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John Magufuli and Tanzania's Rebirth: Any Lessons for Africa?

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Abstract

Until the five-year rule of John Magufuli in Tanzania, which is tantamount to a rebirth, revolution and redirection of the African nation, the international community may not have imagined that Africa could upstage a visionary leader that has the capacity to change the African leadership narratives of corruption, ineptitude, and *sit-tight* syndrome. Magufuli set Tanzania on a path of emotional and psychological decolonization: from uncommon flagrant rejection of a \$10b loan from China to practical reconstruction of Tanzania and leadership by example, Magufuli derailed from the corruption and visionless leadership associated with African leaders. Although he was one of Africa's most prominent corona virus (Covid-19) sceptics, it was obvious that his focus was to look inward and depend less on the west for any form of solutions to African challenges. To Magufuli, no imperial power is tormenting Africa; thus, a properly managed remnant of the colonial relics can be explored and developed to regurgitate the African economy to achieve African dreams. Using media reports, interviews, and commentaries, especially those of historians and journalists, as well as secondary sources such as journal articles, this study examines the argument that Africa has the capability to throw up visionary leaders and the capacity to govern

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with results that will decimate the onslaught of corruption and ineptitude in African polity.

Keywords: John Magufuli, Decolonization, Reconstruction, Leadership, Burden for Africa, Colonial Relics, Corruption

Introduction

It is with deep regret that I inform you that today, we lost our brave leader, the president of the Republic of Tanzania, John Pombe Magufuli.¹

The above citation announced the departure of President Magufuli from the Tanzanian polity. However, the coming of President John Pombe Magufuli into the leadership of Tanzania is a landmark with tremendous impact on the socio-economic and geo-political landscape of not only Tanzania, but the continent of Africa as a whole. Indeed, it also impacted the global space painting of a positive picture of an African leader's ability to drive an African state on the path of development and self-reliance. John Magufuli was a true son of Africa. He had a dream for Africa and was determined to chart a different course of governance, decolonize the minds of leaders in Africa, stop the blame-game on colonial adventure and lead the crusade for the rebirth of Tanzania and by extension, Africa. As far as John Magufuli was concerned, whatever was remaining of Tanzania (Africa) after the colonial adventure, misfortune and disaster was enough to kick-start a progressive Tanzania (Africa) and reformation of the Tanzanian (African).

The One thousand, five hundred- and thirty-one-days rule of Mr. John Magufuli in Tanzania was a watershed in the leadership profile of Tanzania. It was as if Tanzania and indeed Africa was waiting for a John Magufuli to prove a point to Africa and African leaders and indeed the international community of the possibility of Africa to produce and upstage an African leader with such a selfless, committed, dogged capacity, and uncommon vision to chart a new

course for an African state's growth and development. This is contrary to the general perception of the leadership styles of African leaders of profligacy, corruption, ineptitude etc pervading the international arena: Botha, former President of South Africa for example volunteered several statements disparaging effective leadership of African descent. As far as he was concerned, Africans, and by extension the Black man, lacked the capacity for effective political and economic leadership.² John Magufuli therefore represented a new crop of Africans in selfless, visionary, courageous, competent leadership outside the "Botha Box".

It is very critical to emphasise that John Magufuli was not entrapped in the ideological underpinning of Africa's search for political, economic and social independence from the west; he was a clear advocate of a "New beginning" for Africa with a total psychological disconnect from the colonial misadventure and its consequences. The African desire for equal opportunities, greater participation in large scale trading, banking, industrial advancement and other business enterprise was his focus with practical possibility of Africa emerging from the crumps of colonial experience starting from wherever it had been dumped economically.

Indeed, he was a forthright forward looking dedicated dogged leader with such a drive uncommon without recourse to the negative consequences of colonialism. Indeed, he was in a hurry to navigate the Tanzanian economy and goe-politics away from the ruins of colonialism so as to clearly demonstrate an African political leadership prowess while showing the "Light" for other emerging African leaders to follow.

