

**POLITICAL MOVEMENTS  
IN  
PRE-INDEPENDENT TANGANYIKA**

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DECLARATION

This is to certify that the dissertation  
entitled "POLITICAL MOVEMENTS IN PRE-INDEPENDENT TANGANYIKA",  
submitted by Neelam Gaur is for the award of the degree of  
Master of Philosophy of this University. This dissertation  
has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this  
or any other University and is her own work. This may be  
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## PREFACE

Since fifteenth century Tanganyika, particularly its coast was centre of operation of many invaders and colonizers. Arabs, Shirazis, Portuguese, British and Germans came, established their colonies and eventually left in 1961. The Germans acquired it under partition of Africa at Berlin Conference of 1885. Berlin Conference gave permission to Germans to conquer Tanganyika without any challenge from the European powers. The fight for conquest continued till the end of First World War in which Germany was defeated and the Britain was granted Tanganyika. The change over was regularized by the League of Nations under its Mandate System. British did not leave Tanganyika till 1961.

This study includes the political movements since colonization by Germany in the late 19th century and examines how the British carried out the Mandate and later administered the territory under United Nations Trusteeship Council. The study stresses three points which are considered here to understand the nature of anti colonial struggle in Tanzania.

(1) The resistance to intruding colonizers is an important part of the eventual nationalist movement.

(2) The various uprisings during the colonization period contributed to the birth of local heroes - different from the traditional heroes and these heroes like Mkwawa became source of inspiration for the African masses.

(3) The peasant associations and trade unions in many cases were the early political groupings who raised demands against the cruel and inhuman treatment of the settlers, administrators and their local agents akidas and jumbes. In this study we view the political developments in the background of the above phenomenon and briefly study the role of Tanganyika African Association and Tanganyika African National Union.

The introductory or first part deals with the geographic, political and economic assets of Tanganyika, its patterns of human setting, its different religious, ethnic and racial groups and early invaders. The second chapter deals with the early African resistance to the German rule. The following chapter covers the establishment of British rule, the African resistance to it in the form of peasants movements, trade unions and the formation of Tanganyika African Association. The fourth chapter covers the formation and causes of the emergence of dominant party in Tanganyika, i.e. TANU. The

concluding chapter presents a summary of the findings.

I wish to take this opportunity to express my deep gratitude to my super<sup>v</sup>for Professor Vijay Gupta, Centre for West Asian and African Studies, School of International Studies, for his intellectual stimulation, guidance and affectionate encouragement in writing this dissertation.

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I acknowledge the responsibility for my mis-statement and other errors relating to interpretation and emphasis.

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CHAPTER - I

## CHAPTER I

### TANGANYIKA IN PERSPECTIVE

#### A PHYSICAL SKETCH

Tanganyika became a sovereign state on 9th December, 1961. Today it is known as the United Republic of Tanzania, which was formed on 27th April, 1964, by the Union of Tanganyika and the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. Tanganyika is situated on the eastern coast of Africa, between the great lakes of Central Africa, Lake Nyanza, Lake Malawi, Lake Tanganyika and the Indian Ocean.<sup>1</sup> The country lies just south of the equator having common borders with Kenya and Uganda in the north, Ruanda, Urundi and Zaire in the west, Zambia and Malawi in the south west, Mozambique in the south and the Indian Ocean in the east. With the length and breadth of 760 miles and 740 miles respectively<sup>2</sup> and with a total area of 364,900 square miles<sup>3</sup> (which includes 19,903 square miles of inland water), Tanganyika is almost equal in size to Pakistan or the size of France, Germany and Belgium combined or about

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1 HMSO, Great Britain: Colonial Office Report on the Administration of Tanganyika for the year 1949 (London, 1950), p. 1.

2 J.P. Moffett, Handbook of Tanganyika (Dar es Salaam, 1958), p. 1.

3 Africa South of Sahara (London: Europa Publications 1980), p. 993.



one third of India. From east to west i.e. from Dar-es-Salaam on the coast to Lake Tanganyika, the distance is about 600 miles (1,000 km.) which is as much as the combined length of Kenya and Uganda. From north to south i.e. from Vanga Bay in the north to the mouth of the Rovuma river in the south, the total length of Tanganyika coast is 772 miles (1,235 km.)<sup>4</sup> and the coast line bordering the Indian Ocean is about 550 miles. Despite its closeness to the equator, Tanganyika does not have a typical tropical climate because of the cooling effects of altitude. Thus, Tanganyika is a land of tremendous variety of climates. There are some areas in the country where there is hardly any habitation while in a few areas, there is a high density of population. In fact for the tropical country the rainfall is low and it varies considerably from year to year.<sup>5</sup> In the northeast Tanganyika soil is good and rainfall adequate and reliable making settled farming possible. In the highlands of south Tanganyika i.e. between lake Tanganyika and Malawi and also in part of the southern Tanganyika plateau and in coastal region, humid climate makes

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4. For details, see Ian Knapprt, East Africa, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, 1984.

5. Colonial Office Report, Op. cit., p. 2.

it possible to grow a variety of crops, some indigenous and others introduced by visitors from abroad. On the other hand, there are some places which are uninhabited and are spheres of operation of nomads. These are the arid desert and semi desert lands in the central and eastern Tanganyika. In west and southeast Tanganyika, there are moist plateau areas which could provide good agricultural lands but because of the presence of tsetse fly, which gives sleeping sickness to human beings and ugana to cattle, makes the human settlement impossible.

### HISTORY

Despite all efforts to write the history of Tanganyika the world has very limited knowledge of the history of the people of the interior of Tanganyika. Our knowledge of the interior depends on some of its accounts available in written records, in the form of chronicles or records of travellers who visited the coast during the early period of nineteenth century. The configuration of the interior that it had large lakes and mountains was known but to only those who travelled in caravans for trade in the interior. From oral narrations it is clear that the history of the people of the interior has not yet been put in to

writings because historians have not been able to verify the facts and figures on the basis of archaeological and linguistic researches.<sup>6</sup>

The population of Tanganyika is divided into over 120 different ethnic groups.<sup>7</sup> Historical background of these groups is difficult to trace. Its entire account is made up of oral narrations transferred from one generation to another.<sup>8</sup>

On the basis of oral narrations and available archaeological evidences we can say that the human history of Tanganyika began when Bushmanoid hunter-gatherers who spoke khoisan languages.

These late stone age people were skilled in the making and using stone and bone tools. They occupied northern Tanganyika highlands, the rift valley and the shores of Lake Victoria. They were not pastoralist or agriculturist and depended on

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6 The most valuable research was made by Dr. Leakey about the first man on earth *Zinanthropus boise* ("East African Man") whose headbones were found at Olduvai Gorge, the site of the vanished lake on the edge of the Serengeti plains in 1959, which is over a million years old and later on another discovery made by his son Jonathan about the *homo habilis* ("able man") who is thought to be a direct ancestor of *Homo Sapiens*, suggests the possible view that the history of mankind started in Tanganyika. Thus, Tanzania played host to the first chapter to the human saga. Rodger Yeager, Tanzania - An African Experiment, (England, 1982), p. 5.

7 Africa South of Sahara, Op. cit., p. 993.

8 Judith Listowel, The Making of Tanganyika (London, 1965), p. 6.

hunting and gathering wild plants. The Sandawe and Hadzapi of Lake Eyasi are the only survivors of this group in Tanganyika.<sup>9</sup>

The next group, who settled here were again stone age people who belonged to the group known as Caucasoid. They were cattle keepers as well as hunters. They probably arrived from the north or northeast many centuries before the birth of Christ and occupied the rift valley and the southern Highlands. The Burungi, Gurowa and Iragw people are close neighbours of the Sandawe on the rift valleys rim. They are cushitic speaking. They were cultivators but did not initially use iron. These people are classified as Bantu speaking and thus as Bantus.<sup>10</sup> These Bantus were iron using agriculturist and they settled in the best farming areas and introduced sorghum, elusin, millet and yam crops. Some of

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9 Gideon S. Were and Derek A. Wilson, East Africa through a Thousand Years A.D. 1000 to the present day (London, 1974) p. 6.

10 The term is basically linguistic, but even to define Bantu languages is difficult. Bantus are primarily agriculturist people, but one finds a range of cultures from the most primitive to the relatively advanced. About the origin of the Bantu speaking people there is yet a confusion on the exact place of their origin. However, the linguistics and archaeological evidences show that the first Bantu speaking farmers arrived between the fifth and tenth century A.D. Probably, they originated in Southern Nigeria and Cameroon, since their languages have many basic similarities. Moffett, Op. cit., p. 284.

them, because of cushitic influence, kept cattle also and some of these groups eventually settled in areas where difficult conditions forced them to rely more on cattle than crops. Over the centuries they spread to most of Tanganyika and absorbed earlier inhabitants in themselves. Now about 95% of the population in Tanganyika is from Bantu stock. All Bantu people are more or less closely related to one another by language and by culture.

While all these settlements were taking place in the interior, the coast was developing in quite a different way. Although it is thousands of years since the contact between the east Africa and the outside world took place, the reliable account of the first trade can be found in the Periplus, (circum-navigation or sailing round) of the Erythrean Sea. (Erythrean sea being contemporary name of the Indian Ocean).<sup>11</sup> According to this valuable record the Arabs came to East Africa to trade. They brought with them iron implements<sup>12</sup> and in return took away ivory, palm oil,

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11 This guide to the commerce of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean was written in the second half of the first century A.D. and was probably the work of a Greek trader of the Roman empire living in Egypt. Yeager, Op. cit., p. 7.

12 Keneth Ingham, A History of East Africa (London, 1962) p. 1.

rhinoceros horn, tortoise shell, cinnamon, frankincense and slaves which formed one of the chief exports of East Africa. Ivory and slaves remained the main attractions of east African trade through the whole period.<sup>13</sup> Besides Greeks and Romans trade of eastern Africa, trade also existed with Arabia, Persia, India and possibly with China. All these traders came to the coast and neither Arabs nor Indians needed to move into the interior. This means whatever they brought with them they could sell on the coast itself. As a result, the interior remained isolated, untouched with foreign culture. This exchange trade sometimes e.g. in case of ivory and slaves, involved sending caravans into the interior and sometimes fighting with indigenous people to keep a trade route open. Socially and culturally, the coastal area was characterized by the dominance of Swahili. The origin of the Swahili people and language goes back to the time of first Arabian settlement on

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13 See Greek book the 'Geographia' of Ptolemy (written in the second century A.D. but later enlarged and dating in its final form from the late fourth century) also describes the east African ivory trade. Were and Wilson, op. cit., p. 8.

the coast of east Africa, when the first inter-marriages between Arabs and natives occurred.<sup>14</sup> But there were only a few scattered small groups of this Arab-African mixture of blood and language. As a people, the Swahili, appeared later, when the earliest Bantu tribes living across the coast and in the adjacent region ceded to a strong Arab influence and in parts mixed with them. The literal meaning of the word Swahili is 'of the coast' for it came from an Arabic word 'Sahil' which means coast. Basil Davidson describes this culture as Arabicized African product as most of its elements are African although the Arab impact is easily discernible.

The seventh century A.D. brought Islam in east Africa.<sup>15</sup> After the quarrels within the Arab empire, over the question of the caliphate, civil war broke out and some of the defeated leaders settled on east African coast. Suleiman and Said were two well known exiles and they expanded the most inhuman trade - the slave trade.

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14 R. Reusch, "How the Swahili people and language came into existence", Tanganyika Notes and Records (Dar-es-Salaam) vol. 34 (1953), pp. 20-23.

15 Listowel, Op. cit., p. 6.

The other three settlements on record were likewise settlements of Arab refugees. It is related that about AD 740, as a result of a schism among the shiites, a body of Arab schismatics known as Zaidiyan sought refuge in East Africa and settled in the neighbourhood of Shungwaya. Then about 920, according to tradition, the seven brothers of El Hasa, probably Arabs and possibly of the 'El Harth' tribe, flying from persecution, founded Mogadishu and Barawa. In the same century, Hasan bin-Ali, who was a son of Sultan of Shiraz and an Abyssinia slave woman, out rivalled by his brothers and departed with his six sons for Africa. They sailed in seven ships and one son founded a settlement at each of six separate places. Three of these are named Mombasa, Pemba and Johanra in the Cosmo Isles. Hasan founded Kilwa. In this way, Arab and Persian settlements took place which had a considerable influence on the history of east Africa. As a result of these settlements, the people of this region gradually got converted to Islam. The period from 975 (when Hasan bin Ali with his six sons landed) to 1498 when Vasco da gama sailed to Mombasa, is often called the time of the Zenj



empire.<sup>16</sup>

During Zenj empire, trade in ivory, slave and gold, which had formerly existed between the east coast and Asia was revived and became more flourishing than it had probably been in earlier times. Gradually the trading centres on the coast increased in size and prosperity. Kilwa not only became the most powerful coastal state but also exercised a great influence on the culture of the whole region. The culture that sprang up during tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries was Shirazian or Persian in character and the founders of the State of Kilwa were Shirazis.<sup>17</sup> They introduced the art of stone building, the manufacture and

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16 Zenj is a persian word for black. Persians and Arab writers often referred to coast as 'the land of Zenj' that is 'the land of the Blacks'. The whole of the coast was in fact called 'Zanzibar'. The word Bar means 'land'. Thus, in former times the word Zanzibar means 'land of the Black' was used for the whole of the coastal region of East Africa. Gradually it lost its wide meaning and was applied only to the island which is still named Zanzibar.

17 The more information can be obtained from the writings of several Arab travellers and geographers and various coastal legends and traditions among whom 'The Arab Chronicles of Kilwa' describes how the State of Kilwa was formed at the end of the 10th century by Hasan bin Ali.

use of lime and cement. The Zanj empire lasted for around 500 years and was brought to an end by the coming of the Portuguese.<sup>18</sup> The Portuguese had followed Vasco-da-Gama, who visited eastern Africa in 1498 on his way to India.<sup>19</sup> The Portuguese founded a series of independent towns, peopled by Arabs. By 1506, Portugal had taken control of all their settlements and their Indian Ocean trade. Towards the end of the 16th century Turks and Zimbabwes attacked them but with the help of some of the tribes they succeeded to overthrow them. Portuguese rule rested always on weak foundations and Arabs of Oman and Muscat succeeded in overthrowing them out of Oman in 1650 and continued their attack in Africa. Between 1660 and 1700 there was much warfare and burning of towns but Arabs succeeded and captured Mombasa in 1698, after a siege lasting 33 months. Arabs occupied Pemba, Zanzibar and Kilwa, driving the Portuguese out of practically all their east African possessions except Mozambique.<sup>20</sup> Portuguese remained there for 200 years but did little for east Africa except introducing manioc, maize and the pineapple. They were very little interested in the land except as a useful stopping place on the way to India.<sup>21</sup> Except the journey

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18 Marsh and Kingsnorth, A Introduction to the History of East Africa (London, 1957) p. 7.

19 Colonial Office Report, Op. cit., p. 12.

20 Ibid

21 Marsh and Kingsnorth, Op. cit., p. 18

made by Gaspar Bocarro in 1616 from Tete on the banks of the Zambezi to Kilwa Kisiwani, Portuguese did not make any attempt to penetrate into the interior, though they knew about the lakes from the works of traders who had visited them. The other reason why there was for so long very little connection between the coast and interior may be that the interior was sparsely populated and the economic organizations of the inhabitants did not encourage long range contacts.

#### African Migration to Tanganyika.

It has already been suggested that Bantus came to Tanganyika between fifth and tenth century A.D. They were agriculturists and therefore occupied more fertile areas such as the fertile volcanic soils of Kilimanjaro and other areas with fairly high rainfall such as the hills of Usambara and northern Pare, the southern highlands etc. Around 1500 on the basis of adoption of different customary laws, different marriage and kinship relations, different ways of building their houses, different dances, dresses and different languages, a variety of groups appeared which were smaller than the ethnic groups of today. It was not until about the sixteenth century that people began to organize themselves into larger groups. Each group occupied

a few square miles. Each group had their chief to solve their cases. These chieftainships were similar to each other in many ways. Each consisted of small groups of scattered settlements ruled by a single chief who was appointed by the inhabitants themselves. These chiefs were known by the title ntemi or mtemi, a word which had come from the Bantu verb Ku-tema meaning to cut. Their functions were not clearly defined and varied from one ntemiship (chiefdom) to another. In general, the ntemi exercised political and judicial authority in his dominion. He was assisted by a number of people - councillors, priests, headmen. In some cases, these officials held their office by hereditary rights i.e. a son succeeded his father on the latter's death. In some cases they were appointed by the ntemi himself. In this way, they acted as the subordinates of ntemi. According to the knowledge available, the first Tanganyikans to appoint chief were the Nyamwezi<sup>22</sup> and the Sukuma in the south of Lake Nyanza (Victoria).

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22 The word Nyamwezi means the people of the moon, because they came from the west, the direction in which the new moon is always seen. They first settled in Unyamwezi from where they came to the coast and were given the name Nyamwezi by the coast dwellers when they arrived on the east coast. Were and Wilson, op. cit., p. 79.

From about 1500, new set of Africans migrated into Tanganyika. The new comers faced opposition from the earlier inhabitants. This resulted into the formation of larger groups. The difference between these larger groups became greater and thus separate tribes appeared. The new comers generally came from the north, the only exception, the Zimba people who came from the south, the present region of Angola or the Congo, around 1590.<sup>23</sup> The Bahima with the special name of Bachwezi arrived from the north of Lake Nyanza and occupied Karagwe region. The new comers united the small groups into chiefdoms. Among them one of the most powerful chiefs was Rutinda. Many of the present Haya chiefs in Bukoba are his descendants. The Tusi Chief of Ruanda are also a branch of Bahima. During the Portuguese occupation of Tanganyikan coast around sixteenth century, the Bahima moved from the west side of Lake Nyanza to its southern side, into Sukumaland founding Zinza, Kiwaba and Siha chiefdoms. Around 1750, they moved east and west from Unyamwezi into Ugogo and Usagara. Here again, they united

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23 P.H.C. Clarke, A Short History of Tanganyika (London, 1964) p. 44.

small groups into chiefdoms and thus in Usagara region, the origin of Gogo and Hehe tribe took place. At the same time, Sambia people came from Nyuru Mountains near Usagara. All these groups (tribes) were of Bahima descent.

