

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Chadema	– Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo
CPJ	– Committee to Protect Journalists
DCI	– Director of Criminal Investigation
IPC	– Iringa Press Club
M4C	– Movement for Change
MISA	– Media Institute of Southern Africa
OC-CID	– Officer Commanding, Criminal Investigation Department
OCD	– Officer Commanding District
RPC	– Regional Police Commander
TEF	– Tanzania Editors Forum
UNESCO	– United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization



1.0 Executive Summary

This report presents the investigation team's findings on the circumstances that led to the killing of Channel Ten reporter and Iringa Press Club (IPC) Chairman Daudi Mwangosi while in police hands at Nyololo village in Mufindi District, Iringa Region, on September 2, 2012. The village lies about 500 km west of Dar es Salaam and is three hours' drive from Iringa Municipality.

Incidentally, one police officer has already appeared in court charged with the journalist's murder.

The team was jointly formed by the Media Council of Tanzania (MCT) and the Tanzania Editors Forum (TEF).

The process involved rigorous journalistic investigative approaches that were however by no means akin to police enquiries or judicial inquests.

Methods of investigation included open-ended interviews, field visits and a critical analysis of documents related to the Terms of Reference. The team received invaluable input from scores of journalists – those who actually witnessed the killing as well as those not in fact at Nyololo village at the material time.

Eyewitnesses, including children, were especially useful as sources of information. Most volunteered first-hand accounts of the tragic incident which the team has drawn much from. Both press coverage and official statements on the tragedy were subjected to in-depth analysis.

The team made a comprehensive analysis of relations between regional authorities (including police) and journalists in Iringa Region as existed before the killing, in part following reports that there was bad blood between the two parties. Indeed, there was evidence that the relations had been tense and suspicious since last quarter of 2011.



The team's knowledge of this background facilitated its understanding of the bigger picture, helped in the conceptualization of the roadmap for investigations and eventually enabled the team to knock the information gathered into meaningful shape in the form of this report.

Other forms of evidence that helped beef up this report were video clips, still pictures, information from press conferences held in Iringa, media statements and other relevant documents - as appended.

Up to the time this report was being written, official statements on the killing were, at best, inconsistent, contradictory and therefore of little credibility.

In sum, evidence the team laid its hands on showed beyond reasonable doubt that police were fond of deliberately and consciously intimidating Iringa-based journalists covering Chadema activities at Nyololo village. There was also impeccable evidence that Daudi Mwangosi was killed in cold blood while in police hands – in fact, while under the close watch of Iringa RPC Michael Kamuhanda. This verdict is supported by facts collected from the field as well as video images and other highly incriminating media output.

2.0 Statement of the Problem

In effect, working relations between journalists based in Iringa Region on the one hand and police personnel and various other State or government authorities in the region had not been cordial since March 2012.

Through a number of internal meetings organized by their professional organization – Iringa Press Club (IPC) – from as long ago as the last quarter of 2011, journalists had been agitating against what they broadly described as 'unfair treatment' by State officials when covering news across Iringa Region.

In November 2011, for instance, ITV/Radio One journalist Laurean



Mkumbata was beaten up for no apparent reason while on duty and had his camera deliberately smashed by then Iringa OCD Mohamed Semunyu.

Mr. Mkumbata testified before the investigation team that he and other journalists, among them Daudi Mwangosi, were covering a fray between police and a rowdy mob in Iringa Municipality. The mob was bent on setting ablaze a residential house alleged to have been used by sorcerers, whose presence was reportedly traumatizing neighbourhoods.

The drama that unfolded then proved that the police officer meant to damage the journalist's working tool in order to obstruct accurate and timely delivery of news arising from the scuffle.

As police descended on the mob using tear gas canisters and firing live bullets in the air to scare and disperse the crowd, OCD Semunyu caught up with the journalist, grabbed his camera and smashed it on the ground three times. The camera was written off.

As if that was not bad enough, Mr. Mkumbata was arrested and held for some time while reporting the incident at the regional police headquarters. A massive cover-up effort by regional authorities soon followed.

However, then Iringa RPC Evarist Mangala intervened and ordered OCD Semunyu to pay for the camera. The latter complied with the order, and Tzs: 1,800,000 was paid to Mr Mkumbata as requisite compensation. It is noteworthy that the OCD paid the said money from his own pocket.

Mr Mkumbata was of the view that the police officer smashed the camera three times to ensure that it was written off and the contents were impossible to recover, which amounted to preventing accurate and timely coverage of news by the journalist.



Suspicious relations between journalists and police authorities in the region had progressively gained currency since then. Curiously, relations with other regional authorities had not been all that smooth either since the last quarter of 2011.

IPC Secretary General Frank Leonard recounted that in late February 2012, seven journalists appointed by the club to cover the Vice President's official tour of Iringa Region had to take shelter inside a passenger bus they were travelling in as the authorities allegedly ignored providing them with hotel accommodation.

