

UNREPRESENTED NATIONS AND PEOPLES ORGANIZATION



THE 2005 ZANZIBAR ELECTIONS

UNPO MONITORING MISSION TO ZANZIBAR,
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NICOLAS TRENEC, UNPO DELEGATE

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Introduction

The third multi-party elections since 1995 were held in Zanzibar on Sunday 30 October 2005. Voters went to the polls to elect a President, the 50 members of the islands' House of Assembly and 139 local councilors.

According to results published by the Zanzibar Election Commission (ZEC) on Tuesday 1 November 2005, the ruling party (Chama Cha Mapinduzi -CCM) candidate Amani Abeid Karume was re-elected with 53% of the votes (239,832 votes). Opposition candidate Seif Sharif Hamad (Civic United Front - CUF) received 46% (207,773 votes). The electoral participation was satisfying, and polls were well attended by Zanzibari voters.

The elections were monitored by a number of international and local observers, including teams from the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the African Union, the Commonwealth, and a common team from the East African Human Rights Institute (EAHRI) and the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO).

Background

In July 2005, the East African Human Rights Institute (EAHRI) contacted the UNPO, through its Executive Director, Mr. Atunga Atuti, proposing a project of a common electoral mission for the General Elections in Tanzania and Zanzibar of October 2005. The Institute is a Non Governmental Organization to promote institutional cooperation in the field of human rights and democracy. Its aim is to promote respect for human rights within the East African Community.

The Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO) is a democratic membership organization representing peoples' rights in international and national fora. The five principles that form the basis of the UNPO Charter are: Non-violence, Human Rights, Self-determination and democracy, Environmental Protection and Tolerance. The UNPO is based in The Hague, the Netherlands.

UNPO Members vary in their needs and objectives. As it is the Members who established the organization, *they* decide upon its priorities. Zanzibar, through the Zanzibar Democratic Alternative (ZADA), is a UNPO member since 1991. UNPO sent a Mission to monitor the elections in Zanzibar in 1997.

The current UNPO Mission was co-organized in partnership with the EAHRI, and took place from 27 October until 2 November 2005. Meetings were held in Dar es Salaam and Stonetown, Zanzibar. The EAHRI / UNPO Mission was composed of seven delegates (the Hon. Mr. Justice Kasanga Mulwa, Judge at the East African Court of Justice, Mr. Atunga Atuti, Executive Director of the EAHRI, Salma Ali Hassan, Khamis Juma, Khadija Shamte, Yahya Hamad, juridical experts from the Zanzibar Law Society -ZLS- and Nicolas Trenec, UNPO Delegate).

Objectives Of The Mission

The EAHRI and UNPO decided to monitor the electoral process, to assess and report objectively on the current situation in Zanzibar. The objective was also to develop ideas towards a workable plan for a peaceful resolution of the current conflict, and to elaborate a political strategy to bring dialogue back between the two main parties, CCM and CUF.

This report presents the views of the UNPO Mission to Zanzibar. This is an independent report, whose sole objective is to give a fair examination and high quality analysis of the post-elections situation in the Island of Zanzibar. Please take into consideration that the voting process and linked developments are still going on in Zanzibar at the time of preparation of this report.

Route And Meetings

The EAHRI / UNPO Mission attended meetings in Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar. The members of the mission had talks with well-informed key officials, including: members of CCM, CUF, diplomats, representatives of International Institutions, the media and various representatives of local civil society groups. The complete list of meetings is provided in the annexed document (annex 1).

1. Context Of The Mission: Political Situation in Tanzania and Zanzibar Before The 2005 General Elections

A Brief Political History

In the late 17th century, the Sultan of the South Arabian State of Muscat and Oman made Zanzibar his capital. In 1861, the archipelago was separated from Oman and Muscat and became an independent Sultanate, with a lively trade in ivory and slaves from the African mainland. The introduction of the clove tree in the early 19th century made it the world's largest producer of cloves. In 1890, the British proclaimed Zanzibar a protectorate, and reduced the Sultan's authority.

Zanzibar was granted independence by Britain on 10 December 1963, and the first Constitution of Independent Zanzibar was promulgated. On 16 December 1963, Zanzibar was accepted as a member of the United Nations. The mainland, Tanganyika, got independence in 1962. A treaty signed by the President of the Peoples' Republic of Zanzibar, Abeid Karume, and the President of the Republic of Tanganyika, Julius K. Nyerere, made the unification of Tanzania as a country on 26 April 1964. The new country assumed the name: United Republic of Tanzania.