Regarding the Masais in Tanganyika, it is said that they came from the north and first settled in Rift Valley of Kenya around 1500 and from there some of them moved into Tanganyika. Some other groups also followed them. They were the Barabaig who came from Mount Elgon in the north and Tatoga people near Singida. In the south the Nyakusa people round Takuyu moved from Makonde area behind Lindi. Some people came to Iringa from Usagara near Morogoro.

It is not known whether the indigenous people accepted the new comers peacefully or not. But it is a fact that the latter were more advanced and better organized. They soon became rulers and practised equality. They did not favour one group more than another. The system of administration that emerged gave more powers to the chiefs. The coming of the Bahima resulted in important social and political changes which have greatly influenced the history

of the region. Bantu society was based on the unit of clan but wherever Bahima settled they spread their system of administration. They brought significant changes in the life style of Tanganyika, changed the system of government, economy and social life.

Some historians credit them with the introduction of centralized monarchy. The political system which thus emerged had the following features. On the top, there was a centralized monarchy. The monarchy had a chain of representatives in the districts and provinces. These administrative officials ruled only small areas. The institutions of slave artisans, a hierarchy of palace officials and palace women were also associated with this political system. Among their regalia were royal stools, drums, spears, arrows and ancient crowns.<sup>24</sup>

They did not influence the far south and the coast which remained unaffected by the culture of new people from the north, e.g. the Nyakusa people in the south have remained loosely joined under separate chiefs unlike the tribes influenced by the Bahima.

The Haya chiefs of Bukoba in later period, took over full control of the land. The earlier

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24 Were and Wilson, Op. cit., p. 47.

inhabitants, did not resist the new comers. The Haya appointed their sub-chiefs also. The rule of Haya chiefs was strict but fair. On the other hand in Kilimanjaro, the Chagga tribe was divided into around 20 chiefs. The struggle among them on the question of the paramount chief was not solved till the Germans penetration in the 1880s.<sup>25</sup>

The Chaggas introduced a new irrigation system which brought the water from springs high up the mountain down to their banana shambas (farms). Later, they discovered how to make houses merging into the ground to safeguard themselves during the war time. Among the Usambara the political system provided for a single chief for the whole tribe. Kimweri was their fourth paramount chief. The whole kingdom was divided into a number of districts under the rule of governor and each governor had his representatives. There was a Prime Minister (Mdoe) and a Commander of the army. Taxes were collected from the people by king's officials.

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25 Later on, British tried to draw the Chagga into a closer union by means of a council of chiefs. But it did not get encouragement from the people and thus called a mass meeting at Moshi in 1934 at which a popular chief, Petro Itosi Marealle, was elected paramount chief.



Kimweri's rule was regarded as just and egalitarian. After the death of Kimweri, the Kingdom broke down.

Gogo tribe who originated when Bachwezis united small groups of Ugogo and Usagara, had little unity. When they were attacked by Masais and Hehe, they joined together into larger groups. Later on they began to charge hongo tax (local tolls on caravan traffic) from the caravans. This made them unpopular amongst the travellers. Ngoni were Zulus and came from south Africa fleeing from the strict disciplinary rule of the great Zulu Chief Chaka around 1824. In the course of their migration, their numbers had been greatly increased by the addition of numerous captives.

Nyamwezi were a number of scattered groups. Each group had their own name. The name Nyamwezi was given to them by Arabs. Around 1870, the leadership of the Nyamwezi was taken over by the Chief of Urambo, named Mirambo. He was a brave ruler but after his death, his kingdom broke up into separate groups again.

Up to the middle of nineteenth century, the interior had almost no contact with the coastal people and their rulers. One of the reason was that around this time many regular slave caravans went to the interior and captured men and women to be sold as slaves. In some cases, the people of the caravan routes came in contact with people of coast, their customs and languages.

Life in coastal areas

While the above developments were taking place, in the interior, the life in the coastal areas was developing in a different way. By 1729, all the settlements north of the Rovuma River were taken over by Omni Arabs. The River became the boundary separating Tanganyika from the Portuguese colony of Mozambique. Omni domination of the coast continued into the 19th century under the aggressive Busaidi dynasty, under Sayyid Said, the Sultan of Oman. In the early 19th century, there was a sudden increase of commercial interest in the interior of east Africa in response to the increased international demand for ivory and slaves. This gave boost to trade with the interior involving Asia, several European countries and the United States of America.<sup>26</sup> Recognizing the potential of the trade, Sultan Said concluded a series of treaties with outside powers. The first treaty was made with the United States of America in 1833 which was followed by treaties with Great Britain in 1839, France in 1844 and the Hanseatic League in 1859. Sultan Said transferred

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26 The second period of Arab domination is characterized as the period of slave trade. Bagamoyo, Sadani or Paganí were the usual points of departure and Tabora the most important island centre. The Arabs made no attempt to introduce Mohammedanism or conquer the countries of the interior but merely deported the inhabitants to the coast and other places. Colonial Office Report, Op. cit., p. 14

his capital from Oman to Zanzibar in 1840. Thereafter, more and more Arabs went into interior; and interior and coast were joined together by trade. Said's primary interest was not the political control but trade. Trade was dominated by ivory and slaves. Arab slave traders obtained slaves in exchange of cloth, beads, wire and even guns. Besides these, cloves were also of great importance. He encouraged the growing of cloves (Karapun) in Zanzibar and Pemba. The slaves were used for clove production. The clove production and its export made Zanzibar the world's leading producers.

The slave trade affected the lives of nearly all the indigenous people of Tanganyika. In some places it completely disrupted political institutions and organizations. Even the places rarely visited by the slave traders had a considerable effect on tribal economy and the ordinary way of life.

In the process of above referred trade, the new developments took place. One, the Arab caravans travelled on well beaten paths which later became regular roads and two, there emerged a common language i.e. Swahili. It was these roads and Swahili language that helped to unite

Tanganyika. During next fifteen years, under the pressure of European powers whose domestic and international needs required change in slave trade policy, Tanganyika was freed of slave hunting and trade.<sup>27</sup>

The end of the slave trade brought peace in the interior of Tanganyika. It stopped the drain on manpower. It provided the possibility of settled life being resumed. Cost of man power loss was, in some cases so heavy that certain ethnic groups would have perished losing their identities.

- 27 Compelled by their domestic and international economic and political processes, the British passed a law to abolish slave trade. Since Zanzibar was one of the major centres of slave trade benefitting Sultan, he expressed his unwillingness and resisted the British. Before any final conclusion on this issue was reached, Sultan Said died. After his death, in 1856, his territories were divided between his two sons and Zanzibar became an independent Sultanate under Majid, who succeeded Sultan Said, had plans to modernize Zanzibar and turn into a powerful centre for contact with east coast of Africa. In 1866, he started a town building plan on the shore around the harbour to which he intended to transfer his Capital. But in 1870, he died before his plans had reached completion. His brother and successor Bargash bin Said (1870-88) signed a treaty on 5th June, 1873 to end the slave trade in East Africa.



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The social and political structure of indigenous population <sup>at</sup> that time varied from one ethnic group to another.<sup>28</sup> The common characteristics of all the tribes were the prevalence of subsistence economy<sup>29</sup> with a limited range of differences in individual wealth, the recognition of bonds of kinship with obligations extending beyond the family group and the strong attachment of the people to their land. Some of the ethnic groups were cattle owners and for them cattle were the most prized form of wealth. Cattle were also connected with religious and magical belief and practices. In some cases, it was used as a payment of bride price by the family of the bridegroom to that of the bride, a payment necessary to regularise the marriage.<sup>30</sup>

Administration in the societies was generally in the hands of the chiefs, who were assisted by sub-chiefs who in turn relied upon village headman or elders. Among some of them there existed no centralized political organization, clan elders exercised a degree of authority over the members of their own clan groups and did not acknowledge any

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28 Colonial Office Report, Op. cit., p. 12.

29 Ingham, Op. cit., p. 37.

30 Colonial Office Report, Op. cit., p. 10.

common allegiance to a single head. In some cases sub-chiefs were the relatives of the paramount chief and in others it was customary for the paramount chief to select and appoint his sub-chiefs either because of their personal qualifications or as a reward for services rendered.<sup>31</sup> Age grade system was also prevalent in some ethnic groups. The group was divided amongst the youths, warriors and elders. Elders were respected and used to give advice to the warriors in case of disputes.<sup>32</sup>

The economy of all these tribes, agricultural and pastoral alike was of a subsistence character. Most of the agriculturist grew foodstuffs, including maize, millet, sweet potatoes, cassava and bananas. Some of the pastoral groups lived entirely upon animal produce while others on some of the agricultural products. In some areas, simple iron working was also carried on in which iron workers were held in great respect. The commercial intercourse between various groups appears to have been virtually non-existence.<sup>33</sup> Even the more primitive forms of barter system was unknown. Within a group, friends might

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31 Ibid

32 Ingham, Op. cit., p. 35

33 Ibid

exchange presents and tributes could be paid to the chief in the form of food stuffs or iron implements or weapon. In some cases, a group used to send presents to neighbouring people whose friendship was worth cultivating or whose enmity they wished to avert. In this way, goods might have circulated to a limited extent beyond the confines of a clan or tribal group. The lack of contact between the tribes restricted the development and spread of new ideas for it was the product not of maturity but of suspicion and fear. Indeed inter-ethnic contacts were greater during the period of resistance against European invaders. The 1850-85 period is important in the history of the vast inland of now called Tanganyika.

The industrialization of Europe, fast economic growth in U.S.A. made it necessary for European powers to look for new markets and centres for raw material. Geography, philanthropic and missionary societies were encouraged to send their men to tell about the landscape, resources and people of Africa. Under this scheme adventurers like Richard Burton, J.I. Speke, James August, Grant, Livingston, H.M. Stanly and many others came to East Africa. Similarly, came the missionaries in the name of propagating christianity and 'civilizing' the

Africans. All these in their own way, opened the way for German East Africa Company, British East Africa Company and many other small business firms to enter East Africa. Trade was followed by flag and colonization of the region. Jomo Kenyatta, late President of Kenya summed up this in 1930s by saying "When they came they had the Bible and we had the land, now we have the Bible and they have the land".

Thus, European interest grew on the vast tracks of land in Africa which they thought might profitably be developed and opened up to European Commerce. With the beginning of European expansion and colonization, there took place a competition among them. To avoid military conflict between aggressive European powers, a conference was held in Berlin in 1885 in which it was decided that in future, no European nation should annex any part of Africa without first giving notice to the other powers and that the territory annexed must be occupied in an effective manner and administered and developed properly. In this way, Tanganyika fell into the hands of Germans. The Africans, who knew nothing about this understanding of colonial powers put up tough resistance but they lost due to the fact that the enemy was unknown and better armed.



CHAPTER - II

CHAPTER - II  
COLONIZATION AND EARLY  
AFRICAN RESPONSES

Though German merchants had established business houses in Zanzibar in the 1840s and German explorers in the persons of Roscher and Vonder Deckon had begun exploring East Africa as early as 1859, and even Sultan Said had made a commercial treaty with them in 1859, Government in Germany showed little interest in it.<sup>1</sup> In 1870 Sultan Bargash asked for German protectorate over his country because he was forced by British to end slave trade ( a profitable trade for Zanzibar ) which he thought that Germans would allow it to go on. That time Germany showed little interest in colonization of East Africa. For a long time, Bismark had declared his opposition to the acquisition of overseas territories. His argument was that in the field of diplomacy Germany desired great advantages from being a purely continental state with no overseas commitments. He feared that a colonial empire would be expensive to maintain and its acquisition might lead to demands for the building of a large navy and might involve Germany in disputes with Britain. Up to 1870, Germany was loosely joined together into a number of separate kingdoms. In that year, Germans joined themselves into one country under the Kaiser

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1 J.P. Moffett , Handbook of Tanganyika  
(Dar-es-Slaam, 1958) p.48

or Emperor and started forming a strong German empire in Europe.<sup>2</sup>

In 1873, a German society for the exploration of Equatorial Africa was formed which was followed with the German African society in 1876. In 1880, both the organizations combined together and German African Society of Berlin came into existence, which sent Count Von Schoeler in charge of an expedition to prepare the situation to occupy the territory between Mpwapwa and Karema. In 1881, three more persons were sent to establish a station near Tabora.<sup>3</sup> In 1884 when schemes for the colonization of East Africa were very much in the air, German colonization society was formed. In September 1884, Carl Peters<sup>4</sup>, one of the founders of the German Colonization Society, accompanied by Count Otto Pfeil, Dr. Carl Juhleke and August Otto, disguised as mechanics with false names reached there and made "secret treaties" with the chiefs. Innocent chiefs did not know what they had signed and unaware of European politics did not understand the tricks of the German Empire builders. In their view, they were signing the treaties of friendship which read as

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2 P.H.C. Clarke, A Short History of Tanganyika, (London, 1964), p.91

3 Moffett, Op. cit., p.49.

4 Generally known by the Africans as Mkonon-wa-damu, or the man with the blood strained hands.

follows:-

'Mangunga, Sultan of Msovero in Usagara, offers all his territory with all its civil and public appurtenances, to Dr. Carl Peters as the representative of the society of German colonization for the exclusive and universal utilisation of German colonizers ..... for all times'<sup>5</sup>

Unknowingly the chiefs promised to give their land to the German Colonization Society. Some of the treaties said that the chiefs did not recognize Sultan of Zanzibar as their ruler. Upon presenting these to the Kaiser, the society was rewarded with an Imperial Charter of Protection, Schutzbrief, on 27th February, 1885 which declared that he (Kaiser) had placed the territories under the suzerainty and protection - and granted to the superintendence of and further regulations by the German Government.<sup>6</sup>

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5 Judith Listowel, The Making of Tanganyika, (London, 1965), p. 14.

- 6 (a) The sovereignty of the Sultan of Zanzibar over the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba and Mafia was recognized.
- (b) The coast line from Meningani Bay to Kipini was recognized as forming part of the Sultan's possessions to an internal depth of ten sea miles.
- (c) Great Britain engaged to support negotiations for a lease to the German East Africa Company of the customs dues at Dar es Salaam and Pangani.
- (d) Germany's sphere of influence was to extend from the Rovuma River to the River Vanga and thence inland to Lake Jipe, north of Kilimanjaro, and from there in a straight line to Lake Victoria, at its point of intersection by the first degree of south latitude.
- (e) Great Britain undertook to use her offices to promote a friendly arrangement of the rival claims of the Sultan and the German East Africa Company to the Kilimanjaro districts.
- Moffett, Op. cit., p. 55.

While the African chiefs were unaware of the implications of the German designs, Britain and Germany were agreeing to divide East Africa into the spheres of influence. The mainland between the Tana and the Uмба rivers became Kenya and that between the Uмба and the Ruvuma became Tanganyika.<sup>7</sup> The Imperial British East Africa Company (Deutsche Ost-Afrika Gesellschaft or DOAG)<sup>8</sup> occupied the former and the German East Africa Company the latter. Thus, Tanganyika became German East Africa. In 1888, Germans forced Sultan to grant a fifty year lease on the coastal stripe which was known to be territory occupied by the Sultan of Zanzibar, thereby Germans gained full economic and political jurisdiction over the mainland.

The initial two decades of German colonialism were marked by the coloniser's efforts to consolidate their political hegemony over the territory. During their administration, land was alienated from the people in various parts of the country and was given to settlers and German entrepreneurs. In 1895, an imperial decree declared all land in East Africa to be unoccupied Crown land. The German was empowered to grant such Crown land to any person by transferring ownership or by lease. The alienated areas were mostly employed in plantations. The three district

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7 Listowel, op. cit., p. 17

8 M.H.Y. Kaniki, Tanzania under colonial Rule (London, 1980), p. 78.

plantation regions were (a) Usambara in the north, (b) along the track of the Tanganyika Railway from the sea to Lake Tanganyika and (c) in southern district.<sup>9</sup> The main crops produced in the plantations were cotton, sisal, rubber, coffee and copra. For their plantations they needed labour and Africans were the only source for their labour. In fact, their agricultural operations which meant the alienation of African land included the reduction of the local population to the status of wage labourers. Without African labour, colonial capital investment was valueless and planters used the colonial state to secure through coercion the African labour. Wages for plantation labourers and other workers were initially low and they were depressed as soon as the colonial state machinery pushed more Africans on to the labour market. Living and working conditions were very poor and the Africans who were in the employment of Germans suffered day to day abuse and brutality. Besides, paying their taxes, workers also had to pay half of their wages.

Another way of getting the labour was taxation. Taxation was one of the important instruments in the colonial states arsenal for creating

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9 Ansu Kumar Datta, Tanganyika; a Government in a Plural Society, (Leiden, 1955), p. 5.

wage labour.<sup>10</sup> The number of revolts which took place against the Germans, taxation was one of the important reasons. For example, in 1894 Mchemba, a Yao Chief led a tax protest. It was crushed in 1899. The chief fled to Mozambique while his followers were imprisoned. In 1902, Mpoto from Kitangari was hanged for leading a tax protest. Thus, taxes were imposed on Africans not so much for the revenue which resulted but as a means of propelling them into the labour market and the money economy, and thereby drawing off the surplus.

