that the voting, vote counting and declaration of results complied with laws, rules and regulations. Following this standoff, CHADEMA filed a case with the High Court. The ruling delivered on Friday, 23rd October 2015 upheld NEC's position, prohibiting gatherings close to polling stations, instead requiring voters to cast their votes and go away. The situation on the Election Day indicated that people complied with this court ruling and there were no gatherings after voting.

Policy/Issue	ACT-Wazalendo	CCM	CHADEMA	CUF
Education	Introducing a compulsory universal primary education of 10 years to replace the current 7 years of primary education	Introducing a 1+6+4 years combined nursery and primary school education system to be offered free of charge to the end user	Providing quality education from nursery to university level free of charge to the end user	Revamping the Zanzibar education institutional and operational systems to match sub regional and international standards
Health	Providing all basic mother and child health services free of charge to the end user both in government and private health facilities and ensuring that every Tanzanian is covered by the national health insurance scheme by 2025	Having a dispensary, health centre, and hospital for every village, ward and district, respectively, where one has not yet been constructed	Motivating Tanzanians to join affordable health insurance schemes	Investing in management and expansion of health service facilities for quality health care provision for Zanzibaris
Agriculture	Facilitating land ownership, increased agricultural productivity and partnership between commercial farmers and smallholding peasants	Ensuring timely availability of agricultural tools and inputs and use of modern technology to increase agricultural productivity. Linking farmers with the agricultural development bank and other financial institutions	Modernizing agriculture by educating farmers and building a robust agricultural infrastructure	Investing in agricultural infrastructure and linking agriculture with other sectors of the economy
Corruption	Establishing a serious fraud office	Establishing a special court to deal with corruption and economic sabotage	Waging a scientific war against corruption	Restructuring and streamlining functions of various institutions alongside strengthening of the Zanzibar anti-corruption bureau
Union	Not mentioned	Strengthening the current union structure of two governments	Building the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar on the foundations of equality	Restoring Zanzibar's full autonomy by strengthening a union that considers the foundations of justice, equality and respect of the two countries forming the union

Employment	Strengthening agriculture, industry, tourism, mineral as well as oil and gas sectors	Strengthening production sectors (agriculture, pastoralism, fisheries, small, medium and large industries, infrastructure, construction)	Establishing Tanzania Employment Regulation Authority with offices in all district councils to coordinate innovative industrial incubators	Reinvigorating industries, business and tourism by attracting foreign direct investment
Proposed constitution	Reviving the constitutional review process from where the Constitutional Review Commission ended	Accomplishing the constitutional review process and implementing the new constitution in accordance with the Constitutional Review Act	Starting afresh the constitutional review process basing on people's opinion	Annuling the Proposed Constitution and writing a new constitution which will respect the foundations of justice, equality and respect among the two countries forming the union
Natural resources	All natural resources, minerals, oil and gas will belong to the people and their exploitation should be based on <i>free prior informed consent</i> . All natural resources related treaties should be transparent.	Enabling and monitoring of installation of oil and gas infrastructure, as well as completion of the Natural Gas Utilisation Master Plan	Monitoring exploitation and utilisation of natural resources for the interest of every Tanzanian and future generation	Enforcing laws, rules and regulations for <i>Oil and Gas for Development</i> , including reviewing of marine zones, production and distribution of marine resources in the interest of Zanzibaris
Foreign policy	Promoting self-reliance and discouraging foreign dependence	Continuing economic diplomacy	Pursuing international cooperation based on equal partnership	Consulting the union government to allow Zanzibar to enter into international relations in non-union sectors
Ideological stance	Democratic socialism based on Nyerereism	Socialism and self-reliance	Centralist ideology propelled by peoples' power	Social democracy

Voting intentions: Opinion polls ahead of the October election

Opinion polling is a relatively new tool of gauging performance and acceptance of institutions, including political parties and the government in Tanzania. Three pollsters namely REDET, IpsosSynovate Tanzania and TCIB have been conducting opinion polls in the recent past elections - that is in a multiparty context. If objectively conducted, opinion polls are indeed important to both political parties and candidates in two ways. First, they help to indicate the magnitude of acceptability (approval rating) among different sections of the electorate. Second and related, they provide an opportunity for political parties and candidates to know the preferences, expectations and needs of the electorate and therefore align their policy, manifestos and promises accordingly. Opinion polls shape campaign strategies and can influence the outcome of election results.

However, the political context is resilient and anything might happen in between and twist the projections. In Zambia in 2006, opinion polls that had been mainly conducted in urban areas, and which had predicted a landslide victory for opposition leader Michael Sata, were disapproved when the incumbent, Levy Mwanawasa, won the election. A number of factors can affect the quality and accuracy of opinion polls including sampling, structure of questions, timing, expertise of a pollster, and honesty of answers by respondents.

In the run up to 2015 general elections, some pollsters carried out opinion polling to test the voting intentions among the electorate. Some opinion polls were carried out by political parties while others were conducted by pollsters. Opinion polls by independent pollsters are more likely to be objective and are not tainted by the ideological brush of political parties. Opinion poll results by three pollsters, namely Twaweza, Synovate and Tanzania Alternative Development Initiatives Programme (TADIP) are revisited. Dates for these opinion polls ranged from late August to 22nd September 2015.

Table 3: Election projections by selected pollsters, September-October, 2015

Pollster	Presidential (%)		Parliamentary (%)	
	CCM	CHADEMA	CCM	CHADEMA
Twaweza	65	25	66	22
Synovate	61.5	30.8	-	-
TADIP	40	54.4	40	30

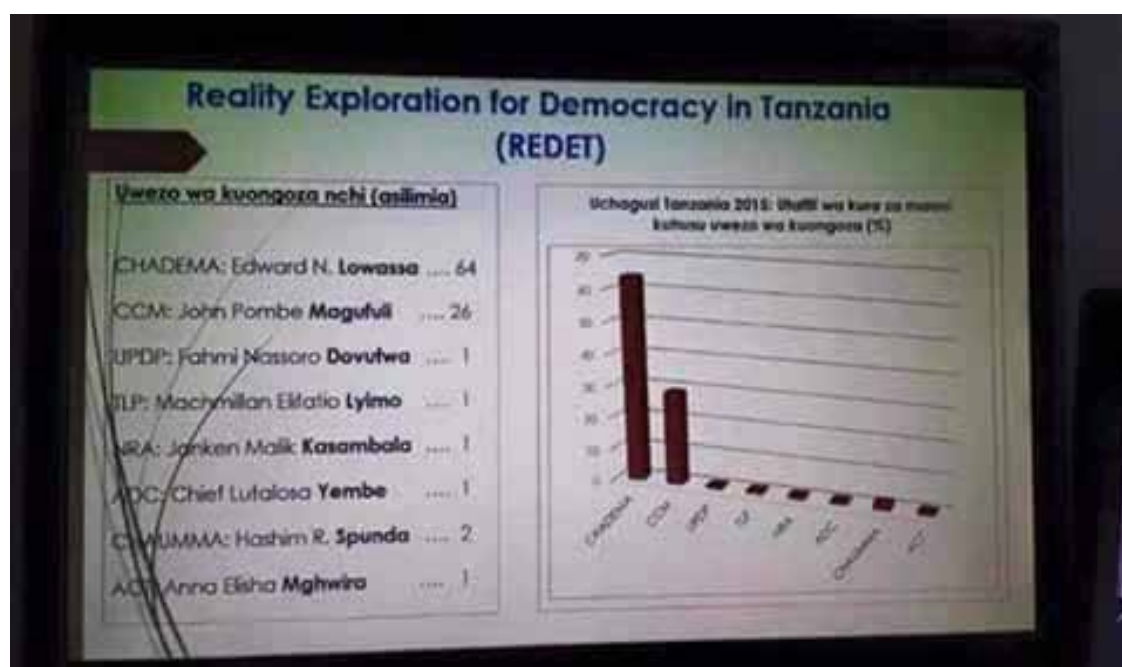
As shown in Table 3, projections by Twaweza and Synovate indicated that CCM was leading in the presidential race. TADIP, however, showed a different picture. Their opinion poll results indicated that CHADEMA's presidential candidate was leading by 54.4% against 40% of the CCM presidential candidate. This poll was consistent with the other two in parliamentary election projection which gave CCM a lead although with a narrower margin than the rest.

Notwithstanding the variations, recent opinion polls were received with mixed reactions from political parties, aspirants, academics, civil society organisations and the general public. Some commentators and politicians credited them while others doubted them, and some even went further to argue that they were fabricated in

favour of the ruling party. These are common reactions to opinion polls in Tanzania. Those who were favourably rated tended to claim that they were scientific while those who perceived that they were underrated considered such findings as simply a fabrication. At the height of the confusing results of opinion polls, some laymen invented and conducted informal opinion polls in Kariakoo, Arusha and in some other urban centres to refute Twaweza's findings. It was so rudimentarily conducted such that two boxes with the names of Magufuli and Lowassa would be placed in the open and passers-by would be randomly requested to indicate their preferences by voting for the two contestants. Results would sometimes be announced there and then. Police intervened to diffuse this rather potentially dangerous exploit.

Some opinion polls were simply fallacious. Some crooks took advantage of ICT to fabricate opinion poll results and disseminate them on social media. Many such fake opinion poll results were released, some claiming to be from the pioneer and reputable pollster in Tanzania - REDET. Below is an extract from a fake poll report, not even getting the organisation's name (Research and Education for Democracy in Tanzania) right.

Figure 1: A sample of a fake "REDET" opinion poll



Opinion polls also probed some of the things that the electorate thought deserved to take precedence over others. Table 4 shows a sample from pollsters showing peoples' preferences.

Table 4: Public opinion on priorities from various pollsters

Twaweza	TADIP	Synovate
Health	Education	Price of food, fuel, cost of living, poverty
Water	Health	Health
Education	Water	Food/Hunger/Farming
Poverty	Agriculture	Water
	Corruption	Education

Source: IpsosSynovate Tanzania (2015), TADIP (2015), Twaweza (2015)

Twaweza's findings revealed that citizens were not well informed about the official status of UKAWA. Almost half of the citizens thought that UKAWA was a registered political party and that its candidates would appear on ballot papers. The law does not allow coalitions of political parties but this might be difficult for ordinary citizens to comprehend. Clearly, political parties in UKAWA needed to inform their members and supporters that their coalition had no legal status and that they were supporting CHADEMA's presidential candidate. Similarly, the electorate needed to know that where a member within the UKAWA coalition had a contestant in the constituency or ward, others decided to rescind in support. In some places, for instance, people were confused when they were told to vote for a CHADEMA's presidential candidate, CUF's parliamentary candidate and NCCR-Mageuzi's councillor. This was a new arrangement which people were not used to. On top of that, in some constituencies, political parties simply refused to implement this agreement, where candidates of more than one party within the UKAWA coalition still featured in the election. This added confusion to people from nearby constituencies.



VOTING, VOTE COUNTING AND DECLARATION OF RESULTS

TEMCO deployed a total of 150 Long Term Observers who were deployed in the field for over six weeks to observe campaigns, voting, vote counting and declaration of results. On the Election Day, TEMCO increased its observation scope by deploying 7,300 Short Term Observers to specifically observe voting, vote counting and declaration of results. This makes TEMCO the largest observer group in Tanzania in terms of the number of people deployed.

As these elections were likely to be contentious, NEC committed itself to speed up the announcement of the presidential election results. It promised that on 29th October the winner would be known.





President Jakaya Kikwete congratulates the winner of the presidential race, Dr. John Pombe Magufuli

As promised, NEC announced the presidential election results on 29th October 2015 and handed over the certificate of victory to the CCM presidential candidate, Dr. John Pombe Joseph Magufuli on the next day, 30th October, 2015 in Diamond Jubilee Hall. The presidential election results were announced as follows:



Table 5: Presidential election results, 2015

S/N.	Name	Political party	Votes	%
1.	Anna Mghwira	ACT-Wazalendo	98,763	0.65
2.	ChifuYemba	ADC	66,049	0.43
3.	John Magufuli	CCM	8,882,935	58.46
4.	Edward Lowassa	CHADEMA	6,072,848	39.97
5.	HashimSpunda	CHAUMA	49,256	0.32
6.	JankenKasambala	NRA	8,028	0.05
7.	Macmillan Lyimo	TLP	8,198	0.05
8.	FahmiDovutwa	UPDP	7,785	0.05

In the 2015 elections, of the 23,161,440 registered voters, 15,589,639 voted, equivalent to 67.31% voter turnout rate. Spoilt votes were 402,248 (2.58%). CHADEMA refused to acknowledge the presidential election results and was not represented when results were being announced. CHADEMA's presidential candidate, Edward Lowassa, complained that NEC had conspired with CCM to cheat and deny him victory. He claimed that he had garnered 62% of votes cast. NEC has since repudiated all these allegations.