Mr. Leonard said IPC was so infuriated by the treatment that it organized a peaceful march to protest the rise in the prevalence of harassment of media practitioners on duty by regional authorities.

He added that the demonstration was also meant to send signals to regional authorities that "IPC members are not affiliated to any political party but are professionals and disciples of public interest journalism".

On March 6, 2012, regional police authorities notified IPC that they saw no problem with the holding of the demonstration – and it was held without incident.

The IPC secretary admitted that relations between the two sides "sort of normalized" after the protest march as the then RPC vowed to address the differences to ensure that cooperation and mutual understanding became the rule rather than the exception.

Mr. Leonard described the sudden turn of events culminating in Mwangosi's killing, which occurred while the Channel Ten TV journalist was covering Chadema political activities at Nyololo village in Mufindi District, as "a shocking and unexpected experience".



3.0 Mandate

The probe team's mandate derives from Article 3 (e) of the MCT Constitution, which gives one of the council's objectives as:

To maintain a register of developments likely to restrict the supply of information of public interest and importance, keep a review of the same, and investigate the conduct and attitude of persons, corporations and governmental bodies at all levels, towards the media, and make public reports on such investigations.

3.1 Objective

The objective of the investigation was to document the circumstances that led to journalist Daudi Mwangosi's killing. As noted above, the investigation was independent and was not meant as a police inquiry or judicial inquest – only as an honest documentation of the state of affairs surrounding the first ever killing of a Tanzanian journalist on duty.

4.0 Terms of Reference

The Investigation Team was guided by the following Terms of Reference:

4.1 General Objective

Investigate the circumstances surrounding and leading to Daudi Mwangosi's killing.

4.2 Specific Objectives

Study the history of the existence of unfriendly relations between IPC and Iringa regional administrative authorities.

Interview Nyololo villagers on factors behind bad blood between police on the one hand and Chadema and journalists on the other.



Gather relevant information from members of the public, IPC and journalists who were at the scene of violence and subsequent killing.

Independently analyse media, police and other reports and allegations related to the incident.

5.0 Timeframe

The assignment took eight days – September 5 to 12, 2012.

6.0 Methodology

The team went about the investigation as follows:

First, it reviewed documents and newspaper clippings relevant to the investigation so as to get as much background on the matter as possible. This included the provision in MCT's Constitution on the council's mandate to undertake or commission the undertaking of such investigations.

Secondly, it closely scrutinized media coverage, including still pictures, audio and audiovisuals on the September 2, 2012 killing , most especially preliminary police accounts vis-à-vis solid findings from the field obtained by the probe team. All statements by police and the Home Affairs minister Dr. Emmanuel Nchimbi relating to the killing that were made prior to the formation of special probe committee by Minister for Home Affairs Dr. Emmanuel Nchimbi on September 4, 2012 were subjected to in-depth analysis.

Finally, there was field investigation. This involved travelling to Iringa Region for, among other things, interviews with selected individuals and journalists present at Nyololo village on the day of the killing. The open-



ended interview method was adopted for which investigators asked respondents random questions.

The key approach was face-to-face conversations between investigators and the respondents, including some Nyololo villagers. Investigative journalism skills were deployed and helped the team achieve the objectives it was expected to achieve. The process generated facts on the strength of which conclusions were drawn, as appears in this report**.**

7.0 Findings

7.1 Preliminary Remarks

On September 2, 2012, two well-attended press conferences were held in Iringa Municipality at different times of the day. The first was called and addressed by Iringa RPC Michael Kamuhanda at his offices in the morning.

The topic was the police decision to ban all planned opposition Chadema political party meetings and rallies in Iringa Region aimed at implementing the opposition party's countrywide political campaign known as Movement for Change (M4C).

The RPC said the national population and housing census, previously slated for August 26 through September 1, 2012, had been extended by the government to September 8, 2012. He added that, in the circumstances, all social and political gatherings suspended till the census was over.

Journalists at the conference admitted that Daudi Mwangosi was the only reporter who asked the RPC such 'hard questions' at the event that the latter became visibly annoyed.

One of the questions asked by Mwangosi was what constituted a correct definition of 'internal party meeting' based on Chadema officials' claims that



the party was not out to hold demonstrations or rallies but all it had in mind was the opening of branches in Iringa Region.

IPC Secretary General Leonard recalled one question floated by Mwangosi at the conference: why CCM was freely holding political rallies while Chadema was systematically being slapped with police sanctions.

When Mwangosi demanded clarification from the RPC, the latter retorted: "This is an order and police won't entertain any argument on this issue."

A communiqué from the RPC reminded politicians, political parties and members of the public that political party rallies were banned owing to the extension of the census.

Shortly after the RPC's press conference, some police officers hinted on the possibility of things not being the same again at Nyololo village

The MCT investigation team had an audience with Iringa-based journalists: Clement Sanga of Mwananchi Communications Ltd and Oliver Motto, who freelances for Mtanzania newspaper, Star TV and Radio Free Africa.