Corporal punishment was freely used in German East Africa in the early years of German administration.<sup>11</sup> When Dernburg became the Secretary for Colonial Affairs and when he visited East Africa he reported that "he saw too many whips in the hands and on the tables of the planters and colonizers."<sup>12</sup> Thereupon flogging was made illegal except as a positive measure and that only by public authorities while its use upon Arabs, Indians, women and children was strictly forbidden.

Germans employed Akidas<sup>13</sup> and headmen to get labour and for the collection of taxes. They were given a free hand to deal with their African

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10 Issa G Shivji, Law State and the Working Class in Tanzania (Dar es Salaam, 1986), p. 11.

11 Datta, Op. cit., p. 6.

12 Germans were known to the Swahili populace as Watu Wa hamrasherri - meaning to the reputation for administering twenty lashes as punishment.

13 Akida - Subordinate Swahili, Arab and Sudanese officials.

fellows and therefore, they frequently resorted to intimidation and extortion.

All these shortcomings in German Administration evoked African bewilderment and hostility and they started resenting against the Germans. Germans retaliated with harsh and arrogant methods in their dealing with the Africans and soon faced a rebellion headed by a fiery chief called Bushiri-bin-Salim-el-Harthi.<sup>14</sup> The main reason for opposition was German attack on the political rights of the Africans. Prior to the imposition of German colonial rule, Sayyid Bargash, the Sultan of Zanzibar, who acquired near colonial control over the coastal areas, had given high autonomy to tribal chiefs in their administration and tax collection. The chiefs used to collect hongo from the caravans passing through their territories. But by the enforced treaty of 1888 between the Sultan of Zanzibar and Germans, the Germans assumed right to levy customs and right to control all customs posts in the country by establishing its own military posts. Besides this, the German

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14 Bushiri-bin-Salim-el-Harthi was born in East Africa in 1845, and was the son of an Arab father and an African (Possibly Galla) mother. His clan the Harthi, had been among the first Arab settlers in East Africa and had been the chief opponents to the growing power of the Busaidi dynasty in Zanzibar.



merchants decided to break down the Arab trading monopoly. They forced the Arabs to stop slave trade. The discontinuation of slave trade led to the virtual collapse of the Arab monopoly of the economy of the region. The ivory trade of the Arabs had already been threatened by European competitors. For years, the Arabs had controlled the east coast of Africa and the main trade routes of the interior. The German entry challenged their political authority and endangered their economic position.<sup>15</sup> Meanwhile, Sultan of Zanzibar and coastal stripe of East Africa allowed Germans to hoist their flag alongside his. This set the spark to faggots already piled high.

The new situation led to armed opposition by indigenous people against the Germans. The outbreak occurred in Pangani in September and quickly spread to other coast towns. Even Dar-es-Salaam was attacked. German officials and missionaries were killed. Bismarck reproved the Company for its inefficiency and appointed a new Imperial Commissioner, Captain Wissman, who arrived with a force of 600 Sudanese troops<sup>16</sup> early in 1889 to restore order. The Africans were led by Bushiri. He steadily

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15 Farlow and Chilver, History of East Africa (Oxford, 1965), p. 129.

16 Emin Pasha was a German who had ruled the South Sudan. Later on he had left Sudan and come to Bagamoyo.

harassed the Germans till the end came in December 1889 when Bogamoyo was stormed and Bushiri was arrested and later hanged.<sup>17</sup>

Wissman was asked to spread German power. By 1890, German influence had been established along the coast and at a few places like Mpwapwa and Moshi in the hinterland. The same year the Germans occupied the Lake Victoria area. After consolidating their influence on the area, assigned at 1885 in Berlin Conference, the German Government took over administration in its own hand and in 1891 January a protectorate was proclaimed and the territory was thence forward administered by the German Imperial Government.<sup>18</sup> This transfer of power from Company to Imperial Government did not imply change of Government policy or even change of staff. The same officials including Carl Peters with the same ideas of treating the Africans cruelly remained in power.<sup>19</sup>

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17 Hermann Von Wissmann, who was later Bushiri's arch antagonist, wrote that he was clearly a man of extraordinary qualities and compared the agility and speed that characterized his actions to those of a springing panther.

18 Encyclopaedia Britannica, vol. 21, 1954, p. 781.

19 Carl Peters became Imperial High Commissioner for the Kilimanjaro district. In 1892, he was indicted by a German judge for "excessive cruelty to natives" but it was not until 1897 that he was officially dismissed from the German colonial service for 'misuse of official powers'. Listowel, op. cit., p. 21.

Resistance to German incursion came from Mkwawa, the legendary celebrated chief of Hehe. Hehe refused to surrender their rights to levy and collect customs tax. In 1891, in a fierce fight a quarter of a German column of 1000 men which had penetrated into their country were killed. In 1894, the Germans regrouped themselves to revenge their defeat. The walls of Kuirenga, the court town of Hehe, were stormed by the Germans. But Mkwawa the chief escaped. Despite the offer of a high reward of 5000 rupees for Mkwawa's head the German did not succeed in arresting him. They followed the policy of looting, raping and killing his followers but with no result. Mkwawa's influence was so great that his followers refused to desert or betray him.<sup>20</sup>

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20 The following report from German officer shows the remarkable hold he had over his people in the hours of defeat:-

"Mkwawa always moved between our patrols. He was supplied with informations and food in every localities where our troops operated, but the inhabitants declined to give our forces information and denied all knowledge of his presence. When we were not on Mkwawa trail food and liquor would often be found placed in the pathless bush, his people knew always where to find him, the direction he had taken and the point he would traverse. Although it was certain that Mkwawa exercised an inexplicable influence over the natives, who when the pursuing troops surpassed his camps, would, time after time blindly hurl themselves on the soldiers, sacrificing themselves merely to give Mkwawa the chance of escape. No scheme for his capture was possible and no one even knew what he looked like."  
Moffett, op. cit., p. 61.

Mkwawa organized many attacks on German forts and camps. He fought very bravely against the Germans, his deeds and bravery still thrill and have a place of pride among the Tanzanians patriotic songs and folklores.

As the inducement was so tempting to be ignored, on June 14 of 1893, an African betrayed Germans and the warrior chief committed suicide to avoid capture.<sup>21</sup> From that time, Hehe submitted to the Germans.

Similarly, the people of the north west east Africa aroused strong anti German feeling among the Nyamwezi, under the paramount chief Siki, who were a predatory tribe and mainly living by plundering caravan on the approaching routes of Tabora which had been disturbed by Germans.

Germans faced opposition from the Chaggas of Kilimanjaro. Carl Peters who had been put in charge of that area, used cruel methods to suppress the Africans of the area. Meli, who was the chief of Moshi in Kilimanjaro district, killed a German commander. Later on, he was hanged when Germans came to know that other Chagga Chiefs were not helping him. It was only the lack of unity which

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<sup>21</sup> Kenneth Ingham, A History of East Africa (London, 1961), p. 178.

helped Germans to suppress the uprising of Meli. They had also to face opposition by Gogo and Yao people. By 1895, after many African leaders had been killed and their chiefdoms weakened and most of the large size ethnic groups had accepted German rule, an end to wide spread opposition to German colonization came to an end.

### THE MAJI MAJI UPRISING

Although most of the resistance had been suppressed by the Germans, they had no peace because the Africans had not accepted defeat and traces of opposition were seen in many parts of Tanganyika a few years later in 1905. There had hardly been a year in which the German armed forces were not fighting in some place or another, but the resistances which took place were mostly localised and isolated. But in 1905, the whole of southern part of Tanganyika rose to oppose colonialism. The immediate cause of the uprising was opposition to the cotton scheme which was forcibly implemented in the coastal and southern areas.<sup>22</sup> Under this scheme, each village was compelled to cultivate cotton in an allocated area. The scheme was made by a group of German textile manufacturers seeking an alternative source to the

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22 Gideon, S. Were and Derek A. Wilson, East Africa through a thousand years, (Ibadan, 1974), p. 209.

high priced American cotton. Government forced Akidas and headman to establish cotton farms worked by commercial labourer. The workers were paid very low wages and had to suffer the harsh treatment of the newly recruited chiefs.<sup>23</sup>

The uprising had several unusual features. It was the concerted rising by several tribes whose leaders kept their plans secret until the last moment. In fact, the rebels belonged to tribes which had hitherto given the Germans little troubles.<sup>24</sup> Governor Von Gotzen regarded the uprising as a rising of the Bantus against the intruders of other races.<sup>25</sup> The spark spread like a prairie fire over the southern half of Tanganyika though the northern half remained untouched. The one reason for non participation of north was that the elements which elsewhere provided the leadership to initiate the struggle were in these areas generally more integrated into the colonial system.<sup>26</sup> Some of the critics believe that the revolt was due to resentment against forced labour, hut tax, and the harsh treatment of the indigenous people by the Germans and by Swahili and Arab officials. But harsh treatment was equal even to the northern and central parts of the territory. Probably the

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23 J. Iliffe, "The organisation of Maji Maji rebellion" Journal of Africans History, 1967, pp. 497-500.

24 The following tribes took part in the rebellion - Ngoni, Bunga, Mwera, Sagara, Zaramo, Masumbi, Kitchi, Ibembu, and Bena.

25 Harlow and Chilver, op. cit., p. 139.

26 Kaniki, op. cit., p. 213.

required unity, charismatic leadership and immediate provocation was absent in these areas.

A revolt began with a labour dispute. At Kibata the German government had acquired a plantation which was maintained by means of compulsory labour. In July 1905, an Arab (Akida), Sefu bin Amri, at Kibata reported that a medicine man was inciting plantation workers to disobey his orders for picking cotton. His warning for possible trouble was ignored by the German administration and he fled away for his life. But on August 2nd, 1905 came the armed attack from Africans on men by town Samanga. The town was set on fire. It spread far afield very rapidly as initial local success of Africans encouraged raising of arms in other parts of the country and to fight against the Germans.<sup>27</sup> After Samanga rebels marched to Madaba trading centre,

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27 What aired much to the flame of rising was the prevalence of serpent cult. Before the rebellion reports had appeared that there was a water monster at Nagarambi whose medicines were able to compound medicine as a prophylactic against disease or evil or famine. The medicine could be sprinkled over the body or taken orally. It was induced with the power that even if this water fails to work forth with, it was alleged, that those who had been apparently succumb to bullet would rise again in the next three weeks time. This magic water Maji (Maji - a swahili name for water) provided a bond of union and fearlessness in beginning which led to simultaneous action by many tribes between whom any such connection, hitherto had been believed to be impossible. Moffett, Op. cit., p. 71.

which was set on fire where Arab traders, who had by now opted for paying customs to German instead of local chiefs, and Swahili over-seers of German colonial administration were killed and their property looted. But rebels were discriminative enough not to destroy life and property of two Indian financiers who were present amidst those killed. The nature of Indian's work had led to create little grievances to Africans. Simultaneously the trading centres along central trade routes like Kibasa and Mhenga were also attacked and looted. After this, the command of revolt along the southern route was assumed by Abdulla Mapanda (who had done the pilgrimage to take the magic water). Under him Kingwichiro and Liwali district centres were ransacked and set to fire. The families of Europeans and African Askaris<sup>28</sup> were killed by poisoned arrows and their buildings were set to fire. The missionaries at Mikukuyumba were also killed and a missionary station at Nyangaon was set to fire after killing the missionaries. The African uprising against imposition of German rule continued and the armed men proceeded to Masasi which was a big centre of christian missionaries. Before they could reach the area,

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28 Africans employed by Germans as unarmed military man.



European missionaries managed to escape to Lindi port and African christians managed to remove church valuables.<sup>29</sup> Meanwhile, there was another upsurge against the intruding Germans, people who lived on the plateau between Lake Tanganyika and Lake Nyasa, faced the heavily armed German army at the risk of their life and property. Germans succeeded in defeating them at Jacobi and Nakatupe. The Germans did not find these places as safe for stationing and thus abandoned them. The people of Jacobi and Nakatupe did not want any part of the towns to fall in to the hands of the Germans, whom they suspected to soon return and thus before leaving the area they levelled them to ground. The movement of rebels show that it was directed towards ports or trading centres along both the trade routes and centres of missions. It spread roughly to an area south of central railway to east of line drawn from Kilosa to north point of Lake Nyasa. They were quite poorly armed and most of their fire arms were

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29 At Masasi, the Maji, Maji followers did not get the support of the residents. One of the cause of the set-back was that the town was inhabited by freed slaves who had been converted into christians and to whom the local people were as alien as the Germans. They started following Europeans and on way at Chiwata, they gave up further march since chiwata people did not come along with them in their fight against Germans.  
Moffett , op. cit., P.74

muzzle loaders and for their bullet they depend upon telegraph wire and glass stopper from soda water bottles. Many of them were solely equipped with bows and poisonous arrows. Their target of attack were European officials and missionaries, and Askaris, Akidas, African christian station and Arab and Swahili traders who had sided with Germans by this time.

Maji Maji was the large scale uprising Against Germans in which more than one tribe fought Germans and such organized armed revolt could not become possible thereafter. It resulted in the estimated loss of some 120,000 lives.

The result of the Maji Maji which Africans had to bear was the cruel repression which swept through the country. The rebel villages were systematically burnt, their harvest destroyed, cattle carried off and German Askaris were granted absolute license to rob, kill and enslave the inhabitants.<sup>30</sup>

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30 It is best summed up by Liancourte's famous contradiction "it is not a revolt, it is a revolution" like that other revolution the Maji Maji stirred the depth of human emotion, certainly nothing in East Africa's history has come more direct and flamingly from the hearts of her native inhabitants. Mau Mau in comparison was a local affair concerning mainly one tribe. R.M. Bell, The Maji Maji Rebellion in the Liwale District, Tanganyika Notes and Records, (Dar es Salaam, 1950) pp. 38-57.

### CAUSES OF REVOLT

The fundamental causes of the revolt were so many. It has been already stated that after the Germans control on levy and collecting the customs taxes on the passing caravans, Bushiri Revolt took place which was followed by Siki, Mkwawa and other revolts. But still there were tribes in the south of the Rufiji who refused to surrender the Germans and Germans regarded them warlike and hostile. Their method of dealing with the Africans were cruel and inhuman and thus invited Africans anger, suspicion and resistance. Maji Maji rebellion was a response to administrative evils which were rooted in immorality. At the first place, Germans were late comers in the colonial enterprise lacking experience in dealings with African peoples and their varied population. Secondly, they were in a great haste to carve out colonies in scramble for Africa as even being a big European power they had not acquired any colony of significance. Thirdly, the arrogance of their power and race (as they believed that they really could go wherever they like and do whatever they like) made them to exclude Africans in their design and calculations as

a race worth deserving any human consideration.<sup>31</sup> All these haste arrogance and rashness got combined in establishment of Germans rule which produced a series of convulsions against its rule of which Maji Maji was a whooping one. Moreover, in imposing their administration, Germans entirely depended for their recruitment of files and ranks of Africans who were alien for German East Africa such as Swahili of coast, Sudanese and few Arabs. These people were recruited as mercenaries and took full advantages of protection of German uniform to prey upon the inhabitants of the country where Germans intentionally did not take note of any cruelties perpetuated on the Tanganyikans, as long as it served their purpose. Whenever the Africans resisted against the inhuman treatment, the Germans sent their armed troops to punish the Africans by burning their huts and looting their cattle. As stated earlier, this was the reason that during Maji Maji revolt, Sudanese, Swahilis and Arabs were special targets of African attack and as Indians were not recruited as Akidas they were entirely left untouched.

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31 A contemporary of that period writes that "Germans did not take any step to reconcile the natives, their policy, judging from their conduct, was to treat the latter as conquered... and was quite unable to cope with the insurrection which it had deliberately incited."

The forced labour system which was common in German period was the major cause of Maji Maji rebellion. In this system, a number of villages were allocated to a German settler planter. The headmen of these villages were obliged to provide the settler with a fixed quota of workers everyday. Failing that the settler used to torture people cruelly. The whip was often used on bare bodies of African rural folks. The settlers were hand in glove with the administration and treated Africans worse than animals. When the Africans found that their land had been taken away and they were being forced to work on their land to produce for aliens they revolted against the Germans. Soon a widespread underground movement emerged. This movement had plans for simultaneous revolts in many parts of the country. This uprising undoubtedly came as a bolt from the blue to the Germans and spread far afield very rapidly. The evidence goes to show that initially the insurgents received tremendous support which encouraged people in other parts of the country to take up arms against the Germans. It is suggested by T.O. Ranger, mythical stories played a major role in the spread of Maji Maji rebellion.<sup>32</sup> People were made to believe that sprinkling of 'Blessed or Magic water' made them fearless and

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32 Moffett , Op. cit., p. 75.

provided them immunity from bullets. The slogan that blackman should unite and fight against their German enemy also became very popular. The myth of Maji Maji (blessed water) and slogan of unity contributed to a bond of union which led to simultaneous action by many tribes and groups between whom any such united effort was hitherto unbelievable or rather impossible.

Maji Maji rising was an important episode in the series of tradition of Primary Resistance. The only way left to the Africans of Tanganyika was to resist and one sees the tradition of resistance from the very year of German rule was established till the Maji Maji revolt and it stopped only when drastic administrative changes were introduced in the dealings of Germans with the Africans.

The success and failure of Maji Maji rising can be explained on the basis of its aftermath results. Firstly, the rebels succeeded to the extent that for the first time under German rule there was a rising in which more than one tribe were mobilized which spread to the whole south east of German East Africa. Secondly, it was able to resist all out in arms for 2 years despite the fact that by this time Germans had got 20 years for entrenching themselves and Germans had not to meet any centralized

or well organized opposition. The rebels had remarkable initial success because of their faith in potency of the 'magic water' and secondly due to feeble resistance offered by very small number of Germans present in highly under guarded territory of south east Tanganyika, which had not aroused any fear of rebellion by remaining peaceful so far as these areas were sparsely populated. The German authorities with their organized plan and disciplined force, crushed the rebellion. Moreover, the Africans soon realized that the magic water had no magic and they had to suffer very heavy casualties.