His Early Life, Education and Career

John Pombe Joseph Magufuli was born on October 29, 1959, in the District of Chato in what is now north-western Tanzania and was then known as Tanganyika. Magufuli started his education at the Chato Primary School from 1967 and finished in 1974. He went on to the Katoke Seminary in Biharamulo for his secondary education from

1975 to 1977 before relocating to Lake Secondary School in 1977 and graduating in 1978. He joined Mkwawa High School for his Advanced level studies in 1979 and graduated in 1981. That same year he joined Mkwawa College of Education (a constituent college of the University of Dar es Salaam) for a Diploma in Education Science, majoring in Chemistry, Mathematics, and Education.³

John Magufuli earned his Bachelor of Science in education degree, majoring in Chemistry and Mathematics as teaching subjects from the University of Dar es Salaam in 1988. He also earned his master's and doctoral degrees in Chemistry from the University of Dar es Salaam in 1994 and 2009, respectively.⁴ In late 2019, he was awarded an honorary doctorate by the University of Dodoma for improving the economy of the country.⁵ This was applauded not only across Tanzania, but also across the region as a well-deserved honour. Before becoming president, John Magufuli was a member of Tanzania's Parliament and held a number of cabinet positions. First elected as a member of Parliament in 1995, he served in the Tanzanian cabinet as Deputy Minister of Works from 1995 to 2000, Minister of Works from 2000 to 2005, Minister of Lands and Human Settlement from 2006 to 2008, Minister of Livestock and Fisheries from 2008 to 2010, and as Minister of Works for a second time from 2010 to 2015⁶. Thus, from 1995 all the way to 2021 when he died, he was in active political and executive positions during which he differentiated himself from other government officials in very many ways.

John Magufuli contested elections as the candidate of Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), the country's dominant party, he won the October 2015 Presidential Elections and was sworn in on 5 November 2015; he was re-elected in 2020. He ran on a platform of reducing government corruption and spending while also investing in Tanzania's industries. He was accused of having had increasingly autocratic tendencies seen in restrictions on freedom of speech, restrictions on LGBT rights, and a crackdown on members of the political opposition⁷. Magufuli was known for promoting misinformation about the Corona Virus (Covid-19) during his

leadership over the pandemic in Tanzania. After a lengthy absence from public appearances, unconfirmed rumours circulated that he, himself, had been hospitalized with the disease. His death on 17 March 2021 was attributed by the government to a long-standing heart issue. He was succeeded by his Vice-President, Suluhu Samia.

John Magufuli and the Decolonization Process

Perhaps the most fundamental icing on the administrative cake and developmental prowess of John Magufuli was the “National Rebirth” programme/policy?. He worked assiduously to extricate the colonial thoughts and haemorrhage from the citizens. Instead of dwelling on the consequences and negative impact of the colonial adventure and trading blames, he opined that it was time to “let go” of the past and begin afresh (Move-On). This fundamental ideology was instrumental to his outright refusal of all foreign loans and advances including but not limited to the Chinese loan of \$10b, (Ten Billion) US Dollars. Interestingly, several political opponents and sceptics condemned his action wondering where he hoped to raise money to fund his vision of Tanzanian rebirth and economic recovery.

In a very dramatic but far reaching phenomenal declaration, John Magufuli submitted that even though most African countries had attained independence by the 1960s, and the 1980s for Zimbabwe, there were widespread expectations that Africans were educated, exposed, committed, courageous, and matured enough to navigate their own political, economic and social course; unfortunately, the expectations turned out to be misplaced optimism as events, policies and political activities that followed independence saw those dreams fade away like a mirage and collapsed like a pack of cards. Instead of making political and economic advancements, industrial growth and development and infrastructural renewal, most African countries are plagued by massive underdevelopment, corruption, political instability, social dislocation often blamed first on the episodic slavery regime and secondly on the colonial and neo-colonial phenomenon.

Commendably, John Magufuli, while not trying to erase the past or annihilate the unfortunate historical narratives, he made very deliberate, concerted and calculated efforts and policies to divert the attention of the Tanzanians away from the lamentation of the past. Rather, it was time to gather the relics and remnants of the past and make the best use of whatever was left to advance his country. This is a very far-reaching lesson that needs to be learnt by the rest of Africa. As far as Magufuli was concerned, Africans were Africa's problem, not slavery, colonialism, neo-colonialism, nor the west. He argued it was time to look inwards and birth visionary, courageous leaders with a complete reorientation and redirection of the states beginning with Africans. The constant and almost perpetual dependence of African states on the colonial masters and the mentality of seeing everything foreign as superior, which has hindered the necessity of looking inward to devise her own developmental strategies, has brought to the fore, the need for mental decolonisation.