They recounted that after the press conference, as journalists were walking out of the regional police headquarters, police officers whose identities were not immediately established cautioned journalists against "venturing" to Nyololo to cover Chadema political activities owing to so-called potential risks.

The second press conference was called in the afternoon (the same day) by Chadema and addressed by the party's Secretary General, Dr. Wilbroad Slaa, and M4C operations commander Benson Kigaila.

The party strongly defended its M4C campaigns, accusing police of "conspiratorial efforts and malicious actions aimed at sabotaging M4C". It declared that police were fond of discriminating against opposition parties



while favouring ruling CCM party and still claiming to be enforcing law and order.

Chadema submitted that, despite the police order ostensibly banning political rallies until the census was over, CCM by-election campaigns were allowed to take place in Bububu constituency, Zanzibar. The campaigns were inaugurated on the Sunday of September 2, 2012 (the same day Daudi Mwangosi was killed!) by Tanzania's Vice President, Dr. Mohammed Gharib Bilal.

Chadema vowed to continue with its M4C campaigns in Iringa Region, including opening party branches in Nyololo village on September 2, 2012 – but without rallies.

The party's officials stuck to their guns and proceeded to Nyololo village to open party branches. Iringa RPC Michael Kamuhanda assembled several of the officers under him in three fully packed, open police vehicles and proceeded to trail Chadema officials.

The two sides then found themselves together at a spot in Nyololo village, where Chadema leaders had planned to open two party branches. The branches opened are three kilometers apart, separated by the Dar es Salaam-Tunduma highway.

The sketch, not drawn to scale on page 16, sets an all-inclusive stage of the scenes, as detailed by eyewitnesses and refined by MCT field investigations. For purposes of illustration, the two scenes are differently marked as **[A]** in reference to "***sanity scenario***" and **[**B**]** for "***bloody scenario***".

On one scene **[A]**, sanity overrode police decisions – and actions, chaos and blood shedding were avoided; on the other scene **[B],** excessive use of force by police was manifested, leading to the killing of Daudi Mwangosi and the injuring of several other Iringa-based journalists and Chadema party cadres.



7.2 Sanity Scenario [A]

This is the first place where a Chadema office is located – on sloppy terrain south-east of the dusty road that traverses Nyololo village.

Eyewitnesses (journalists and villagers) submitted that, upon arrival at the party branch site, Chadema officials and members disembarked from their cars ready for business. A yellow ribbon cordoned off the site to restrain people from assembling around the office block and create an impression that a rally or meeting was due to be held there – which would be contravening the police "ban".

No sooner had Chadema internal meeting started than a contingent of armed police Field Force Unit (FFU) officer descended on the precinct, in a V-shaped military manoeuvre, under the command of the Regional Crimes Officer (RCO) SSP Nyigesa Wankyo.

The FFU commander at the scene, Florent Mnunka, instructed police to raise a red-flagged banner warning the people assembled in the area to disperse, failing which they would be forcible removed. The commander repeatedly declared: "All people gathered here are hereby ordered by the United Republic of Tanzania to disperse immediately and peacefully, otherwise we shall use force!" Three such warnings later, the OC-CID instructed police to move closer to the Chadema office.

Upon approaching **Sanity Scene [A]** area, Chadema M4C operations commander Benson Kigaila and other leaders got out of the office building and pleaded with the FFU commander to restrain the officers under his command from unnecessary use of force because no Chadema rally was lined up, anyway.

The other Chadema leaders with Kigaila were Wilfred Lwakatare and Deputy Secretary General (Zanzibar) Said Issa Mohamed.



The two parties tussled for a while over the definition of "internal party meeting" and whether what Chadema was doing was any different from political rallies banned by police.

Audiovisual evidences captured by journalists then on location show the war of words between police and Chadema officials which ensued at **Sanity Scene [A]** as follows:

Benson Kigaila: "We are within our branch office, we know the law; this is a Chadema branch."

FFU Commander: "We warn you, please, hold your meeting inside the office."

Benson Kigaila: "We are not going anywhere."

FFU Commander: "Go inside."

The RCO then abruptly intervened and "advised" Chadema leaders to direct their members to get inside the party's office. The members obeyed the directive but the office was too small to accommodate all of them.

RCO insists: "This is an unlawful gathering, please get inside."

Chadema National youth wing chairperson John Heche responds: "What is the problem? If you have been sent to kill, open fire and kill…we are here to stay."

One Chadema cadre is then heard from the video telling police: "Yesterday CCM cadres returned their election forms, complete with demonstrations and jubilation… We are not going anywhere."



John Heche continues argument with police: "You need to know the laws before doing your job."

Some semblance of common understanding is later reached between the RCO and Chadema officials, and the commander orders his officers to refrain from any use of force.

One police officer remarks, though: "They are wasting our time…aahh they are taking our time. Apparently, this officer was not impressed by the last order from his boss, the RCO, requiring the contingent refrain from using of force."

