African nationalism in Tanganyika: a thesis...

Amon James Nsekela

University of the Pacific

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AFRICAN NATIONALISM IN TANGANYIKA

A Thesis

Presented to the Faculty
of the Department of History and Political Science
College of the Pacific

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirement for the Degree
Master of Arts in History and Political Science

by

Amon James Nsekela
August, 1960
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FOREWORD

In this prefatory note I wish to register my gratitude to and appreciation of Dr. Malcolm R. Eiselen, Professor of History and Head of the Department of History and Political Science and Dr. Malcolm H. Moule, Associate Professor of History, both at the College of the Pacific, Stockton, California, for their guidance and encouragement throughout the formative phases of this study. It has been, indeed, a great experience, pleasure and privilege to be associated, even in this small way, with these distinguished scholars.

I wish, also, to express my gratitude to the staff of Hoover Library, Stanford University, Palo Alto, California, for permitting access to and helping me feel my way into that vast array of documents and nationalist holdings stored in the bewildering stacks of that great reservoir of learning.

It is right and proper also, at this juncture, to express my appreciation for the cooperation I received from my Tanganyikan friends: the Rt. Rev. Alfred Stanway, Bishop of the Diocese of Central Tanganyika; the Hon. Julius K. Nyerere, President of T. A. N. U.; Osija A. Mwambungu and to Rowland K. Mwanjisi, T. A. N. U.'s Director of Public Relations.
Finally, to my wife, Christina Matilda Nsekela, I owe a debt at once indescribable and so infinitely big that it cannot be measured.
AFRICAN NATIONALISM IN TANGANYIKA

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the problem. Tanganyika's astonishing constitutional progress, achieved almost without friction, has brought the country to the threshold of her political autonomy within a decade of organized African nationalism. July 7, 1954, was a historical day for it was then when the Tanganyika African National Union (T.A.N.U.) was born in Dar es Salaam, the country's capital, with Julius K. Nyerere as president. From that day on, T.A.N.U. has struggled relentlessly for the independence of Tanganyika. Hence the significant constitutional changes announced in the Legislative Council by the governor, Sir Richard Turnbull, on December 15, 1959, represented an important achievement for the African nationalist movement. In a nutshell, his Excellency's announcement purported that from September, 1960, after the second general election, Tanganyika would be self-governing to the extent that both in the Legislature and in the Council of Ministers the elected element would predominate.
This milestone in Tanganyika's political history represents a significant departure from the almost copybook convention that independence from colonial rule must be the result of violence, bloodshed, or non-cooperation. Kenya, Algeria, Congo, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, on the other hand, furnish an unhappy confirmation of this time-honored convention.

Tanganyika, quite abruptly, has shattered all these conventions. Since the day when T.A.N.U. took over from the morbid and moribund Tanganyika African Association (T.A.A.) in 1954, the nationalist movement has grown from strength to strength like a vine which vies for supremacy in the rain forest. Within ten years Tanganyika has quietly and rapidly raised itself into a position in which she cannot be denied immediate responsibility. As a result of this, political alchemists have been left in wonder peering into the seething cauldron of the African continent in an endeavor to determine the true metal from the incongruities. The student of history and political science is also caught up into this fascination and bewilderment and in delving into the causative factors of this peaceful and accelerated tempo of political development, one would like naturally to pose the pertinent questions: How did Tanganyikan nationalism begin? Has Tanganyikan nationalism been unique? If so, in what ways? If not, why and how is it that African nationalism in
Tanganyika has taken this extraordinary course? The exploration of and answer to this somewhat torn and tattered shibboleth constitutes the problem of this study.