Maji Maji rebellion was widely spread but all the tribes did not participate in this struggle. No doubt almost all people were effected by German colonization, land alienation and forced labour policies. Moreover during the colonization period, there were active opponents of the German rule and had produced famous warriors like Bushiri, Mkwawa and Siki. By the time Maji Maji uprising took place the Germans had settled in large number in northern Tanganyika and at the time of uprising they had sizable force in the north which made it difficult for the northern Tanganyikans to join the Maji Maji Movement.

On Germans the effect of Maji Maji in policy and action, was tremendous. The Maji Maji of 1905-07, a rising in the Cameroons in 1904-05 and the Herero war in south west Africa,<sup>33</sup> brought great shock to the German public opinion in Germany. It was realized that there must be something wrong in the state of German colonial administration. In deference to public opinion as voiced by members of Reichstag it was resolved that drastic changes were needed in many fields. As a result, a number of administrative changes were introduced.

In 1907, a Colonial Department of German Government was formed and its first head Dr. B. Dernburg closely investigated the affairs of German East Africa and attempted to reform them on the apparent principle that the interests of the inhabitants should receive much more attention.<sup>34</sup> Baron Freiherr Von Rechenberg, Governor from 1906-12 tried to base the new administration on the old patterns of African society, hoping to disturb traditional ways of life as little as possible. In Iringa, and Mahenga where there was still a risk of trouble, military rule remained. In contrast to this, in the western kingdoms of Ruanda, Burundi

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33 All these areas were under German occupation. Ibid, p. 76.

34 Listowel, op. cit., p. 47



and Bukoba, with their highly organized royal administrations, the Europeans only gradually intervened. The chiefs were allowed complete internal sovereignty including the administering of law but in each State, German Resident was appointed who had to be accepted by the ruler as an adviser. The whole country was divided into nineteen civil and two military districts. Over most of the territory the Governor ruled through agents called Akidas and Jumbes. The Jumbes were recognised headmen or leaders of clans or small groups of Africans. A certain number of Jumbes would be under the authority of an Akida. Often, the Akidas were Arabs or Swahili and their methods and treatment of the people sometimes aroused bitter feelings, generally they were employed to collect taxes.<sup>35</sup>

Dr. Dernburg, after visiting the British territory of Uganda to see how they were running the country introduced certain reforms. During the old regime, little importance had been attached to the economic possibilities of the African population. The chief hope had been placed in the development of European plantations and the Africans were regarded chiefly as useful labour for them.

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35 Moffett, Op. cit., p. 78.

Dr. Dernburg took a different view. He saw the colonies as a source of raw material for German industries and the African population as the most valuable asset of the colonies whose economic development should be guaranteed. He encouraged cotton growing among the Africans and by 1914 the export of cotton from German East Africa was ten times greater than in 1902. Among all these, innovations, directives protecting African land tenure and prohibiting forced labour except for public works projects was also introduced. Secondly, to increase communication system also certain reforms were introduced. By 1900, the only railway in German East Africa was a 25 mile stretch of the Usambara railway which had been built in 1893 and was originally intended to run from Tanga to Lake Nyanza (Victoria), but the completion of the Uganda railway forestalled this plan. The next plan which was started in 1905 to built trunk line from Dar-es-Salaam to Lake Tanganyika by 1907 reached only Morogoro. Usambara railway was extended to Moshi by 1911. This provided transport for the European Plantations there, and was also of strategic value by reason of its position near the boundary of British East Africa - Kenya. The plans for the extension of central line was also made which in 1914 reached

Kigoma on Lake Tanganyika. In 1914 it was agreed to finance the construction of a branch line from Tabora to the regions of Ruanda and Urundi. But the first World War put an end to the project.

After Maji Maji uprising economic changes in the country became the primary concern of the German administration. They devoted lot of funds and energy for the development of plantation agriculture. The export trade had also been steadily progressing. In 1900, the exports were valued at £. 214,682. In 1906, despite the Maji Maji rebellion, trade had risen to over half a million pounds and six years later it had reached the million pound figure. In 1900 imports had been valued at £. 601,527, in 1906 at £ 1,697,085 and in 1912 at £ 2,5,5,000.<sup>36</sup> There was also expansion of education in Tanganyika and the Africans had benefitted from the formal education. More than 6000 students were enrolled in Government schools and more than 150,000 in mission schools by 1914.<sup>37</sup>

The German rule came to an end due to the defeat of Germany in World War I, during the course of which allied forces under the command of General Smuts occupied the territory in 1916,<sup>38</sup> and a

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36 Ibid.

37 Rodger Yeager, Tanzania - An African Experiment (England, 1982), p. 11.

38 Datta, op. cit., p. 8

provincial civil administration was established for that year on the 1st January, 1917. In November 1917, the German forces were driven across the Rovuma river in to Portuguese East Africa and the occupation of the whole of the territory was then completed.

By Article 119 of the Treaty of Peace with Germany, signed at Versailles on the 28th June, 1919 Germany renounced in favour of the Principal Allied and Associate Powers all her rights over her overseas possessions, including her East African colony.<sup>39</sup> The Principal Allied and Associate Powers agreed that his Britannica Majesty should exercise a mandate to administer this former areas of Ruanda and Urundi, for which the mandate was given to the Belgian Government. And this way Tanganyika became British colony instead of German. This also marks the beginning of new forms of political struggle against the imperialism in Tanganyika.

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39 HMSO, Great Britain, Colonial Office Report on the Administration of Tanganyika for the year 1949 (London, 1950), p. 12.

CHAPTER - III

CHAPTER - III  
ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF  
POLITICAL MOVEMENTS.

After the 1st World War, Tanganyika became mandated territory under the League of Nations. Great Britain was made responsible to administer the territory. Thus, within the framework of international supervision British administration in Tanganyika territory was formally established by the Tanganyika Order in Council of 22nd July, 1920. Sir Horace Byatt became the first Governor and Commander-in-Chief. During his governorship, political and administrative developments were very slow.<sup>1</sup> There was a shortage of administrative talent needed both for the normal governing of a territory as large as Tanganyika and for the re-allocation of economic activities that had been disturbed during the military campaign. With only 108 administrative officers, Byatt had to recreate a complete departmental system including police, post, telegraph, communications, health and education down to the last details of office administration and filing. The estates and

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<sup>1</sup> Byatt had often been criticized for not having a clear policy. To blame Byatt would be wrong since the British Empire was undergoing a process of change due to the pressure of Indian National movement in India; Indians' demands for equal rights in settlement colonies; and problem of supply of labour for European planters. Byatt also had to face the enormous and pressing problems of getting the economy of Tanganyika on its feet after the War. The territory was still undergoing successive blows from famine and influenza epidemics which had claimed about 70,000 victims in Tanganyika, almost two percent of the total population.

plantations of Germans were placed in the hands of the custodian of enemy property. Thus, faced with the task of new administration and new economy on the ruins of German enterprise he was convinced that there should be no innovation to disturb the African population. Thus, German system of administration was retained. He maintained 22 German provinces although their boundaries ignored tribal divisions. He also appointed Provincial Commissioners, District Commissioners and District Officers. In some areas rule through Akidas continued,<sup>2</sup> with the exception of those who had given direct assistance to the retreating German forces or who had made themselves immensely unpopular during their rule. Byatt hoped that the retention of the Akida would prove good for the stable development of future administration.

Restoration of German system of administration was one of the major mistakes of the British government since the German rule and the methods used to

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<sup>2</sup> British found many Akidas very loyal to them, e.g. Akida Sefu of Newala had been appointed by the Germans in 1904 and later he was highly respected by the British, who found him so loyal and trustworthy that during a six month period in 1924, they left on Akida Sefu the Newala sub-district to administer alone in the absence of any European officer. 'J. Gus Liebenow, Colonial Rule and Political Development in Tanzania - The case of the Makonde (Evanston, 1971), p. 89.

govern were brutal and thus unpopular. German Count Von Gotzen had commented on the system that "they resort to oppression and fraud which makes our administration detested by the people".<sup>3</sup>

In the early 1920s, the impact of British regime on Tanganyikans was not appreciated by the indigenous population. They thought German regime was better than British. According to Tanganyikans, if the methods of British Government were not as harsh as those of the Germans, they were not soft either. Comparing the Germans with the British they said 'the Germans beat us, but they paid more than the British for the agricultural products we sold them.' Secondly, 'with the Germans we knew where we stood, with the British, who can tell?'<sup>4</sup>

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3 In 1919, Captain George St. J. Orde Brown, who served in the military government that preceded civilian rule stated that he was -

"convinced that many of the evils which brought about the perpetual primitive expedition of German days arose solely because the white officials were shut off from direct dealings with the natives - Akida save trouble. A lazy district officer will appreciate an efficient Akida and therefore tends to be biased in his favour. If an Akida is efficient, he is dangerous, if he is inefficient he is redundant." According to British Administrators, the weakest element in the Akida system was the cadre of the Jumbos who were appointed as administrative assistants to the Akidas. Liebenow, Op. cit., p. 90.

4 Judith Listowel, The Making of Tanganyika, (London, 1965) p. 73.



Lord Cameron, who succeeded Sir Byatt introduced system of Indirect rule in Tanganyika. He had seen this system operating in Nigeria under the Lord Lugard<sup>5</sup> Indirect rule was based on the use of traditional African leaders/ chiefs for purpose of administration. Unlike Nigeria, some communities did not have the system of appointing chiefs. Instead they had age group system. In these cases, Cameron Government tried to appoint chiefs or creat a Council of Chiefs. This often led to friction. In some cases, they placed authority in the hands of religious priest called Laibon. They failed to realise that a laibon was only a religious authority and not a political entity, the Chief. He had no wish to be made in to Government official and delegated his authority to elders. In some other cases, the British appointed new officials who acted similar to the old Akidas. The main problem with this system was the separation of European controlled Central Government and African local administration.

The purpose of this system was the scheme to exploit the African people and their resources more effectively and efficiently. It was an

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5 Lord Twinning, "The last nine years in Tanganyika". African Affairs, January 1959, p. 15.

attempt to divide and rule the Africans by creating a privileged state of chiefs or local elites. They wanted to create cleavage between the Africans.

It has been already stated that one of the main causes of Maji Maji revolt was the practice of forced labour under which number of villages were allocated to the headman to provide the settler-planter on a fixed quota basis every day. This system of forced labour continued to exist even in the British time also. The British used three methods to obtain labour, one through 'communal labour', two 'tribal turnouts' and three 'tax defaulters'.<sup>6</sup> These practices violated the mandate provisions of the League of Nations and ILO Convention on Forced Labour. The League and ILO (later) forbade the use of compulsory labour.<sup>7</sup>

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6 Communal labour which started in 1921, was internationalized through the Native Authority Ordinance of 1926. The Ordinance empowered the administrators to issue orders to Africans to provide labour for the purpose of exterminating or preventing the spread of tsetse fly. Communal labour was supposed to be voluntary and the employed worker did not get remuneration except some beer and meat ration.  
Issa. G Shivji, Law State and the Working Class in Tanzania (Dar es Salaam, 1986) p.7

7 ILO Convention on forced labour, No. 29, adopted at the 14 Session (Geneva) in 1930.

The system<sup>8</sup> of taxation was used to engage workers for capital use. Under the Hut and Poll Tax Ordinance of 1922 and later the House Tax Ordinance, a native was liable to pay tax in cash. He could also discharge his tax obligation by providing the equivalent amount of labour on any government undertaking or on any essential public works and services authorized by the Government.<sup>8</sup>

Conscription was another method of forcing the Africans to work on State or private enterprises. For the Sisal Industry, which needed over 10 per cent of the total labour force in 1944, conscription was the usual method of obtaining labour force.

The tax on Hut, Poll, Plural Wives was discriminatory as it applied only to the indigenous population. Since the primary goal of this system was to recruit labour and the indigenous population was the only source of labour, the settler community was not covered by these taxes.

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8 Under the Hut & Poll Tax Ordinance of 1922, every native had to pay hut tax i.e. any hut, building or structure commonly used by natives as a dwelling was taxable. If the person had more than one wife in the same hut, then he had to pay an additional hut tax for each additional wife. This was called plural wives tax. Shivji, Op. cit., p. 12.

The tax system was used to introduce humiliating system of pass. The tax ticket was like an identification card and the Africans had to carry it whenever they went out of the house because non production of tax ticket on demand was regarded as a prima facie evidence of the non-payment of tax. In some cases, Africans were even beaten to death for non-payment of taxes.<sup>9</sup>

The Africans opposed taxes on Poll, Hut and plural wives. In 1928 an uprising led by Wanyakusa was an expression of protest against the tax system.<sup>10</sup>

The Africans were getting restless about the forced labour system, forced tax collection system and other brutalities of the British administration. To these problems were added a cut in money wages and price inflation.

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<sup>9</sup> A letter written by a white sympathiser in 1936 to a colonial secretary - It is a long sad story how the tax is collected from mere defenceless creatures. Sometimes, its their womenfolk who are pinched, sometimes their cattle, goats and sheep. No wonder people hide in caves and leave village settlements to avoid tax collectors or offer themselves to the recruiters of labour, the slave masters of the colonial era.

<sup>10</sup> In 1928, a protest was led by Wanyakusa against the tax system, but this protest was suppressed by the colonial government and Wanyakusa in order to avoid his arrest had to leave his place and migrated to Nyasaland (now Malawi). Shivji, op., cit., p. 11.

There was also an increase in unemployment. It is estimated that during 1933-34, about 32% of the adult male Africans in Tanga were unemployed. <sup>11</sup>

These conditions aroused resentment amongst the Africans and they adopted different ways to protest against the British colonial government. To organize themselves, they formed political parties, peasant organizations, trade unions.

#### The Emergence of Peasant Movements.

The policy of cash crop production and land distribution adopted by the British after taking over the administration from the Germans resulted in clash of interest within the Africans and Europeans. Among the tribes of Kilimanjaro and Buhaya, it created tensions resulting in protest by Africans. Initially, the British Government distributed land holdings to the Africans for plantation of cash crops like coffee and bananas but it soon changed its policy when successful African farmers posed a problem and challenged the European farmers by creating a scarcity of workers and dumping in the market coffee and bananas in large quantities. On the demand of the European farmers

British Government asked the Africans to stop producing cash crops.<sup>12</sup> Their plea for such an action was that Africans were spreading diseases to the European coffee plants. The tension mounted at a high pitch and created anti-administration feelings among the Africans, when the latter were asked to burn their crops. The Africans protested and said :

" We do not plant coffee for fire but to get profit and burning is not the cure of coffee plant disease ... we do not grow coffee to become afterwards as a trap to fall in but we grow it on the sake of getting profit and become rich and prosperous. We do not need to be taught how to grow coffee or banana trees or to stop from growing anything on our shambas or on our soil."<sup>13</sup>

The African farmers challenged the chiefs who had accepted the new rules regarding the ban on cash crop production. They demanded that the people must be consulted by the chiefs before taking such decision, they said "the chiefs have demonstrated the need for more representative government".<sup>14</sup>

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12 Iliffe, Op. cit., p. 277.

13 Ibid, p. 285.

14 Goran Hyden, Beyond Ujama in Tanzania, (London, 1980), p. 51.

This demand was taken over by the Tanganyika African Association (TAA)<sup>15</sup> which launched resistance against the chiefs. Mr. Eustace Bagwarwa from Kiange, who was leading the movement along with other Africans was arrested and police this way suppressed the movement. Very positive aspect of this protest was that the week after the arrest of Eustace Bagwarwa and his friends, Chief Kalomera of Kianja expressed support by protesting against the government order on banning of cash crops.

These events indirectly contributed to the political movement and created anti British feelings for their discriminate practices. There were many similar situations in all over Tanganyika, which eventually provided base for independence movement of the country. The difference between the campaigns of Maji Meji protest of 1905 and 1937 was that the rebels of 1905 were fighting against the expanding colonialism. The 1937 campaigners were expressing their protest against the discriminative policies of the British Government. Their campaign was the part of the overall movement of the TAA and thus strengthened the liberation struggle.

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15 In 1929, the group of Africans had founded the political organization for the eventual liberation of Tanganyika from the British. The organization was named Tanganyika African Association (TAA). For more details see section "Formation of Tanganyika African Association" of this chapter on page - 77 .

### EMERGENCE OF TRADE UNIONS

The Tanganyikan struggle for national liberation cannot be understood without knowing the emergence of small but large number of trade unions. These unions helped in raising the political consciousness of the African and Asian workers. Trade unions emerged among the wage labourers - factory workers, transport workers, domestic servants; when free and organized workers came in conflict with their employers in capitalist production.<sup>16</sup>

The significant characteristics of trade unions which emerged before Second World War were, firstly, all of these unions were formed by relatively skilled or quasi skilled workers whose occupation brought them into contact with the urban milieu.<sup>17</sup> Secondly these workers were capable of creating situation in the country which could generate ideas of unity and implications of strikes. They also made the Africans conscious of need for independence. Thirdly, their membership, besides being small, was highly individualized, too scattered or mobile by the very nature of its occupation to mount an

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16 Keniki, Tanzania Under Colonial Rule (London, 1980), p. 285.