Journalists Vs RPC Kamuhanda

Iringa RPC Kamuhanda arrived at the **Sanity Scene [A]** a few minutes after the RCO, FFU officers and Chadema officials had settled their differences and agreed on the definition and implication of Chadema's "internal meetings". Journalists including Daudi Mwangosi then greeted him with a flurry of questions related to differences of opinion between Chadema and police.

Mwangosi asks RPC: "These people are within their office compound, is there any trouble so far caused due to their planned activities?"

RPC replies: "I have already told you not to be too argumentative. What I have told you is that I have banned all political rallies…Don't come up with the same arguments come morning, evening, afternoon or sunset…Why is it important to ask us what we are here for?"

Another journalist (Name not given): "I guess you (RPC) are the one who is too argumentative."

RPC: What I have banned are political rallies, but all indoor activities can take place…So far no trouble experienced.



RPC continues: "We have succeeded in containing the rallies and riots…, if they want to conduct inside meetings they can continue."

Mwangosi: "…just as they are now doing…!"

RPC: "As they have been doing since the day before yesterday."

After some further exchange of words, the RPC says: "We want the leaders; we will never bother with people who have just assembled here. Our target now is to deal with the ones who have called the meeting…, they are the source of everything, and they are breaching the official order."

He continues: We are afraid of injuring people unnecessarily, so we will deal with leaders, who are just a small group and easier to handle. Now, no meetings, this one (gathering) is being held outside.

Mwangosi interrupts: "Is this a meeting?"

RPC orders the crowd to proceed with the (internal) meeting inside: "Go inside."

A journalist carrying cameras then shoots up and asks: "What if the room is too small to accommodate all the people around?"

RPC: "We will arrest you leaders if you are adamant…"

Voice from presumed Chadema leader: "We will keep being here."

RPC: "Yes, and you are so few, we can handle you."

The person replies: "Aah! No problem…how many years did Mandela stay in prison?"



RPC: "Even thirty years, but you have mentioned Mandela, are you Mandela?"

While the journalists were busy questioning the RPC, Chadema officials conducted their meeting, and it ended peacefully. With that, the party's business for the moment was done, journalists having done their job without any harassment.

Then Chadema cadres boarded their cars and headed north-west to the other office. At **Sanity Scene [A],** neither gas canisters nor live bullets fired were fired to scare people – and there was no casualty.

7.3 Bloody Scene [B]

As soon as Chadema officials were through with the party branch opening ceremony at **Sanity Scene [A],** they shifted to what eventually turned out to be **Bloody Scene [B]** to accomplish the same**.**

It takes less than twenty minutes' walk to that other Chadema office. As party officials moved to that scene, police closely followed them. Journalists too followed them to complete coverage of the event. But something sinister happened even before the FFU contingent had reached the **Bloody Scene [B]** precincts.

According to eyewitnesses, the RPC summoned the RCO and openly expressed anger over the 'peaceful' handling of Chadema affairs at **Sanity Scene [A].**

Apparently, the RCO retreated before approaching **Bloody Scene [B],** and the direct command of police decisions and actions at **Bloody Scene [B]** was left in the hands of his boss – RPC Kamuhanda.

A much similar scenario of argumentation with journalists ensued as had happened at **Sanity Scene [A].** At this point, Chadema cadres were



assembled outside their office chanting: "They are used to killing, they are used to killing", which left police far from impressed.

All hell broke loose when the RPC ordered the arrest of Chadema leaders at the scene. In response to the orders, according to eyewitnesses, police first violently stormed into the party's office, firing tear gas canisters and ordering party leaders to surrender.

Following the decision by police to use force, M4C regional leader Kigaila pleaded with the few followers and office bearers around "to surrender by sitting down and raising their hands".

Two journalists interviewed by the MCT probe team, Clement Sanga of Mwananchi Communications Ltd and Mtanzania, Star TV and Radio Free Africa freelance correspondent Oliver Motto said they witnessed the violent incident live at Nyololo village while taking cover by the roadside, a few meters from **Bloody Scene B.**

