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SPECIAL ISSUE ON EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

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Gaborone Meeting Makes It



The Gaborone meeting delegates posing for a group photo after the official opening.

Resolutions only make meaning when implemented. The Arusha Conference of Political Parties in the Transition to Multiparty Democracy organised by the Eastern and Southern African Universities Research Programme (ESAURP) in June 1993 started becoming a meaningful reality when the Gaborone meeting began implementing one of the Arusha resolutions.

It was resolved in Arusha, Tanzania, that a Regional Committee should be established through ESAURP that would develop a programme of research and training in matters concerning democracy and governance at regional level.

A meeting was to that effect consequently organised and convened by ESAURP composed of one delegate from ruling parties and one from amongst the opposition parties in each of the participating countries in addition to ESAURP Secretariat staff and invited observers.

The meeting was held between January 14th and 15th 1994 in Gaborone Botswana, and was attended by 22 representatives of political parties from nine ESAURP member countries and subsequently formed the Council for Democracy previously known as a Regional Committee.

Among the dignitaries that addressed the

meeting with keynote speeches were: Hon. H. Kolimba, CCM Secretary General and Minister of State for Planning in the President's Office (Tanzania), H. E. Mr. Howard Jeter, American Ambassador to Botswana, Hon. Dr. G. K. T. Chiepe, Minister of Foreign Affairs in Botswana and the Executive Director of ESAURP, Prof. T. L. Malyankono.

The meeting agenda comprised several objectives such as:-

- To form a Regional Committee on Democracy and Governance (later renamed the Council for Democracy) and to elect an executive committee for the council. This objective included deliberations as to the best structure of both the council and the executive committee and their respective roles.
- To discuss, amend and either adopt or reject the Education for Democracy Project formulated by ESAURP at the behest of the previous Arusha Conference in 1993 which had asked for the development of a programme of research and training at the regional level in matters concerning democracy and governance.
- To approve an action plan for the first three years of the project. □

This is a special issue on the meeting on Education for Democracy which was organized by the Eastern and Southern African Universities Research Programme (ESAURP) and took place in Gaborone, Botswana between 14th and the 15th of January 1994. The meeting was an outcome of the Arusha Conference resolutions of Political Parties in the Transition to Multiparty Democracy held in Tanzania, June 1993.

The Arusha Conference was organized upon ESAURP's realization that most of the countries in the Eastern and Southern African region had opted for a multiparty system of politics and government. The political parties, both governing and in opposition, were however going into uncharted waters, for most of the countries in which these parties were operating had histories of single party rule in which political parties, other than ruling ones, were banned. Thus the parties in these countries were going to engage themselves in the practice of multiparty politics without the skills and experiences which were necessary for creating and sustaining an organization which would form a government or become a viable alternative to the government in power at a particular point in time.

The requirements for a viable political party in a multiparty situation necessitated a consideration of a number of issues such as party registration, recruitment of members, establishing a nation-wide party organisation and structure, raising finance, resolving internal debates and conflicts and use of the media. The conference discussed these and other issues under the umbrella of the themes which were the subject of paper presentations and general discussion.

The participation in the conference was vigorous in an amicable and accommodating atmosphere. The quality and quantity of participation can be affirmed by the large number of conference papers - 34 in all, 28 of which were presented by political parties themselves.

It is clear, therefore that the conference's major objective which was to bring together leaders of political parties to discuss and share experiences and ideas in a neutral and cordial forum was largely attained.

On the basis of the conference deliberations and discussions, the participants made eleven resolutions. They expressed their heartfelt thanks to ESAURP, the organising committee and all those that had contributed to the success of the conference.

In one of the resolutions, the participants resolved

that ESAURP having taken the initiative in convening the Arusha conference should take a leading role in the creation of a Regional Committee on Democracy and Governance which would develop a programme of research and training at the regional level.

Among other resolutions passed were:-

- That all national constitutions must entrench a bill of rights. In this connection, they called upon all governments in the region to repeal or amend as necessary all laws that were repressive and against the bill of rights. They also called upon all governments in the region to respect these rights as a matter of practice.
- That all people have a right to civic education and to the acknowledgement of their rights, duties including the obligation to respect the constitution.
- That all elections must be free and fair and the principle of monitoring, whether internal or international must be implemented by all electoral bodies.