**Significance of the problem.** If the scientific law that shattered crystals retain their lines of crystallization can be applied to political phenomena, then the political development in Tanganyika have a telling lesson to Africa and, yes, to the world in general. Looking at what has been achieved in Tanganyika through a remarkable bloodless revolution, it would seem that what has been achieved was the obvious thing to have come ultimately. But historical evidence contradicts such an assumption. African nationalism, like many other human forces, had a conception of its future. But the future had been one without signposts. Its path passed through bush and thorny territory. To have come out of this hazardous path in the marathon race to independence, unimpaired and with even greater singleness of mind than before, has been a feat of momentous moral significance to those countries in Africa which have yet to achieve their independence from European colonial powers. The cooperation which African nationalism in Tanganyika has mustered from the heterogenous ethnic groups of the Tanganyikan population in demanding self-government for Tanganyikans: Africans, Asians, and Europeans, should serve as a lesson in human relations and cooperation to the doubting Thomases, to the
classical political pundits, Hobbesians, and Machiavellians, that human beings can overcome and bridge chasms which divide humanity and from such humble beginnings build a nation made up of diverse ethnic groups—not by resorting to coercion, not by institutionalizing the conflicts between the component elements but through voluntary trust and good will between them.

Purpose of study. This thesis represents an attempt to open a new avenue in the study of African nationalism. It is an endeavor to analyze and trace the development of Tanganyikan nationalism. In so exploring the entire vista of Tanganyikan nationalism, some fresh light might be thrown upon the peculiar trend of African nationalism in its Tanganyikan context. That would, in turn, help to reduce to the barest minimum the danger of highlighting either the surface similarities between the different versions of African nationalism in the way tourists sometimes tend to mislead students of African political aspirations or the apparent dichotomies between African nationalisms which, when tested on the touchstone of reality, might be shown to be differences in degree rather than in kind.

Definition of terms. Certain key words in connection with this study call for immediate definition in order to help eliminate the other shades of meaning which are sometimes attached to the words. First of these is the term
African nationalism which, in this study, shall be understood to mean the African sentiment and activity asserting the right of the Africans to determine their own destiny.\(^1\) It is a force and a manifestation from, through, by and out of which the loyalty of the African and the love for his native country are translated into social and political action with the view to reclaiming his right of self-determination which has been usurped by colonial powers. Equally important is the word colonialism which, in this context, shall mean European domination over the African peoples.

To avoid monotony the phrases "African nationalism in Tanganyika" and "Tanganyikan nationalism" or even simply "nationalism" have been used to mean one and the same thing. Any other form of nationalism has been appropriately qualified so that the chance of confusing these terms should not arise. The word "Tanganyikans", wherever it appears, shall mean both indigenous and immigrant Tanganyikans.

**Now on Sources.** Objective and scholarly sources on nationalism in general, and African nationalism in particular, are hard to come by. Much of the literature on nationalism is surrounded by an aura of partisanship. Indeed, the

criteria of approbation or disapprobation shift like sand to suit the whimsies and fancies of the protagonists and the antagonists. Nationalists tend to vindicate colonialism per se while the champions of colonialism tend to surround and glorify it with fictionalized half-truths. There is, of course, place for genuine criticism of both colonialism and African nationalism as there should be in any study concerning human relationships. But the task of separating the sheep from the wolves in sheep's clothing is Himalayan in spite of the attempts to keep a cool head.

Further, because this thesis is not a history of Tanganyika, it has been necessary to limit it both in time and in scope. Since organized African nationalism in Tanganyika came to the surface in 1954, it is from that time that a detailed study of the phenomenon has been made. All pre-1954 events are brought into the picture only if they serve to elucidate and give depth of meaning to the 1954-60 Tanganyikan nationalism. And in that sense the scope is also limited because only directly pertinent events of the past have been related to the contemporary phenomenon.
CHAPTER II

PRELUDE TO AFRICAN NATIONALISM

General Setting. Tanganyika, with an area of 362,688 square miles, is about the size of Texas and Colorado put together. The whole of France, Belgium, Switzerland, Holland, and the Federal German Republic could easily be fitted into it and still leave some thousands of square miles empty.\(^1\) It lies between the three great lakes of Africa and the Indian Ocean and just south of the Equator. Neighboring countries include Kenya, Uganda, Ruanda-Urundi, the Republic of Congo, Northern Rhodesia, troubled Nyasaland, the Portuguese ward of Mozambique, and Zanzibar. About 20,000 square miles of the total area are inland lakes. The two extremes of topographical relief of Africa are found within the frontiers of this country with the permanently ice-capped king-mountain of all Africa, Mt. Kilimanjaro, rising to 19,340 feet above sea level and the world's second deepest lake, Lake Tanganyika, which, being 2,534 feet deep, is also the deepest lake in Africa.