President Kikwete and president-elect Magufuli looks at presidential race winner's Certificate

Regarding parliamentary election results, the distribution of seats, including special seats for women parliamentarians is as shown in Table 6:

Table 6: Political parties which qualified for special seats, 2015

S/N.	Political party	Votes	Seats	
			Constituency	Special
1.	CCM	8,333,953	182	64
2.	CHADEMA	4,627,923	34	36
3.	CUF	1,257,051	39	10
			255	

Moreover, the National Electoral Commission has allocated special seats for women councillors to five political parties which have fulfilled the requirements for special seats. So far NEC has picked 1,393 special seats councillors, of which CCM took 1,022; CHADEMA got 208, CUF 79, ACT-Wazalendo 6 and NCCR-Mageuzi 6. There are 15 pending seats which will be allocated to political parties on completion of local council elections in 34 wards.



A delight of the victory

It should be noted that 113 special seats were set aside for the 2015 elections. Since elections had been postponed in eight constituencies, three special seats were to be announced by NEC after the parliamentary results in these constituencies.



President-elect Dr. John Pombe Magufuli showing the certificate of victory

Inauguration of the Fifth Phase Government

The inauguration of Fifth President of the United Republic of Tanzania, Dr. John Pombe Joseph Magufuli, took place at the National Stadium on Thursday, 6th November, 2015.



President-elect John Pombe Magufuli at the swearing in ceremony

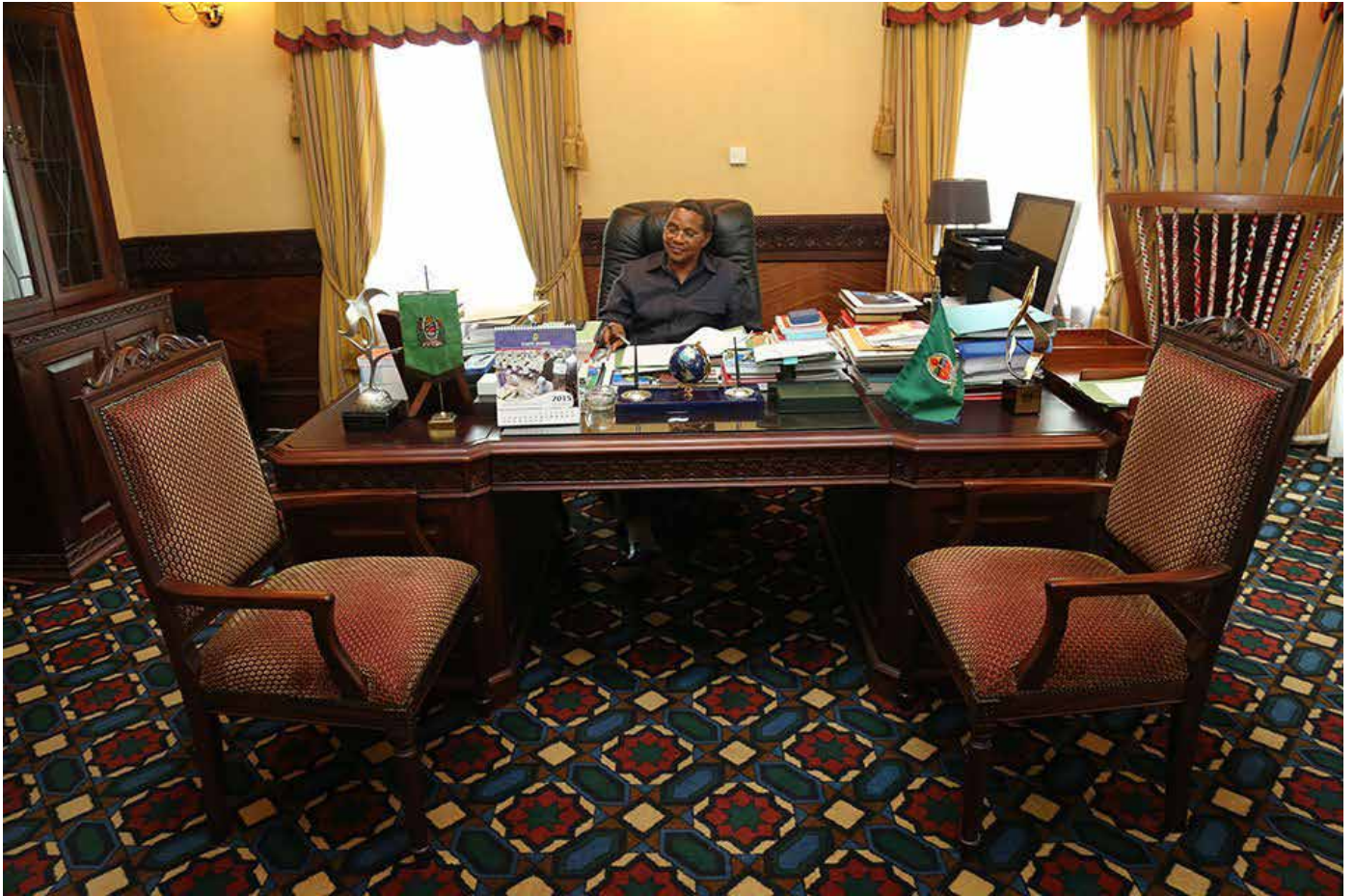
The outgoing president, Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete used his constitutional powers to declare the day a public holiday to enable Tanzanians to follow the proceedings of the inauguration.



President-elect Dr. John Pombe Magufuli taking a seat after taking the oath of allegiance



Vice-President Samia Suluhu Hassan taking the oath of allegiance before the Chief Justice



President Dr. Jakaya Kikwete's last day in the Highest Office in Tanzania



New President's First Days in Office

Immediately after his inauguration, President John Magufuli appointed the Attorney General, as required by the Constitution.

President John Pombe Magufuli inspecting the guard of honour

In what many commentators have seen as a way of distinguishing himself from his predecessors, on the next day in office, the president paid an unannounced surprise visit to the Treasury, walking from the nearby State House.



President Dr. John Pombe Joseph Magufuli's first Day in his State House Office

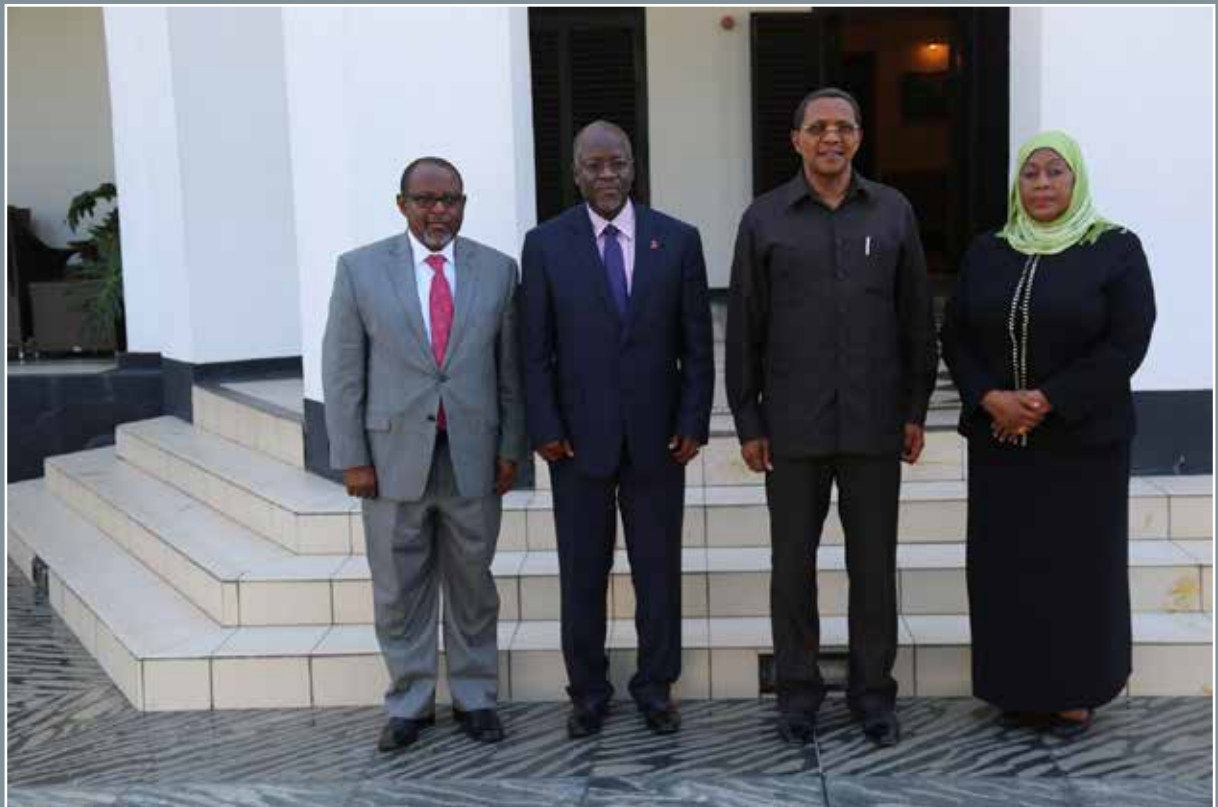
The president warned irresponsible government officers who dodge work and called them to be more diligent and hard working. He also called upon the Treasury to make sure that it properly collects tax especially from large scale businesses to boost government revenue to finance the main promises, including free universal education, starting next year.



H.E President Dr. John PombeMagufuli signing a Visitors Book on his surprise visit at the Ministry of Finance



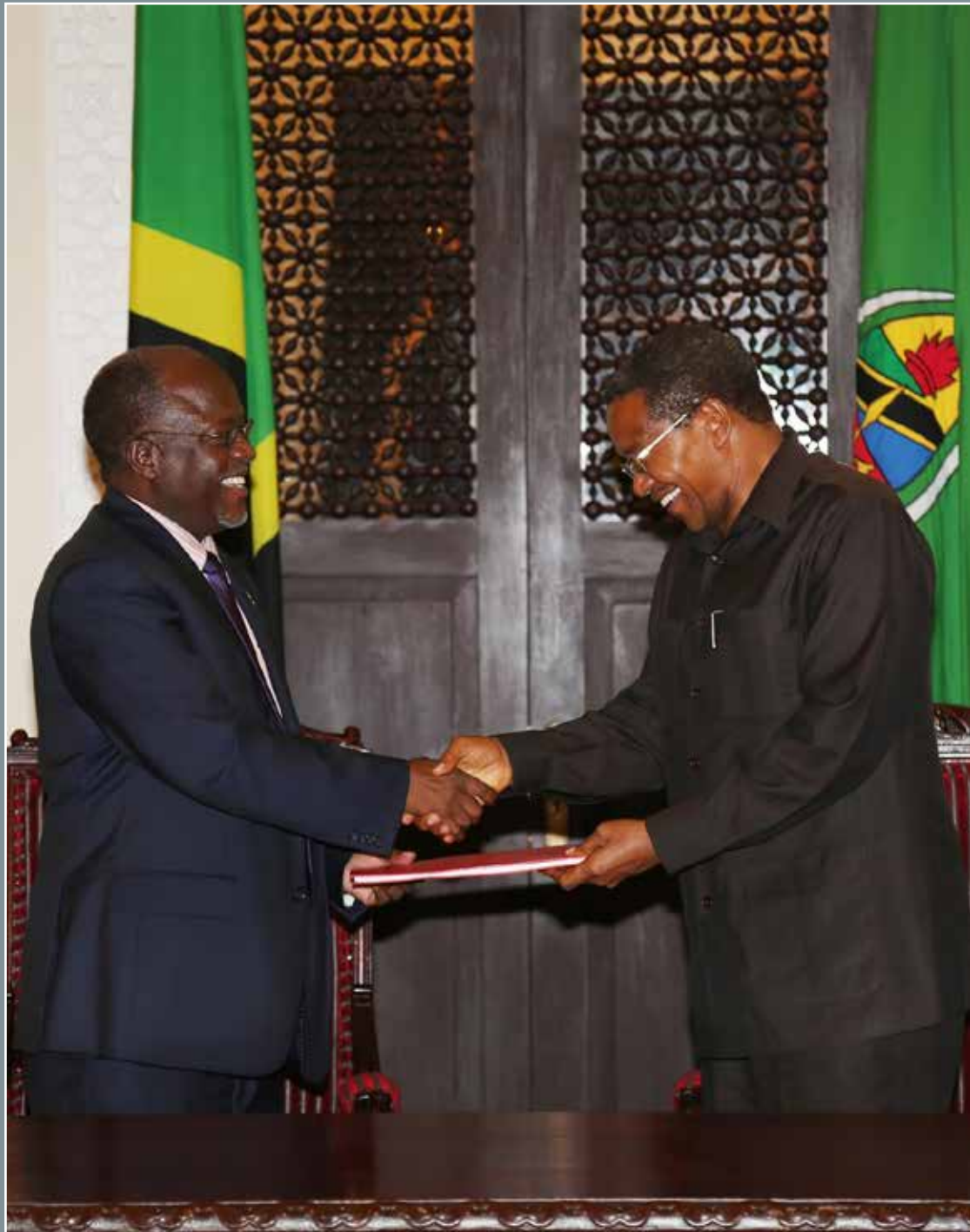
H.E President Magufuli addressing senior managers at the Ministry of Finance



Incoming and outgoing presidents posing for a photo after official hand over of the Highest Office

The president also met top government bureaucrats and announced his decision to cancel all overseas trips for all government officials. All officers were directed to seek permission directly from the President or the Chief Secretary before they travelled abroad. This measure received acclaims from across the community, the academia and development partners as the right direction towards a more responsive, cost-conscious government. The move will also save millions of Shillings from the government coffers that could be channelled to development projects.