ESAURP Executive Director, Prof. T.L. Maliyamkono (left) discussing with Hon. Dr. G.K.T. Chiepe, Foreign Minister in Botswana (right) on Education for Democracy during the Gaborone Meeting.

How Arusha Cleared The Path

What transpired in the Arusha Conference on Multipartyism was almost beyond normal expectation for all was orderly and convincing.

Leaders of opposition and ruling parties managed to converge peacefully under one roof. Peace and tranquility were the order of each day of the conference. All leaders of political parties whether in power or opposition were vividly in good mood.

Delegates secured to be learning the policies of accommodation and co-existence which are the main ingredients of multiparty democracy - tolerance.



FRELIMO and RENAMO delegates exchanging views during the meeting while the meeting Chairman, Prof. L. Tembo (second left) looks on.

Practical tolerance was more revealed in Gaborone in January 1994 when a special meeting for delegates from Mozambique was convened. The meeting was attended by both members of FRELIMO and RENAMO who discussed the

design and implementation of a voter education programme for Mozambique which all participants were keen to see take place - Arusha indeed cleared the path to political tolerance and maturity. □

Council For Democracy Formed



Hon. G. Miyanda (right) discusses with Hon. M.S. Chady (centre) about the functions of the Council.

The ESAURP meeting that took place in Gaborone, Botswana in January 1994 formed the Council for Democracy whose elected members were: Mr. M. K. Dingake (BNF) and Mr. A. Sekgwa (BDP) of Botswana; Mr. J. Kiti (KANU) and Mr. O. Angima (FORD-KENYA) of Kenya; Hon. Dr. H. Ntuba (MCP) and Dr. C. Chilumpha (UDF) of Malawi; Mr. A. Chichava (FRELIMO) and Mr. A. Victor (RENAMO) of Mozambique and ESAURP Executive director.

Others elected were: Hon. Dr. M. S. Chady (Labour Party) and a Representative of the Ruling Party of Mauritius; Ms. G. Dlamini (SWANAFRO) and Representative of the Kingdom of Swaziland; Hon. Brig. Gen. G. Miyanda (MMD) and Mr. R. Chongo (UNIP) of Zambia; Hon. S. Sitta (CCM) and Mr. E. Mtei (CHADEMA)

Cont'd next page

COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY FORMED

From page 3

of Tanzania; Mr. A. Bhebhe (ZANU-NDONGA) and a Representative of ZANU-PF of Zimbabwe.

The meeting resolved and elected the Executive Committee of the Council for Democracy whose members are: Hon. Dr. H. Ntaba, Minister of External Affairs in Malawi; Hon. Brig. Gen. G. Miyanda, Secretary General of MMD and a Cabinet Minister in Zambia; Hon. S. Sitta, Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs (Tanzania); Ms. G. Dlamini, Secretary General SWANAFRO, Swaziland and Hon. Dr. M. S. Chady, Assistant Secretary General of the Labour Party in Mauritius.

Others elected were: Prof. T. L. Maliyamkono, ESAURP Executive Director; Mr. S. T. Pilane, Private Lawyer in Botswana as Honorary Co-Secretary, Botswana; Dr. E. Macamo, Senior Lecturer, Eduardo Mondlane University, Mozambique as Honorary Co-Secretary; Mr. J. Kiti, National Executive Officer (KANU), Kenya as Honorary Treasurer, and Prof. L. P. Tembo, ESAURP National Coordinator, Zambia, (coopted member) and the Project Training Coordinator.

The positions of Committee Secretary and Committee Treasurer would be honor-

ary positions deputised by members of ESAURP Secretariat except at those times when the Council or its Executive Committee meets.

Functions of the Council

The Council and its executive committee, which is composed of five representatives of political parties in power and in opposition from across the region, the ESAURP Executive Director, a Committee Treasurer, a co-opted (and non voting) Training Co-ordinator and two alternate honorary committee secretaries, have the following functions:-

- To ensure that the Education for Democracy Project is implemented across the region and to monitor and evaluate its progress.
- Participation in the monitoring of elections in the ESAURP region and preparation of reports on their conduct.
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- Participation in the monitoring of

elections in the ESAURP region and preparation of reports on their conduct.