Climatically, the country falls into three

\(^1\)Department of Public Relations, Dar'es Salaam, Tanganyika, p. 1.
contrasting zones: the coastal region with its immediate hinterland where conditions are tropical with an average temperature of 76° F and an annual rainfall of 40 inches; the central plateaux where humidity is low and the annual rainfall vacillates between 20 and 40 inches with a fairly high mean temperature of over 70° F which changes almost daily from season to season; and finally, the semi-temperate zone in the highlands where the climate is rewarding and bracing; here nights are so cool nearly the whole year round that even immigrant Tanganyikans from the colder parts of Europe sleep under blankets. Rungwe District, in this zone, has an average annual rainfall of 80-100 inches. On the whole, although tropically situated, the cooling effect of the relatively high altitude considerably ameliorates the tropical situation of Tanganyika.

Tanganyika has a population of about nine million people. These include Africans, Asians, and Europeans. Among the Africans, 120 tribes can be identified. These together constitute 8½ million of the total population. Most of the remainder are Asians including many different nationalities, communities, creeds, and sects. Of these the majority are Indians, Pakistanis and Arabs. The Europeans constitute less than one per cent of the total population.

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21957 census.
and are divided among some thirty different nationalities.\(^3\)

By and large the African is an agriculturalist, producing just enough for his immediate needs and for the immediate needs of his dependants. However, an increasing number are now producing cash crops including coffee in the Southern Highlands, Northern Province, and in the West Lake Provinces as well as in the Eastern Province. Paddy and cashew nuts are other cash crops produced by Africans largely.

Sociologically speaking, the Africans occupy the lower stratum of Tanganyikan society and are the main source of labor in a country where mechanization has barely started. The greater part of the African population is in the rural areas. Asians, for the most part, are engaged in trade and control most of the wholesale and retail trade of the country. They are also engaged in sisal and cotton production. Sisal, so far has been the most important export crop and its production is almost always carried on by private, non-African enterprise.\(^4\)

The European section of the population consists of

\(^3\)Tanganyika Department of Public Relations, Tanganyika, op. cit., p. 8. In popular African usage the word "European" includes Americans of European descent as well.

farmers, civil servants, missionaries, and of those engaged in industry and commerce. Besides sisal production, they also produce tea which is almost exclusively a European monopoly. They are also engaged in mining. European civil servants have, until very recently, been the sole occupants of the higher cadres in the Civil Service with Asians sharing with them the middle echelons.

By accidents of history a common language, Swahili, evolved in Tanganyika which is spoken not only in Tanganyika, but also in Kenya, Zanzibar, parts of Uganda, and in the Republic of Congo. It is a rich language and is capable of indefinite expansion. Although "primitive" is not a scholar's word, much of what Mario Pei has to say about Swahili is true:

Swahili is a complete refutation of the rather general belief that languages of "primitive" peoples are necessarily primitive....It is capable of such absolute precision that the Swahili version of the Pentateuch contains fewer words than the Hebrew original, without the slightest loss or distortion of meaning. Its grammatical and syntactical structure is logical, almost to the point of being philosophical.3

The theory about the origin of Swahili is that it was a language spoken by some tribes on the east coast

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3Mario Pei, "Africa: A Living Language—Swahili," Holiday, XV, No. 4, (April, 1959), p. 82.
of Africa opposite the island of Zanzibar. The early Arab invaders and subsequently the European colonial powers who came to East Africa adopted the language for communication with the Africans. As these invaders and imperialists penetrated the hinterland they carried with them not only the gun or sword but also this communication tool. That way, it spread throughout the country and its usage continues to grow faster than the population.