17 Shivji, Op. cit., p. 164.



effective collective action beyond letter writing and public meetings. This was the reason that none of these unions went on long term strikes. Thus, it became easy to suppress them because they were backed by effective and sustained collective action. The strikes launched by them were of short duration and lasted not more than four days. In some cases, workers returned to their jobs without their demands being met, in others, their services were terminated while in some cases leaders were arrested and convicted.<sup>18</sup>

According to some historians, the beginning of working class struggles and organisations took place in the 1950s, but according to Iliffe, labour movements emerged long before the 1950.<sup>19</sup>

Tanganyika Trade Union Ordinance was enacted in 1932 on the behest of the Secretary of State for Colonies.<sup>20</sup> This ordinance was closely based on the U.K. Trade Union Acts of 1871 and 1876. It adopted the definition of trade union from those acts and adopted even the provisions concerning civil and criminal liabilities of trade unions.

The first African workers to organize were civil servants who formed Tanganyika Territory Civil Service Association (TTCSA).<sup>21</sup> It was founded by

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18 Ibid, p. 165.

19 J. Iliffe, "A History of the Dock workers of Dar-es-Salaam," Tanganyika Notes and Records, Vol. 71, 1970, p. 119.

20 Shivji, Op. cit., p. 157

21 Iliffe, Op. cit., p. 396

Martin Kayambain 1922 on the lines which were similar to Asian and European Civil Servants Association. It weakened in 1929 when some of its members joined the more broadly based African Association. In 1944, it again revived and renamed as Tanganyika African Government Servants Association (TAGSA). The new organization was more militant and its rules confined membership to clerks and skilled workers and excluded labourers.

In 1927, African motor drivers and mechanics formed a Motor Drivers Union in Moshi. Their demands consisted of higher wages.

Tanganyika's first trade union registered under the Ordinance, 1932 was the union of Shop Assistants<sup>22</sup> which was formed and registered around the middle of 1933.<sup>23</sup> The union consisted almost exclusively of Asian members and they were struggling for a legislation regulating working hours i.e. opening time for the shops or service hours of the employees. The union could not succeed in getting its demands accepted and became disfunctional by 1940.

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22 Shop assistant was defined as any person employed for hire in a shop as a clerk or salesman.

23 Shivji, Op. cit., p. 159.

The Asiatic Labour Union, composed of carpenters, masons and blacksmiths was formed in Dar-es-Salaam in 1937 whose aim was to safeguard the interests of Asiatic skilled <sup>24</sup> and unskilled workmen. The Union was exclusively Asiatic and its membership was confined to Asian workmen and its executive committee was totally Asian. Its demands included increase of wages and shortening of the working day to eight hour. To fulfil its demands it organized first strike of the capital. Although it achieved both its demands but did not live long as it could not muster support for any other demand. Eventually, it turned into a welfare society.

The Labour Trade Union of East Africa was formed in the middle of 1930s. This union had its origin in Kenya Indian Labours Trade Union, formed in Kenya by Asian artisans. Within two months, Makhan Singh, an active communist trade unionist, trained in India, organized it on class basis and named it Labour Trade Union of Kenya, open to all races i.e. Asian and Africans, became its General Secretary. Its main aim was to organize all workers in Kenya on class and not race basis. On

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24 Skilled workers constituted only 5 per cent of the total working class.

demand from workers in Uganda and Tanganyika, it changed its name to Labour Trade Union of East Africa in 1937. It was registered in Tanganyika under the trade union ordinance in 1939. It was the first body in Tanganyika to raise political demands for structural changes. During the World War Two, under emergency regulations, it ceased its activities and in 1947 reconstituted on separate territory basis i.e. Kenya, Uganda Tanzania.

During 1940s, Trade Union movement continued to grow in Tanganyika. Four main trade unions registered themselves under the trade union ordinance:

1. The Stevedores and Dockers Union.
2. The African Cook, Washerman and Houseboys.
3. The African Tailors Association.
4. The Dar-es-Salaam African Motor Workers Union.

Almost all of these trade unions were formed by permanent workers in transport, domestic servants and tailors and raised demands relating to economic problems. During the post Second World War period, when African askaries returned with new ideas of liberation movements in other colonies many new trade unions came into existence. For

example, the drivers working for the railways in Southern Highlands formed their organisation. Their main demand was higher pay and a 'Closed Union Shop'. Their territorial organisation, the Amalgamated African Motor Drivers and commercial Road Transport Workers Union, registered in 1948 with 340 members.

The tailors of urban areas, i.e. Mwanza, Tanga and Tabora formed different unions to put forward their economic grievances and demand their resolutions. The African cooks, washerman and House Boys Association, was formed in Dodoma in August, 1939. By 1944, it drafted its rules and sought Government's help. Its demands were towards the higher minimum wages, short and more systematic hours of work and a kind of closed union shop. It requested the Government to look into their low wages because, 'the domestic servants are left to die of starvation due to inadequate payments'. In 1949, the Government cancelled its registration on the flimsy excuse that it failed to comply with the directions of the Registrar of Trade Unions. In reality, the whites pressed the Government to ban the Unions since it had shown potentialities to threaten the European way of life in Tanganyika.

The first known dock workers organisation was the African Labour Union, formed in 1937.<sup>25</sup> It consisted of 40 members, who were employed by Wharfage Companies. This organisation is regarded as a curtain raiser of the broader proletarian struggle and of the intense strikes. Between 1939 and 1950, the dock workers organised four major strikes, each one of which showed a higher level of solidarity and consciousness, reflecting a dialectical relationship between collective action and collective organisation.

The first strike occurred in 1939.<sup>26</sup> Pickets were posted at the dock gates, strike was total on the first day. Some men returned to work on the second day because of the threat of employers to recruit new workers.<sup>27</sup> The strike failed but it set an example emphasizing the need for proletarian consciousness and solidarity. It was realised that the timing of the strike was ill-planned since the Government was equipped with emergency powers and

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25 Iliffe, Op. cit., p. 400.

26 The workers demanded the rise in daily wage from Sh. 1.50 to Sh. 2 per day, Sh. 3.50 for night work, compensation for sickness and accidents as in the case of permanent workers and finally better treatment on the job.  
Ibid.

27 Kaniki, Op. cit., p. 292.

was actively busy fighting the Italian onslaught from Ethiopia. The second major dock workers strike took place in 1943. Despite war regulations, it lasted 12 days. It involved permanent employees, whose wages were outphased by inflation. Their demands were (1) increase in wages by 15-20 per cent, (2) Grant of cost of living allowance, (3) Removal of inequalities in the system of wage deductions for unauthorised absence, (4) Medical treatment and sick pay, (5) Annual leave and (6) Gratuity on retirement.<sup>28</sup> The strikers took an oath not to return until their demands were accepted. The strike was declared illegal and 143 workers arrested. The 1943 strike displayed much greater maturity than the 1939. It was well organised and gave no excuse to the state to use overt force.

The third strike occurred in 1947, usually called the 'General Strike'. Although it was started by dock workers but later on it became a general strike bringing together the trade unions and organizations of different working groups. Iliffe calls this strike as 'Tanganyika's most widespread protest since the Maji Maji rebellion.'<sup>29</sup> The main demand again was for higher wages to meet the rising inflation. The strike was a

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28 Iliffe, Op. cit., p. 169

29 Kaniki, Op. cit., p. 292

great success. The workers succeeded in getting a wage increase of 40 to 50 per cent; casual daily wage rise from Sh. 2.30 to Sn. 3.90 including a bonus for regular work, regular free meals and free hospital treatment. The success of the strike encouraged other workers to join in setting up a permanent organisation and thus Stevedores and Dock Workers Union came into existence. Literally, the Dock Workers Union was born in the womb of the struggle.

The colonial administrators were very disturbed about the success of the Dock Workers Union. They were unhappy also because the Labour Government in England had taken a soft view of the strikers. Consequently, the anti-workers elements in the administration manouvered to get the Union dissolved by a High Court order of 2nd June, 1950. The property of the Union was confiscated by the State. This way, the first important collective organisation of the working class was crushed bringing to an end an important and distinct phase in the history of working class resistance and organization.<sup>30</sup>

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30 After the dissolution of the Dock Workers Union, only a small union of tailors in the Lake Province survived with thirty three members. Shivji, Op. cit., p. 184.



In less than five years, new Unions were established. In 1956, it was discovered that there were twenty-three trade unions with a membership of 13,000. The main reason of re-emergence of trade unions was a new political development in East Africa. This was the time when politically conscious people had started demanding independence for their country. In 1954, Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), was formed in Dar-es-Salaam with the aim to prepare the people of Tanganyika for self-government and independence and to fight relentlessly until Tanganyika became self-governing and independent State.<sup>31</sup> The Government did not realize the changes in the objective conditions and disallowed registration of TANU and its branches. It rather banned all party activities.<sup>32</sup> In these circumstances, the African political leaders established trade unions to carrying on their activities and achieve their nationalist goal. The colonial administration tried to nip in the bud by banning the Federation of all workers and Trade Unions formed to unite the people. The Government refused to register it. The organizers acted cleverly and set up small and localised craft

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31 H. Bienen, Tanganyika - Party Transformation and Economic Development (Princeton, 1970), p. 29.

32 Iliffe, Op. cit., p. 314.

or occupation based workers unions.<sup>33</sup>

They were allowed to exist because they were not more than social clubs of the relatively educated elite with little trade union inclination.<sup>34</sup> Some of the notable unions were The Tanganyika African Government Servants Association (TAGSA), having membership of 2000, the Tanganyika African Postal Union (TAPU) with membership of 404 and the East Africa wide African Railway Union. In 1955, this railway workers formed Tanganyika Railway African Union (TRAU).

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33 In 1954, ten unions from Lake Province had applied for registration but only seven got registered. These trade unions being small and craft based lacked aggressive leadership as the original nationalist agitators turned their attention to the cooperative movement as a more potent weapon in their nationalist struggle.

L. Cliffe and J. Saul, Socialism in Tanzania (Nairobi, 1973), p. 143.

34 The African Clerks in private firms organised themselves under the African Commercial Employees Association (ACEA) in Dar-es-Salaam in 1951. Its members, M.M. Kamaliza, M.M. Mpangala and a Kenyan Dominic Okochi, had close connections with TAA and even they used its headquarters and their base until 1955 (Kaniki, Op. cit., p. 277). Mpangala efforts to form a central organization of all existing trade unions got succeeded when Tom Mboya, the Kenyan trade unionist, visited Tanganyika on behalf of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and organised a seminar in which he invited leaders of various existing associations. Mboya's visit did much to foster interest in trade unionism and his idea that emphasis for the development of unions had to come from the top was enthusiastically adopted. Iliffe, Op. cit., p. 538.

During 1955 with the help of Confederation of Trade Unions, Kenyan Trade Union leaders Tom Mboya and U.S. trade unions experts, Tanganyika Federation of Labour (TFL) came into existence on 7-10 October, 1955.<sup>35</sup>

Under the TFL's leadership, trade unionism spread in Tanganyika at a pace probably unequalled in Africa. By 1961, there were thirtyfive unions with 2,03,000 members, compared with the twelve per cent who were then unionised in Uganda and eight per cent in Kenya.<sup>36</sup>

TFL's emergence accompanied by a wave of strikes demonstrated the TFLs solidarity. The major demands of these series of strikes which started in 1956, general strike up to the country's independence were:

1. The increase in wages.
2. A commission of inquiry be appointed to look into the following:
  - (a) giving of responsible jobs.
  - (b) Overtime payment rates.
  - (c) Shorter working hours.
  - (d) Housing for workers.
  - (e) Disciplinary procedure etc.

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35 Shivji, Op. cit., p. 186.

36 Kaniki, Op. cit., p. 299.

As the strike was their only weapon against the colonial regime, it was very effective. Between 1956 and 1959 while prices remained roughly stable, the most common monthly wage among African workers in the Magomeni quarter of Dar-es-Salaam rose from Sh. 76-90 to Sh. 91-120. Thus, it was chiefly as a result of action by the workers that besides wages other conditions of work were improved. <sup>37</sup>

Trade Union activities laid down the foundation of united action for anti-administration struggle. They gave not only experienced unity but also of political clarity and maturity. They eventually provided foundation for political action and organized movement. Uniquely, in Tanganyika, the trade unions brought under one banner, on one platform unskilled and skilled workers, petty bourgeois elements and educated elite.

#### FORMATION OF TANGANYIKA AFRICAN ASSOCIATION (TAA)

Tanganyika African Association was formed by the intelligensia group of the country i.e. traders, Teachers and Civil Servants, in 1929.

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37 Shivji, Op. cit., p. 204.

Its main aims were to prepare the people of Tanganyika for self government and independence and to fight relentlessly for their rights until Tanganyika became a self governing and independent country. Other aims included unity of tribes, elected African majority on public bodies, advance in education, trade unions and co-operatives. It opposed discriminatory laws, alienation of African lands, immigration of Europeans and Asians, and European demanded East African Federation. It proposed to co-operate with other national movements for African liberation.<sup>38</sup>

It was formed under the guidance of Sir Donald Cameron. The founder African members of the TAA were Nwalimu Madachi Shriff, a teacher, Martin Kayamba, the first African Private Secretary to the Governor and Kleist Sykes, the first African to be employed in the railway services as an accountant.

As the TAA grew, it absorbed many political aspirations and was joined by new men and women.

The immediate stimulus for the formation of TAA was the controversy over the closer union of Tanganyika with Kenya and Uganda, which reached its peak in 1929. As it has been stated that it was

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38 John Hatch, Two African Statesman  
Kaunda of Zambia and Nyerere of Tanzania,  
(London, 1976), p. 17.

formed under the guidance of Sir Donald Cameron, thus the foundation of TAA was laid with the approval of Government, which was also opposing the idea of closer union of East African States. To oppose the closer Union idea, the founders emphasized the unity of the continent as against of a region.

As the Indian and European Associations claimed to speak for the Asian and European communities, the African Association also made its objective to unite all Africans. It was popularly known as "Chama cha Umoja wa Wata Wa Africa", "The Association of the Unity of the People of Africa."<sup>39</sup>

The Association proclaimed that its aim was 'to safeguard the interests of Africans, not only in Tanganyika, but in the whole of Africa. Its constitution stated that, every association that is here in Africa, that is of the people of Africa, its father is the African Association."<sup>40</sup>

During the 1930s, the Tanganyika African Association was predominantly urban. One of its branch was opened in Bukoba, a rural district, which showed TAA's adaptability in rural areas. Its members in Bukoba, emphasized need for unity of all Tanganyikans and thus were known as ab 'abumoi', members of unity.<sup>41</sup>

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39 Iliffe, *Modern History*, op. cit., p. 406

40 Ibid

41 Goran Hyden, Political Development in rural Tanzania (London, 1974), pp. 202-12.

In 1939, it held its first conference of branch delegates in Zanzibar and laid down its (first collective) opinions stated in conference resolutions, which showed an advance in political consciousness. Its major demands were, greater African representation in territorial affairs. The Association expanded in to a popular body. It increased awareness and need for African Unity and made people conscious of the identity of Tanganyika and roused concern for the territory's independence. The first conference however achieved limited success for the African cause. In the 2nd conference held at Dar-es-Slaam in 1940, delegates demanded that provincial and inter-provincial boards should be formed in which Africans could represent their own country so that they could speak on behalf of their people. The Government rejected this demand by saying "It is the work of the native authorities to represent their country." 42

The TAA held its first two conferences during war and therefore its political impact was limited as its demands were rejected. Moreover, by then the Europeans refused to regard Africans as their equals.

In the third conference held at Dodoma in 1945. The activists demanded that conference should

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42 Iliffe, op. cit., p. 419.

press forward the associations expansion and politicization, African representation on Legislative Council and all other official bodies, besides compulsory education for all Africans, ending of conscription, and ban on European immigration who should not come unless they are employed by the Government.<sup>43</sup> It was after this Conference that the Government took Africans demands seriously and two Africans, Chief Abdiel Shangali of Machame and Chief Kidaha Makwaia of Busia were appointed to the Legislative Council.<sup>44</sup>

In the same year, Tanganyikas mandatory status became an issue through the collapse of the League of Nations. On U.S. suggestion, Britain was asked to administer Tanganyika under a trusteeship agreement with the newly formed United Nations Organization, an agreement which bound Britain to prepare the country for independence and empowered the U.N. Trusteeship Council to send a visiting mission every three years and to receive written and oral petitions from inhabitants.<sup>45</sup>

During this time, students of Tanganyikan origin studying at Makerere College (Uganda) to further Tanganyikans' social and political struggle formed Tanganyika African Welfare Association (TAWA).

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43 Petro C. Mulambo, "The Africans and how to promote his welfare," Tanganyika Notes and Records, vol. XVIII, 1944, p. 6.

44 Listowel, op. cit., p. 198.

45 B.T.G. Chitzero, Tanganyika and International Trusteeship (London, 1961), p. 475.



Little later, the TAWA was turned into a branch of TAA.<sup>46</sup> These students were influenced by political events in Buganda where the Baganda had a long history of political activity. Secondly, they got in touch with political developments in Kenya. Before the end of 2nd World War, Kenyan Africans had started insisting for their political representation in the Legislative Council and in 1944, Eliud Mathu became the first African appointed to the Legislative Council in Kenya. These events helped Tanganyikan students in learning to conduct political activities.<sup>47</sup>

After the end of Second World War, new TAA branches were opened in Urban and Rural areas and it became an organization with a considerable membership and acquired largely a political character.

In 1948, United Nations visiting mission under the terms of the trusteeship agreement arrived in Tanganyika. At that time, it was stated that TAA had 39 branches, 1780 members and a 30 men central committee. By 1951, when the next visiting mission arrived, TAA claimed a membership of 5000, with branches in every town.