Decolonisation is the act of undoing or freeing oneself, state or continent from the bondage of colonialism. The bondage is stronger in the mental faculty. Mental decolonisation, therefore, is the changing of a people's orientation towards the impact of colonialism: An attempt to divert attention from the negative implications and consequences of colonialism, with the aim of refocusing attention on advancement strategies in the form of new beginnings. Magufuli sought to change the ways Tanzanians (Africans) reason/think as Africans without recourse to the west or the past in such a way as to open the gates for sustainable development in Africa. John Magufuli, therefore, argued that decolonisation in its entirety would yield the expected results only when there is a deliberate decision to decolonise Africa mentally. It is firmly believed that doing this will pave the way for sustainable development. In this work, we shall adopt the expository, analytic, and evaluative methods in presentation.

John Magufuli and Governance

As soon as he assumed office, he sent out a very clear message that he intended to banish a lot of the chronic problems in Tanzanian administrative and political leadership. He took over a government plagued by nepotism, ineptitude, and systemic corruption. It was characterised by ghost workers on the payroll, underperformance and laxity in public service, civil service absenteeism, and extravagant spending. At the initial state, he showed a lot of promise in his early days. However, his authoritarian impulse soon began to manifest. Riding a populist wave, Magufuli increasingly lurched towards authoritarianism. He abhorred criticism and actively supported the weakening of freedom of speech, expression and information.

Crucially, he set out to renegotiate and force substantive compromises with multinational corporations to give Tanzania a better deal on mineral exploration within its borders. He did not waste time in cancelling project contracts with the Chinese, terming some of those projects “exploitative and awkward”. This was a sharp break from the previous administration’s softer approach to foreign investors, especially the Chinese.

Magufuli’s hard stance won him a staunch following domestically and in the region, setting off a great deal of praise and inspiring the Twitter hashtag #WhatWouldMagufuliDo?⁸. His legacy will also be judged by significant achievements in infrastructure. In January 2021, the Tanzania government awarded the Chinese a contract for the construction of a 341km standard x-gauge railway from Mwanza on Lake Victoria to the southern town of Isaka.⁹ Previously, Magufuli had overseen the construction of a mass public bus transport system in the country’s commercial capital of Dar es Salaam. Under his watch, rural electrification projects boosted Tanzania’s economy and everyday lives.

The first critical economic step taken by him was to block all leakages in the economy, check wastages and enforce budget discipline. He suspended tax free earnings for the ministers and high-ranking officials of his government, expanded the tax net thus

accruing so much revenue to finance fundamental infrastructural developments and in five years had practically moved Tanzania to a Medium Economy.¹⁰ The economy of Tanzania became the envy of other neighbouring states whose citizens had begun gradual but persistent migration into Tanzania.

Magufuli's government worked on various infrastructure projects targeting economic development. These projects included the addition of half a dozen Air Tanzania planes as a way of reviving the national carrier, the expansion of Terminal III of Julius Nyerere International Airport, construction of Tanzania Standard Gauge Railway, Mfugale Flyover, Julius Nyerere Hydropower Station, Ubungo Interchange, new Selander Bridge, Kigongo-Busisi Bridge, Huduma Bora Za afya, Vituo Bora Za Afya, expansion of Port of Dar es Salaam, Dodoma Bus Terminal, Liquefied Natural Gas plant, water project, wind farm project, Uhuru Hospital project, gold refinery plant, and Magufuli Bus Terminal.¹¹ Magufuli received the nickname "The Bulldozer" in reference to his road works projects, but the term was also used about his moves to reduce spending and corruption within the government.¹² Following Magufuli's initial rounds of cuts post-inauguration, the hashtag "#WhatWouldMagufuliDo" which was originally crafter in admiration of Magufuli's exploits was used by Twitter users to demonstrate their own austerity measures inspired by the president.

He developed a reputation for fighting corruption as early as while he was working in cabinet positions, including as the Minister of Lands, Fisheries and Public Works. He was the fifth President of Tanzania, serving from 2015 until his death in 2021. In a very dramatic review of existing contracts with foreign business partners, the Chinese Ports 99-year agreement was reviewed downwards to 33 years. This angered the Chinese Therefore, they refused to sign the reviewed contract. John Magufuli radically totally cancelled the contract.

In another very radical broadcast and rare display of selflessness, Magufuli suspended all international trips for himself and

ministers. He suspended tax free earnings for the ministers and in five years moved Tanzania to a Medium Economy. He never travelled out of Tanzania, rather spent time inspecting construction works on bridges, roads, infrastructure, hospitals and schools. His supporters will miss the hours-long road trips he embarked on across the country which involved multiple stops so he could speak with the public. These trips, which unnerved government officials, were often broadcast live on TV and became popular with some Tanzanians who saw them as an opportunity to get instant redress to their problems.¹³ Crowds of people often gathered and shuffled around the presidential convoy on close watch of the heavily armed bodyguards.