From the 1960s to the 1990s, Julius Nyerere (1922-1999) ruled Tanzania under the ideology of « African Socialism », and through a single party system; Nyerere unified the country, appearing as the « Father of the Nation ». He was an internationally well-known figure of post-colonial Africa, and had a strong legitimacy on both the national and international scenes.

Zanzibar was granted semi-autonomy, with a separate Constitution and a separate Election Act. Indeed, the islands enjoyed complete autonomy, except in the areas recognized by the Union Constitution as “Union Matters” (Defense, Security and Police. *i.e.* the regalia domains...). An elected President is head of government for matters internal to Zanzibar. Zanzibar also elects a House of Representatives. This limited autonomy does not hide the strong desire of the population and local political leaders of Zanzibar for greater self-determination.

Since 1992, Tanzania has been engaged in a democratic transition, by the new openness of Nyerere's party, the CCM, although some observers claim it was only due to pressure from the international community and new global balances. In May 1992, both multiparty politics and democracy were constitutionally recognized. The first so-called democratic elections were held in 1995, which were won by the CCM candidate, Benjamin Mpaka. He also won the 2000 elections. The same year also provided a victory for the CCM in the presidential and legislative elections in Zanzibar, against the CUF. The CCM candidate Amani Abeid Karume, became President of Zanzibar with 67% of the votes, against 33% for Seif Shariff Hamad, from the CUF. These elections were strongly contested and sprang up violent demonstration in January 2001, which left at least 31 people dead and 600 injured.

Legal Framework

On Zanzibar, both Union (national) and Zanzibari elections were scheduled. Union Elections elect the Union President and the National Parliament. These are governed by the Union Constitution Act and the Union Electoral Act. The Zanzibar Elections elect the Zanzibar

President, the House of Representatives, and Local Councilors. The legal references are the Zanzibar Constitution and the Zanzibar Electoral Act.

It is to note that, as a consequence of the talks between CCM and CUF after the 2001 riots, an agreement was signed in 2002: the Muafaka Agreement. This text modified the legal framework of the Zanzibar Elections, amending the Zanzibar Constitution and the Zanzibar Electoral Act (creation of the Permanent Voter Register –PVR- to improve the registration process, the efficiency of the electoral administration, and the accountability of the elections).

Political Issues At Stake Facing The 2005 Elections

Tanzania carries the image of a “good Pupil” according to the criteria of “International Good Governance” and democracy rules. In the East African Region, Tanzania wants to appear – and, indeed, does appear – as a regional leader in terms of reform toward democracy, justice and rule of law. This image, does to a large extent genuinely apply to the mainland, despite of local troubles and some irregularities.

However, it is crucial to recognize that the situation in Zanzibar is not identical to that of mainland Tanzania. The archipelago is the Achilles’ heel of Tanzania. Grave irregularities have been observed during the 1995 and 2000 elections. In 2000, the CUF asked for the cancellation of results in the islands of Zanzibar, denouncing grave irregularities and problems during both pre-voting campaign and voting day, including intimidations, troubles related to the registration on the voting lists or during the vote counting¹. CUF critique particularly focuses on the Zanzibar Electoral Commission (ZEC). The CUF only obtained the cancellation of results in 16 circumscriptions, and was unable to reach a full cancellation of the vote.

In January 2001, violent riots caused by political matters took place in the two main islands of Zanzibar; Pemba and Unguja. According to different sources, it caused between 30 and 70 deaths, and between 300 and 600 injured people². An inquiry commission was created on 10 October 2001, after agreements between the CCM and the CUF. But, as the conclusions of the Commission were given very late, and as the balance itself is very debatable, the Commission had not played the role it was supposed to play.

The 2005 elections were a crucial point for Zanzibar, and for the whole United Republic of Tanzania. They constituted a test for the Tanzanian Democracy, in terms of the capacity to solve problems in a legal, democratic and peaceful process³

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¹ About the process of the past elections, see: the report of the Peace Action council for the 1995 elections ("<http://www.unpo.org/Downloads/Zanzibar%20Missionreport%201997.pdf>"

² The Commission created by the Government of Zanzibar to investigate the riots has recognized 31 dead and 294 injured. This balance has been strongly criticized by the CUF.