Historical Background. Tanganyika, like any other territory which is colonial in its origin, was created by a colonial power. A nucleus of a nation-state was created in this land during the latter part of the nineteenth century when the industrial race had become fiercely bitter in Europe. This generated an incentive among the European powers to gain colonial possessions. These, it was hoped, could offset the newly developing demands of European trade unionists, increase the national industrial potential in competition with neighboring nation-states, and satisfy national pride. In the heyday of European imperialism colonial possessions were a symbol of national might besides providing strategic advantages.

In this European quest for colonial possessions,
missionaries and scientists, humanitarians and imperial
enthusiasts attacked the continent of Africa until the whole
continent was parcelled out between them from stem to stern.
In 1861 and in 1865 David Livingstone was in Tanganyika as
a missionary explorer. In 1884 Sir Harry Hamilton appeared
at the foot of Mt. Kilimanjaro among the Wachagga. His
proposal to the foreign office in Britain that the Wachagga
should be given protection fell on deaf ears. The same
year a German imperial enthusiast by the name of Dr. Karl
Peters was actively journeying into the interior of what is
now Tanganyika armed with appropriate blanks for treaties.
In six weeks he negotiated treaties with chiefs whereupon
their lands were declared German territory. The ten-mile
wide strip along the coast facing Zanzibar was for sometime
part of the Sultanate of Zanzibar. In 1890 the German
Imperial Government purchased this strip for about $571,430.

Thus a state had been created and the German
government provided it with a unified administrative frame-
work where there had been none before, thereby bringing
together 120 African tribes which formerly had been
autonomous in every sense. It was an artificial creation
corresponding to no previously existing geographical, social,

7 Arthur Skeffington, *Tanganyika in Transition*, Fabian
8 Ibid.
or political unit. Nevertheless, it gave the region a degree of political unity from which one day Tanganyikan nationalism was to arise. This does not mean there had been no history before, on the contrary, Tanganyika's history goes back to the pre-Christian era.9

German East Africa, as Tanganyika was then called, became one of World War I's theaters of military operations. No sooner had the war begun in Europe than a small German army under Von Lettow-Vorbeck engaged itself in battle against British and Belgian forces on the northern frontier of the territory. By the end of 1916 all land north of the Central Railway Line was under occupation by either British or Belgian forces. On January 1, 1917, a civil government was set up for that region. By November, 1917, the whole of Tanganyika was conquered and effectively occupied. Peace with Germany was concluded by the Treaty of Versailles on June 28, 1919, whereby under Article 119 Germany renounced in favor of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, all her overseas possessions. The Peace Treaty of 1919 conferred on Britain the status of administering authority over Tanganyika under mandate from the League of Nations.

Shortly after this right was conferred on Britain

9Ibid.
by the League of Nations, Tanganyika got its present name when the Gazette announced:

Peace with Germany having been ratified on the 10th of January, 1920, it is hereby notified for general information that with effect from the 1st of February, 1920, the Occupied Territory of German East Africa will provisionally and until further notice be officially known as THE TANGANYIKA TERRITORY.¹⁰

Hence for 25 years Britain administered Tanganyika as a mandated territory under the League of Nations. With the outbreak of hostilities in 1939, the League of Nations entered history's eternal sleep. However, the United Nations was created in 1945, and, with this event, the trusteeship system was revived. On January 17, 1946, Ernest Bevin, then Foreign Secretary, made it known at the meeting of the United Nations that Britain would negotiate immediately for the placing of Tanganyika under the Trusteeship System. He then concluded his remarks by saying:

... it is most important that the people of the territory themselves and the world at large should be left in no doubt that the continuity of administration should be maintained until the ultimate objective of the Trustee System, self-government or independence, as the case may be, is attained.¹¹

On December 13, 1946, Tanganyika was placed under the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations as a Trust

¹⁰ Moule, op. cit., p. 23 citing Official Gazette.
¹¹ Skeffington, loc. cit.
Territory, with the United Kingdom still responsible for its administration.