Council Recommendations

The Gaborone meeting delegates discussed, adopted and made the following recommendations as regards better implementation of the Education for Democracy Project:-

- Finance for the various Project Programmes should be sought from participating African governments and from those sections of the international community with an interest in the consolidation of democracy in Africa.
- Indigenous expertise should be utilised within the project wherever possible. However, given that, in most countries in the region, democratization is a recent phenomenon, it may be necessary to seek foreign technical assistance in some areas.
- The Executive Committee of the Council, being a regional body, should meet regularly within the Eastern and Southern African Region. The Council therefore recommended that its representatives approach the Kenyan government to hold the first Executive Committee meeting scheduled for April 1994 in Mombasa. It was suggested that the elected committee Treasurer, Mr. J. Kiti of KANU, be asked to undertake the administrative arrangements for the proposed meeting.

ESAUERP National Coordinators who attended the meeting were: Mr. C. Natividade of Mozambique, Ms. N. Simelane of Swaziland, Prof. L. Tembo of Zambia, Mr. E. T. Chibweya of Malawi and Dr. Milan J. N. Meetarbhan from Mauritius.

Invitees and observers were: Mr. G. Liundi, Registrar of Political Parties, Tanzania, Dr. Michael van Hulst of the Global Coalition for Africa, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Netherlands and Mr. Eugenio Macamo of the Eduardo Mondlane University, Mozambique.

Countries represented at the meeting were: Botswana, Kenya, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. □



The meeting Chairman, Prof. L. Tembo (left) explaining the functions of the Council while ESAURP Executive Director (right) Prof. T.L. Maliyamkono keenly listens.

Institutions To Promote Democracy

There are over 200 institutions of a regional nature in Africa. However, very few of these institutions are working close with political parties and probably none is working closely with political parties in power and opposition to promote democracy in Africa.

It is for this fundamental reason that ESAURP with its regional approach and an institution built to enhance human resource capacity sought to play a catalyst role by facilitating the development of democracy through research and training programmes.

While welcoming the Gaborone meeting delegates, ESAURP Executive Director, Prof. T. L. Maliyamkono stressed the **non-partisan** nature of ESAURP by explicitly saying:-

We must not only be, but must also be seen to be **non-partisan**. It is for this reason that I wish to share with you the dilemma that we, as an institution, find ourselves in when attempting to facilitate project activities. Region wide programmes and conferences cannot be organised without the cooperation of governments. It is our duty, therefore, to work closely with political parties in power if the region wide programmes proposed are to stand any chance of success. Thus there is a danger that ESAURP is perceived by political parties in opposition as partisan to governments. At the same time, and for similar reasons, the achievement of the widest participation in, and therefore legitimisation of, conferences and

programmes in the area of democratisation - we must work closely with opposition parties.

He went on emphasising:-

Without the representation of opposition parties within a national voter education programme, for example, the programme could, quite rightly, be perceived as no more than government propaganda. We are therefore open to criticism on the one hand from political parties in power for being anti-government and from the opposition parties on the other for being pro-government! I must stress that our only agenda is to remain completely **non-partisan** and that, as a non-political organisation, we are uniquely qualified for that role of the human resources capacity development.

He called on members of the Council to make every attempt to widely publicise its activities and ensure that the Council itself was representative, unbiased and autonomous.

He urged that the Council must strive, given the political sensitivity of the programmes it will undertake, to ensure that all government machineries and state institutions were fully appraised of the non-partisan nature of the Council's programmes and the benefits that would accrue if they were successfully implemented.

THE COST OF PEACE

A RESULT OF ARUSHA CONFERENCE

The Arusha political parties conference held in June 1993 in Tanzania has had several tangible results. One of the results was the production of the book titled *The Cost of Peace*.

The Cost of Peace is on the views of the political parties that attended the Arusha conference on the transition to multiparty democracy.

The 161-page manual synthesizes what was said during the conference in terms of papers presented and the discussions that followed. It also presents to the readers areas that may not have been covered in depth at the conference but which demand further attention.

The overview to the book is given to provide a background to the problems of the democratic process in the sub-saharan region, pointing out that to achieve the consolidation of democracy in Africa is both *politically and economically costly*.