The outgoing president Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete handed over the White House Office to his successor Dr. John Pombe Magufuli on 12th November, 2015. The hand over note included a 53 pager brief detailing what was achieved, in progress and for immediate implementation.



All smiles at the official hand over of the State House

A day before, the president also had paid a spontaneous visit of Muhimbili National Hospital. The President was shocked by the appalling condition of the hospital with crucial equipment such as the CT-Scan and the MRI laying dysfunctional for months while patients were forced to seek such medical examinations from private health service providers at an exorbitant price. The president terminated the appointment of the Director of Muhimbili National Hospital and announced his replacement. Within 24 hours of this visit, the leadership of the Muhimbili National Hospital issued a communication informing the public that the MRI machine had been repaired and that services had resumed. They promised that the CT-Scan would start functioning as soon as possible. Generally, the leadership style of the new president has been received positively by many Tanzanians. The mood among public servants has also changed; most seem to go for increased accountability.



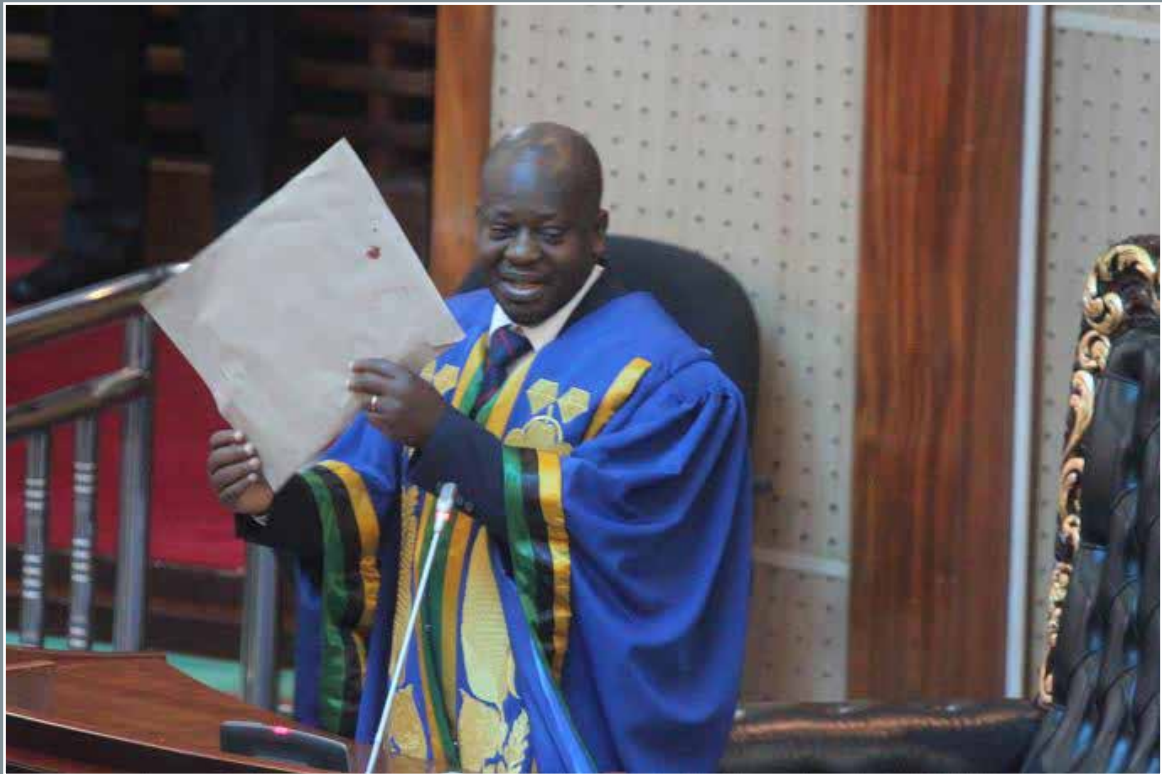
A handshake signalling power transition from the fourth phase to the fifth phase regime

Eyes and ears of Tanzanians were tuned to the next Prime Minister who was appointed to serve the fifth phase government.



The Speaker receives a top secret letter from President J.P.J Magufuli containing the name of the Prime Minister-elect

Speculations ended on 19th November, 2015 when Hon. Majaliwa Kassim Majaliwa was named the Prime Minister by the Speaker in the national assembly.



The speaker shows MPs the top secret letter wrapped in sealed envelope delivered to him by the President's aide-de-camp



Hon. Majaliwa Kassim Majaliwa was endorsed by the National Assembly, scoring 258 votes of the 351 votes cast (73.5%) whereas 91 votes (25.9%) voted against. Two votes were spoiled.



A teacher by profession, Hon. Majaliwa Kassim Majaliwa was elected MP for Ruangwa in 2010. Between 2006 and 2010 he served as a district commissioner. Before that he also served in various capacities in the Tanzania Teachers Union.



A farewell to the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces

TEMCO issues a “Qualified Free and Fair” Certificate to the 2015 elections

On 4th November, 2015 TEMCO issued its interim statement on the conduct of the 2015 general elections at the Council Chamber, University of Dar es Salaam. Before the press conference, TEMCO Executive Committee received, deliberated and agreed on the text. The press conference was well attended by various media outlets, domestic and international, which were eager to communicate to Tanzanians and the world the findings of TEMCO.



TEMCO's Deputy Head presents the Interim Statement on Tanzania 2015 general election to members of the press

The Interim Statement hinted on the political context and the election environment; the legal and institutional regimes governing general elections in Tanzania; management of the electoral process; and voter education initiatives for the general election. Zanzibar elections also received a lengthy coverage, owing to the obtaining circumstances leading to the controversial ZEC's annulment of the elections.



A section of TEMCO members of the Executive Committee at the press conference

Broadly, TEMCO was of the view that the Tanzania (Union) 2015 elections deserved a “clean, free and fair” certificate. However, taking into account the perceptions and concerns of various electoral stakeholders regarding the independence of the electoral commission, legal and instructional frameworks, and minor shortcomings identified by observers, TEMCO was unable to issue a “clean, free and fair” certificate. As such, TEMCO awarded the Tanzania 2015 Union Elections a “**Qualified Free and Fair**” certificate. The Interim Statement forms part of this Newsletter and the full text is appended.



Journalists listening to TEMCO Deputy Head, Dr. Benson Bana

Media Monitoring Brief

This monitoring of media coverage of the elections involved social media (Twitter and Facebook), Television stations (ITV, Star TV, Channel Ten and Mlimani TV), and print media (Mwananchi, Nipashe, Tanzania Daima, Raia Tanzania, Jambo Leo, Uhuru/Mzalendo, Mtanzania and Jambo Leo). This is a preliminary assessment of media monitoring since the start of election campaigns, on August 22nd.



Cybercrimes Act starts to bite

The Cybercrimes Act (2015) has started to be seen in action. The Police and the Tanzania People's Defence Forces successfully traced and nabbed a college student who had uploaded a post in Facebook alleging that the Chief of Defence Forces, General Davis Mwamunyange, had been poisoned and was outside the country for medical care. Another young person was arrested for uploading texts and pictures negatively representing an unnamed politician, yet another group was also arrested for posting unofficial 2015 election results.

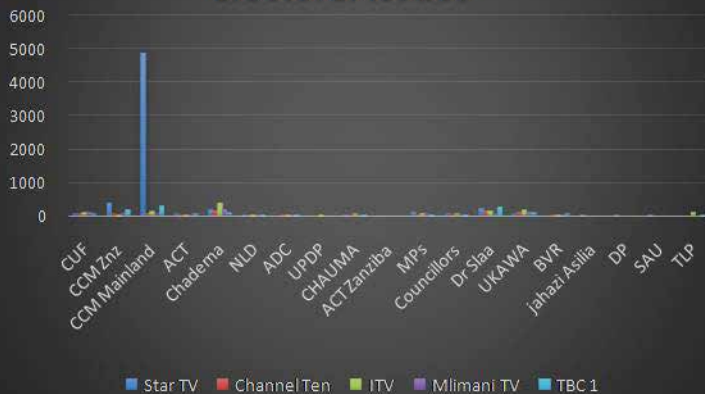
Social media, blogs and Facebook particularly, however, continued to be hotbeds of open debate on party politics and campaigns with users providing real-time coverage of political rallies, elections related events and statements. Nevertheless, CCM and CHADEMA/UKAWA, got most attention of the social media as they maintain numerous accounts in Twitter and Facebook.

Broadcast media coverage

October, the last leg of campaigns, witnessed a surge in the number of programmes on both radio and television stations, most of them favouring the ruling party presidential candidate. The number of minutes accorded to the ruling party which included radio spots far outnumbered other political parties and candidates. There has also been an increase in dedicated programmes or in the number of election-related items in bulletins or magazines or radio and TV spots. This helped to disseminate voter education, and discussions/ debates on issues of public interest although some media ran subtle and overt campaigns for certain political parties. *TBC Taifa* was highly commended for consistency in providing voter education. Television and radio stations did a commendable job covering the Election Day events, including announcing the official results of the elections at all levels.

Breach of broadcast laws by some outlets invited reprimand from TCRA. Some broadcast media took sides so openly and consistently thus allotting airtime to only a candidate they favoured, denying voters a wider shopping menu. This was partly due to conflict of interest by proprietors who had interest in political parties.

TV Coverage of Campaigns/ Electoral issues

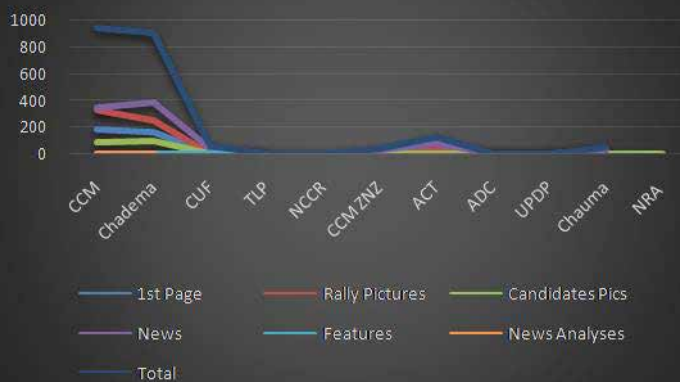


Print media propping-up Edward Lowassa and John Magufuli

The charts show the print media coverage of political parties that were to participate in the general elections up to 10th October 2015. The coverage concentrated on CCM and CHADEMA with the former getting the highest coverage. As indicated in the chart. Other parties got far less coverage and the media coverage of Zanzibar election trails being very low although the number of political parties and presidential candidates was about the same.

It is clear from the two charts that print media accorded more space to John Magufuli of Chama cha Mapinduzi and Edward Lowassa (CHADEMA/UKAWA). This explains the popularity of the two candidates throughout the campaign period compared with the rest of the candidates. The media needs to explain why campaign trails of other candidates were neglected. Print media announcement of the election results was biased, especially those affiliated to political parties.

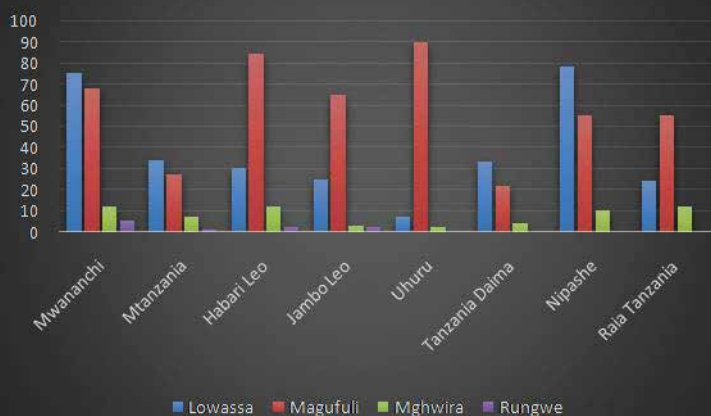
Print Media Coverage of Parties



Media monitoring further indicated the following:

- Proprietors influenced policies of their outlets thus forcing editors and reporters to neglect parties and candidates the owners did not support.
- Print media used little of their space to provide voter education compared with broadcast media, with a little exception of *Mwananchi* which set a space for education on the voting regulations and procedures.
- Some media outlets, either by ignorance of the law or deliberate intention, contravened various rules and regulations when running their news.
- Some media seemed to run prepared news items handed down to them from a particular source, making contents read the same across outlets which was a breach of ethical conduct.