Colonial Setting of African Nationalism. In order to understand fully the causes and factors of Tanganyikan nationalism it is necessary to understand how, first the Germans, and secondly the British ruled the country; for, as has been said elsewhere, African nationalism is a force opposing colonialism. Germany was the last of the European colonial powers to arrive in Africa and was, therefore, in a hurry to establish itself. This desire to establish themselves quickly in conjunction with the lack of experienced administrators was reflected in their utterly ruthless regime. Any resistance to their administration was crushed with the most punitive measures almost indescribable in words. Villages and crops were destroyed; the cows of the Africans were carried off; German soldiers were given almost limitless leeway: they could kill, rob, and enslave the indigenous people. Stories told by older indigenous Tanganyikans about these cruelties and other injustices smack of a nightmare of brutality.

Needless to say, such administration could have generated nothing else but hate and apprehension. This is

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12 Skeffington, loc. cit.
13 Ibid.
what exactly happened. The malice and cruelty instilled in the Africans a habit of resentful obedience to any white man which outlived the period of German administration.

Sir Edward Twining (now Lord Twining) as Governor of Tanganyika in the 1950's testified that the savage reprisals by the Germans towards the Africans had left a noticeable imprint upon the indigenous Tanganyikans.\(^\text{14}\) They evicted the Africans from their lands and made these lands available to Europeans or, better still, German settlers. During their administration alone some 1,922,700 acres passed into non-African hands.\(^\text{15}\)

When the British took over the administration of the territory, Tanganyika was a country inhabited by "obedient" subjects. They had been repressed by an unruly German administration and were therefore, at least for colonial rule's sake, an easy prey.

The British accepted the mandate for Tanganyika in 1919 and in so doing undertook to administer the territory in accordance with the mandate system as laid down in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations and thereafter in accord with the British mandate for Tanganyika of 1922 which specified the obligations and conditions under which the

\(^{14}\) Skeffington, loc. cit.

mandatory was to work. In these two documents was underlined the general philosophy underlying the mandate system. The text of the British mandate for Tanganyika declared the mandatory to be responsible for, *inter alia*, promoting to the utmost the material welfare and social progress of the indigenous Tanganyikans. In spite of this development in the political status of Tanganyika, very little progress was made in the actual conditions and treatment of the African peoples of Tanganyika. Land alienation was continued, if not accelerated, notwithstanding the fact that as early as 1913 the German administration had sensed the problem of congestion in those areas where settlement had been permitted. These areas were the fertile regions of the territory which attracted not only the European settlers but were also the most populated areas prior to the advent of "Operation Settlement." African labor was exploited and in time the settler came to regard African labor as his for the taking. The African was underpaid, undereducated, and discriminated against both in public service and in public places. His standard of living continued to be miserably low, so that even as late as 1960, the hourly wages of African workers were quoted

16 See Appendix A.

17 Moule, *op. cit.*, p. 19
at three to six U.S.A. cents, in a land where the twenty thousand odd Europeans had a per capita income of $2,300 a year.\textsuperscript{18} As Wieschhoff has said, the salary scale of Europeans holding colonial positions is "rather high compared with similar positions in their respective home-lands,"\textsuperscript{19} and there is a tendency for several of them to accumulate sufficient wealth so as to be able to retire after as brief a period of colonial service as possible. It was with this state of economic affairs in mind that the Tanganyikan Federation of Labor informed the United Nations Visiting Mission in 1957 that, in its belief, the wages paid to African workers were below the proper subsistence level.\textsuperscript{20}