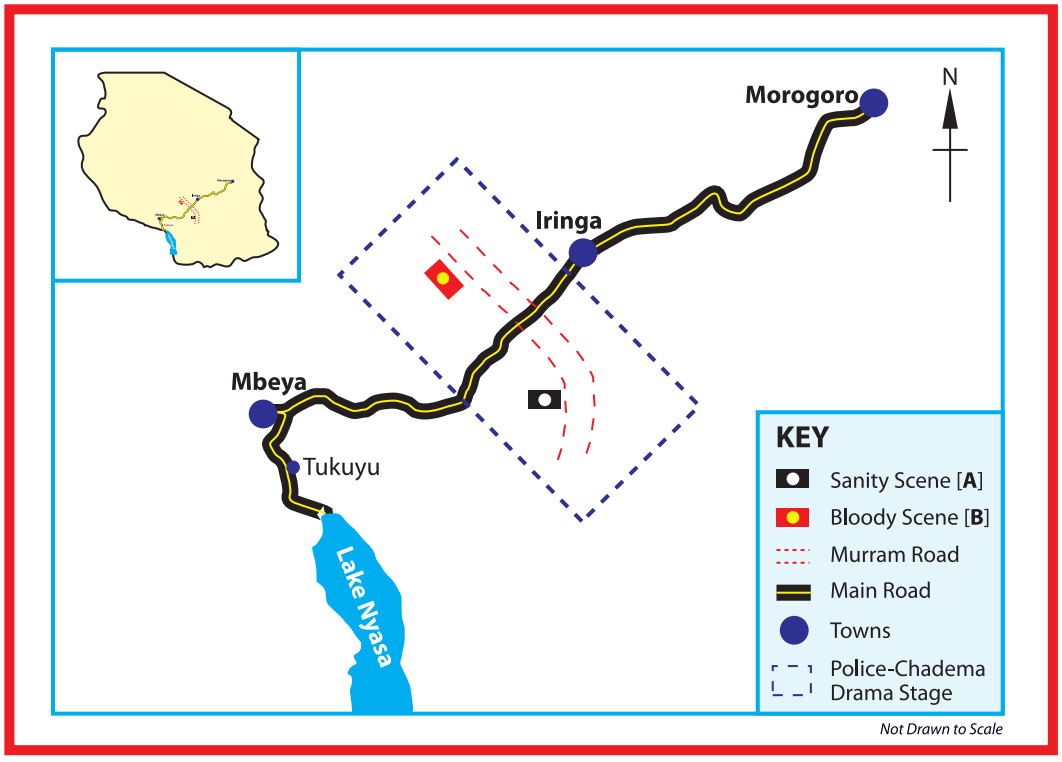
They testified that although Chadema cadres complied with their leader's (Kigaila) pleas that they sit down and raise their hands to signal surrender, police went on to fire live bullets and tear gas canisters into the air while using batons and boots to punish journalists and other people around.



Daudi Mwangosi's Killing Theatre

THE SKETCH OF SCENARIOS

Two constrasting scenarios at Nyololo village, Sunday, September 2, 2012





7.4 Freaks at Bloody Drama Scene B

One of the confounding aspects of the bloody drama at Scene **B** was the presence of very few civilians (Chadema cadres and journalists combined), outnumbered many times over by police. Eyewitness accounts and still pictures and video clips prove this beyond any shadow of doubt.

Nyololo villagers interviewed for this report said that on the Saturday of September 1, 2012, people believed to be plain clothed police toured the area, warning residents of serious – even fatal – consequences if they were to attend banned Chadema branch opening activities. They claimed to have even been advised to vacate the area during the next day's afternoon hours, the time Chadema had scheduled to hold its activities.

The scare strategy worked out very well, with local residents interviewed admitting that they were ignorant of the existence of bad blood between Chadema and scuffles and heeded the advice and left the vicinity.

A woman preferring anonymity said she learnt of the violence and subsequent killing of the journalist in the village when she returned home in the evening. In response to the scare rumours circulated on September 1, 2012, she had planned to visit a distant relative instead as "an escape option".

7.5 Daudi Mwangosi's Killing

After the peaceful conclusion of news coverage at **Sanity Scene [A],** journalists graciously approached what was later to turn out to be a death-trap at **Bloody Scene [B],** from the south-east direction across the Dar-Tunduma highway, to finalise their work.

On looking back, Daudi Mwangosi saw a contingent of policemen roughing up *Nipashe* newspaper's Iringa bureau chief, Godfrey Mushi (32).

This reporter said he was beaten until he lost consciousness and only recovered while at Mafinga police station. His work camera, notebook and pen are yet to be recovered.



With Mushi still being battered by police, Mwangosi rushed to the scene, appealing to them to refrain stop roughing up the former "as he is a mere journalist".

But police would not heed the plea fro mercy. Instead, the entire contingent hauled the unconscious Mushi into their van and violently descended on Daudi Mwangosi himself, with batons and tear gas canisters, first knocking him unconscious.

On seeing this, *Tanzania Daima* newspaper reporter Abdallah Said rushed to the RPC's commanding base in a police-labelled Land Cruiser vehicle, again entreating the commander to order his subordinates to stop beating Daudi Mwangosi.

Apparently dismayed after witnessing the brutality to which police officers were subjecting Mwangosi to, Mafinga OCD Asseri Mwampamba sought to intervene. He ordered and later beseeched his subordinates to stop further unleashing brutality on Mwangosi.

ITV reporter Renatus Mutabuzi, who covered the event live, confirmed to the investigation team that OCD Asseri's attempt to intervene and protect Mwangosi from more police beating simply did not work.