Coverage by candidates



Race to the Speaker of the National Assembly

The race for the speaker of the National Assembly kicked off immediately after the

announcement of the presidential and parliamentary election results. As a head of one of the three arms of the government, this race attracted a lot of public interest. It was equally interesting that at least twenty individuals from CCM picked the nomination forms for the post, including: (1) Abdullah Ally Mwinyi, (2) Agnes Makune (3) VeraikundaUrio, (4) Julius Pawatila (5) Mwakalila Watson (6) MedardKalemani, (7) Samuel Sitta, (8) Emmanuel Nchimbi, (9) Philip Marmo, (10) KalokolaMuzzamili, (11) Simon Rubungu, (12) LeonceMulenda, (13) GosbertBlandes, (14) George Nangale(15) Banda Sonoko (16) Tulia Ackson (17) DidasMassaburi (18) Job Ndugai and (19) RithaMlaki, (20) Daniel Nsanzugwanko, and (21) Costa Mahalu

All contestants had to fill in the form and pay an application fee of TShs 500,000/=. A press statement released by the Publicity Secretary, Nape Nnauye on Sunday 15th November, 2015 said that the CCM Central Committee had picked three names (1) Mr. Job Ndugai, former Deputy Speaker, (2) Mr. Abdullah Ally Mwinyi, member East Africa Legislative Assembly and (3) Dr. Tulia Ackson, Deputy Attorney General.

CCM party caucus nominated Mr. Job YustinoNdugai as the party's candidate for post of the Speaker. Other contestants were Mr. Goodluck Ole Medeye (CHADEMA and UKAWA coalition); Mr. HashimRungweSpunda (CHAUMMA) Mr. Peter Leonard Sarungi (AFP), Mr. Hassan Kisabya Almas (NRA), Dr. Godfrey Raphael Malisa (CCK), Mr. RichardShedrackLyimo (TLP)and Mr. Robert Alexander Kasinini (DP).



Ultimately, the CCM candidate and Kongwa constituency MP, Hon. Job YustinoNdugai, was elected to the Speaker of the National Assembly. He scooped 254 votes out of 365 cast (70%), defeating his closest challenger, Mr. Goodluck Ole Medeye of CHADEMA and UKAWA coalition who garnered 109 votes. Two votes were spoiled. The other six contestants all scored 0 votes.



Inauguration of the Speaker of the National Assembly, Hon. Job Ndugai

In another development CCM caucus endorsed former Deputy Attorney General, Dr. Tulia AcksonMwansasu, to contest the Deputy Speaker's post. Dr.Ackson who was screened out of the Speaker's race faced Ms. Magdalena Sakaya who was contesting the post through CUF, backed by the UKAWA coalition.



Hon. Magdalena Sakaya Deputy Speaker contestant expressing herself before the voting

Dr. Tulia AcksonMwansasu scored 250 votes out of the 351 (71.2%) against Magdalena Sakaya who scored 101 votes (28.8%).



Deputy Speaker elect, Hon Tulia Ackson in a light moment with the Bariadi MP, Hon. Andrew Chenge

In the social media the name of Dr Tulia Ackson who was appointed Deputy Attorney General in September 2015 generated heated debates. Some contributors were uncomfortable with her open affiliation with a political party (CCM) given the sensitivity of the post she was serving.



Hon. Dr. Tulia Ackson Mwansasu taking oath of office

Others thought it was her democratic right as any citizen of the United Republic to contest for any post via any political party. But in the middle of this debate, the President of the United Republic of Tanzania annulled the appointment of Dr Ackson as Deputy Attorney General and appointed her a Member of Parliament, being the first one to be appointed through the 10 parliamentary seats allocated to the president. Before ascending the ladders of political appointments she was a University of Dar es Salaam don where she held various academic and administrative posts at the School of Law.

TANZANIA ELECTION MONITORING COMMITTEE TEMCO



INTERIM STATEMENT ON TANZANIA 2015 GENERAL ELECTION

BY

TEMCO ELECTION OBSERVATION MISSION

OCTOBER, 2015

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

ACT-Wazalendo	Alliance for Change and Transparency
ADC	Alliance for Democratic Change
BVR	Biometric Voter Registration
CCM	Chama cha Mapinduzi
CEMOT	Coalition on Election Monitoring and Observation in Tanzania
CHADEMA	Chama cha DemokrasianaMaendeleo
CUF	Civic United Front
EMB	Election Management Body
EOC	Election Observation Centre
ICT	Information Communication Technology
ID	Identity Card
LHRC	Legal and Human Rights Centre
LTOs	Long Term Observers
NCCR-Mageuzi	National Convention for Constitutional Reforms
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NEC	National Electoral Commission
NIDA	National Identification Authority
NLD	National League for Democracy
OMR	Optical Mark Recognition
OSIEA	Open Society Initiative for Eastern Africa
OTEP	Observation of Tanzania Electoral Processes
PNVR	Permanent National Voter Register
REDET	Research and Education for Democracy in Tanzania
STO	Short Term Observer
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TACCEO	Tanzania Civil Society Consortium for Election Observation
TCD	Tanzania Centre for Democracy
TEMCO	Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee
TLP	Tanzania Labour Party
UDP	United Democratic Party
UKAWA	UmojawaKatibayaWananchi (Coalition of Defenders of the Peoples' Constitution)
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VIC	Voter Identity Card
ZEC	Zanzibar Electoral Commission

1. Introduction

In 2015, Tanzania held its fifth general election after the country had reverted to political pluralism, which culminated into a multiparty political system. From 1965 to 1990, only one party (TANU and CCM from 1977) participated in the union general elections and Zanzibar elections. After the re-introduction of a multiparty political system, the general elections have attracted the participation of many political parties.

In 1995, four political parties had candidates for the presidential elections and thirteen political parties in parliamentary elections. In 2000, four political parties had candidates for the presidential elections and 13 parties in parliamentary elections. In 2005 10 political parties had candidates for the presidential elections and 18 parties in parliamentary elections. In 2010, seven political parties had candidates for the presidential elections and 18 parties in parliamentary elections. In 2015, eight political parties had candidates for the presidential elections and 22 parties in parliamentary elections; however, four political parties - CHADEMA, CUF, NCCR-Mageuzi and NLD - had created a coalition/alliance and agreed on a formula of nominating a single candidate to stand for the coalition for the union presidential elections, Zanzibar presidential race, members of parliament, members of the house of representatives and councillors levels.

This Interim Statement is intended to provide the initial assessment of the Tanzania 2015 general elections in the light of the findings by TEMCO election observation group. The statement highlights the preliminary findings and recommendations with a view to strengthening the electoral institutions and improving the quality of future electoral processes in Tanzania.

The Interim Statement has ten sections. Section one provides the introductory remarks; section two covers the political context and the election environment; while sections three and four respectively address the methodology and approach as well as the legal and institutional regimes governing general elections in Tanzania. Issues related to the management of the electoral process are outlined in section five; section six delves into voter education initiatives for the general election; section seven is an overall assessment of the Tanzania 2015 general elections; section eight is specifically devoted on Zanzibar elections; while section nine concludes the statement and makes preliminary recommendations to different electoral stakeholders. The last section acknowledges and recognises the different international and local stakeholders for their contribution to the election observation mission. TEMCO will shortly produce a comprehensive narrative report on its findings regarding the Tanzania 2015 general elections.

2. Political context and electoral environment

The period preceding the 2015 elections was characterised by a number of political developments, as listed below.

- i. Clear division of the electorate and key actors in the Tanzania political milieu on the proposed constitution. The ruling party, Chama cha Mapinduzi and its supporters were in favour of the proposed constitution while the opposition under the coalition of defenders of the people's constitution, i.e. UKAWA, opposed the proposed constitution. The major area of contention fundamentally emanates from the structure of the union. Whereas CCM is in favour of maintaining the status quo, i.e. current two-government system, UKAWA advocates for a three-government structure.
- ii. The decision by the coalition of the people's constitution known as UKAWA, consisting of four political parties, namely CHADEMA, CUF, NCCR-Mageuzi and NLD to nominate candidates to represent the coalition at all levels in the October, 2015 elections.
- iii. Failure of the 'gentlemen agreement' between President Jakaya Kikwete and the TCD aimed at improving the fairness and transparency of the upcoming elections, including: (i) the formation an independent electoral commission; (ii) the participation of independent candidates in the elections; (iii) 50%-plus one minimum provision for the presidential election instead of a simple majority; (iv) the option of challenging presidential electoral results in court, and (v) the suspension of the constitutional review process and resumption of the same after the 2015 elections.

- iv. Dominance of one party, CCM, since the country attained independence in 1961; the party that had won all presidential elections and had the majority seats in the union parliament, house of representatives, local councils and grass roots.
- v. Inadequate improvements in intraparty democratic practices in some political parties, which had culminated into intolerance of dissenting views, leading to expulsion and in some cases the establishment of new political parties. Two new political parties, ACT-Wazalendo and ADC, are a product of intraparty conflicts in CHADEMA and CUF, respectively.
- vi. Stiff competition among and between CCM members who vied for the party's nomination to stand for the party in general election at various levels. For instance, 42 members including 14 ministers applied to be considered for nomination in the union presidential elections.
- vii. Unexpected outcomes following the intra-party nomination processes in CCM and UKAWA coalition member parties, particularly CHADEMA and CUF. In CCM, Edward Ngoyai Lowasa (former Prime Minister), Frederick Tluway Sumaye (former Prime Minister), Kingunge Ngombale Mwiru, one deputy minister and three regional party chairmen defected from CCM to CHADEMA. Edward Lowassa became UKAWA's presidential candidate. In CHADEMA and CUF, some of its top leaders opted out in protest of the process leading to the selection of the presidential candidate for the coalition. The Secretary General of CHADEMA, Dr. Wilbroad Slaa, who had stood for the party in the 2010 elections and who was expected to stand for the party in the 2015 presidential election race, unceremoniously resigned from active party politics. Again, the CUF Chairman, Prof. Haruna Lipumba, decided to resign from his position only to stay as an ordinary party member.
- viii. Imbalance of power among political parties. In 2015 general elections, CCM had 186 and 28 constituency seats in the Union Parliament and House of Representatives, respectively; CUF had 24 and 22 seats in the Union Parliament and House of Representatives, respectively; CHADEMA 23 seats; NCCR-Mageuzi 4 seats; UDP 1 seat; and TLP 1 seat. This also had implications on the access to financial resources from government. The more seats a party had, the bigger the share of government subventions.

Regarding the overall political environment during the 2015 general elections, TEMCO election observation mission was heartened to note that the country remained generally peaceful, with political parties, candidates and the public demonstrating a high degree of political tolerance. This enabled citizens to enjoy the full range of civil liberties and freedoms enshrined in the Constitution during the electoral period. The political environment was conducive enough to enable/facilitate the conduct of democratic elections.

3. Legal and institutional frameworks

The legal framework governing general elections in the United Republic of Tanzania is derived from the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania (1977). The National Elections Act (CAP 343) and its amendment provide for the law regulating the election of the President of the United Republic of Tanzania and elections to the National Assembly. The local government council elections are held under the Local Authorities Elections Act (CAP 292) of 1979 and related regulations. Moreover, the union elections are also governed by the Election Expenses Act, No. 6 of 2010, which makes provisions for the funding of electoral processes, with a view to controlling the use of funds and prohibited practices. In addition, the legislation makes provisions for allocation, management and accountability of election funds.

Elections in Zanzibar are governed by the Zanzibar Constitution (1984) and the Elections Act No. 11 of 1984 and its amendments.

There are two Election Management Bodies in Tanzania, namely the National Electoral Commission (NEC) which is empowered to manage the Union elections. The members of the commission are appointed by the President of the United Republic of Tanzania and they carry out their mandates as stipulated in the electoral legislation. Some electoral stakeholders are not satisfied with the law governing union elections in Tanzania. There are perceptions and concerns that the legislation has some inadequacies; the major ones have been outlined below.

- i. NEC has inadequate autonomy to execute its mandate in a manner that is impartial. This concern emanates from the fact that the chairperson, his/her deputy, the commissioners and director of elections are all appointed by the President who is the chairperson of a political party, and in some instances he/she may be a candidate in the union presidential election.
- ii. NEC does not have staff specifically dedicated for its duties and responsibilities. It relies heavily on local government officers who serve at the pleasure of the President. The loyalty of local government servants is to their employer not to the Commission.
- iii. The law does not provide for independent candidature, it requires a candidate to be nominated by a political party; consequently, this infringes civil and political rights.
- iv. The law excludes the Diaspora to register as voters as well as to stand as candidates.
- v. Inmates serving less than a six months sentence and people who are admitted in hospital for treatment are denied the opportunity to vote. While the electoral legislation neither precludes nor disqualifies these two groups from registration and voting, it does not make any special accommodation to their circumstance.
- vi. The structures and mechanisms for effective enforcement of the Election Expenses Act, 2010, are inadequate.

Overall, the legislation governing general elections in Tanzania is neither obnoxious nor draconian. The electoral laws and institutional arrangements, by and large, guarantee universal suffrage. The legal framework and institutional arrangement do not significantly deviate from acceptable international electoral norms and standards; however, there are provisions in the legislation which require a review in order to enhance the confidence and trust of major electoral stakeholders in the legal and institutional arrangements as well as attaining credible, free and fair elections.

4. Approach and methodology

The observation of Tanzania's 2015 elections had two mutually supporting stages. Stage one involved the observation of the voter registration process which for the first time used the Biometric Voter Registration technology. Stage two included observation of the other components in the electoral cycle.