Interestingly, those who were determined got a chance to ask him questions, but most people used the opportunity to plead with the president to intervene on a myriad of issues such as fixing delayed road projects, never-ending court cases, complaints about water supply, or grievances against local officials. Standing out of the sunroof of his armoured vehicle, with a microphone in hand, Magufuli listened and sometimes asked follow-up questions. His responses were mixed but by the time he was done, a new policy would have been proclaimed, an official either sacked or promoted, or the person who asked the question humiliated.¹⁴ These popular moves enhanced his re-election in November 2020 and the reforms which cut across Education, Health, Foreign Policy, Security among others continued until he died in March 2021.

John Magufuli and Tanzania's National Interest

The purpose of foreign policy is to further a state's national interests—strategic, economic and military, which are derived from geography, history, economics and the distribution of international power. Safeguarding national independence, security, and integrity: territorial, political, economic, and moral, is viewed as a country's primary obligation, followed by preserving a wide freedom of action for the state. The political leaders, traditionally of sovereign states, who devise foreign policy pursue what they perceive to be the

national interest, adjusting national policies to changes in external conditions and technology. Primary responsibility for supervising the execution of policy may lie with the head of state or government, a cabinet or a nominally nongovernmental collective leadership, the staff of the country's leader, or a minister who presides over the foreign ministry, directs policy execution, supervises the ministry's officials, and instructs the country's diplomats abroad.

The purpose of diplomacy is to strengthen the state, nation, or organization it serves in relation to others by advancing the interests in its charge. To this end, diplomatic activity endeavours to maximize a group's advantages without the risk and expense of using force and preferably without causing resentment. It habitually, but not invariably, strives to preserve peace; diplomacy is strongly inclined toward negotiation to achieve agreements and resolve issues between states. John Magufuli had a very transparent grip of the concept of diplomacy with clear focus and eyes on the ball of Tanzania's National Interest. While other African leaders were queuing for loans and aids from Europe, the World Bank and China, he had navigated Tanzania away from the external aids and loans.

With Tanzania's national interest as the main objective, with socio-political and economic advancement of Tanzania as his core value and driven by transparent burden for Africa, he plugged all leakages in government and introduced prudent management of government resources. He opted to remain in Tanzania for all his engagements, activities, welfare, holiday and medical care thus banning all his cabinet members from travelling abroad for any health care or holidays thereby saving the Tanzanian treasury of humongous resources. For Magufuli, National interest is "Tanzania First" "Tanzania Now" and "Africa is Enough" which were his cardinal principles guiding his policies and plans.

Even in times of peace, diplomacy may involve coercive threats of economic or other punitive measures or demonstrations of the capability to impose unilateral solutions to disputes by the application of military power. However, diplomacy normally seeks to

develop goodwill toward the state it represents, nurturing relations with foreign states and peoples that will ensure their cooperation or—failing that—their neutrality.

It is instructive to analyse that contrary to the usual “Sit-Tight” syndrome African leaders are known for, John Magufuli in response to the “Carrot-Dangling” phenomenon of continuation in office after the second term elections he had just won in November 2020, he sternly rejected the “Third Term Proposal” in Advance. As far as he was concerned, two terms of leadership in the life of a nation is a privileged position long enough to make impact and interpret his dreams and vision for the nation.

Indeed, Africa and African leaders have a great lesson to learn from Magufuli who had set a target of performance for himself within the constitutionally acceptable limit of time. Apart from famine, wars, corruption and ineptitude associated with African leaders, the most notorious is the “Sit-Tight” syndrome. Most African leaders have manipulated elections, manipulated constitutions and in some cases suspended the constitution and the democratic process to hold on to power at all costs and that is a major distinguishing feature of John Magufuli of Tanzania.

Criticism

In spite of the landmark achievements and pace setting political, socio-economic policies and transformational governance exhibited by John Magufuli, he was criticized on several fronts for several lapses; from press censorship to human rights abuses and authoritarian tendencies.

In January 2016, barely two months into his first term, his administration announced that state Television Station would no longer broadcast live parliamentary proceedings, officially as a cost-cutting measure. While a few of his supporters applauded that as a commendable fund-saving strategy, the opposition saw this as censorship as it was among the few ways it could hold the government to account. It planned demonstrations against the ban, but the

government responded by banning all protests. This action was condemned by the media not only in African democratic states but the media across the international system.¹⁵ It indeed dented the image of the government of John Magufuli in the estimation of the right-thinking members of the international community.