The \textit{de jure} position of Tanganyika as a mandate was not strictly observed and compared very poorly with its \textit{de facto} position. The tendency of the mandatory was to regard the mandate as part and parcel of the colonial empire and was different only to the extent that the mandatory was to submit annual reports to the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. Nevertheless, the treatment


of the Africans in Tanganyika was considerably more liberal than in the colony of Kenya where Kikuyu farmers were not allowed to grow coffee in competition with the European settlers; Africans had been evicted from the so-called "White Highlands" of Kenya; Africans could be forced to take up work in European Estates and a hundred and one other injustices were accorded them. Naturally, the white settlers of Tanganyika wanted to emulate their Kenyan counterparts. Thus when the shortage of labor assumed dangerous proportions in the sisal industry in 1925-26, European settlers complained bitterly and demanded that the labor policy in Tanganyika should be Kenyanized. Even certain colonial civil servants seemed to sympathize with the settlers. They deprecated the fact that Africans were becoming prosperous because that meant aggravating the labor situation. Hence, an administrative officer in Tabora once said:

This district has always been the main source of labor supply for the territory, but owing to increased prosperity and realization that they can earn as much by tilling the soil for themselves there is now a tendency among natives to give up leaving their homes.22


22 Moule, op. cit., p. 74 citing Report to the League of Nations Council for 1924."
In Kenya, the Governor, Sir Edward Northey, as though expressing the views of the Tanganyikan settlers, asserted:

The white man must be paramount... For the good of the country and for his own welfare he (the native) must be brought out to work... Our policy then, should be to encourage voluntary work in the first place, but to provide power by legislation to prevent idleness. 23

On the political scene, the African, until after World War II, was not represented in the Legislature because, it was said, "no African could be discovered with a sufficient command of English." 24 Yet when the first Africans were invited to sit in the Legislature and even much later when nomination was the way of selecting the country's members of the Legislature, it was not the most educated who were selected. At the local level, Sir Donald Cameron introduced a system of government called "indirect rule" on the basis of his experience in Nigeria. By this system existing African institutions and organs of government were incorporated into the British system of colonial administration. This might have been an attempt to establish a working system of administration in the colonies. 25 But it might also have been designed to simplify the process of

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24 Skeffington, op. cit., p. 30.
25 Lord Hailey, op. cit., p. 473
administration by applying the well-known imperialist device of dividing and ruling. As one observer remarks:

... indirect rule, which normally grants far-reaching authority to the traditional tribal chief and which in some instances even endeavors to resurrect a centralized tribal authority, does not necessarily further the policy of responsible self-government. ... The rulers thus favored by the system of indirect rule jealously guard their position which a democratization of the administration would be certain to jeopardize. Therefore, it is inherent in this system that those participating in the administration oppose progress and are not infrequently stout defenders of the status quo.26

It was further noted that it might encourage tribal differences to develop into chasms which might be difficult to bridge and that it could lead to tribalisms which might prove inimical to the unity necessary for national solidarity and for political development.27

The impression Kenya made on the settlers of Tanganyika was so great that when, both in the 1920's and in the early 1930's, serious attempts were made to effect a closer union of the British territories in East Africa, the settlers gave these attempts their benediction. Both

26 Wieschhoff, op. cit., pp. 69-70.

attempts failed largely due to Germany's criticism of such maneuvers although there was, in addition, the African opposition.

In a way, much that the settlers cherished in the Kenya set-up was also being practised in Tanganyika. The difference might have been one of degree rather than of kind. In each of the territories, the African was exploited, under-educated, under-housed, and under-protected. There was no protection against accident, no workmen's compensa-
tion, no regulations of working hours and housing conditions were pathetically deplorable; even in Tanganyika contract labor was practised according to which Africans affixed their finger marks to the contracts which they could not read but which forced them to stay in employment for a given period or face vindictive penalties in default. Differential standards of accommodation on the basis of race existed not only in public schools but also in government hospitals.