In the first stage, TEMCO trained and deployed 163 Long Term Observers (LTOs) for 21 days to observe the voter registration process using the BVR system in 140 local government authorities, 1,216 wards and 9,728 voter registration stations on Tanzania Mainland; and 11 districts, 88 Shehias and 704 registration centres in Zanzibar. The voter registration process was observed in all local government authorities located in boarder regions, including Kagera, Kigoma, Katavi, Rukwa, Mbeya, Mtwara, Ruvuma, Tanga, Kilimanjaro, Arusha, Mara and all major towns. Two sets of instruments were used to collect relevant information related to the BVR exercise.

In the second stage, a total of 150 LTOs were selected, trained and deployed for 44 days to observe the election campaigns and used that period to gather data on the electoral processes that were carried out before the campaigns. These included the demarcation of electoral boundaries (constituencies and wards), intraparty nominations, nominations by NEC and ZEC. The LTOs used two sets of instruments: (i) CEMOT's EOC instrument with closed-ended items which captured data on the pre-election day activities. The information was submitted online to CEMOT on a daily basis using *Magpi* software applications for analysis; and (ii) TEMCO instrument which had both closed and open-ended items for capturing qualitative and quantitative pre-campaign and campaign information to be used mainly in the comprehensive narrative report. On the election day, the LTOs also observed the voting, vote counting, as well as the declaration of the results and the ensuing post election events/episodes.

Moreover, 7,350 Short Term Observers (STOs) were deployed in 7,350 polling stations located in 150 constituencies on Tanzania Mainland (6,646) and Zanzibar (704). The STOs had two sets of data collection tools: (i) CEMOT instrument for gathering data on the Election Day. The instrument had 69 closed-ended questions. The responses were submitted to CEMOT' EOC by mobile telephones using short-cum "sms" messages; (ii) TEMCO instrument which had closed-ended and open-ended questions on the election day. The responses will be analysed to generate data for the narrative comprehensive report.

Interviews with the electoral officers at different levels and leaders of political parties were also used to generate information on the electoral processes. The LTOs and TEMCO experts reviewed the Constitutions of the United Republic of Tanzania and Zanzibar, legal and institutional frameworks governing elections in Tanzania as part of its methodology.

For the purpose of this interim statement, the LTOs and STOs were required to carry out rapid assessments of the nomination, campaigns and election-day activities (up to declaration of some results) and wire them to TEMCO headquarters in Dar es Salaam. These rapid assessments provided the trend of the three electoral processes and enabled us to predict the extent to which the total electoral process could be considered “free and fair”. They were asked to score each of the three electoral steps as follows:

- i. 0% or letter grade ‘F’, to mean an election (or electoral step) which has failed totally in terms of management, compliance with electoral rules, code of conduct and fairness; and therefore it does not come to normal finality. TEMCO awards such an election an “**Aborted Election**” certificate.
- ii. 1 – 39% or letter grade ‘E’, to mean an election (or electoral step) with so many managerial problems and irregularities that most major stakeholders (voters, candidates, parties) reject or are likely to reject the final results. It is awarded a “**Totally Mismanaged Election**” certificate.
- iii. 40 – 49% or letter grade ‘D’, to mean that the election process has acts of violence, intimidation, favouritism, corruption, etc. The deserving award is “**Unfree and Unfair Election**” certificate.
- iv. 50 – 59% or letter grade ‘C’, to mean the election permits free participation of stakeholders (voters, candidates, parties, others), but there are many instances where bigger parties (or especially the ruling party) break the rules with impunity. That is to say, the election is “**Free But Not Fair Election**” certificate.
- v. 60 – 79% or letter grade ‘B’, to mean an election (or electoral step) which is generally free and fair, but still has short-comings which work against fortunes of some stakeholders (voters, candidates, parties, etc.). It is a “**Qualified Free and Fair Election**” certificate.
- vi. 80 – 100% or more or letter grade ‘A’, to mean an election with only a few short-comings which do not affect the overall results. It is a “**Clean, Free and Fair Election**” certificate.

5. Management of the electoral processes

The management of the electoral process in Tanzania is vested in the hands of NEC and ZEC. Ahead of the 2015 general elections, NEC had accomplished a number of important activities that provided the direction for the election. Some of the main activities were: (i) procurement and distribution of election materials, including the BVR kits; (ii) updating of the PNVR using the BVR (This exercise necessitated all eligible voters to update their particulars and surrender the previous OMR-generated cards); (iii) training of electoral officers at national, regional, district and ward levels; and (iv) preparation and issuance of codes of ethics for political parties and candidates as well as election observers.

Overall, NEC executed mandate, duties and responsibilities efficiently and in a manner that was largely professional despite resource constraints and enormous pressure exerted on it by the electoral stakeholders.

6. Assessment of electoral processes

6.1 Electoral boundary delineation

New electoral constituencies and wards were established, culminating into an increase of 25 constituencies, making a total of 264 from the previous 239, as well as new wards. Electoral wards were increased from 3,339 in 2010 to 3,957 in 2015. The drawing of electoral boundaries was properly undertaken, using a transparent, justifiable and consistent procedure, established by law, and included the use of criteria such as population size and geographical or administrative boundaries.

There were no complaints among electoral stakeholders against the manner in which the electoral boundaries were drawn. TEMCO observers’ findings do not reveal incidents or evidence of ‘gerrymandering’ which could facilitate/lead to manipulation of election outcomes. TEMCO election observation mission commends NEC and ZEC for undertaking the electoral boundaries delineation process objectively and to the satisfaction of the stakeholders.

6.2 Voter registration process

TEMCO also noted that NEC had registered a total of 23,161,440 (96.85%) of voters out of the projected 23,913,184. This was a remarkable achievement despite the fact that NEC was somewhat under-resourced and was under pressure from various electoral stakeholders. Although there is no law in Tanzania which compels adults to register, the turn out for registration was excellent, demonstrating that people are conscious of their civic rights. The Commission used a credible and cleaned Permanent National Voters Register for the October 2015 elections.

The Team commends NEC for using the BVR technology for registration of voters instead of the Optical Mark Recognition (OMR) system which had been previously used. The use of BVR technology enabled NEC to weed out about 231,955 cases of multiple registration and 3,870 names of non-citizens in the voters' roll.

The Team also noted that the BVR process took relatively long to complete and there were no mechanisms to identify people who could register in accordance with the law. Moreover, the Diaspora and inmates serving less than a six months sentence were not allowed to register as voters.

6.3 Intraparty nominations

The findings of TEMCO election observation mission revealed that nomination of candidates within many political parties fell short of democratic practices. Four major models of nominating candidates were employed: (i) handpicking model, (ii) application model, (iii) wait-for-defectors model, (iii) semi democratic and semi participatory model, and (iv) democratic cum participatory model. The handpicking model entailed leaders of political parties unilaterally appointing candidates of their own choice. This model was used by 'small' parties, especially those with no seats in parliament and local government councils, only with offices in Dar es Salaam and in very few regions. The application model was a new innovation whereby some parties especially the small ones invited interested individuals to stand for the party in various electoral positions at constituency and ward levels. Wait-for-defectors model was used by some political parties to create space for potential leaders who had failed to get nominations in their political parties. This was used by parties in the UKAWA coalition which in a way undermined the major pillars of a democratic nomination process. The semi-participatory model had elements of participation although leaders of political parties had a final decision. The democratic model was largely used by the ruling party and CUF especially in Zanzibar whereby interested members were invited to express their intention to seek the party's nomination to vie for positions at different levels including the presidency. Selection was carried out on merit and through voting depending on the selection criteria set by the party.

Some political parties resorted to the undemocratic nomination procedures partly because the Tanzania political party legislation does not provide for parties to create coalitions and alliances for electoral purposes.

Overall, TEMCO's observation reveals that after 23 years of existence, political parties in Tanzania have not transformed themselves into democratic institutions and have not performed well in one of their cardinal functions related to nurturing and grooming leaders. Moreover, their pace towards building and consolidating internal democracy is relatively slow.

6.4 Nominations by NEC and ZEC

NEC and ZEC are mandated to nominate names of candidates proposed by political parties to stand in elections at different levels. As well, the EMBs are empowered to handle objections against the nomination of candidates at different levels lodged by other candidates, returning officer, assistant returning officer or Registrar of Political Parties. Persons aggrieved by lower level decisions have the right to appeal to the next level and finally to NEC or ZEC.

In the 2015 presidential elections, 10 candidates collected nomination forms from NEC. However, only eight (1 female [12.5%] and 7 males [87.5%]) satisfied the requirements and were nominated to stand for Union presidential election. Regarding Union parliamentary elections, 1,218 (985 males [80.9%] and 233 females [19.1%]) were nominated by NEC. The local council election had 10,879 candidates (10,191 males [93.7%] and 679 females [6.3%]).

As required by the electoral legislation, NEC received and determined all appeals by either reinstating or upholding the verdict of the lower level. There were cases where candidates were nominated unopposed at lower levels but NEC reinstated their candidature. Parliamentary appeals that were determined by NEC included those received from five constituencies namely, Tandahimba, Mwanga, Wanging'ombe, Handeni Urban and Kasulu Urban. NEC also received and determined appeals regarding 70 wards in relation to councillors' election. Contrary to the 2010 elections where 16 CCM parliamentary candidates and 500 councillorship candidates were elected unopposed, the unopposed parliamentary candidate phenomenon did not feature in the 2015 election.

Overall, NEC handled the nomination process in accordance with the law and handled appeals in a manner that satisfied political parties. It is also worth noting that women who were nominated by NEC were very few and this raises questions efficacy of interventions geared at emancipating women to participate in elections as contestants.

Observers' assessment of nominations in 150 constituencies out of 264 observed by TEMCO is shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Assessment of the nomination process

Nature and character of nominations	Marks & grades	Frequency	Percentage
The conduct of intra-party nominations was marred by severe irregularities. There was so much favouritism, foul-play and corruption to the extent that some candidates decided to withdraw from the preferential voting process or took legal or lodged formal complaints. Nominations were an aborted process.	F (0%)	0	0.00
Nominations were disrupted or mismanaged to the extent that stakeholders could not accept the nominees. It was like a student who failed an exam.	E (1-39%)	0	0.00
Nominations were marred by numerous flaws related to non-compliance of some nominations rules, regulations and code of conduct, management problems and instances of intimidation and favouritism.	D (40-49%)	5	3.51
The nomination process permitted free participation of stakeholders (political parties, candidates and voters), but there were many instances of breach of nomination rules and regulations, with impunity and there was favouritism that worked against fortunes of some candidates.	C (50-59%)	16	10.53
The nominations were generally free and fair but still had a few irregularities which in their totality did not affect in any meaningful way the final outcomes of the election and did not work against the fortunes of stakeholders (political parties, candidates and voters).	B (60-69%)	68	45.61

Nature and character of nominations	Marks & grades	Frequency	Percentage
The nominations had very few irregularities which did not at all affect the overall results of the elections. Overall, the nominations were clean, free and fair.	A (80 – 100%)	61	40.35
Total		150	100

Analysis of 150 constituencies suggest that if this pattern persists in all the constituencies the nomination process of 16 constituencies (10.53%) will be judged as “*free but not fair*”; in 68 constituencies (45.61%) the nomination process will receive “*qualified free and fair*” certification; and in another 61 constituencies (40.35%) of constituencies the nomination process will receive a “*clean free and fair*” certification.

6.5 Assessment of campaigns

Reports by TEMCO observers reveal pluses and minuses in the way political parties organised election campaigns. On the plus side the reports point to the following:

- i. There was a campaign timetable for presidential campaign rallies that all political parties largely adhered to. However, there were incidents where changes had to be made.
- ii. Only three political parties CCM, CHADEMA/UKAWA and ACT-Wazalendo managed to launch election campaigns at the national level alongside their political party manifestos.
- iii. Only two political parties CCM and CHADEMA/UKAWA attracted huge campaign rallies which were very well attended and they were generally peaceful.
- iv. Uniformed law enforcement officers were visible during presidential election campaigns.

On the minus side TEMCO observers’ reports reveal the following:

- i. Although generally the campaigns were held in a peaceful manner, there were claims that clashes between followers of two main political parties resulted into loss of life in Tarime constituency.
- ii. There were isolated incidents of campaign meetings going beyond the specified time that is 6.00 pm. Despite this breach, the police were generally tolerant, thus averting possible standoffs/clashes.
- iii. Although there was a mutually agreed upon timetable at constituency level for parliamentary and councillorship rallies, on many occasions it was not adhered to.
- iv. Campaigns revolved around personalities and kind of demagoguery rather than institutions (political parties) and election manifestos.
- v. There were perceptions that the two major contending parties (CCM and CHADEMA/UKAWA) in the presidential race may have spent money beyond the set ceiling. However, this is hard to verify with confidence.
- vi. Many political parties were vividly under-resourced with the exception of CCM and CHADEMA/UKAWA; hence, the playing field was not level, which might have affected fairness in the elections.
- vii. There were isolated cases of negative campaigning, including the use of inflammatory and abusive language in campaign rallies.
- viii. There was widespread use of vernacular languages in some areas especially in parliamentary and local councillors’ election contrary to the provisions of the election legislation and the code of ethics for political parties.

The assessment of TEMCO LOTs regarding the election campaigns is shown in the Table below.