Each chapter is preceded by an introduction which is followed by a theme paper presenting an overview on issues around which the theme is centred.

The discussions and summaries contain views of participating political parties (enriching the theme paper) and they highlight the most important ideas that emerged within each particular theme. The book is co-published by Tanzania Publishing House Ltd. and TEMA Publishers Co. Ltd. Dar es Salaam. (Read more on ESAURP Book Shelves page 12)

Africa Must Achieve Peace and Stability

Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) Secretary General and Minister of State for Planning in the President's Office, Hon. Horace Kolimba has urged Africa to achieve political peace and stability as an important product of multiparty politics in the continent.

The Secretary General made the call when officially opening the ESAURP Gaborone meeting in January 1994.

He said that the African continent had suffered too much from political turmoil and violence and that hope of the new African generation was in the direction of embracing pluralistic politics as a promoter of, among others, social order and stability.

We all know that Africa stands no chance of transforming her backward economic and social life unless we are able to manage our political life through a stable multiparty democracy, he stressed.

He added that the concept of 'national ethics' must be accepted by all because it was in the interest of them all.

These, 'national ethics', he said, include rejection of violence as a way of winning power or an argument, fair electoral rules, participation in free and fair elections being the only legitimate method of capturing government power. Above all, political parties in Africa must accept results of free and fair elections instead of finding excuses for rejecting them.

He however said that he recognized the duty of opposition parties to criticise the government even to oppose its policies and programmes for they would not



The Secretary General of SWANAFRO (Swaziland), Ms. G. Dlamini (extreme right) underscoring a point on women politics in the region to Hon. Kolimba after his opening speech while O. Angima (Ford-Kenya) and Ms. N. Simelane (centre) listen on.

survive if they were not perceived to have capacity and willingness to counter propose and even to pose as an alternative government.

The challenge for political parties in Africa that are in opposition is for them to accept the loyal mission of their status. Though it may be difficult at a certain stage or in certain matters, the opposition must be restrained by its loyalty to the state to which it belongs, to the authority of a legitimate government and to laws duly passed by parliament. If political parties out of government cannot accept the demand for such loyalty, then the task of constructing a stable pluralistic democracy becomes difficult and is perhaps endangered, he reiterated.

He further said that multiparty democracy would only survive in Africa if the leaders of political parties, whether in government or in opposition, accepted to promote the rule of law because, everybody would be governed according to law and not just political

whims; he or she would enjoy the right to be heard before being judged and should enjoy due process of the law.

Acceptance and respect for the basic human rights in our multiparty democracies will reduce areas of tension and conflict between the parties. We should thus, all of us, promote, in practical ways, freedom of expression, of assembly, of association and of life and movement. I must say that experience has taught us that trivialisation of multiparty politics does not promote a stable democracy. This occurs when political parties engage in mutual abuse, insult and vulgarity. I believe the cause of multiparty democracy is advanced when the citizenry is presented with alternative policy and programmes, authentic critique of such alternative programmes or strategies and even of leadership. Political parties as national institutions are best placed to defend the practice of competitive politics and the ethics of tolerance, Hon. Kolimba elaborated. □

American Policy For Africa Defined

The American Ambassador to Botswana, His Excellency Mr. Howard Jeter told the Gaborone meeting delegates in January 1994 in his keynote speech that issues of democracy and development were at the heart of the United States policy toward Africa.

He said that the promotion of democracy was one of President Clinton's highest foreign policy goals in Africa and elsewhere.

He said there was a direct correlation between democracy and development; the two depended upon each other, nurtured each other, and together produced the greatest good for the greatest number.

"It may be possible to have economic development without democracy but not for long. Undemocratic governments tend to be closed, defensive and repressive, unaccountable to their people and to themselves, they are poor social managers and lack innovation. Non-democratic governments also muffle the spirit and initiative of their people and are prone to trample on fundamental human rights and freedoms. Soon they lose legitimacy; they atrophy; they die. They cannot maintain the support of their people", he explained.