National consciousness grew more intensely among rural people when the Meru Land case emerged. The Meru Land case arose out of a decision by the

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46 Iliffe, Op. cit., p. 422

47 Hatch, Op. cit., p. 17

colonial government to consolidate lands which had been taken by European farmers.<sup>48</sup> It involved moving a large number of Africans and their families from their homes and farms on Mount Meru. Although an alternative location was prepared for them, but Africans were not prepared to move. They protested, many of them were arrested as a result of their protest. This case showed the Africans profound attachment to the land traditionally occupied by their community.<sup>49</sup> The incident of Meru land case aroused people all over the country. Every one feared the loss of his land. On the efforts of an official of the African Association 'Kirillo Japhet', the case was put up before the Trusteeship Council. Although it did not get the two thirds majority of the General Assembly but it showed the African Associations ability that it could take the Government to the United Nations with the support of the ordinary people. The Meru case marked the beginning of more militant African politics.

Parallel to Meru Land Case, the signs of political interest in Sakuma were also seen. After the war, the Government had helped to develop the

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48 Listowel, Op. cit., p. 73

49 Hatch, Op. cit., p. 90

production of cotton in this area. In 1949, Paul Bomani organized a Lake Province Growers Association which grew into the Victoria Federation of Cooperatives. It aimed to gain control of cotton marketing which was till then monopolized by Indian businessmen who were considered to exploit the African farmers, by paying low prices. By organizing the farmers in rural area Bomani eventually secured a membership of 30,000. Inevitably the movement was seen to have its political overtones and later on joined with the TAA thus providing it a further rural base.<sup>50</sup> By this time, the growth of a national consciousness among the Africans was so intense that a Sukuma uneducated tailor explained his ideas to the people of Mwanza as -

" Every African is a child of TAA, there is no division of tribe or religion. TAA is to build unity, to speak out about our problems, to seek our rights. TAA is not for two days only or for two years. Those who come after us, being more knowledgeable, will build TAA better than we do."<sup>51</sup>

In a short span of three decades, TAA had organized a nation wide movement, crossing over tribal, regional and religious boundaries.

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50 John Cartwright, Political leadership in Africa (New York, 1983), p. 162.

51 Iliffe, Op. cit., p. 435.

Thus, TAA, peasant unions and trade unions made people conscious of colonial exploitation and deprivation. These movements laid the foundation for movement for independence.

CHAPTER - IV

CHAPTER - IV  
FORMATION AND ACTIVITIES OF  
TANGANYIKA AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION

In the previous chapter we discussed the formation and struggle of the Tanganyika African Association (TAA). The TAA was formed in 1929 by a section of intelligentsia and middle income people of the country i.e. teachers, civil servants and traders. In 1953, Julius Nyerere<sup>1</sup> after his return from England became the President of TAA. The first problem which Nyerere faced after becoming TAA President was ban on Civil Servants joining the Association. Since most of TAA members were government servants, Nyerere and his party members protested against this ban order. Nyerere said:

"In this territory, the majority of educated Africans are in the civil service. Banning them from membership of political organization is equivalent to banning TAA, the only political organization in the territory. This is a serious

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1 Nyerere belonged to one of the smallest ethnic groups in Tanganyika, the Wazanaki, to which his father, Nyerere Burite was chief. He received his primary education in Musoma and secondary education in Tabora. Later, he studied for two years at Makerere in Uganda from which he graduated with a diploma in education in 1945. In 1952 he graduated as a Master of Arts from Edinburg University.

blow to our political developments" (August 10, 1953)<sup>2</sup>

Nyerere decided to change the name of the association to be able to avoid the ban and be able to confront and challenge the colonial authorities. The aim of the new organization was to prepare Tanganyika to fight relentlessly for national freedom - Uhuru rather than to demand only self government for the territory.<sup>3</sup> They drafted a new constitution. It took TAA a year to formally adopt the new constitution in July, 1954 and give it a new name. The TAA was named the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). The aims of TANU, provided in its 1954 constitution were -

" to encourage co-operatives, and trade unions, urge the producers get the best price and that consumers buy in the best market, help Africans establish an increasing share in the running and owning of business, establish a minimum wage and a system of assisted farming and oppose alienation of land."<sup>4</sup>

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2 Judith Listowel, The Making of Tanganyika, (London, 1965), p. 222.

3 Were and Wilson, East Africa through a thousand years, (Ibadan, 1974), p. 283.

4 Issa G. Shivji, Class Struggle in Tanzania (Dar-es-Salaam), p. 59.

According to TANU constitution, all TAA branches automatically became the branches of TANU but this was not accepted by colonial government.

In its early years, TANU faced opposition from many groups, institutions, individuals and particularly settlers and the colonial government. The most obstructive opposition came from the people, the settlers who had fears of losing privileged positions in society. For instance, the author, Kaniki in "The end of colonial era" in "Tanzania under colonial Rule" states that "the group which was most upset by the objectives of TANU was constituted of the flag bearers of colonialism who had an impression that if TANU succeeded then they would be the principle losers."<sup>5</sup>

TANU faced opposition and hostility from the colonial government right since its inception. At first, they had to face the difficulty for its registration. It was registered on 30th October, 1954 but only for activities in Dar-es-Salaam. Each other branch of TANU had to apply for registration. This gave opportunity to district commissioners and district officers to

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5 M.H.Y. Kaniki, "The End of the Colonial Era" in M.H.Y. Kaniki (ed), Tanzania under colonial rule, (London, 1975), p. 352.



harass members and dissuade them from joining TANU. But TANU continued to expand and by the end of 1954 Tabora, Tarima, Singida, and North Mara branches were registered. In the following year, Rungwe, Musoma, Bagamoyo, Kisarawe, Ukerewe, Kilosa, Kilwa, Tramba and Lindi also registered. By the end of 1955, TANU had 20 registered branches,<sup>6</sup> inspite of colonial tactics of harrasment and opposition.

Despite registration of 20 branches, which clearly established the popularity of TANU, the colonial government continued to harass TANU members and leaders. Different methods were adopted to harass its members. In some cases, police went to their houses to 'so-called' interrogate them but in reality terrorise them and their neighbours. There was an organized programme of persecution through detention and imprisonment. The government used African chiefs to harass TANU members and its sympathisers. These tactics backfired the colonial government and its hostilities helped TANU in increasing African solidarity for the struggle to free the country of racial humiliation and political domination by Britain.

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6 HMSO, Great Britain, Colonial Office Report on the administration of Tanganyika for the year 1949 (London, 1950)p. 14.

Unable to effect the growing popularity of TANU the Government stoop down to closing TANU branches and banning TANU activities to check the spread of TANU. Sukumaland branch was the first to be banned in 1954. This followed by a ban on Mwanza branch.<sup>7</sup> Later on government declined to register branches in other parts of the territory. TANU branches members were mercilessly victimized. The Lushoto branch in Tanga province was banned in August 1959. Similarly, the Korogwe branch was banned in 1957 and was not registered until July, 1959. Besides branches in Handani, Pangani and Tringa were also banned.<sup>8</sup> Even a ban was imposed on Julius Nyerere's movements restricting the areas within which he could address public meetings and engage in political

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7 According to Chitzero, the registrar of Societies refused to register in 1954 TANU branches at Mwanza, Malampala and Nassa in the Lake Province. The explanation given by the Chief Secretary of the Legislative Council was that the government was satisfied that they were being used, for purposes prejudicial to the maintenance of peace, order and good government. B.T.G. Chitzero, Tanganyika and International Trusteeship (Oxford, 1961), p. 202.

8 J. Iliffe, A. Modern History of Tanganyika (Cambridge, 1984), p. 554.

activities.<sup>9</sup>

The Times, London, daily newspaper, opposing these restrictions wrote, "Government was exercising a somewhat repressive control on TANU and was now in the traditionally dangerous position of trying to hold back nationalist elements at the same time seeing a clear way ahead for political progress."<sup>10</sup>

These high-handed methods of government only added to TANU popularity. More and more people joined the organization. Their commitment to fight racialism, racial humiliation and political subjugation added to the strength of TANU and to continue its activities. The members were recruited secretly at night or in private places e.g. in the shambas (the African farms). TANU activists did not openly declare their affiliations.

The main hostility of colonial government with TANU appeared when the United Tanganyika Party (UTP) came into existence. Through the initiatives

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9 This appeared to be a new form of censorship which the Governor was imposing, presumably because he found it difficult to bring any complaints against the contents of the speeches. The administering authority stated that Nyerere adopted an inflammatory tone and emphasized points which could stir up racial animosities and emotional antipathy to Government.  
Africa Digest, vol. IV, no. 6,  
(London, May June 1957).

10. The Times, 24 May 1957, Quoted in Chitzero, op. cit., p. 203

of Governor Twinning the unofficial members in the Legislative Council who had been nominated by the Governor formed a multi-racial party, the United Tanganyika Party (UTP).<sup>11</sup> Its membership was open for all races unlike TANU where non-Africans were not eligible for membership. In its first manifesto, the party proclaimed that its aim was to transcend racial divisions and to be national rather than sectional. The main difference between UTP and TANU was on the question of future of different racial groups in Tanganyika. At this TANU's stand was that people of different races should have equal rights as citizens, but since Africans formed the vast majority of the population, political power at the end of colonization should inevitably be in the hands of the Africans. This meant that if any constitutional changes would take place then African representation would be increased in the legislative and decision making bodies of the country. This policy was not favourable to the interests of the non-Africans, as by implications it meant denial of privileges to the non-Africans, particularly Europeans. Thus UTP was

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11 Africa Digest, vol. III, no. 7, March April 1956, p. 32

founded to protect non-Africans, especially Europeans, the special place and privileges in the policies of Tanganyika.

Africans reacted sharply to the formation of UTP, Mr. Zuberi Mtemvu,<sup>12</sup> a prominent member of TANU and a few followers of Nyerere, criticized TANU regarding non-Africans. They called it un-necessary moderate and wanted TANU to think of African interest alone. Mtemvu formed his own organization, the African National Congress (ANC).<sup>13</sup> ANC gave a call 'Africa for Africans and government for indigenous population only.'<sup>14</sup> Although ANC's policies appealed to majority i.e. Africans but it did not make a dent on TANU's strength and popularity. The ordinary masses refused to join another political party.

Opposition to TANU also came from the "All Muslims National Union of Tanganyika (AMNUT). In 1959, they told colonial government to delay the independence of the territory until the educational gap between Christians and Muslims had been narrowed.<sup>15</sup> The fears expressed by this organization arose from the fact that most of the Africans holding high positions in the party and government then were Christians. Even Nyerere himself was a Christian. Thus the fears were genuine. Christians had preferential

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12 He was, one time, Acting Organizing Secretary-General of TANU. Listowel, op. cit., p. 308.

13 Iliffe, op. cit., p. 559.

14 Listowel, op. cit., p. 308.

15 Iliffe, op. cit., p. 552.

entry into education, a commodity which had been heavily under the control of Christian missionaries. The fact that education gave people different skills and increased their productive capacity and earning power suggests that by the 1950s social differentiations could be identified along religious lines. Thus the fears arose out of the existing inequalities between Muslims and Christians.<sup>16</sup> TANU members had to face the challenge with determination and uncompromising spirit. But later on, in response to TANU's repeated call for unity, some of the leaders of AMNUT dissociated themselves from the Union and condemned the organization as representing only a handful of self seeking people. In this way, opposition in religious sentiments came to an end. After this, no splinter group ever took root as a political party.

Despite many odds in the process of its growth TANU had many favourable factors enabling the smooth growth of the organization. Firstly, TAA which had functioned before TANU had aroused relatively high degree of political consciousness even amongst the rural masses. Rural discontent in Sukumaland, Meru, Kilimanjaro and elsewhere had been initiated by TAA. Thus they acquired the experience of running movement of discontent and protest against the administration.

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16 Kaniki, The end of the Colonial Era, in M.H.Y. Kaniki (ed). op. cit., p. 364.

Secondly, the mature leadership which TANU inherited from TAA was the other most important factor. In fact in many districts, TANU did not start from scratch in developing leadership. TAA leaders of different branches automatically became the leaders of TANU. People like Joseph Kimalando and Kirilo Japhet in Northern Province and Paul Bomani in Lake Province used the legitimacy of TAA to establish and consolidate legitimacy for TANU. The TANU leaders seeing the experience of their neighbours in Kenya, Uganda and Zambia avoided situations which could divide the party and delay independence. Even after the independence the party remained solidly united under the national leadership of Nyerere and others. The African National Congress of Tanganyika was the only exception to challenge the efforts of unity that it did not present a serious threat to TANU.

Thirdly, Kiswahili, as a lingua franca played a great role in uniting the people involved in the nationalist movement.<sup>17</sup> The language is understood almost everywhere in the country and in most cases TANU leaders, especially those at provincial and national level, addressed public meetings in Kiswahili. The use of Swahili narrowed the communication gap between the leaders and the masses. The ability

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17 John Carlwright, Political Leadership in Africa, (New York, 1983), p. 157.

to communicate in Kiswahili made TANU leaders easily acceptable as leaders of the whole of Tanganyika rather than of this or that ethnic group.

Fourthly, support of other organized groups strengthened the power of TANU. In fact, it did not take long before organized wage labour discovered that TANU was the overall spokesman of the oppressed masses including the workers. The trade union movement remained separate but there was cooperation and mutual sympathy. TANU had good relations even with the organised labour in the struggle against colonialism. It can be analysed on these levels as overlapping leadership, TANU's support for TFL's economic struggle. ACEA and TANU had their offices in the same building and for instance trade union leader Mpangala not only recruited members for TANU but was the member of its central committee. Rashidi Kawawa, General Secretary of TFL was elected a member of the Executive Committee of TANU and later during the year he became a TANU candidate for the Legislative Council. Even TANU gave its support to the trade unions at the time of strikes.<sup>18</sup> Thus it was simply a case of the right hand helping the left hand or vice versa. In this way, organized labour gave TANU the badly needed skilled man power. To mobilize the people, the TANU activities,

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18 Issa G. Shivji, Law State and Working Class in Tanzania, (Dar-es-Salaam 1986) p. 191.



spelt out its aims in the meetings of TANU. S.A. Kandoro, the leading party activists and a trader, addressed, a meeting in Ujiji, a month after the formation of TANU and described the aims of TANU as follows -

"to defend or fight for our rights, to do everything possible with the object in mind for a self government, to fight for equal pay where the work and skill or experience is the same, to see that the government fulfills her duty towards its subjects and vice versa, to further trading spirit among Africans with a view to ousting Indian traders.<sup>19</sup>

TANU not only used organization created by others but also created its own set up. By 1956, a youth league of the party and a women's section had been established.<sup>20</sup> These organizations popularized the independence or anti-colonial anti-racial movement all over the country and played an important role in mobilizing the masses to support TANU. By the end of the 1950s the women section of TANU was the most effective instrument of the party. It produced very powerful and popular leaders. External influence also facilitated the growth and expansion of TANU. Finally, there was the sympathetic response from the

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19 Issa G. Shivji, Class Struggle in Tanzania, op. cit., p. 59.

20 African Women Support TANU, Africa Digest vol. III, no. 5, (London, November-December, 1955)

UN which boosted the morale of Nyerere and other TANU leaders. They very well knew that ultimate say regarding the future of the territory was to come from the UN and not from Britain. The other external factor was the successful decolonization in other parts of Africa. The independence of Ghana in 1957 was especially significant.<sup>21</sup> It boosted the morale of black Tanganyicans and gave TANU leaders a feeling of "it can be done". By the second half of 1957, it was felt that what Kwame Nkrumah and his colleagues had done for the Gold Coast, Nyerere and his colleagues could do for Tanganyika.

By 1958, TANU had become an important political force. When the colonial government published its paper<sup>22</sup> proposing individualization of the customary land tenure, TANU successfully opposed it. At this Nyerere argued :

"If people are given land to use as their property, then they have the right to sell it. It will not be difficult to predict, who, in fifty years time, will be the landlords and who the tenants. In a country such as this where, generally speaking, the Africans are poor and the foreigners rich, it is quite possible that within eighty or a hundred years, if the poor

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21 Ronald E. Wraith, East African Citizen (London, 1959), p.14.

22 'Review of land tenure policy' Government Paper No. 6 of 1958.

African was allowed to sell his land, all the land in Tanganyika would belong to wealthy immigrants, and the local people would be tenants. But even if there were no rich foreigners in this country there would emerge rich and clever Tanganyikans."<sup>23</sup>

Thus, all these factors favoured the smooth growth of TANU and it emerged as a powerful mass movement.

In November 1956, Nyerere went to United Nations to argue their case for immediate independence and in the 579th meeting of the Fourth Committee of the United Nations General Assembly, drew the attention of the Committee that there were in Tanganyika 8000,000 Africans, 70,000 Asians and 25,000 Europeans and thus he called on the Tanganyika government to declare that "our country will be developed as a democratic State". Since ninety eight per cent of the population are indigenous Africans, this will naturally be primarily an African State."<sup>24</sup> Nyerere's speech in the United Nations infuriated the colonial government. The colonial Government simply rejected the legitimacy of TANU and challenged Nyerere's claim to speak 'on behalf of my people'. It argued that it would have been more accurate for Nyerere to speak of

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23 J.K. Nyerere, Freedom and Unity (Dar es Slaam, 1967), p. 55.

24 Kaniki, "The End of the Colonial Era" in M.H.Y. Kaniki, (ed), op. cit., p.355

'my organization' which comprised only one out of eighty inhabitants of Tanganyika, rather than of 'my people'. It argued that Nyerere had no right to speak for the vast majority of the people of Tanganyika.

Nyerere's speech at the UN was regarded as a challenge to colonial government and to the scheme of political future of Tanganyika. The colonial government was disturbed because of possible repercussions on nationalist movements in neighbouring countries.

The colonial government tried to minimize the influence of TANU. It carried out an anti TANU campaign. In May 1957, it called the first convention of representatives of chiefs in Tanganyika.