Table 2: Assessment of electoral campaigns

Nature and character of campaigns	Marks & grades	Frequency	Percentage
The conduct of campaigns was marred by acute irregularities. There were so many incidents of violence, sabotage, corruption, and provocation to such an extent that some candidates withdrew from the elections or took other measures. Election campaigns were an aborted process.	F (0%)	0	0
Campaigns were disrupted or mismanaged to the extent that it was not easy to understand what happened. It was like a student who has failed an exam.	E (1 - 39%)	0	0
Campaigns were marred by numerous shortcomings related to non-compliance of some electoral laws, regulations and electoral code of conduct, management problems incidents of intimidation and favouritism.	D (40 - 49%)	4	2.63
Campaigns permitted free participation of stakeholders (political parties, candidates and voters) but there were many instances where bigger parties or, especially, the ruling party broke rules with impunity and there was favouritism that worked against fortunes of some candidates and their parties.	C (50 - 59%)	16	10.53
The electoral campaigns were generally free and fair but still had a few irregularities which in their totality did not affect in any meaningful way the final outcomes of the election and did not work against the fortunes of stakeholders (political parties, candidates and voters).	B (60 - 79%)	88	58.77
The electoral campaigns had very few irregularities which did not at all affect the overall results of the elections. Overall, the campaigns were clean, free and fair.	A (80 - 100%)	42	28.07
Total		150	100

The statistical data in Table 2 shows that campaigns in 16 constituencies (10.53%) deserve a “*free but not fair*” certificate; 88 constituencies (58.77%) receive a “*qualified free and fair*” certificate; and 42 constituencies (28.7%) qualify for a “*clean, free and fair*” certification.

TEMCO observers did not report an incident where a candidate or a political party was deliberately denied the opportunity to conduct campaigns. Thus, in the light of the data in Table 2 it seems plausible to conclude that the campaigns were peaceful. However, there were a few shortcomings which could not adversely affect the quality of elections.

1.6 Election day: Voting, vote counting and declaration of results

On the polling day, TEMCO deployed a total of 7,500 observers to observe the Election Day activities including voting, vote counting and declaration of results. Moreover, TEMCO benefitted from the data that was generated by CEMOT's Election Observation Centre which showed the following facts.

- i. A total of 6080 polling stations (94%) which were observed opened on or before 7.00 am which was the official time, 249 (4%) opened from 07.31 am to 08.00 am. Only 115 polling stations (2%) opened at 08.01 am onwards.

- ii. Of the 6,579 polling stations that had TEMCO/CEMOT observers, 5,921 (90%) had adequate polling materials, whereas 658 (10%) had a shortage of polling materials, particularly stamps.
- iii. There were incidents in which voters' names did not appear in the voter register. TEMCO observation revealed that names of 1,224 (18%) voters out of 6,579 polling stations were missing.
- iv. TEMCO observers noted the presence of agents of only two political parties, CCM and CHADEMA/UKAWA. Out of the 6,579 polling stations, CCM had 6,475 (98%), CHADEMA/UKAWA had 6,351 (97%), and other parties had a total of 4,585 (70%).
- v. A total of 6,259 polling stations (95%) out of 6,579 had uniformed police officers.
- vi. A total of 6,075 polling stations (92%) out of 6,579 provided easy access to people with disability.
- vii. Out of 5,770 polling stations observed by TEMCO, in 5,736 polling stations (99%) electoral officers verified voters ID.
- viii. Signs of campaigns were visible at 245 polling stations (4%) out of 5,770 polling stations observed.
- ix. Out of 5,770 polling stations observed by TEMCO, in 5,161 polling stations (89%) electoral officers checked for signs of indelible ink on voters' fingers.
- x. In 2,492 polling stations (43%) out of 5,770 polling stations observed by TEMCO, voters were still in the queue by 04.00 pm which was the official closing time.
- xi. The last person on the queue voted between 05.00 pm and 05.30 pm in 824 (43%) out of the 5,770 polling stations observed.
- xii. Vote counting started immediately after the last person on the queue had casted his/her vote.
 - 2,206 (41%) polling stations out of 5,325 observed by TEMCO were converted into counting stations and the counting process commenced between 04.30pm and 05.00 pm.
 - 1,280 (24%) polling stations out of 5,325 observed by TEMCO were converted into counting stations and the counting process commenced after 05.00 pm.
- xiii. TEMCO observers witnessed the results of various electoral posts being posted outside the counting stations as follows: Presidential election 5038 (96%); parliamentary 4,887 (92%); and councillors' election 5038 (96%).
- xiv. TEMCO witnessed friction arising out of claims of delayed announcements of parliamentary results in some constituencies including Mbagala, Kinondoni, Ubungu, Kibamba, Kawe, Mbozi, Temeke, Simanjiro and Babati which in some cases degenerated into chaos.

All TEMCO STOs were required to provide an overall assessment of the polling day, taking into account the extent to which voting, vote counting and declaration of results were carried out in their respective polling stations.

The result of the assessment is shown in Table 3 below:

Table 3: Assessment of the polling day

Nature and character of voting and vote counting	Marks & grades	Frequency	Percentage
The conduct of voting and vote counting was marred by severe irregularities. There were so many incidences of violence, corruption and provocation to such an extent that some candidates decided to withdraw from the election or took other measures. The polling day was an aborted process.	F (0%)	1	0.01
Voting and vote counting were disrupted or mismanaged to the extent that it was not possible to understand what happened. It was like a student who has failed an exam.	E (1-39%)	0	0
Voting and vote counting were marred by numerous flaws related to non-compliance of some electoral laws, regulations and code of conduct, management problems and instances of intimidation and favouritism.	D (40-49%)	10	0.13
The voting and vote counting processes permitted free participation of stakeholders (political parties, candidates and voters) but there were many instances where bigger parties or, especially, the ruling party broke rules with impunity, and there was favouritism that worked against fortunes of some candidates and their parties.	C (50-59%)	122	1.62
Voting and vote counting were generally free and fair but still had a few irregularities which in their totality did not affect in any meaningful way the final outcomes of the election and did not work against the fortunes of stakeholders (political parties, candidates and voters).	B (60-69%)	1612	21.49
The voting and vote counting processes had very few irregularities which did not at all affect the overall results of the elections. Overall, voting and vote counting processes were clean, free and fair.	A (80 – 100%)	5755	76.74
Total		7500	100

As shown in Table 3, about 5,755 of STOs (76.74%) show that the election day processes had few shortcomings which did not affect significantly the voting and vote counting processes. In this regard, they deserve a “*clean, free and fair*” certification. The voting and vote counting activities in 1,612 polling stations (21.5%) are awarded a “*qualified free and fair*” certificate, whereas 122 polling stations (1.62%) deserve a “*free but not fair*” certificate.

7. Overall assessment of the 2015 general elections

TEMCO LTOs having generated information on the pre-election, election day and post-election processes, they were required to provide an informed, candid and objective verdict on the overall Tanzania 2015 general elections. Their judgment is shown in Table 4 below.

Table 4: Overall assessment of the election processes

Overall Assessment of 2015 Election	Marks & grades	Frequency	Percentage
The elections were marred by severe irregularities. There were so many incidences of violence, corruption and provocation to such an extent that some candidates decided to withdraw from the election or took other measures. The entire election was an aborted process.	F (0%)	0	0
The elections were disrupted or mismanaged to the extent that it is not possible to understand what happened. It is like a student who has failed an exam.	E (1-39%)	0	0
The elections were marred by numerous flaws related to non-compliance of some electoral laws, regulations and code of conduct, management problems and instances of intimidation and favouritism.	D (40-49%)	0	0
The elections permitted free participation of stakeholders (political parties, candidates and voters) but there were many instances where bigger parties or, especially, the ruling party broke rules with impunity, and there was favouritism that worked against fortunes of some candidates and their parties.	C (50-59%)	5	3.51
The elections were generally free and fair but still had a few irregularities which in their totality did not affect in any meaningful way the final outcomes of the election and did not work against the fortunes of stakeholders (political parties, candidates and voters).	B (60-69%)	67	44.74
The elections had very few irregularities which did not at all affect the overall results of the elections. Overall, the elections were clean, free and fair. A (80%+)		78	51.75
Total		150	100

The overall assessment shows that the conduct of electoral activities during the entire electoral cycle in 5 constituencies (3.51%) qualify for the award of “*free but not fair*” certificate; electoral activities in 67 constituencies (44.74%) are considered for a “*qualified free and fair*” certification; while election activities in 78 constituencies (51.75%) deserve a “*clean, free and fair*” certificate.

Broadly, the Tanzania (Union) 2015 elections deserved a “*clean, free and fair*” certificate. However, taking into account the perceptions and concerns of various electoral stakeholders regarding the independence of the electoral commission, legal and instructional frameworks, and minor shortcomings identified by observers, TEMCO is unable to issue a “*clean, free and fair*” certificate. As such, TEMCO awards the Tanzania 2015 Union Elections a “**QUALIFIED FREE AND FAIR**” certificate.

8. Zanzibar elections

TEMCO notes with concern and surprise the decision by ZEC Chairman to annul Zanzibar elections because of what was claimed to be “irregularities and gross violation of laws and election regulations”. The specific incidents that were cited by the ZEC boss include incidents of intimidation of voters in political parties’ strongholds, usurping of ZEC’s mandate over the announcement of presidential election results, differences which degenerated into fighting among ZEC members, and the number of voters at some polling stations exceeding that of the voters in the register, particularly in Pemba.

TEMCO deployed 22 LTOs and 704 STOs in Zanzibar. The LTOs were in Zanzibar 43 days before the election. Both LTOs and STOs observed the election day processes including polling, vote counting, declaration of results and immediate post-election episodes. Their preliminary reports show that the pre-electoral processes and election day activities were conducted professionally, and in an orderly and peaceful manner to the satisfaction of many electoral stakeholders. Surprisingly, the decision to nullify the Zanzibar elections was made when presidential results were being announced.

TEMCO was also shocked by the unsigned statement issued to the public by CUF on 26th October, 2015 carrying the title “The Civic United Front Wins Historic Victory in Zanzibar Election”. Part of the statement reads as follows:

As of 9.30 this morning, Maalim Seif Hamad, the presidential candidate of the Civic United Front in Zanzibar, had secured 200,077 votes against his rival Dr. Ali Mohamed Shein of CCM with 178,363 votes. This constitutes a majority for CUF of 21,714 votes -52.87% against 47.13%. ...The people of Zanzibar have spoken. ...There is now no question that Maalim Seif has won the presidential election in Zanzibar and that the ruling party has been defeated for the first time since 1977.

In the light of the preceding account, ZEC’s decision and CUF’s statement leave a lot to be desired. They have generated heated debate and serious concerns among election stakeholders in Zanzibar including political parties, presidential contestants and domestic and international observers. TEMCO election observation mission remains concerned about the situation in Zanzibar; hence, TEMCO urges

- i. the Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC) to reconsider its decision with a view to attaining democratic credible, free and fair elections as well as consolidating peace and stability in Zanzibar within the spirit of *Maridhiano* (Reconciliation) which has facilitated smooth functioning of the Government of National Unity installed in 2010;
- ii. political parties and presidential candidates to respect the powers and mandates vested into ZEC in accordance with the provisions of the Zanzibar Constitution and relevant electoral legislation;
- iii. all election stakeholders particularly the key actors, CUF and CCM, to remain calm, refrain from the use of violence, and avoid making statements that could either fuel or increase tensions as well as unhealthy conflicts;
- iv. the aggrieved parties to address disputes emanating from the annulment of the October 25th poll through the existing legal frameworks in order to preserve peace, law and order;
- v. the top leadership of the United Republic of Tanzania to consider looking for the ways and means to resolve the incipient conflict which may undermine peaceful co-existence not only in Zanzibar but also on the Mainland;
- vi. all peace-loving people including the international community, development partners, religious leaders, civil society organisations, retired presidents, the media and all responsible citizens to play a reconciliatory role in order to find a speedy resolution to the issues emanating from the 2015 Zanzibar elections; and
- vii. ZEC commissioners to account for the circumstances leading to the annulment of the elections;
- viii. the appointing authority to take disciplinary action against ZEC staff for their role in the annulment.

9. Conclusion and preliminary recommendations

9.1 Conclusion

Overall, the Tanzania 2015 general elections, with the exception of Zanzibar elections, were well managed and the outcomes reflect the will of the electorates. TEMCO election observation mission: (i) congratulates the people of the United Republic of Tanzania for exercising their civic duty by turning out in big numbers for BVR process, attending campaign rallies and voting on the election day as well as preserving peace and harmony throughout the election period; (ii) commends the National Electoral Commission (the chairman, his deputy, commissioners and staff) for executing their mandates professionally, responsibly, diligently within the

ambit of the law; (iii) commends all contestants (winners and losers) for the Union and Zanzibar presidential elections, as well as for parliamentary, house of representatives and local council elections; and also commends other stakeholders including the media, civil society organisations, faith based organisations and development partners for supporting the elections in different ways.



TEMCO congratulates the women particularly CCM's presidential running mate and ACT-Wazalendo presidential candidate. In addition, a big number of women who stood for parliamentary and councillorship elections proved their prowess by winning in the constituencies that were hitherto dominated by men. TEMCO is aware that elections were postponed in different constituencies and wards largely due to the passing on of candidates. They departed before accomplishing their intended political missions and objectives. May the Almighty God rest their Souls in Eternal Peace.