He said that when our leaders and American officials talked about conflict resolution, good governance, the rule of law, transparency and accountability in government, individual free enterprise, market economies and human rights, they were talking about the conditions precedent to economic development required in the creation of societies that can generate significant wealth



His Excellency Mr. Jeter (left) presenting his keynote speech during the meeting while the meeting Chairman, Prof. L. Tembo listens with concern.

and meet the basic human and social needs of their populations.

"The United States has made it clear that those countries that demonstrate a serious and sustained commitment to democracy will get US preferential help. Ours is not a moral crusade, and the cold war ideological competition is gone. We support democracies because it is in our national interest to do so. It is the right thing to do. It is not America's role, nor is it in America's interests, to try to decide who should govern any African country. We will not interfere in Africa's elections. Elections are for the people to decide. And even though at times we may appear to be impatient, the United States does recognize that genuine democracy can take time to create, and that even with time, the results may not always be perfect. What we seek really are assurances that governments are making

serious, determined and sustained efforts to move in the right direction. To respect human rights, to begin meaningful political dialogue, to provide honesty and transparency in government and to support unfettered civil societies. Governments that are working with commitment toward these goals can expect and will receive America's support. Governments that resist these reforms, cannot count on our full partnership. This is neither a threat nor a sanction; it is a simple statement of today's reality", the envoy clarified".

He concluded by saying:-

Together, these democratic states can solve Africa's problems, and the continent can play a larger role in the world. This is what I want for Africa; this is what America wants for Africa. We will support you because we wish you well.

Political Culture Vital For The Family

When officially closing the Gaborone meeting, the Foreign Minister in Botswana, Hon. Dr. G. K. T. Chiepe urged the building of a political culture that was predicated on democratic values and started with the family which should be a democratic institution.

She said that democracy must evolve from within and have grassroot support though countries differed in cultural settings.

"External assistance for the development of democratic values and top-down models of democracy can be successfully employed in given situations, but they must be seen as incidental to a process with an inter-



Hon. Dr. Chiepe (left) delivering her closing address while the meeting Chairman, Prof. L. Tembo listens attentively.

nal base. Democracy is not static. It is a movement which develops and advances with the continual cross-pollination of ideas and experiences", she stressed.

She said that the democratic process was most complete when each voter was consciously aware of his democratic right to participate in the popular vote in the knowledge

that his individual vote could make a difference.

"In this regard", she said, "voter apathy must be addressed vigorously if the collective will of the people is to be truly reflected both in the formation of the government of the day and in opposition circles".

She emphasised that it was therefore most gratifying to note that voter education for the full enjoyment of democratic rights is

one of the main tenets of the Education for Democracy Project.

"Humane, responsive and effective governments can only emerge from active and alert electorates. Such governments can also inspire and maintain citizen involvement in public affairs throughout the tenure of office of the incumbent leadership", she said. □

ESAURP MEMBER COUNTRIES

- | | |
|-----------|------------|
| Angola | Mozambique |
| Botswana | Somalia |
| Ethiopia | Sudan |
| Kenya | Swaziland |
| Lesotho | Tanzania |
| Malawi | Uganda |
| Mauritius | Zambia |
| Zimbabwe | |

SECRETARIAT

ESAURP SECRETARIAT

is based
in
Tanzania
at the foot
of the
University of
Dar es Salaam

Highlights

Education for Democracy is a project that enables the ESAURP Regional Council for Democracy to work with electorates, political parties in power and in opposition and civic institutions to enhance and strengthen democracy in the Eastern and Southern African region.

The project aims at improving governance, promoting human rights, assisting in economic development and helping to avoid the human tragedies of war and population displacement.

Programmes

The project has three main programmes:-

- Training of Trainers for Voter Education (TTVE)
- Enhancing Political Party Management Capacity (EPPMC)
- Election Monitoring (EM).

Voter Education

- This programme is aimed at reaching electorates at the grassroot level and on a massive scale.

- A key factor of the training component of this programme is its curriculum which covers issues of the nature of multiparty democracy, of election law, election procedures, roles of political parties, rights and obligations of voters and the mechanics of elections.

Enhancement of Political Party Management Capacity

This programme has four components:-

Training of Political Party Personnel

This component facilitates an expansion of political party management capacity by addressing training requirements for political party personnel at two levels: decision makers and managers and technical personnel.