As police officers continued to batter Mwangosi, the hapless journalist tried to shield himself from the attackers by first, embracing the OCD Asseri Mwampamba, and then taking cover under his legs to avoid worse torture – but all in vain.

Fortunately, operating as undercover agents, some Iringa-based journalists were still able to take still pictures and audio-video clips on the fracas. Journalists from Dar es Salaam were in a better position to cover **Bloody Scene B** because, unlike their fellow from Iringa, they were not targeted by police as such.

A woman present at **Bloody Scene B** testified that she lied down close to the



point where Daudi Mwangosi was killed, pretending to have died in order to avoid further brutal beatings from the FFU men. One of those injured in the scuffle (she was badly injured and admitted to Mafinga District Hospital for three days), she spoke to the team on condition of anonymity.
The woman submitted that she saw reporter Abdallah Said running towards the RPC's vehicle and pleading with him to order the commander's subordinates to stop beating Mwangosi.

The RPC didn't heed the reporter's plea and, instead, rolled up his vehicle's left window door mirror. A few seconds later, a horn blast was heard from the RPC's vehicle and there were simultaneous explosions of tear gas canisters that instantly killed Mwangosi.

Because the late Mwangosi was still hiding between OCD Asseri Mwampamba's legs, the latter was also seriously injured in the tear gas shell attack. Still photographs show a police officer firing a tear gas shell into Daudi's stomach from close range.

The woman asserted that Mwangosi was killed under the close watch of RPC Michael Kamuhanda. For Abdallah Said and the woman witness, the coincidence of the horn blast and the explosions remains a big puzzle.

Immensely shocked by what had just happened, OCD Asseri Mwampamba agonized after the tear gas canister explosion and he remarked: So, what have you done?

7.6 Contradictory Official Statements

Authoritative but contradictory police reports on Mwangosi's killing were accessed through different media outlets beginning on the Monday of September 3, 2012. The respective official authorities had retracted none of the statements until the time of compiling this report.

The statements, specific sources and media outlets that covered them are summarized in the table below:



Official Press Statements

Statement (s)	Source	Media Outlet/Date/Issue No.
Mwangosi died from a heavy object that had been thrown by demonstrators	Iringa RPC, Michael Kamuhanda	• Committee for Protection of Journalists (CPJ). 3/09/2012 Online • Channel Ten broadcast, morning of September 3, 2012
• Police deny any deliberate involvement in the death of the journalist. • Joint military police inquiry would be conducted into the journalist's death.	Police Commissioner of Operations, Paul Chagonja	Reuters 4/09/2012 Online
• After the break-up of the riot, Mwangosi ran towards the direction of police, and a bomb like device was thrown from the stampeding crowd and blew up Mwangosi. • Several other people were injured, including some police officers. • I am not in a position to speak because am right now at Iringa Regional Hospital's morgue	Information obtained from police headquarters Iringa RPC Michael Kamuhanda	Habari Leo 03/09/2012 02083 1-Lead • Channel Ten broadcast, morning of September 3, 2012
• Refuses to comment on the cause of death but confirms one person had died • Confirms the death of one person but not sure whether the deceased was Channel Ten journalist	RPC Michael Kamuhanda. Iringa RPC Michael Kamuhanda	The Daily News 3/09/2012 10726 Lead Story Nipashe newspaper quotes Channel Ten



• RPC refused commenting saying he was attending a meeting		Nipashe Newspaper 03/09/2012 03/09/2012 Lead
• Denies allegations that police killed the journalist. • What caused the death is an object thrown by the rowdy crowd. Police are investigating. • Police was dispersing the crowd. A journalist was running away from the crowd towards police officers. The object also injured several other people and some police officers, including the OCS.	Police official spokesperson Advera Senso	Mwananchi newspaper 03/09/2012 Lead
• They will not take long to accomplish the investigation because many witnesses are known. • The remains of Mwangosi already collected for analysis	DCI Robert Manumba	Daily News 04/09/2012 Front Page story
• A journalist was killed by a tear gas canister which was not handled properly by law enforcers.	Home Affairs minister Dr. Emmanuel Nchimbi (He was quoted by MCT Executive Secretary Kajubi Mukajanga)	Habari Leo 04/09/2012 02084 Lead
• We will not be in a position to say who was responsible for the killing until the two investigation teams complete their work and submit their findings. That is when legal steps can be taken against culprits.	Dr. Emmanuel Nchimbi - Minister for Home Affairs	Daily News 05/09/2012 10, 728 Second Lead (front)



7.7 Official Statements in Context

On the one hand, the Home Affairs Minister admitted on September 4, 2012 that Daudi Mwangosi was killed by a 'mishandled' tear gas shell, the following morning the Iringa RPC appeared on national television seeking to blame the 'crowd of Chadema supporters' for throwing a heavy object that exploded and killed Mwangosi alongside injuring several other people including three police officers.