The exact purpose of the Convention was not clear, but the timing and the issues discussed suggested that the colonial regime was taking advantage of its monopoly of institutionalized political power to fight any nationalist sentiments. It became clear from the opening day of the convention that they wanted to create confusion between the traditional chiefs and the union. Governor Twinning emphasized the significance of chiefs as the custodians of tribal values which formed the real heart of tribal life. This way he accused TANU of not paying respect to traditional rules and traditional values. Evidently, Twinnings's speech was intended to mislead the chiefs and he met with some success.

When Nyerere for the third time went to United Nations in June, 1957, the colonial Government despatched one European official, Mr. Fletcher Cook as special envoy and chief Thomas Marealle then permanent chief of the Wachagga, to oppose Nyerere and negate the impact of his speeches at the United Nations. It had been expected that Marealle would favour the Government position. But in his speech he differed very little with Nyerere. He criticized the outlook of many Europeans in Tanganyika and warned them that they would have to recognize that the country would become primarily an African state.<sup>26</sup> The Government had an set back one its policy to divide the chiefs from the nationalist failed and two the world community found that TANU represented the voice of the people.

#### CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

Various developments were intended by the colonial government in the existing machinery of the institution. The Executive Council at the time of the birth of TANU consisted of 8 officials and 6 unofficial members on racial party i.e. 2 Europeans, 2 Asians

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26 John Hatch, Two African Statesmen Kaunda of Zambia and Nyerere of Tanzania, (London, 1976), p. 116.

and 2 Africans. Further, Legislative Council consisted of 15 officials and 14 unofficials. Later on in 1955, a change was introduced on the recommendations of the Committee on the Constitutional Development<sup>27</sup> and on the Mackenzi Commission,<sup>28</sup> and its membership became 31 officials and 30 unofficials in which 30 unofficials consisted of 10 Africans, 10 Europeans and 10 Asians. The next change introduced in 1957 by which 6 Assistant Ministers were appointed to the executive to assume duties analogous to those performed in the United Kingdom by Parliamentary Under Secretaries. It was decided that in future the representative members of the Legislative Council would be elected. The elections were decided to take place in two stages, on the basis of qualitative franchise and on a common roll of three members one from each of the three

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27 The Committee consisting of all the unofficial members of the Legislative Council, was appointed by the Governor in 1949 to review the present constitutional structure in the territory and to make recommendations for future constitutional developments in the territory. Chitzero, op. cit. p. 145.

28 The Constitutional Development Commission with Prof. W.J.M. Machenzie as special commissioner appointed to examine matters arising out of the report of the Committee on Constitutional Development. It was appointed in 1952. Ibid.

main racial groups in the territory.<sup>29</sup> This system was not accepted by TANU. They claimed that by this system minority communities were enabled to secure an equal number of representatives to the majority Africans. TANU's second claim was that the compulsion for every voter to use three votes would result in electors being compelled to vote for candidates they did not support and perhaps had never heard of.

It was at this stage that Governor Twinning took a new step to draw Nyerere in to his patronage. He dissolved the existing legislative council and appointed a new one in June, 1957.<sup>30</sup> Nyerere was appointed African representative on the unofficial side of the Legislative Council by the Governor. Besides Nyerere, Rashidi Kawawa who was the General Secretary of the trade union movement was also appointed.<sup>31</sup> Very soon he found himself in a constant minority amongst supporters of the government. Within less than half a year, after attending only two meetings of debate on the electoral provisions in which his motion to drop the three vote rule was defeated, he

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29 i.e. there will be three member constituencies and each voter must cast three votes, one for each candidate of a racial group. Ibid, p. 146.

30 Kaniki, "The End of the Colonial Era", in M.H.V. Kaniki (ed.) op. cit., p. 359

31 Chitzero, op. cit., p. 204.

resigned. The reasons for resigning the seat were explained by Nyerere in the party bulletin 'Sauti Ya TANU',<sup>32</sup> which included the removal of the tripartite voting system. He wrote:

The government has consistently and for the most unconvincing reasons rejected every proposal that I have made in the Legislative Council. I came to the Council expecting a little of the spirit of give and take. That spirit is not there.<sup>33</sup>

By 1958, some of the issues as - "The governments banning of Nyerere and TANU branches, its blatant encouragement of the UTP, its attempts to use the chiefs against TANU and its opposition to all proposals by Nyerere in the Legislative Council culminating in his resignation the previous month" became main points of discussion in the annual meeting of TANU which held at Tabora in 1958. This conference was one of the important party conference and about 152 members from all provinces took part. Two major decisions were made in the conference. One was to fight for 'madaraka' responsible government by the end of 1959,<sup>34</sup> the other concerned the TANU's participation in the elections of 1958-59 under the tripartite voting formula. In fact the second issue seriously

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32 Sauti Ya Tanu, Dar es Salaam, No. 18, 16 December, 1957.

33 "TANU Leader Resigns", Africa Digest, vol. V, no. 4, January February 1958, p. 139.

34 Iliffe, op. cit., p. 555



divided the party. There were some members who because of the hostile attitude towards the electoral system with its three candidate constituencies assumed to boycott the elections, and wanted it supported by general strike. But Nyerere had a different opinion about it. He argued that boycotting the election would automatically give TANU's opponent and enemies a monopoly of the legislature.<sup>35</sup> On the other hand TANU's participation would provide the party with an opportunity to fight for the nationalist cause from within.

Regarding strike he argued that such protests would almost certainly result in violence and would also provide the government with further and more valid excuse to ban the party and decelerate political progress.

A number of other resolutions were also passed at the Conference. In one of them TANU members pledged to adopt a policy of non-cooperation if the Tanganyika government refused to grant the country internal responsible government in 1959.

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35 Carwright, op. cit., p. 167

### GENERAL ELECTIONS

Elections were held in two stages. The whole of the territory was divided in to 10 constituencies. An electoral law on the basis of qualified franchise was made which was based on age qualification of 21 years, a residential qualification and in addition at least two years of secondary education, an income of atleast £ 150 a year or the holding of one of certain specified offices in the community.<sup>36</sup> Each voter had to vote for one candidate of each of the three main races, if he did not cast the three votes, his ballot paper become invalid.

By imposing the qualification of age, education and income, franchise was restricted to 60,000 voters who registered participated in the elections. In the beginning TANU decided to contest only African seats but shortly before the elections, it also decided to support, but not nominate, non-African candidates. Asian candidates of Asian Association and European candidates who were considered as sympathetic to the African cause were supported. Thus, in this way TANU's support enabled the Asian Associations young professional men to seize leadership positions. The most important was

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36 Lord Twinning, "Last Nine years in Tanganyika," African Affairs (London, January 1956), pp. 15-24.

Amir Jamal, a 38 year old businessman educated in India who was a bitter critic of British rule and the old Asian leaders.<sup>37</sup>

In the first round of elections held in September 1958, in five of the ten constituencies (Eastern Province, Southern Highlands, Tanga, Northern, Western),<sup>38</sup> all TANU and TANU supported candidates were returned to all the elected legislative council seats.<sup>39</sup>

In the second round of elections held in February, 1959 in the remaining constituencies (Dar es Slaam, Lake Province, South East, Lake West, Central, Southern), the same pattern was repeated with even more striking results. All UTP candidates were heavily defeated including its President Ivon Baydon, who stood against Lady Chesham and got votes at the rate of three and a half to one, the same numbers as Nyerere obtained against his opponent,

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37 Iliffe, op. cit., p. 560

38 Chitzero, op. cit., p. 269

39 R.K. Keith, "Rapid Strides in Tanganyika," Africa Special Report, December 1958, p. 3.

40 Lady Chesham was an American and a widow of Lord Chesham who died in 1952. Although she belonged to UTP for a short time but later on she resigned from the UTP. She felt that the African's struggle should be supported and thus decided to help them.  
Listowel, op. cit. p. 347.

Patrick Kunambi, who was the Sultan of Luguru.<sup>41</sup> Even African National Congress (ANC) made very little impact. Its leader M.M. Mtemvu who contested the election in Tanga Province, polled only fifty three votes. At the end of 1958, UTP ceased to function as an effective political organisation.<sup>42</sup>

Thus, TANU emerged as the strong political party after the sweeping victory in Tanganyika's first general elections.<sup>43</sup> After the elections, its elected members constituted themselves into an organized opposition in the Legislative Council, the Tanganyika Elected Members Organization (TEMO) with Mr. Julius Nyerere, President of TANU, as Chairman and Mr. Bryceson as Deputy Chairman.

On 17 March, 1959 Tanganyika faced the most serious crisis of the nationalist period. Governor Sir Richard Turnbull opened the new Legislative Council on 17 March, after the elections. At the same time TANU was demanding a date for responsible government and also elected ministers to replace civil servants. But Turnbull insisted that real power could be transferred only after African civil servants had been trained. On TANU's demand for

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41 Ibid.

42 Colonial Office Report, 1960, op. cit., p. 35

43 Africa South of Sahara, (Europa Publications, 1980), p. 994.

elected majority Turnbull offered four seats for elected members to become ministers besides a post election committee to consider further constitutional advance. TANU demanded one more ministry so that African ministers could out-numbered the obligatory Asian and European. Nyerere refused to accept the ministership until there was a majority of elected members in the council which would mark the real transfer of power and chose the members - Bryceson, Eliufoo, Jamal, Kahama, Fundikira, who were TANU's most moderate and experienced representatives.

On the recommendations of Post Committee, also known as Ramage Committee<sup>44</sup> Governor announced that Legislative Council would be dissolved in 1960, two years earlier than its normal periodic dissolution in 1962 and territory wide general elections would be held in September, 1960 or as soon thereafter as possible.

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44 A committee was formed under the chairmanship of Sir Richard Ramage, whose members drawn mainly from among the elected members of the Legislative Council appointed to make the opinion for the next stage of constitutional advance "Mr. Nyereres Kingdom came", Economist, March 21, p. 1059.

The following recommendations were made by the Ramage Committee,

- (1) The Legislative Council will consist of 71 elected members plus a minority of nominated members. Of the 71 elected members, 50 will represent 'open' seats. Eleven seats will be reserved for Asians and 10 for Europeans.<sup>45</sup>
- (2) Retention of the common roll but abolition of the tripartite system of voting. Most of the constituencies would be single member constituencies. Only where there are reserved seats for Asians and Europeans will there be multiple member constituencies and the voters will have as many votes as there are members to be returned, but the voter will not be allowed to cast more than one vote for a candidate.
- (3) Qualifications for voters and candidates were made with some restrictions.<sup>46</sup>

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45 Colonial Office Report, 1961, op. cit., p. 30

46 Qualification required of voter—Age 21 years and over, residence in territory, annual income of £ 150, literacy in English or Swahili or be or have been a holder of a prescribed office. Qualification required of candidates - Age 25 years, residence in territory, absolute fluency in either English or Swahili, income of £. 200, must be nominated by not less than 25 registered voters in one constituency including at least 15 of ones racial group, must be able and willing to take oath of allegiance.

On the basis of above recommendations, the elections were held in 1960. For Tanganyika, these elections were of great importance. In fact, five weeks before election day on August 30, the TANU had already won a majority of the seats for 58 of its candidates for the 71 seats in the Legislative Council were unopposed. These included Asians and European officials backed by TANU whose victory was dependent on African votes on the common roll.<sup>47</sup> In fact, it was the first time in the Commonwealth that a general election had been won before the voters had gone to the polls. In the thirteen contested seats, TANU got twelve while one seat was taken by an independent. In the polls TANU gained just over 100,000 votes making 82% of the total, independents just over 20,000. Opposition was of negligible strength. The other two political organizations African National Congress (ANC) and all Muslim National Union (AMNUT) met any success. By the time of elections ANC had 9 branches<sup>48</sup> and got only .3% votes. The AMNUT also didn't get any success although it made religion an issue.<sup>49</sup>

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47 "General Election Result", Africa Digest, October 1960, p. 59.

48 Colonial Office Report, 1960, op. cit., p. 32.

49 Collin Legum, Africa, A Handbook to the Continent, Anthony Bund, 1961, p. 145.

Nyerere formed the first cabinet. In a broadcast, he told the country that the aim of the new government was to achieve complete independence within the Common Wealth in the next year.<sup>50</sup> On 3rd September 1960, he was appointed as a Chief Minister and the Council of Ministers was reconstituted in such a manner as to give a majority to the elected Ministers<sup>51</sup> included Africans, Europeans and Asians including a number of Civil Service officers as Ministers. In the new Legislative Council there were fifty two Africans, sixteen Europeans, thirteen Asians.<sup>52</sup> This was regarded as an example of multi-racialism.<sup>53</sup>

For further constitutional changes, Governor announced conference to be held in Dar-es-Salaam in March 1961. The main purpose of the conference was to advise the Secretary of State on the arrangements which need to be made for the attainment of self-government and to consider the steps which will have to be taken to prepare the way for independence and the

50 General Election Result, Africa Digest, October 1960, p.59

51 Colonial Office Report, 1960, op. cit., p. 36.

52 The colonial office had divided the Asians in to separate communities, Goans from India and Arabs who also originally hailed from Asian parts of Arab world. They were out of 13 Asians, one Arab and one Goan.

53 J. Gus Liebenow, Colonial Rule and Political Development in Tanganyika, (Evanston, 1971) p.273.



termination of the trusteeship agreement.<sup>54</sup>

In the last day of the conference, Ian MacLeod, Colonial Secretary in England, announced that Tanganyika would have full internal self-government on May 1 and full independence on December 28, 1961. He said 'Internal self-government would mean that the governor and two official ministers would withdraw from the Council of Ministers, which would be renamed the Cabinet, presided over by Prime Minister.'<sup>55</sup>

Thus, on May 1, 1961 internal self government was given and the Governor, Deputy Governor and two official Ministers were withdrawn from the Council of Ministers which was renamed the Cabinet. The title of Chief Minister was changed to that of Prime Minister and the Legislative Council became the National Assembly.<sup>56</sup>

Most powers of the Governors were taken over and now he could act only on the advise of the Cabinet. Defence and Foreign Affairs continued to be reserved subjects but during the period before full independence Ministers were being increasingly

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54 Colonial Office Report, 1960, op. cit., p. 37

55 "New Cabinet", Africa Digest, May 1961, p. 232.

56 Alan Grey, "Tanganyika Advances", African Affairs, July 1961, p. 374.

associated with the work of these departments to prepare them for taking over final responsibility at the end of 1961.

At midnight on December 8, 1961 Tanganyika became independent and decided to remain member of the Common Wealth.<sup>57</sup>

The Constitution of Tanganyika was adopted on 9 December. It provided that Tanganyika should be governed as a democratic society in which the government was responsible to a freely elected Parliament representative of the people and in which the courts of Law were independent and impartial. The structure of the legislative executive and judicial organs of the government were set out in the Constitution. The legislative powers would be exercised by the Parliament of Tanganyika which was vested by the Constitution with complete sovereign powers and of which the present National Assembly would be the legislative house.

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57 "Independence", Africa Digest, February 1962, p. 116.

CHAPTER - V

C O N C L U S I O N

CHAPTER - VC O N C L U S I O N

The Tanganyikan ports have been used as a ports of entry in to the interior of East Africa. In the process people of many countries - Arabs, Shirazis, Portuguese, Greeks, Chinese and Indians came to Tanganyikan coast to carry on trade in ivory and slaves. After the closure of land route to east when Europe was seeking sea route to India, European powers reached the eastern coast of Africa. This marked the beginning of rivalry among European powers for eastern coast and Zanzibar trade. During the nineteenth century the area became centre of intense imperialist activities. The Berlin Conference of 1885, which partitioned Africa amongst European powers, accepted the German claim over Tanganyika. But the Germans had to fight for over 20 years to gain control over the entire Tanganyika.

Our main concern in this dissertation has been the study of political movements beginning with movement of resistance against the Germans and uprisings against their colonial rule.

The resistance movements launched by people equipped with ancient arms i.e. spears and bows and arrows were brutally crushed by Germans who used latest firearms. There were numerous uprisings against alienation of African land and their allocation to European settlers.

planters, introduction of an onerous system of forced labour and system of taxation which was not only discriminatory but also encroached upon the personal and private life of the Tanganyikans. The early resistance and uprisings left their deep mark on the political life of Tanganyika. Later political developments owe their origin to these events.

The African struggle for independence can also be called the decolonization movements since Tanganyika had not become a nation. The above study proves that African struggle against the colonizers started with the resistance against the intruding Germans.

The various risings during the German period contributed to the birth of local heroes. These heroes like Mkwawa and Siki became source of inspiration for the African masses and thus created a new sense of pride and solidarity among the indigenous people. Though resistance in the initial period was confined to separate tribes but in 1905, a large scale uprising took place in which more than one tribe participated. It was the Maji Maji movement. It had characteristics of traditional uprisings but laid the foundation of new political movements against colonialism and for African unity.

The methods of dissent and protest during the British period took new forms. The British came to acquire administration of Tanganyika after defeat of

Germany in the First World War at the instance of League of Nations in 1920. During British period i.e. since 1920 the Africans organized themselves into peasant unions, trade unions and political parties. The formation of these new organizations changed the form of struggle from armed to non-violent and non-cooperation.

The first political organization emerged in 1929 which was formed by the intelligensia i.e. teachers traders and civil servants, which ultimately led to the formation of Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) in 1954.

The peasants union and Trade Unions helped to provide base for the independence movement. Peasants movements helped to create anti-colonial feeling through protests against discriminatory practices. These movements aroused consciousness of large mass of the people regarding practices of exploitation of land and people. At the same time trade unions despite their minimal numerical strength layed down the foundation of united action for anti colonial struggles. Julius Nyerere, the President of TANU, called the trade unions, "the industrial wing of the nationalist movement". The unique feature of the African countries was the emergence of a small middle class composed of intelligensia - traders, teachers, clerks, technical hands etc. This class generally led the national liberation movements. In Tanganyika too, this class played a very important role in the struggle for independence. The intelligensia -

small traders, persons engaged in service sector and peasants together with the support of the trade unions formed the mass movement for the independence struggle.