TEMCO wishes to congratulate contestants who won the elections at different levels, and on the same vein, wishes to express commensuration to members in the opposition particularly those in the umbrella of UKAWA for the results announced by NEC, but also congratulate them for posing a formidable challenge that was quite unprecedented in the political history of Tanzania. As the political tension and election dust start to settle, both the winners and losers should bear in mind that the peaceful election was a result of the basic values that hold together Tanzanians including tolerance of dissent, spirit of unity, peace and harmony and indeed Tanzanians desire to build and consolidate democracy.



9.2 Recommendations

Taking to account the findings of the TEMCO election observation mission, a number of recommendations are directed to different stakeholders in the electoral management process in order to improve the management of elections in Tanzania.

9.2.1 Government of the United Republic of Tanzania

The government is advised to consider the possibility of undertaking comprehensive electoral reforms with the view to:

- i. increasing the confidence and trust of the electoral stakeholders in the election management bodies particularly the manner in which the commissioners and the director of elections are appointed and the need for EMBs to have own staff;
- ii. reviewing or amending electoral legislation in order to provide independent candidature, challenge presidential election results in a court of law and allow the Diaspora to participate in elections;
- iii. developing and implementing a comprehensive civic education strategy to govern the provision of voter education;
- iv. taking measures to strengthen the institutions responsible for youth socialisation in order to regulate their behaviour to enable them to become patient, responsible citizens and learning to control their emotions;
- v. taking measures geared at enhancing the conduct of the social media during elections to avoid distortion of electoral processes;
- vi. amending the Political Parties Act in order to have a provision that allows political parties to form alliances/ coalitions for electoral purposes.

9.2.2 National Electoral Commission

As already alluded to, TEMCO is broadly satisfied with the performance of NEC regarding the management of the 2015 elections. The following recommendations are made:

- i. Using the rich experiences and competencies that NEC gained in organising the 2015 elections, NEC should consider initiating preparation for the Constitutional Referendum taking into account that a credible Permanent National Voters Register (PNVR) is now in place.
- ii. NEC should undertake regular updates of the PNVR as stipulated by the law. This would also help eligible voters whose names were missing in the register to be included.

9.2.3 Political parties

Political parties are major players in elections. TEMCO recommends that the political parties should:

- i. respect and conduct themselves in accordance with the electoral laws, rules, regulations and codes of conduct;
- ii. learn to address their grievances related to elections through the proper channels, i.e., courts of law;
- iii. take measures that would build, enhance and consolidate internal democracy specifically during nomination of candidates;
- iv. learn to accept election outcomes rather than disputing results after elections;
- v. take measures that would motivate and enhance the participation of women in vying for leadership positions;
- vi. refrain from usurping the powers of the Electoral Management Bodies; and,
- vii. strive to become learning institutions capable of reproducing themselves, having ideological norms and values which can be passed over from one generation to another and refrain from individual glorification syndrome.

10. Acknowledgements

On behalf of 172 Civil Society Organizations constituting the Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee (TEMCO), the leadership of REDET, the lead agency of TEMCO, wishes to:

- i. sincerely acknowledge the financial support received from the American People through USAID for the Observation of Tanzania 2015 Electoral Processes (OTEP) programme;
- ii. recognise the contribution of 180 LTOs and 7,350 STOs for executing their duties and responsibilities diligently, impartially and professionally;
- iii. appreciate the support of the University of Dar es Salaam management for providing TEMCO the usual base, legitimacy and support as it has done previously;
- iv. extend thanks to the NEC's Chairman and Director of Elections for the accreditation to observe both BVR and other electoral processes;
- v. acknowledge the support and cooperation that was extended to the LTOs and STOs by Regional Election Coordinators, Returning Officers and other electoral staff in constituencies;
- vi. recognise the collegiality, networking and cooperation with the Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC), the lead agency of TACCEO, for establishing the Coalition on Election Monitoring and Observation in Tanzania (CEMOT) and the Election Observation Centre which enabled TEMCO to infuse ICTs in election observation work'
- vii. acknowledge the financial support received from the Royal Danish Embassy, Canadian High Commission, and Open Society Initiative for East Africa (OSIEA) to support CEMOT;
- viii. appreciate the technical and financial support received from the National Democratic Institute (NDI) which enabled TEMCO to significantly transform its approach to election observation through ICTs; and
- ix. thank other electoral stakeholders including leaders of political parties, candidates, international observers and the Tanzanian electorates for sharing experiences and knowledge on election observation.



*Long Term Observers (LTOs) with TEMCO Chairman, Prof. Rwekaza S. Mukandala
after he opened training session*



STATEMENTS AND HIGHLIGHTS BY INTERNATIONAL OBSERVATION MISSIONS





US Secretary of State, John Kerry

On behalf of President Obama and the people of the United States, I congratulate the people of the United Republic of Tanzania on their presidential and parliamentary elections, reaffirming Tanzania's strong democratic record.

As President John Pombe Magufuli and his administration assume their responsibilities, we look forward to continuing our close partnership and strengthening further ties between our two countries as we work together to support democratic traditions, promote regional security, and continue to spur economic development.

I also thank outgoing President Kikwete for his efforts to help build a strong and enduring relationship between the United States and Tanzania.

The United States, however, continues to be gravely alarmed by the announcement by authorities that they intend to nullify Zanzibar's October 25 presidential election.

We strongly urge Tanzania's new administration to ensure that the will of the Zanzibari people is reflected in the prompt, fair, and peaceful conclusion of the electoral process in Zanzibar.



Mark Childress, U.S. Ambassador to the United Republic of Tanzania

Statement from the U.S. Embassy in Tanzania

October 28, 2015

The United States Embassy is closely following the electoral process throughout Tanzania. We continue to monitor the tabulation of votes, including the ongoing work of the Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC) to tally results of the Zanzibar presidential election, and urge that the process be concluded in a timely and transparent manner. We call on all government officials to respect the role of official observers, allowing full and free access to all elements of the election process. We urge all parties to engage in a transparent, fair, and peaceful electoral process.



*British High Commissioner to Tanzania,
Dianna Patricia Melrose*

UK statement on Zanzibar elections

29th October, 2015

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland is deeply concerned by the announcement of the Chairman of the Zanzibar Electoral Commission to nullify the elections. We note that all the international observers were impressed by the quality of the electoral process they witnessed. We call on ZEC to resume the results tabulation process without delay. We congratulate the people of United Republic of Tanzania on the peaceful and enthusiastic way in which they participated in their elections. We call on all political actors to seek a solution which respects the will of the Zanzibari people as expressed in the polls on 25 October.

The United Republic of Tanzania has a well deserved reputation for peace and stability and respecting democratic principles. We urge all Zanzibaris to maintain peace and we commend the restraint they have shown so far.



*Rtd President Goodluck Jonathan,
Head of Commonwealth Election Observation
Mission*

Commonwealth Observer Group

27 October 2015

The following is an initial assessment of the critical aspects of the election process and the electoral environment.

Pre-election environment: The emergence of the UKAWA alliance of opposition parties, following the constitutional reform process which has now been shelved, heightened the competitive nature of these elections. We were therefore pleased to note, from our briefings with the Police and other stakeholders, that the campaigns which attracted large crowds, were generally peaceful, although reports of some localised incidents were recorded.

In Zanzibar, where tensions between the two main parties were high, we heard similar reports about the campaigns. Our observers in Pemba and Unguja reported that those campaigns which they observed were peaceful. We note, however, that the campaigns in Zanzibar were concluded on the 23 October, a day earlier than scheduled, in order to cool down the political temperature. Our general conclusion is that in spite of some tensions and minor incidents, the fundamental rights of candidates, political parties and supporters to assemble and campaign were observed.

A significant number of stakeholders who briefed the Group expressed concern about the late timing and limited reach of voter education ahead of these elections. Likewise, we heard concerns that the late conduct of the Biometric Voter Registration (BVR) exercise risked disenfranchising some voters.

An issue that divided the political parties was the interpretation of Section 104 of the National Elections Act which prohibits people from assembling within a 200 metre radius of any polling station. While one party asserted that its supporters could stay on after voting as long as they were beyond the 200 metre radius, another held the view that irrespective of this provision, after voting, voters should leave the premises and go home. On 23 October the High Court ruled that, all voters should leave the premises after voting and return home. The ruling provided clear direction on the issue.

Media environment: There has been a proliferation of media in Tanzania since multi-party elections in 1995. The media landscape is on the whole split between state-run media and the private sector but media ownership is limited to a few powerful players. The law provides for an allocation of air-time which is available to all political party broadcasts. It also states that there should be equitable opportunities to access free airtime and the amount of time allocated

to political parties and the rates charged should be consistent to all parties and candidates.

However, some stakeholders expressed concerns that media coverage of the elections tended to favour the governing party. The Group were told of instances where journalists were pressured into writing pro-government campaign material. In Zanzibar, where there are no privately owned newspapers, there were allegations of media bias in favour of the government.

The voting process: On Election Day, our observers reported that most voting stations opened on time with a few exceptions. Polling officials largely followed opening procedures and voters exercised their franchise in a smooth process. It was noted that ballot box lids and ballot papers were in corresponding colours for each election, which provided clarity for voters. However, there were very long queues in places and a slow pace of voting due to the tripartite elections in the mainland, and five elections in Zanzibar.

We also observed that presiding officers and their deputies in many cases appeared to be overwhelmed by the many tasks they had to perform: for example, in some polling stations, the presiding officer had to issue and stamp ballot papers while simultaneously recording the voter's card number on the counterfoil. This constrained the ability of presiding officers to perform their primary responsibility of managing polling stations, as required by law.

We commend the competence of polling officials, many of whom were young men and women. They collaborated with party agents in a collegial atmosphere, assisted elderly and differently-abled voters, and maintained calm and order in the polling stations.

Where there were anomalies in the application of certain procedures, they were not of such gravity to negatively impact the integrity of the process. We further note that on Election Day, the voter register appeared robust with few incidents where voters did not find their names on the register, possibly allaying some anxieties about the BVR process. In some cases however, some voters were allowed to vote after completing the necessary forms.

On Election Day, Commonwealth Observers found that the 200 metre issue did not pose any problems. We noted the discreet, yet effective police presence.

Our overall assessment of the voting process, based on our observations is that it was conducted in a peaceful, calm and orderly manner, according to the procedures outlined in the laws of the United Republic of Tanzania. The electoral environment on Election Day was conducive to the free exercise of the people's

franchise and basic freedoms were respected.

Closing, counting and the results process: At the close of polls at 4:00pm, the long queues in some places had thinned out. Where there were still voters in the queue, they were allowed to vote in line with the law. Closing procedures were also generally well observed. In some instances, there were inconsistencies in the application of procedures. We note however, that these were not of such a magnitude as to negatively impact on the overall process. We will propose recommendations on this matter in our final report.

Polling officials and party agents collaborated in a collegial spirit during the count. Our observers recorded few spoilt ballots. It appears voters were conversant with the process and also knew how to make their mark. Where there were contested ballots, the polling officials and party agents resolved the matter amicably.

We conclude that the closing and counting were conducted transparently, and in accordance with the laws of Tanzania.

We note that the results process is ongoing. Tallying of results continues across the country. We have received reports of tensions in some places where our Observers are based including in Mtwara and Mwanza.

Conclusions: We wish to commend the people of United Republic of Tanzania for demonstrating their commitment to democracy by engaging so keenly with the electoral process in a peaceful and orderly manner.

We call on all stakeholders, in particular the political leadership and their supporters in Zanzibar, to continue to show restraint and magnanimity and to uphold their commitment to national unity, peace and solidarity.

We believe the people of Tanzania deserve that from their leadership.

In our final report, we will reflect further on possible areas for improvement. In particular, we will address two critical recommendations which the 2010 Commonwealth Observer Group proposed, both of which remain unimplemented: the lack of legal recourse for challenges to the outcome of the presidential elections; and the need to bolster the independence of the NEC and ZEC.

Our final report will be submitted in due course to the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, who will subsequently share it with relevant stakeholders before it is made public.



Judith SARGENTINI
(Netherlands) - Chief Observer

European Union Election Observation Mission Dar es Salaam, 29 October 2015

“Highly competitive, generally well-organised elections, but with insufficient efforts at transparency from the election administrations”

Dar es Salaam, 29 October 2015

- i. For the Union elections, voting was conducted in an organised and generally calm atmosphere. EU observers assessed the conduct of voting as positive. Political party representatives were present in almost all of the polling stations observed. Voting procedures were consistently followed in the polling stations visited, providing adequate safeguards to ensure the integrity of the vote and transparency of the process. There were, however, some polling stations where Union elections had to be postponed in the mainland and in Zanzibar due to the lack of or destruction of ballot papers. Counting started immediately after closing and was conducted in the presence of political party agents who received copies of the results forms. The integrity of the counting process was sufficiently protected in the polling stations observed by the EU EOM.
- ii. Both the National Electoral Commission (NEC) and the Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC) showed sufficient levels of preparedness for the administration of the electoral process and competence in conducting key operations such as the printing of ballot papers and the distribution of electoral material. Despite the absence of a permanent structure of the NEC at lower levels, EU observers assessed its performance as organised and well prepared.
- iii. The legal frameworks governing the elections in the Union and in Zanzibar provide for a reasonable basis for the conduct of democratic elections. Nevertheless, there are a number of constitutional limitations on political rights and freedom of association, and, in Zanzibar, on the right to register as a voter, that have remained unaddressed since the previous elections and which are not in accordance with international principles for democratic elections. These include the constitutional ban on independent candidates to stand for elections, the inability to challenge presidential election results, and the absence of legal provision to form and register coalitions of political parties.
- iv. In Zanzibar, existing tensions between CCM and CUF led to a more heated and divisive campaign than that seen on the mainland. The aggressive rhetoric employed by some party leaders contributed to the campaign's occasionally intolerant tone, and increased communal tensions. Confidence in the

policing of the campaign was lacking amongst some electoral stakeholders, and isolated incidents of voter intimidation instigated by the security agencies were documented by the EU EOM. However, despite these events, and the intensity of competition, the campaign on Zanzibar was generally peaceful.