³ On this issue, see, in French, A. Bancet, *La Tanzanie a un tournant*

2. The Electoral Process

The Campaign

The level of tension during the electoral campaign was lower than in previous elections. Most of the parties agree on that point. The campaigns were more controlled and mature. This can be linked to the Muafaka agreement that allowed a certain dialogue between the parties. Leaders from both ruling and opposition parties made public calls for calm during the campaign among their supporters and for peaceful elections. This remark can be considered a global finding of the UNPO Mission: in general, the whole electoral process went better than during the past elections.

Candidates were offered the possibility to express their views and programs in the media during the campaign. Since the beginning of September, according to the Zanzibar Elections Act, each presidential candidate was offered 30 minutes a week on National TV, and each candidate to the House of Representatives received 15 minutes. This opportunity was rarely used by candidates. Another interesting fact that deserves attention is the presence of only one team-car from Tanzanian National TV to report on the election campaign.

One of the characteristic of the campaign has been the difference between CCM and the other political parties in terms of financial resources. CCM had far greater funds, *i.e.* capacities to organize rallies and to offer people free t-shirts, hats, gifts etc. CCM was also able to pay fuel for the campaign buses that were touring around the island. No other party was able to do so. The difference in terms of financial capacity is not a problem in itself; but it can be a limitation to a true pluralism when these differences are too important.

Finally, a certain number of violent incidents involving supporters from opposition and ruling parties were reported during the campaign period. These incidents were usually made public by CUF Partisans. Some cases of violent incidents, including hand-arms and tears-gas confrontations between CUF supporters and the security forces, were brought to the attention of the UNPO Observer.

The Permanent Voter Registration (PVR)

A new Permanent Voter Register (PVR) for Zanzibar was produced in advance of the 2005 elections. It was one of the measures undertaken after the Muafaka Agreement. The introduction of the PVR has to be seen as a positive step for the Island.

The question at stake is the right for people to vote as a “Zanzibari” (not all Tanzanian can be registered as “Zanzibari”). This is a very crucial point, and it has been one of the most problematic. During the whole registration process (that began in November 2004 and ended in April 2005), troubles and irregularities were observed. The Local Government Officers did not respect their reduced role under the Muafaka Agreement to ensure a more balanced and fair voting registration.

Public confidence in the PVR was undermined when the contract with the South African company that was supposed to conduct an audit of the voter register was cancelled by the Zanzibar Government. Ultimately, the audit did go forward after significant delays and extensive behind the scenes negotiations. However, the final voter register was only prepared a few days

before voting and did not allow for a final inspection period for the public or the political parties. Thus an important opportunity of transparency and confidence was lost.

The Late Postponement Of The Vote In The Mainland: A Political Decision / Elements Of Explanation

On the night of Wednesday 26 October, one of the candidates (Mr. Jumbe Rajab Jumbe, of the party *Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo* -Chadema) died at Dar es Salaam hospital, from a heart disease. The Union Elections Act obliged a postponement of the Elections in the mainland at least 21 days after this death. The National Elections Commission (NEC) decided to postpone the ballot to 14 December; six weeks later. The fear that the Tanzanian People would lose interest in the elections after such a long campaign would be a threat to the democratization process. Some analysts observed that this far-off postponement could play in the hands of the CCM, which has far greater financial resources and a greater network to conduct a long campaign.

As for Zanzibar, the decision whether or not to postpone the elections was not known until Friday 28th of October in the afternoon. Finally, the ZEC decided to go ahead with the elections in Zanzibar on 30 October.

This event, at such a late stage in the campaign, is important to understand the context of the elections in Zanzibar. Some pressures were exercised to maintain or postpone the ballot. On one hand, the ruling party CCM wanted to postpone the elections, not to attract attention on the particular case of Zanzibar (elections isolated from the ones in the mainland are more visible). On the other hand, the CUF wanted to maintain the election in Zanzibar, arguing the Zanzibar Elections Act was separate from the Union Elections Act. There was also a financial interest for CUF to proceed with the vote on 30 October, as well as a way to draw the attention of the International Community on the political situation in the Island. The decision was juridical as well as political, and the difficult decision of the ZEC was courageous.