Graduate Fieldwork

This component supports graduate students working on their dissertations in the areas of democracy and governance; the consequent

research output being utilised in the Enhancing of Political Party Management Capacity and Training of Trainers for Voter Education Programmes.

Data Analysis Sabbaticals

This component offers the opportunity to academic from across the region to conduct or write up research in areas related to democracy and governance at the ESAURP Secretariat for periods of three to twelve months.

The Regional Forums

- Regional Forums, composed of not more than five highly placed political party leaders from each participating country, are to be held once a year. For each country, one politician represents the ruling party, another the official opposition and three more represent the remaining opposition parties.
- Members of the Council for Democracy and other knowledgeable and influential personalities may be invited.

Election Monitoring

- This programme involves the creation of a cost-effective election monitoring capacity for the region. Being regionally based, it helps to establish the legitimacy of the monitoring teams and allows teams to monitor national election processes on a continuous basis.
- Eminent members of non-partisan organisations, academics who specialised in political science and other invited members from within or outside the region are appointed as members of the teams by the Regional Council. □



Dr. Michael van Hulten of the Global Coalition of Africa, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Netherlands (second left) and Hon. Dr. Chiepe (centre) discussing possible sources of support.

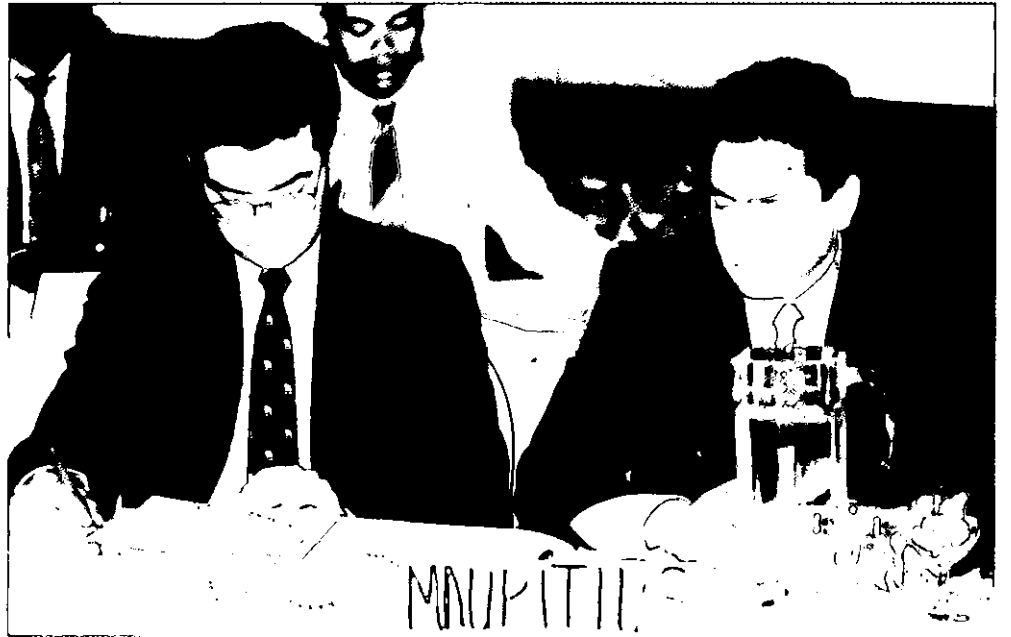
THE MEETING SESSION IN PICTURES



Sub-Committee members discussing Election Monitoring and Regional Forums



Sub-Committee Members on Institution and Management Capacity in discussion.



*Mauritius delegation.
Front from left to right:
Mr. Meetarbhan and
Hon. Chady from a country
of multiparty tradition.*



*Hon. Ntaba (left), MCP and Dr.
Chilumpha, UDF, right front row.
An example of political tolerance
from Malawi.*

MORE PICTURES NEXT PAGE

THE MEETING SESSION IN PICTURES

*Hon. Kolimba, CCM (centre)
Mr. Angima, Ford-Kenya (left) and
Mr. Mtei CHADEMA (right),
Tanzania sharing a joke
amidst serious business*



*Dr. Michael van Hulten (left) and
Mr. Liundi (right) as observers
contributed enormously.*



*The Gaborone Meeting
Secretariat at work.*

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