SADC Electoral Observation Mission (SEOM)



the electoral period; (iii) Freedom of association and expression during the electoral campaigns; (iv) Political tolerance demonstrated during the campaign period; (v) Political debates among candidates facilitated by radio and TV stations; (vi) Voter education conducted through TV, Radio, social media (website, Facebook, Twitter, and Streams Radio), and call center; (vii) Accreditation of social media e.g. bloggers; and (viii) Assistance of voters with special needs, and notably the introduction of the Braille ballots for visually impaired voters.



SADC Observers

In order to further improve the quality of the electoral process in the URT, the SEOM makes the following recommendations for consideration by the Government of the URT and other relevant stakeholders: (i) Amendment of Section 41(7) of the Constitution to allow for legal recourse once Presidential results have been announced; (ii) Address reported challenges on the use of BVR system; (iii) Review of the process of appointing the NEC and ZEC executives; (iv) Political parties to engage effectively with their supporters during voter education; (v) Increase participation of women at party level and as candidates; (vi) Special measures to encourage the participation of marginalised groups (e.g. albinism, hearing and visually impaired); and (vii) Any challenge to the election results to be done in accordance with the laws of the country.

In the course of observing the elections, the SEOM noted that there was general adherence to the relevant national legal instruments as well as the July 2015 Revised SADC Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections.

UNITED NATIONS TANZANIA RESIDENT
COORDINATOR'S STATEMENT
ON TANZANIA GENERAL ELECTIONS
2015 - 29. Oct 2015



*Alvaro Rodriguez, Resident Coordinator of the UN
System*

The United Nations is following very closely the Tanzanian general elections of 25 October and congratulates the president elect.

We congratulate Tanzanians for exercising their democratic rights in a peaceful manner. We take note of the international observers' statement (Commonwealth, AU, SADC and EU) of today that indicates they are pleased that the voting and counting took place in an environment of peace.

However, the observer missions as well as the US Embassy, UK High Commission and European Union have also shared their great concern with the statement issued by the Chairman of the Zanzibar Electoral Commission in which he nullified the Zanzibar elections.

We call on political leaders to promote an environment of peaceful dialogue to resolve their differences and to ensure a continued peaceful and democratic elections process. It is through this peaceful and democratic process that the social and economic development of the United Republic of Tanzania can be ensured.



Former Kenyan Vice President, Moody Awori, Head of the EAC observation group

EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY ELECTION OBSERVATION MISSION.

The electoral process was preceded by an inconclusive constitution review process of which a referendum planned for April 2015 did not take place. This meant that once again, the people of the United Republic of Tanzania held the 2015 General Election under the existing constitutional dispensation.

The NEC introduced the Biometric Voter Registration (BVR) in a bid to improve the integrity of the voter register. The process took place in staggered manner between March and August 2015 where NEC registered 22,751,292 voters. This comprised 11,950,201 (52.5%) women and 10,805,091 (47.5%) men. Subsequent to the registration exercise, the provisional register was availed for the public inspection. However, it was noted that there were where there were no election officials were not available to attend to the complaints during public inspection in order to rectify errors noted in the provisional register.

Election campaigns began on the 22nd August 2015 and ended on 24th October 2015. The campaigns were general peacefully despite the isolated incidences of violence in Tarime district, Mara region. There were reports of arrests and detention of some opposition candidates for holding campaigns rallies that has not been authorized in various part. The campaigns were mostly dominated by the ruling party CCM and CHADEMA political parties in most part of the mainland while CUF and CCM dominated Zanzibar. It was noted, however, that most of the campaign messages focused on personalities more than party manifesto. In some cases, the campaign messages were inflammatory and constituted hate speech leading to reprimand by the NEC.

The Media environment was generally free and enables various parties and candidates to carry out their campaign.

The security environment for the electoral process was generally peaceful. In preparation for the Elections, the Police Forces established a coordination office to oversee security during election.

However it was noted that, the exercise of voter education started late which may have impacted on citizen's participation in the electoral process especially the illiterate and incapacitated voters.

In addition 233 women were represented as candidates for the national assembly out of a total; of 1218 (19%) candidates. For the local government elections, there were 679 women candidates out of 10,879 (6%). Although there were special seats allocated to women (not less than 30%), the general representation in the election is still disproportionate, as they constitute 53% of the total population of Tanzania. It was observed that, women and youth were fairly represented among the polling personnel and party agents in the polling stations

The polling day were generally peacefully and marked with long queues and sense of enthusiasm in polling stations visited.

In all polling stations visited, all polling personnel were present and perform their duties professionally and demonstrated understanding of the polling procedure. They provided guidance to voters where necessary. The management of queues at the polling center was well affected and they lay out inside polling stations permitted easy flow of voters. The location of polling booth promoted secrecy of the ballot. However, there were isolated cases of congestion in the polling stations.

The counting process took place in a transparent manner in the presence of party agents and observers. It was noted that in some cases, security officers were inside the polling stations and taking notes of the results.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- i. To expeditiously restart the constitution and review process and subsequent enactment of relevant reforms of the institutional framework of the electoral management body. These reforms would entail establishment of an independent election management body with its own staff from national to sub-national structures.
- ii. There is a need for the establishment of mechanism for management of disputes arising from the results of presidential elections which currently, once declared, by the NEC are contestable.
- iii. Undertake measures to enhance internal democracy within political parties.
- iv. Strengthen the capacity of the media regulatory and media council to monitor and regulate adherence to professional standards of election reporting including equitable access by political parties.

CONCLUSION

The East African Community Election Observer Mission appreciates that the October 2015 General Election was one of the most competitive in the history of Tanzanians. Commend the people of Tanzania to turn out and peacefully participating in the electoral processes. Notes that, thus far, the polling and counting process has been peaceful and transparent.



INTERIM STATEMENTS ON ZANZIBAR ELECTIONS





U.S. Embassy Statement on Elections in Zanzibar

October 28, 2015

The United States Government is gravely alarmed by the recent statement of the Chairman of the Zanzibar Electoral Commission in which he announced his intent to nullify the results of the Zanzibari presidential election. This action halted an orderly and peaceful election, as evaluated by observer missions from the U.S. Embassy, European Union, Commonwealth, and Southern Africa Development Community, and a tabulation process nearing completion. We call for this announcement to be recalled, and urge all parties to maintain a commitment to a transparent and peaceful democratic process. The people of Zanzibar deserve that.



EUROPEAN UNION

Dar es Salaam, 29 October 2015

In Zanzibar, almost all polling stations observed opened on time and opening procedures were generally followed. The conduct of voting was positively assessed in the polling stations observed. Voting was conducted in a generally calm atmosphere, with a few cases of campaign activities in the vicinity of polling stations. Political party representatives were present in almost all of the polling stations observed. The performance of ZEC polling staff was mostly assessed to be good and very good. Counting started immediately after closing in all polling stations visited.

There are no unreasonable requirements to register as a voter for the Union elections. However, for the Zanzibar elections, the residency requirement to register as a voter, and the related controversial discretionary powers given to the shehas to certify a voter's 36 months residence in a particular constituency, is considered unreasonable. Both voter registers were released 10 days before Election Day, in advance of the legal deadline.

In Zanzibar, existing tensions between CCM and CUF led to a more heated and divisive campaign than that seen on the mainland. The aggressive rhetoric employed by some party leaders contributed to the campaign's occasionally intolerant tone, and increased communal tensions. Confidence in the policing of the campaign was lacking amongst some electoral stakeholders, and isolated incidents of voter intimidation instigated by the security agencies were documented by the EU EOM. However, despite these events, and the intensity of competition, the campaign on Zanzibar was generally peaceful



Local EU Statement on Elections in Zanzibar

The Delegation of the European Union issues the following statement in agreement with the EU Heads of Mission in Tanzania

The Delegation of the European Union fully supports the statement issued by the international observer missions on 29 October. It is very concerned by the Chairman of the Zanzibar Electoral Commission' statement that he intends to annul the elections, particularly since all the international observers gave a positive assessment of the quality of the voting process they observed.

The Delegation of the European Union calls on ZEC to find a way forward that respects the will expressed by the Zanzibar people in the polls on 25 October. It further urges ZEC to resume and complete the tallying and announcement of vote results swiftly.

The Delegation of the European Union calls on the CCM and CUF leadership to appeal their supporters to stay calm. All stakeholders should prioritise constructive dialogue as the primary means to resolve differences. The two political parties, as members of the Government of National Unity of Zanzibar, should make every effort to preserve the democratic and economic gains acquired following many years of effort. The Embassies of Norway and Switzerland associate themselves with this statement.

Source:<https://www.google.com/search?q=g&ie=utf-8&oe=utf-8#q=pdf+eu+statement+ Tanzania +elections>

Commonwealth Observer Group

27 October 2015

"We note with particular concern the decision by the Civic United Front (CUF) to prematurely announce results in Zanzibar, which exacerbated tensions there. We call on all stakeholders, in particular the political leadership and their supporters in Zanzibar, to continue to show restraint and magnanimity and to uphold their commitment to national unity, peace and solidarity."



UNITED Nation Secretary General Ban Ki-moon

The Secretary-General remains concerned about the situation in Zanzibar and underscores that any disputes related to the electoral process should be addressed through the existing legal framework in a peaceful and transparent manner.

The Secretary-General calls on all stakeholders to remain calm, reject the use of violence, and avoid making statements that could further increase tensions.

New York, 29 October 2015

2. United Nations Tanzania Resident Coordinator's Statement On Tanzania General Elections 2015 - 29. Oct 2015

Alvaro Rodriguez, Resident Coordinator of the UN System

"... However, the observer missions as well as the US Embassy, UK High Commission and European Union have also shared their great concern with the statement issued by the Chairman of the Zanzibar Electoral Commission in which he nullified the Zanzibar elections.

We call on political leaders to promote an environment of peaceful dialogue to resolve their differences and to ensure a continued peaceful and democratic elections process. It is through this peaceful and democratic process that the social and economic development of the United Republic of Tanzania can be ensured."





Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee (TEMCO)

TEMCO was also shocked by the unsigned statement issued to the public by CUF on 26th October, 2015 carrying the title "The Civic United Front Wins Historic Victory in Zanzibar Election". Part of the statement reads as follows:

As of 9.30 this morning, MaalimSeifHamad, the presidential candidate of the Civic United Front in Zanzibar, had secured 200,077 votes against his rival Dr. Ali Mohamed Shein of CCM with 178,363 votes. This constitutes a majority for CUF of 21,714 votes -52.87% against 47.13%. ...The people of Zanzibar have spoken. ...There is now no question that MaalimSeif has won the presidential election in Zanzibar and that the ruling party has been defeated for the first time since 1977.

In the light of the preceding account, ZEC's decision and CUF's statement leave a lot to be desired. They have generated heated debate and serious concerns among election stakeholders in Zanzibar including political parties, presidential contestants and domestic and international observers. TEMCO election observation mission remains concerned about the situation in Zanzibar; hence, TEMCO urges: (i) the Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC) to reconsider its decision with a view to attaining democratic credible, free and fair elections as well as consolidating peace and stability in Zanzibar within the spirit of *Maridhiano*(Reconciliation) which has facilitated smooth functioning of the Government of National Unity installed in 2010; (ii) political parties and presidential candidates to respect the powers and mandates vested into ZEC in accordance with the provisions of the Zanzibar Constitution and relevant electoral legislation; (iii) all election stakeholders particularly the key actors, CUF and CCM, to remain calm, refrain from the use of violence, and avoid making statements that could either fuel or increase tensions as well as unhealthy conflicts; (iv) the aggrieved parties to address disputes emanating from the annulment of the October 25th poll through the existing legal frameworks in order to preserve peace, law and order; (v) the top leadership of the United Republic of Tanzania to consider looking for the ways and means to resolve the incipient conflict which may undermine peaceful co-existence not only in Zanzibar but also on the Mainland; (vi) all peace-loving people including the international community, development partners, religious leaders, civil society organisations, retired presidents, the media and all responsible citizens to play a reconciliatory role in order to find a speedy resolution to the issues emanating from the 2015 Zanzibar elections; (vii) ZEC commissioners to account for the circumstances leading to the annulment of the elections; and the appointing authority to take disciplinary action against ZEC staff for their role in the annulment.

Local Eu Statement On Elections In Zanzibar

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