The Voting Day

A. Media

The Zanzibar Electoral Act (ZEA) provides a clear guideline on the role of the media during the electoral period. However, press freedom and fair coverage of the electoral process were very much deficient. There was a surprising lack of coverage of the electoral process and although the ZEA insures the equitable coverage of the participating political parties, this was mostly a dead letter in the almost complete absence of any substantial reporting of the election process. It is therefore fair to say that the media still have to find their role in the (future) democratic processes of Zanzibar⁴.

The only independent daily newspaper on the island was closed by the Zanzibar Government in 2003. An independent television and radio station are also lacking on Zanzibar. Media monitoring

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⁴ See the analysis of the Campaign p. 6

by the Media Institute of Southern Africa – Tanzania (MISA-Tanzania) has shown a clear bias by state media in favor of the ruling party.

B. Vote:

1. Electoral Administration and technical aspects:

Age of voters

The legal voting age in Tanzania and Zanzibar is 18 years. The election monitors observed that many young people were going to the polls to vote. In that sense, young people’s participation is satisfying.

Some irregularities, though, have been reported in regard to underage voting.

Voting material

Voting material has been a sensible issue during the campaign. The voting material (ballots, polling boxes, etc.) were brought from South Africa only a few days before the voting day, accompanied by officials from political parties.

The UNPO Mission spoke with the Electoral Officers of the Polling Station it visited. As reported, the majority of the stations had all materials.

Voting was cancelled at Dole Constituency due to problems with the voting material. It seemed there was a lack of ballot papers. The election in that Constituency will be held on 14 December this year.

Opening

Most of the polling stations opened at the appointed time (7h00).

Queues

In the majority of the polling stations, the voter queues were orderly and calm. The atmosphere was quiet and respectful.

However, the UNPO Mission witnessed violent tensions, including clashes between civilians and police, as well as police charges. This happened in particular in Forodhani School (center of Stonetown) and in Darajani⁵.

In Haile Selassie School, people of the neighborhood were nervous because of the presence of CCM official Burafia Selima, who supposedly was there to bring CCM partisans. When asked, Mr. Selima answered he was there to see how things were going.

Incidents like these occurred all over Zanzibar on the voting day. This obviously caused tension in the polling stations. The Zanzibar Electoral Act requires that the only political representative of

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⁵ In reference to these events, see “5. Violences and Human Rights violations”.

a political party present in a particular polling area should be the accredited parties' member (in some polling centers, the polling agents of the candidates were not there).

Voter Cards / Ink

Every voter's thumb was marked with indelible ink. But on many occasions, voters' cards were not properly marked after voting. The presiding officer stamped and signed the back of the ballot paper before giving it to the voter. In the process of voting, some voters didn't put the ballot into the box after marking.

ZEC

The Zanzibar Election Commission (ZEC) is the Independent Commission that organizes the Zanzibar Elections.

The autonomy of the ZEC has been questioned during the Electoral Process. In the past, the role of the ZEC has been a source of political turmoil (in particular after the 2001 elections). This year, the ZEC was accused of receiving funds from the government to conduct the 2005 general elections. The General Attorney was also much criticized for his behavior towards the South African firm that was supposed to conduct an audit on the voters' registration process. For Zanzibaris, these suppositions brought suspicion towards the ZEC.

2. Problems with constituencies (delimitation)

A new delimitation exercise was conducted in Zanzibar by the ZEC in 2002. Three constituencies were removed in Pemba, and three added to Unguja. Pemba has historically been a CUF stronghold. This change of constituencies, from Pemba to Unguja, was in favour of the ruling CCM and did not encourage confidence in the future electoral process.

3. Women's participation

Even if there has been some improvement in the field of gender equality (in particular in regard to the participation of women as electors), women in Zanzibar continue to be underrepresented as actors in political life.

As candidates, they represent only 10.5% of the total number of candidates for the House of Representatives (although 15 seats of the House are reserved for women). They also receive less coverage in the Media⁶.

4. Violence and Human Rights Violations

A distinction must be made between the capital Stonetown and the rest of the Island. In the countryside, the voting process was generally quiet and under control. No major violence was observed.