The opposition and critical researchers fingered another example of such censorship with John Magufuli's response to a 2017 song by popular Tanzanian rapper Naywa Mitego. Less than a day after its release, Mitego found himself in police custody. He was accused of insulting the president and maligning the government for his song which included the prescient lyrics: "Is there still freedom of expression in this country?" the raspy-voiced artist, whose real name is Emmanuel Elibariki, had rapped. "What if I speak and later find myself at Central Police Station?" "Are there leaders who make stupid decisions? There are!" The fear he sang about had come true - he was indeed detained at the Central Police Station in Dar es Salaam.¹⁶

Although President Magufuli ordered Naywa Mitego's release just a day later, he advised that the song should be reworked to include lyrics about other problems in the society, such as tax cheats. In 2017, opposition MP Tundu Lissu, who three years later ran against Magufuli for the presidency, was shot and seriously injured outside his home. Mr Lissu accused the state of trying to kill him and he was charged with hate speech for calling the president a dictator. The government denied any involvement in the attack. In what was seen by human rights groups as curbing press freedom, the president's administration suspended newspapers. The Amnesty International also said that journalists feared being targeted.

At the last election in October 2020, independent observers were effectively locked out, but one observer, Tanzania Election Watch, retrospectively confirmed at least 18 arrests of opposition party officials, as well as "arbitrary arrests, unlawful detention, sexual violence and violence against women".¹⁷ The reports reflected a decimal on the electoral integrity of the John Magufuli led administration. Consequently, the election, which Magufuli won with

84 percent, was fiercely contested by opposition figures, who claimed the results were not credible. Members of the international community, including the United Nations, the United States and the European Union, condemned intimidation and harassment of opposition figures and their supporters, alongside a nationwide internet shutdown.

Meanwhile, many of Magufuli's multibillion-dollar infrastructure projects were marred by allegations that public procurement procedures were routinely bypassed in the race to complete the projects. On the one hand, Magufuli made it his mission to purge the civil service of corruption, but within few years of his time in office, his sleepy hometown of Chato, with a population of less than 28,000, was transformed by the erection of a regional hospital, an airport and industrial facilities more befitting of an urban centre serving three or four times as many residents.

Ulimwengu points out Magufuli's contradictory approach to the fight against corruption – he was quick to clamp down on wrongdoing, but also antagonised the controller audit general and the press. “He shot himself in the foot,” said Ulimwengu. “By weakening key institutions and make himself at the centre of fight against corruption, he diminished his own power of intervention.”¹⁸ For prominent Kenyan economist David Ndi, there is nothing complex about Magufuli's legacy. “It's a bad one,” asserted Ndi. “Freedom is non-negotiable. Freedom is a fundamental foundation of development. I define development as freedom,” said Kenyan economist David Ndi.¹⁹ “This idea that you can develop people while beating them up, it doesn't fly,” added Ndi. “There is no compromise on this authoritarianism; this paternalism that people need to be beaten up and tortured and locked up and all manner of things; it's a very primitive, colonial mindset.”²⁰

Critics said he was an autocrat with thin skin, a man obsessed with building a personality cult and who did not entertain any slights or jests whether from musicians, comedians or commentators on social media. He instilled such fear in the country that even during his

more than two-week absence from public, his draconian policies continued unabated - police arrested those who speculated about the president's whereabouts or asked simply: Where is Magufuli? This state of affairs was something of a contradiction to his casting himself as a defender of the dignity of Tanzanians. He also muzzled Tanzanian media, shutting down several newspapers, radio and TV stations as well as social media platforms simply for reporting what the government did not like.

He was also criticised for implementing policies such as banning girls who got pregnant from going to school. However, it was his handling of the coronavirus pandemic that was arguably his most damning failure. In his latter days he hectored critics who did not buy his narrative about the country being "covid-free" a stance which was surprisingly in contrast to his sober, science-led approach during the early days of the pandemic. Magufuli, a former chemistry teacher, later pushed conspiracies about plots to harm Tanzanians while expressing doubt about the safety of masks and vaccines.

At one point he sent papaya and goat meat samples to be tested for Covid-19 and used the results to justify his denial of the virus. The true cost of this negligence and dereliction of duty can be counted in the number of lives lost as a result. Critics believed he died of Covid.