The anti colonial struggle in Africa in late 50s and early 60s reached a point where colonialism in order to retain old economic order and hegemonic political position had to relinquish control over the colonies.

By the end of 1950s, Tanganyika was swept with the wave of resurgence. The British Prime Minister Mac Millan called in 1960 this phenomenon the wind of change. The new political developments in Tanganyika had created a situation which left no doubt in the minds of the colonial powers that independence for Tanganyika was inevitable.

During the 50s the British did not realize the significance and consequences of the growing strength of the anti colonial struggle. They first attempted to crush these struggles. For instance, they did not register TANU on national level and asked African organizations to register on district level. This, no doubt, was an attempt to create parochialism and division amongst 120 different ethnic groups. When these tactics failed to succeed the colonial administration banned TANU activities and even restricted movements of Julius Nyerere and other political leaders so that their call for unity and struggle could not reach the people

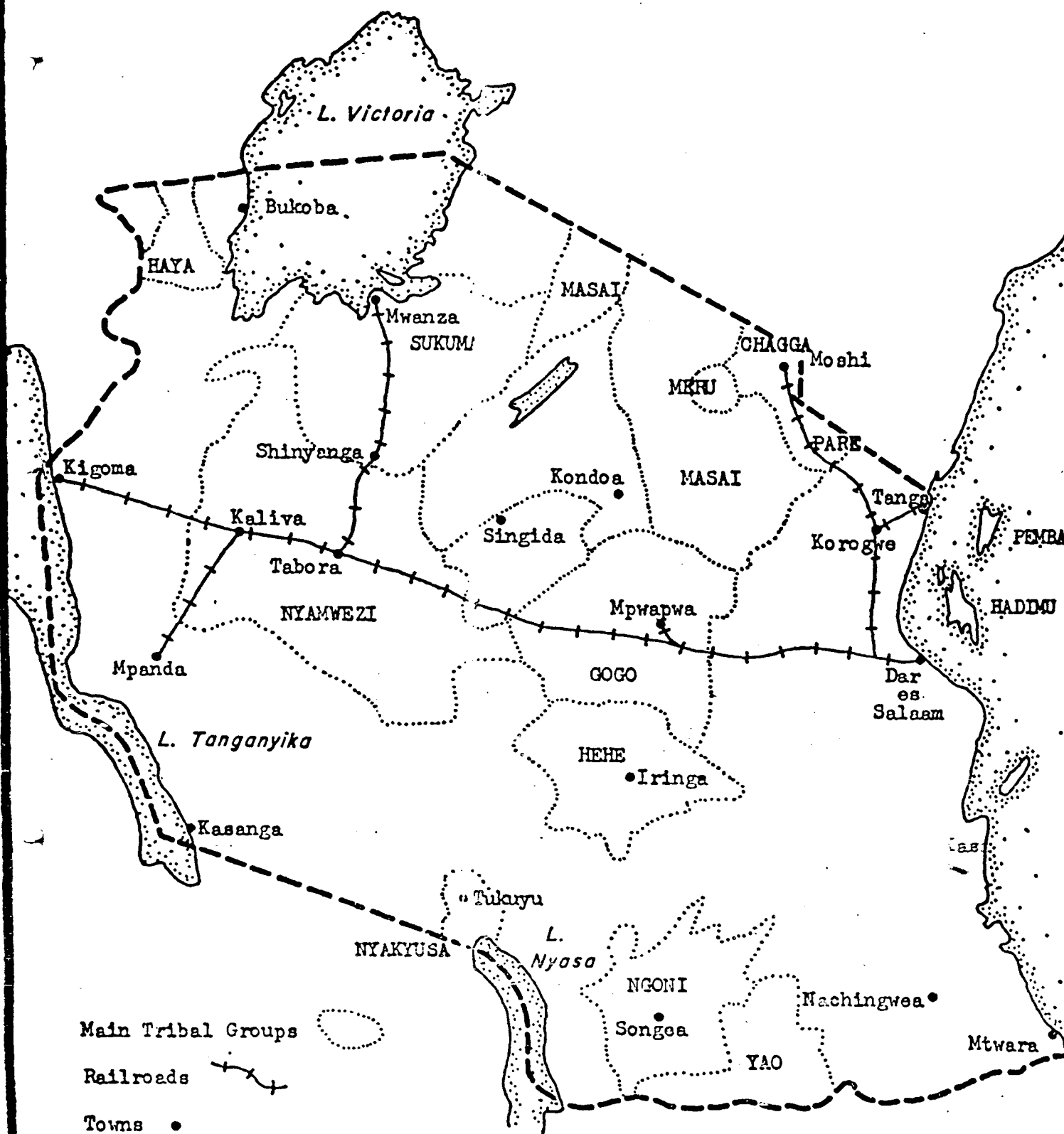
In 1950s they had attempted various mechanical methods called multi-racial constitutions to safeguard the interests of European and Asian settlers. But the mounting wave of anti colonialism grew in strength and independence was attained by Tanganyika in 1961 under the leadership of TANU.




Our study clearly shows that independence was not granted to Tanganyika on a platter but had to be fought against cruel and brutal colonial power. And this fight included sacrifice of lives, imprisonment and ban orders. The long list of martyrs of Tanganyika included all the names of those who resisted intrusion, rose against oppressive laws, struck work and faced the harrassment from the government when they organized themselves politically. The Tanganyika's political developments clearly indicate that the Africans (along with progressive Asians and Europeans) had to traverse a difficult road to achieve independence. The credit goes to the Africans who till independence were regarded as not capable of running their own affairs, to understand the modern techniques of political struggle and organize themselves in groups, associations, peasants unions and trade unions eventually emerging into an all encompassing movement for the self determination.





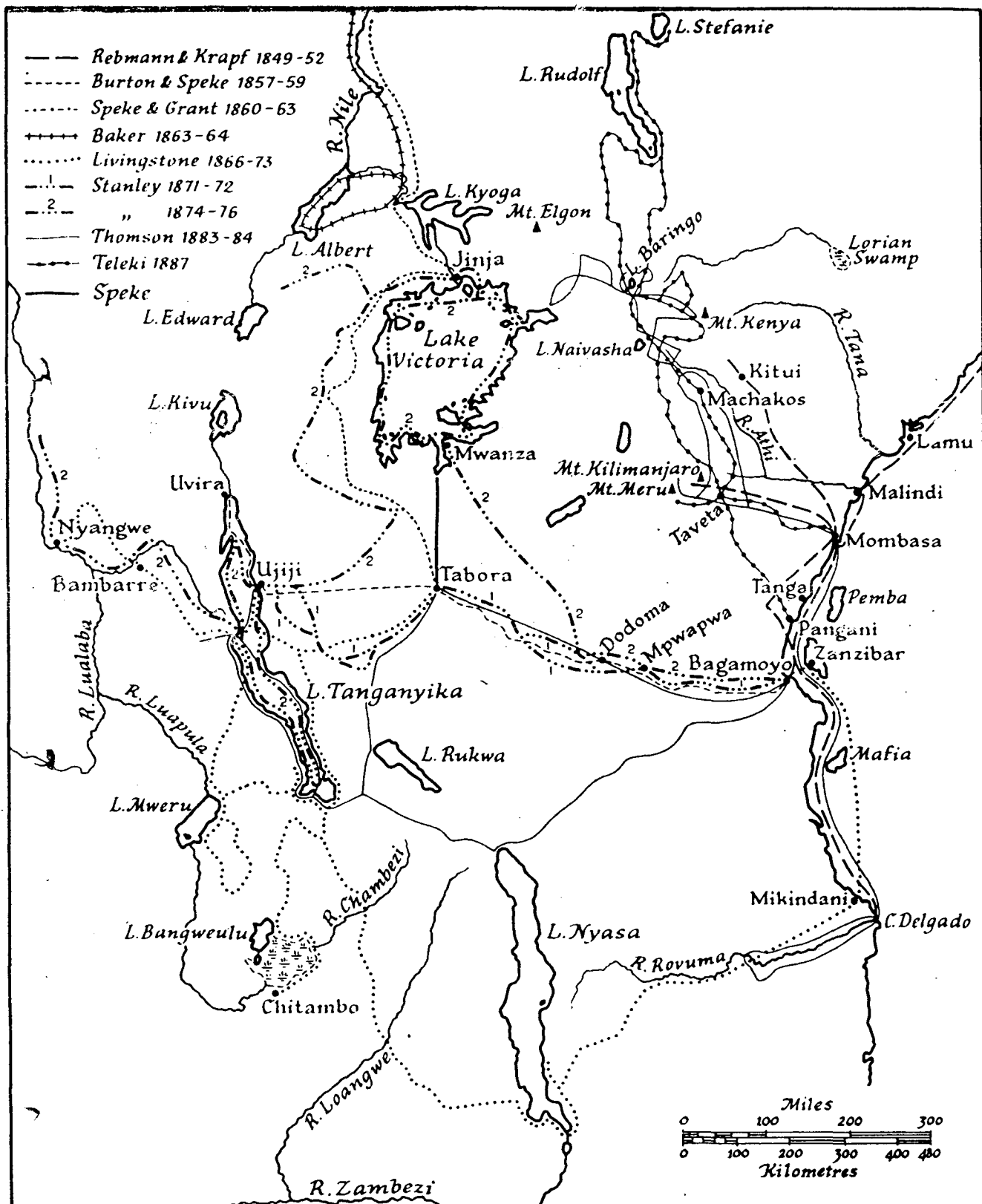
MAJOR TRIBES OF TANGANYIKA



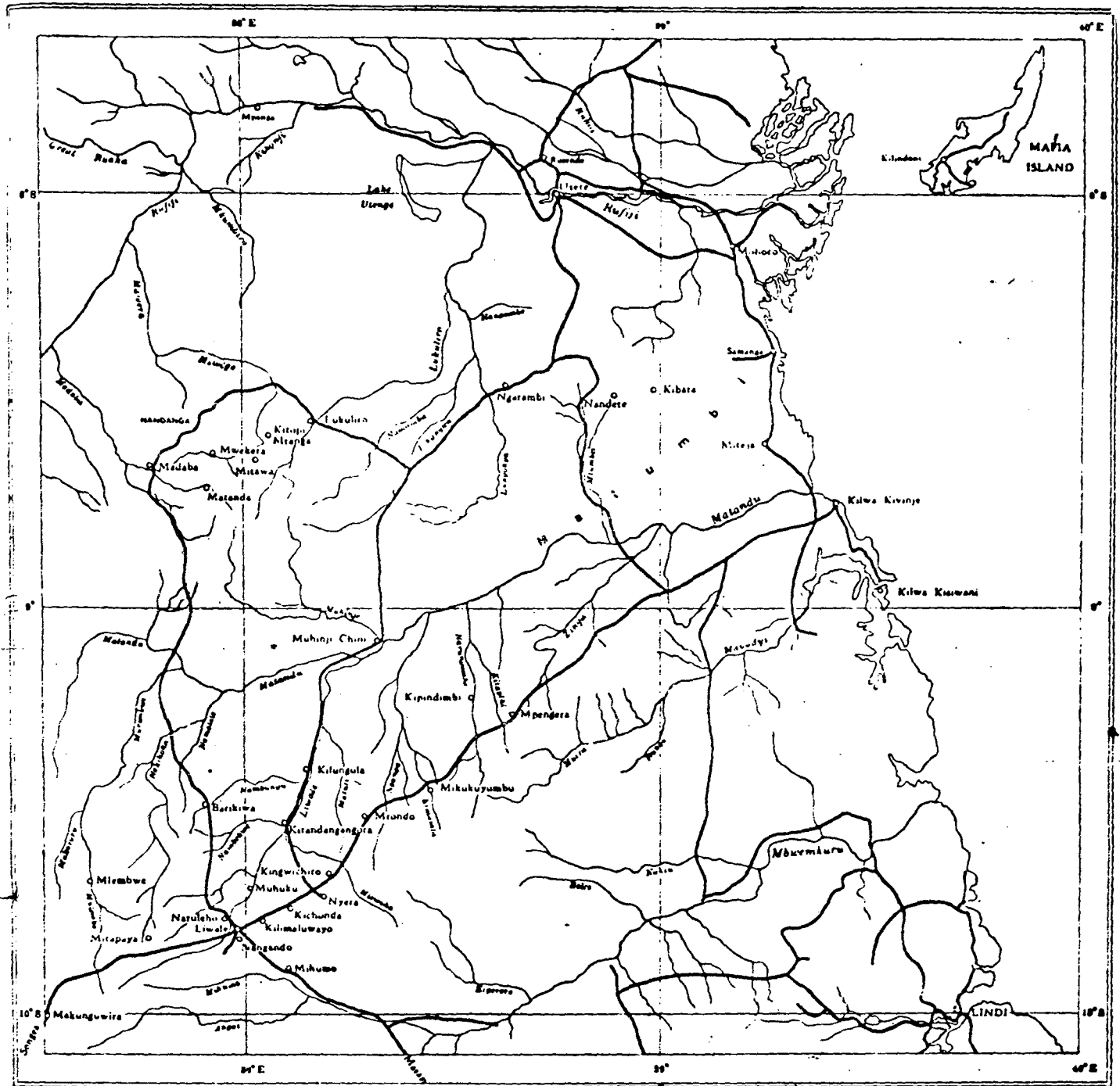
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# INTRUSIONS INTO TANGANYIKA



# MAJI-MAJI REBELLION

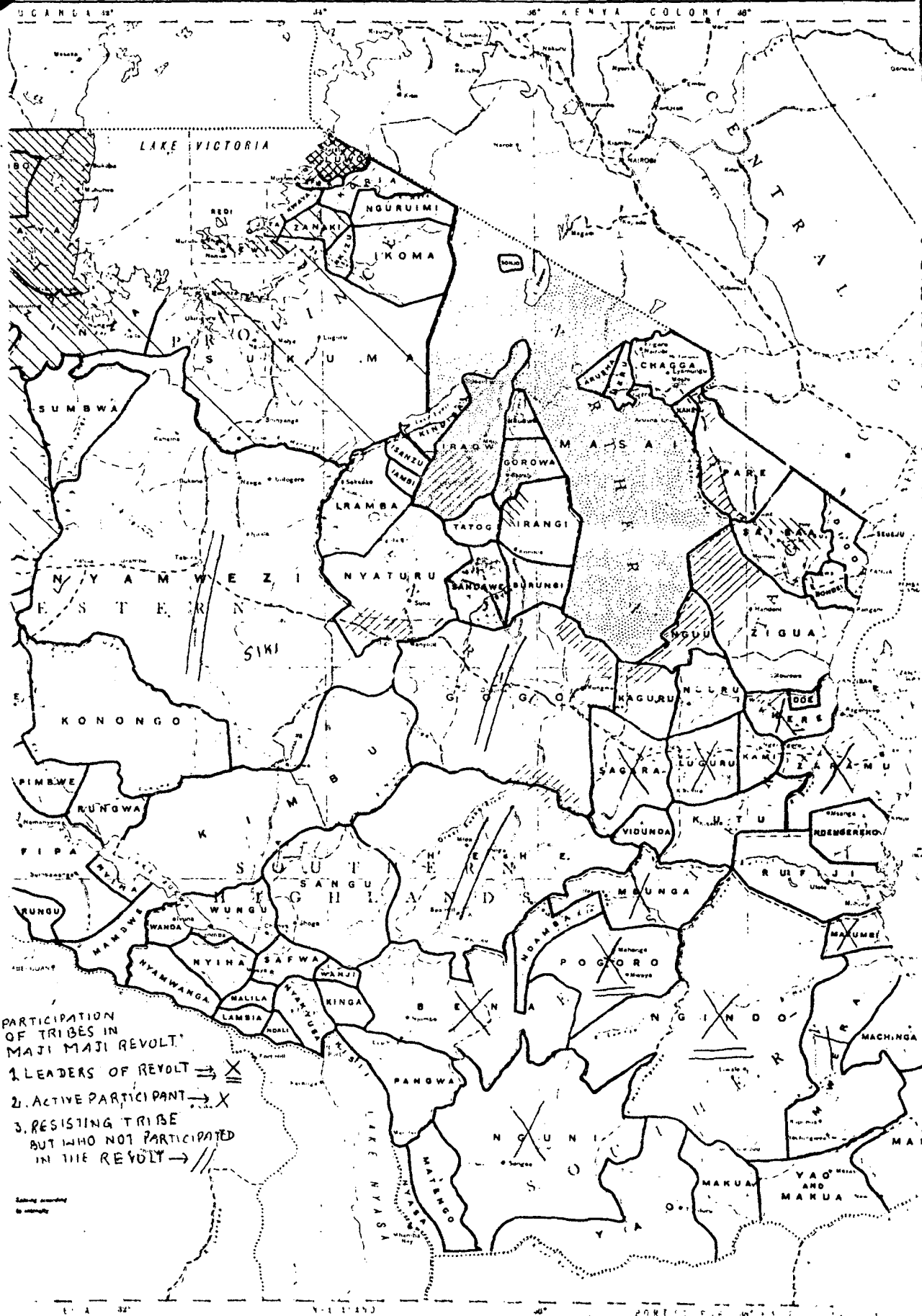


SCALE



11,000,000

TRIBAL AND ETHNOGRAPHIC



PARTICIPATION OF TRIBES IN MAJI MAJI REVOLT

1. LEADERS OF REVOLT → \
2. ACTIVE PARTICIPANT → X
3. RESISTING TRIBE BUT WHO NOT PARTICIPATED IN THE REVOLT → //

Scale according to map

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