Eyewitnesses and facts on the ground as captured on video and in still pictures show that there was no 'crowd' of such supporters but rather journalists and no more than a score of Chadema leaders, who were well outnumbered and overpowered by the police contingent. Yet, the RPC swore that there was an unruly 'crowd'.

Likewise, police and other official statements fell conspicuously short of mentioning that a similar activity had taken place at **Sanity Scene A** completely without violence.

On September 12, 2012 a person identified as Police Constable Cleophase Pasifious Simon (23) was charged with Mwangosi's murder. Yet, photographic evidence suggests that before his killing, Mwangosi was surrounded and assaulted by no fewer than seven police officers – most of them in uniform! One police officer could be clearly seen directing his gun at the journalist's stomach.

The fact that the police constable has been arrested and arraigned corroborates what the Home Affairs minister first told MCT Executive Secretary Kajubi Mukajanga about a 'mishandled' tear gas canister. This was contrary to cover-up efforts by RPC Kamuhanda and police officers at police headquarters in Dar es Salaam.

Surprisingly, while addressing a press conference in Iringa on September 5, 2012 that later aborted, Director of Criminal Investigations Robert Manumba



suggested that aid "incidents of this nature are bound to occur and will continue to occur". Obviously, given the bizarre nature of these remarks, he was widely quoted in the media.

Apparently, Manumba made the remarks when innocently pleading for "understanding" from members of the press corps in Iringa who had objected to attending a press briefing he had called unless all Iringa-based police officers vacated the press meeting venue. This protest was in line with IPC's decision to boycott the reporting of any police activity in the region until investigations into Mwangosi's killing were completed and the findings made public.

8.0 The Rest is History

What amazed journalists at that point in time was the fact that police suddenly turned against them. Even after the journalists had learnt that they were facing an uncertain future vis-à-vis the law-enforcers and some had begun taking cover in surrounding bushes, police still pursued them and aimed tear gas canisters at those seen fleeing.

IPC Deputy Secretary General Francis Godwin, a freelance journalist who said he witnessed the Mwangosi killing, recounted that two police officers chased him deep into the bush at Nyololo village and he was forced to abandon his car, only to return deep at night to recover it.

Deep into their temporary hide-outs, some journalists were helping Abdallah Said rub off particles of human flesh splashed from Daudi Mwangosi's body.

Shortly after the morning press conference at the RPC's offices journalists in the briefing chamber recounted that one unidentified plain clothed police officer approached Mwangosi and remarked: "What is the point if going to Nyololo to cover Chadema activities may end in your own demise?"



All smile, Mwangosi retorted: "If I die today, my remains will not be buried in the ground but in the hearts of the people." It was as if he was predicting his death.

IPC Secretary General Frank Leonard was meanwhile "completely at a loss" as to why police turned against his fellow journalists.

"Every 11am, we attend press conferences called by the RPC at his offices. We and his officers know one another – on first name terms. It remains a great puzzle why they so violently turned against journalists as to take Daudi Mwangosi's life," he said.

At Scene **[A]**, where sanity was allowed to prevail and guide police decisions and actions, chaos and blood shedding was avoided; meanwhile, at Scene **[B],** excesses by reigned, leading to the killing of Daudi Mwangosi and the injuring of several other Chadema party cadres.

9.0 Domestic and international condemnation

MCT

The Media Council of Tanzania condemned Mwangosi's killing as directly threatening freedom of the press. "This is the first incident that has ever occurred in Tanzania where a journalist was killed while performing his job", MCT Executive Secretary Kajubi Mukajanga is extensively quoted by media. MCT demanded that the relevant authorities do whatever was humanly possible to make sure that the truth of what actually took place on the day of the tragic event was revealed.

The Council also condemned the incriminating of a journalist with political activities and associating him with a political party while he was just fulfilling his professional obligations to society.



UTPC

The Union of Tanzania Press Clubs similarly condemned the cold-blooded murder, demanding that the government immediately put to task – even fire - all police officers involved in the operations that led to the tragic incident.

TEF

The Tanzania Editors Forum issued a strongly worded statement to the same effect, with Secretary General Neville Meena also noting that it was the first time in recent history in Tanzania for a journalist to pay the ultimate price while innocently going about be killed while doing his or her work.

MISA and others

The Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA), the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) and ARTICLE 19 all condemned the killing.

Levi Kabwato, MISA's Programme Specialist for Media Freedom Monitoring and Research, expressed deep concern over the incident.

"This is very shocking. 2 September 2012, isn't a dark day for Tanzanian journalism alone but also for the region and the rest of the world. Violence is never a solution, it solves nothing. We call upon the government of Tanzania to urgently institute an inquiry and bring those responsible for this loss of life to account," Kabwato said in a statement.

CPJ meanwhile said Mwangosi's death was the first work-related fatality for a journalist recorded in Tanzania since the committee began keeping detailed records in 1992.

A "saddened" ARTICLE 19 made an impassioned appeal to the Government of Tanzania to ensure all those responsible faced justice.