Conclusion

The coming of John Pombe Magufuli into the leadership position of Tanzania was a political landmark with tremendous impact on the socio-economic and political landscape of not only Tanzania and the region, but the continent of Africa as a whole. Indeed, it also impacted the global space painting of a positive picture of African leaders' ability to drive an African country on the path of development and self reliance. Allusions are made in the East African countries' media especially Kenya, of a desired President, a model kind of a leader desperately needed across Africa.

John Magufuli was a true son of Africa. He had a burden for Africa and was determined to chart a different course of governance, decolonize the minds of leaders in Africa, stop the blame-game on colonial adventure and move Africa forward from the colonial relics. He was viewed by supporters as a charismatic and iconic figure of revolution. In fact, Mr Magufuli was set to cap his year by winning the prestigious Forbes Africa person of the year award - he had been nominated for "boosting Tanzania's economy".²¹

Magufuli's hard stance won him a staunch following domestically and in the region, setting off a great deal of praise and inspiring the Twitter hashtag #WhatWouldMagufuliDo?. This resonated all over the region and he was very popular among the youths and the middle class across the region. Magufuli appealed to many because he was unencumbered by institutional limits. He issued edicts and things happened and to many citizens who had grown frustrated by incompetence in government, this was refreshing. But equally many Africans want to live in law-based countries, to enjoy a life of dignity free of brutality, to have leaders who govern honestly and truthfully, and a government that respects them and does not hide information about their president's health. Indeed, John Magufuli emerged an accidental leader with a clear signal that Africa could produce leaders that can drive the African agenda, thus charting the positive highway for other emerging leaders to follow.

Endnotes

¹Samia Suluhu Hassan, Tanzanian Vice President, making a Broadcast on the Death of President John Magufuli on March 17, 2021. She was later sworn in as First Female President

²Botha of South Africa in a popular slogan to berate Black Africans.

³"Hon. Dr. John P. Magufuli's CV". Archived from the original on 4 December 2015. Retrieved 11 November 2021.

⁴Ibid.

⁵"John Magufuli gets honorary PhD for outstanding leadership". *The East African. Xinhua*. 21 November 2019. Retrieved 21 March 2021.

⁶Shao, William, 18 March 2021 Shao, William (18 March 2021). "Magufuli the African giant—A peasant's son who became President". *The Citizen. Tanzania*. Retrieved 18 March 2021.

⁷Shao, William (18 March 2021). "Magufuli the African giant—A peasant's son who became President". *The Citizen. Tanzania*. Retrieved 18 March 2021.

⁸#WhatWouldMagufuliDo? Became a popular slogan across Tanzania and the neighbouring countries Citizens across Africa started mocking their governments and leaders to perhaps emulate the actions that Magufuli was taking to stop wasteful spending.

⁹Cheruiyot, Kevin (18 March 2021). "Magufuli: A tough president who demanded for accountability". *The Star. Nairobi*. Retrieved 21 March 2021.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Said, Khalifa (27 September 2018). "Magufuli: this is why Tazara Flyover is named after Mfugale". *The Citizen. Tanzania*. Archived from the original on 1 July 2020.and Malanga, Alex (23 July 2018). "Work set to begin on new Dar es Salaam bridge". *The Citizen. Tanzania*. Archived from the original on 2 August 2020.Grasso Macola, Ilaria (22 June 2020). "A look at Tanzania's first wind farm". *Power Technology*. Retrieved 21 March 2021.

¹²"John Magufuli is bulldozing the opposition and wrecking the economy". *The Economist*. 21 October 2017. Retrieved 21 March 2021.

¹³Ng'Wanakilala, Fumbuka (11 July 2020). "Tanzania's Ruling Party Nominates Magufuli for Re-Election". *Bloomberg*. Retrieved 21 March 2020.

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¹⁵Interview with Dr. Alan Kirkland, A British Researcher in Tanzania on March 16, 2021

¹⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁷ Tanzania Election Watch Reports on Nov 1, 2020 on SA TV Station.

¹⁸"Magufuli strikes again: Uhuru Day scrapped". *The Citizen. Tanzania*. 24 November 2015. Retrieved 25 April 2018.

¹⁹ Kenyan economist David Ndiu in a BBC Interview on March 18, 2021. Just a day after the announcement of John Magufuli's death.

²⁰*Ibid.*

²¹Karashani, Bob (26 October 2019). "Air Tanzania expansion on course as country receives Dreamliner". *The East African*. Retrieved 21 March 2021.