In Stonetown, the source of many of the disturbances appeared to originate with citizens' concerns that outsiders were voting illegally as well as with problems with the Permanent Voter Register.

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⁶ See Monitoring by Media Institute of Southern Africa, <http://www.misa.org/tanzania.html>

In Forodhani, at around 2pm, the police and the army carried dozens of evidently scared people and placed them in the queue of the polling station. The UNPO Observer discovered, by directly asking the persons involved, that the people were brought into Forodhani from the outside to vote in the Urban District. When the local inhabitants (some of whom did not have the right to vote in Forodhani, although they live in this neighborhood) protested, the Police charged and fired warning shots in the air.

The Tanzanian Minister for Home Affairs, Omar R. Mapuri, visited the Forodhani polling station in the afternoon. He did not give an explanation on his visit nor did he seem eager to receive explanation from the people who were there. Such events also occurred in Darajani School Voting Center, in Haile Selassie School and Kiwanja cha Madawa in Mji, in Stonetown

Troubles continued well into the night of the voting day. On 30 October 2005 at Mwanakwerekwe Petrol Station, members of the UNPO / EAHRI Mission observed Zanzibar Soldiers (J.K.U) beating people and arresting those who were walking on the road at that time. One person ran from arrest and the soldiers tried to shoot him but did not succeed.

On the days following the vote, soldiers and Field Force Unit (FFU) troops were guarding the Zanzibar CUF headquarters in Stonetown.

Thus, in Stonetown the whole process suffered from a lack of control. Much violence was observed, as well as violations of human and political rights. It was certainly not conducted in an orderly and peaceful manner.

5. Persons with disabilities

A mature democracy is one that allows each citizen to express him/herself by his/her vote. The presence of special equipment to facilitate persons with disabilities to vote is a sign of an all inclusive democratic process.

Apparently, no special arrangements were made for persons with disabilities. For example, the UNPO Mission did not see any polling center with special access facilities for wheelchairs. No Braille ballots were available, neither.

6. Local and International Observers

The 2005 Zanzibar elections were monitored by several Observer Teams, including a coordination of Diplomats by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), a team from the Commonwealth, a team from the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC). Other missions (NDI, EISA) were also visible in the field. The general opinion about the elections recognizes a certain improvement concerning the electoral process.

Even so, UNPO identifies substantive need to seek clarification with regard to the case of elections in Stonetown. Some Zanzibari, the UNPO Observers had talks with, feel abandoned by the preliminary reports of some of the Monitoring Teams. This opinion was reported by newspapers in the day following the vote: "Our African brothers and sisters have abandoned us," quoting an opposition supporter in Stone Town. (Time Europe, 7/11)

7. The counting

In general, the polling ended at the proper time. The ballot boxes were within every one's view. The counting was done in the presence of poll agents and poll watchers.

The UNPO Mission attended the counting in Forodhani where the atmosphere was serene. The counting was held separately at each polling station. Although very slow, it seemed fair and respectful of the procedures. Destroyed, tender and challenged ballots were sealed separately. All poll agents agreed on the statement of the total count. After the counting was over, the returning officers, together with soldiers, took the ballot boxes to the Zanzibar Electoral Commission.

8. The announcement / the results

The results of the vote were announced on Tuesday 1 November 2005. The ZEC had previously engaged itself to announce the results of the Presidential Election within 3 days after the vote. Thus, this schedule was respected.

On Monday 31 November 2005, the UNPO Mission attended the announcement of the results in several polling stations. The atmosphere was smooth, but announcements were very slow. Sometimes, information was not available to observers, and the whole announcement process was disorganized.

On Monday 31 November, the atmosphere in Stonetown was apprehensive. There was a massive police and army presence in the streets; no newspapers were distributed, and most of the shops were closed.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Regarding the general atmosphere, the whole electoral process went better than at past elections. However, electoral fraud, political violence, violations of Human and Civil Rights need to be highlighted.

All the troubles that occurred in Zanzibar after the vote, and that still occur, are a direct consequence of the low level of democratic development in Zanzibar. Actions to improve on this democratic deficit are not to be taken during the elections, or during the few weeks that follow these elections. It will be a long term process, and the (next) electoral campaign must only be its outcome.

Western Countries have a great responsibility in that view. Their presence and actions must be concentrated on the long term, instead of only in short term monitoring considerations.