UNESCO

UNESCO Director-General Irina Bokova denounced the killing, calling for



an investigation into the case and demanding that those responsible face the full wrath of the law.

"It is essential for democracy and rule of law that journalists be allowed to carry out their duties and exercise their right to free speech safely," the UN agency said in a statement.

10.0 Conclusion and Recommendations

Journalist Daudi Mwangosi's killing has had a chilling effect on press freedom particularly in that press freedom presupposes that journalists are able to do their work without being subjected to intimidation or actual violence, and are therefore able to report freely without censorship.

As a journalist, Daudi Mwangosi was exercising his constitutional right to do 'decent work', but his life was so cruelly cut short at the age of 38.

For media and journalists in particular, it doesn't matter whether police had indeed outlawed or postponed Chadema activities at Nyololo village.

It was in the public interest for the media to report the facts of the activities as they unfolded and for the audience to make independent but informed decisions.

In principle, at all times and in all events, good or ugly, journalists should be seen and treated as *neutral* agents.

There clearly was use of unwarranted force on unarmed people at Nyololo village. What was witnessed was a battle pitting armed police against defenseless journalists – surely, a battle of stones against eggs. Some restraint on all parties to what happened, armed police in particular, could have easily forestalled the tragedy we ended up witnessing.



The MCT team has ruled out the question of mistaken identity. The eight journalists present at Nyololo village could easily be identified, especially so after peaceful state of affairs at the Sanity Scene A.

Since all that the journalists were carrying were cameras, notebooks and pens and most were familiar faces and names to Iringa police officer, it is safe to conclude that police were all out to hunting down journalists they were familiar with.

Some of the journalists who covered the skirmishes at Nyololo village pitting Chadema leaders and cadres against police were from Dar es Salaam. In interviews with the MCT probe team, journalists in the latter category wondered aloud why it was only their Iringa-based colleagues who were targeted!

The extent of hostility and antagonism that prevailed between the Iringa RPC and the late Daudi Mwangosi throughout the hours following the press conference and until a few minutes before the journalist's raises more questions than answers.

Six Iringa-based journalists said they were traumatized by the police violence unleashed on them and are contemplating quitting journalism. One confirmed that he plans to become a preacher instead for fear of his life.

The relevant authorities need to design programmes for senior police cadres to learn how best to deal with media houses and individual journalists. The aim should be to normalize working relations between the two sides.

This arises from the fact that bad blood developed between Iringa-based journalists and police officers in the region since the last quarter of last year, and there has been no let-up.

It defies common intelligence that two similar events occurring on same day



are treated so differently: one is handled with care and restraint from violence while the other is handled with excessive force targeting particular journalists and ending in tragedy.

In the first incident, the Iringa RCO decided that Chadema could conduct its internal affairs peacefully at in party's own office; in the second, the regional police chief decided that such activity had to be stopped using whatever means available.

Partly in reference to the Nyololo clashes between the police and Chadema supporters, President Jakaya Kikwete's monthly Speech to the Nation for September 2012, insisted on the police to avoid excessive use of force where not necessary, while reminding Tanzanians and politicians to respect the laws of the land and view the police force as the lawful custodian of peace and security.

The President clarified that police force has mandate to endorse or prohibit the right to hold rallies and demonstrations by political parties.

Preliminary high-level official reports on journalist Mwangosi's killing are contradictory in both text and context. Analysing them vis-à-vis the abundant evidence now available shows that it is only fair to conclude that someone somewhere was planning a massive cover-up scandal.

Arguing that Mwangosi's killing has soiled Tanzania's international reputation as peaceful and democratic country would be an understatement.

It is noteworthy that the killing coincided with the holding of the World Association of Press Councils (WAPC) Executive Council Meeting in Tanzania, with MCT as the host.

WAPC Secretary General Christopher Conybeare had this to say to the Information, Youth, Culture and Sports minister Dr. Fenella Mukangara:



"When journalists are killed, democracy also dies…..this single event has already begun to tarnish Tanzania's excellent reputation for media freedom".

Responding, the minister admitted that Mwangosi's killing was a sad incident for Tanzanians in general and the country's media fraternity in particular. She expressed hope that the government-sanctioned probe into the matter would shed useful light on the tragic incident.

Yet, even before findings by media and government investigation teams were made public, a police constable was arrested and charged with the killing.

Question from the MCT investigation team: Why the pick only on this junior police officer when at least six other police officers under the close watch and direct command of the RPC Michael Kamuhanda are closely associated with the journalist's harassment, torture and killing? Why the rest are still on the loose baffles logic.

However, investigations by the MCT team could not establish if the killing of Mwangosi was pre-meditated.



11.0 Select Pictures on Mwangosi's Killing



Jovial Daudi Mwangosi (circled) engaging Iringa RPC Michael Kamuhanda (R) at Nyalolo village moments before his killing.



Men in uniform on standby position at Nyololo village



Policemen surround and brutally beat late Mwangosi. He died right there