After monitoring the 2005 General Elections in Zanzibar, UNPO would like to take this opportunity to elaborate some recommendations in order to improve on the situation in Zanzibar.

- It appears that the two main political forces (*i.e.* CCM and CUF) have a roughly equal electorate in Zanzibar. A coalition government appears to be an efficient way to organize Zanzibar's political life avoiding the exclusion of half the population. This process, which was also brought to the table at various meetings attended by the UNPO mission, should be supported by a significant number of donor countries to be successfully adopted. Such a government would signify two important changes:
 1. *A legal change.* The Union Constitution and the Zanzibar Constitution should give the possibility for a coalition government. In that sense, it could be an opportunity to organize juridical expertise in co-operation with the Tanzanian and Zanzibar's Authorities to elaborate a renewed legal framework.
 2. *A cultural and political change.* As it stands now, there is little chance that the main parties of the island would accept a coalition government as the solution; in both CCM and CUF. Power sharing is not a structural element of Zanzibar political life. A coalition government could provide a great learning experience for both sides.
- The first responsibility toward a resolution of the conflict comes from the Zanzibaris and Tanzanians themselves. The role of donor countries should be focused on providing political co-operation and assistance, instead of a blind focus on financial aid. A stronger, long term, political dialogue has to be established between the Tanzanian Government, the Zanzibar Authorities and the International Community to look for a solution to this conflict. UNPO would like to emphasize in particular the role of the European Union to become a major political actor, instead of only a financial partner.
- The ZEC, together with the whole Zanzibar Administration, has improved in a spectacular way. Nonetheless, the ZEC needs to take some measures to improve the voting process with regards to transparency and legitimacy. UNPO particularly notes the necessity of making the Permanent Voter Register publicly available as well as sufficient time to permit an independent audit.

To conclude, UNPO would like to emphasize the fact that the whole political process is still going on in Zanzibar⁷. More time is needed to have a complete overview on the 2005 General Elections in Zanzibar. Important events can still occur.

Moreover, the 14 December Elections⁸ on the Mainland will probably have some impact on the Archipelago. B. Mpaka, President of Tanzania since 1995, does not run for a third term. CCM candidate M. Kikwete has a good chance of winning the elections. A new president might also open up new possibilities for dialogue between CCM and CUF and greater political freedom for the people of Zanzibar.

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⁷ This report was written between 4 and 9 November.

⁸ See Annex – 14 December Elections

Annex:

The 14 December Elections

This brief analysis of the 14 December 2005 Tanzania elections is based on information received from contacts in Tanzania and the media.

On 14 December, voters were called to the polls in the mainland. 55-year-old Former Foreign Minister Jakaya Kikwete was the favourite to win the presidency, against CUF's candidate, Mr. Ibahim Lipumba. Ten of Tanzania's 18 registered political parties were vying for 232 parliamentary seats from as many constituencies, apart from the presidency of the United Republic of Tanzania.

During the mainland elections, the EAHRI / UNPO Mission had unfortunately left Tanzania.

CCM collected 79.97 percent of the votes cast in the 34 constituencies, which was announced by the Tanzania National Electoral Commission on 15 December. CUF came second with 10.38-percent of the vote, followed by the Chama Cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA) at 6.8 percent. According to the National Electoral Commission for parliamentary elections, the ruling party won in nine constituencies while CUF and CHADEMA each won only one constituency respectively.

The voting process was peaceful. Though, at least 40 CUF supporters in the mainland had been arrested for unclear reasons. Another six were arrested in the north of Unguja. Witnesses heard shots in the air. The Zanzibar Criminal Investigations Chief, Mr. Ramadhan Kinyogo, told reporters that cases of "stranger voters" (i.e. voters brought to a polling station without being registered) were observed, just as it occurred in Zanzibar on 30 October.

After the vote, observers underlined the growing rift between the Mainland and the semi-autonomous Zanzibar Islands. Commenting on the mainland voting process, a University of Dar es Salaam lecturer, Dr Harun Othman, remarked: "the conduct of the polls on the Mainland and Isles betrayed the underlying schism between the two political and economic entities, which the incoming leader must undertake to solve, else it would precipitate a political crisis far bigger than the post-2000 poll chaos in which security forces shot dead 35 protesters".