Despite the fact that Article 5 of the British

28 Wieschhoff, op. cit., p. 3.

29 Ibid., p. 32.

mandate for Tanganyika stipulated that Africans were to be protected from abuse, fraud and force in regard to labor recruiting and contracts, European settlers, who had begun to work the ex-German plantations which they had purchased after the war, tended to recruit labor without regard for the welfare of the laborers. They continued to complain that Tanganyika's labor policy favored the worker at the expense of the employer. By the middle of the 1920's there was rather outspoken demand on the part of settlers for an increased African tax which they hoped would force the Africans to leave their homes in search of work in the European plantations. At this time Sir Donald Cameron was Governor and he tried as much as he could to educate the settlers and to tone down their grotesque demands and attitudes. The settlers wanted more lands and labor. They wanted the establishment of "White Highlands" on the pattern of Kenya Highlands; aware of their dependence upon African labor, the settlers tried to reverse the circumstances and make the African people dependent upon them by asking government:

(a) to continue appropriation of land and that way limit African production,

(b) to require the payment of higher taxes from Africans and since they had no other resources besides the soil and their labor, this would effectively force them to work for wages, and

31 Moule, op. cit., pp. 229 et seq.
(c) to prevent or hinder the Africans from growing economic crops on the lands reserved for their use.32

All these measures had been adopted in Kenya but the provisions of the mandate, as institutionalized into law by Sir Horace Byat, then Governor of Tanganyika, effectively prevented such graft and exploitation in Tanganyika. It was in an endeavor to maintain this status quo that Sir Donald Cameron, who had taken over the governorship of the country, was constantly in conflict with the settler. On one occasion the Governor told the settlers:

Coercion of labor by pressure of direct taxation is little, if anything removed from coercion by force: the latter is the more honest course.33

Parallel with these developments were the growth of towns and the increasing keen interest of the Africans in growing cash crops. A notable example was coffee growing on the slopes of Mt. Kilimanjaro by the Wachagga. The settlers launched a complaint against African grown coffee on the pretence that this would lead to Africans stealing their coffee, lowering standards of the coffee crop and rendering the crop more susceptible to disease.34 Sir Donald Cameron, however, refused to swallow this. In the

32Ibid., p. 220.

33Ibid.

34Ibid.
towns Africans from different backgrounds found themselves face to face with each other, facing similar problems and troubles.
CHAPTER III

GENESIS OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM

Twilight of Isolation. Dating the beginning of African nationalism in Tanganyika is almost an impossible task. Nationalism among the indigenous Tanganyikans has stemmed from a wide variety of religious, cultural, economic, historical and political influences. Long periods of submission preceded the open assertion of the nationalist claims and even when this stage was reached, the colonial government and some classical political pundits expressed their legitimate doubts as to the depth and validity of the nationalist aspirations. They questioned the extent to which this new force had effectively penetrated into the consciousness of the mass of the people as distinguished from the few elite leaders who gave voice to it in one form or another. It is not surprising, therefore, that leaders of African nationalism in Tanganyika had to overcome numerous handicaps before their message gained the status of a genuine "nationalism."

The roots of African nationalism may be said to go back to the advent of colonial rule. With colonialism came a new culture, a new way of looking at property, a new religion and a new capitalist system which was to be
superimposed on the traditional African feudal institutions. New conceptions of all kinds came face to face with the African ways. As new towns grew a humble industrial revolution was launched. Africans from the rural areas moved into these urban areas, the centers of the new wealth around which revolved several African economic systems. The clash that followed between these cultures was a veritable and an inevitable one. Just at the time when the town was becoming the dominant force in Tanganyikan life, it was also being rapidly differentiated from the rest of Tanganyikan society. The town culture became multi-faceted due to growing heterogeneity of its society, ethnically, culturally, and religiously. The old tribal cultures began the long journey of acculturation in this new environment. This stage represented the beginning of a new order, the departure from the old order and the beginning of the end of the splendid isolation which was characteristic of rural tribal life.

Over and above this distinction between rural society and urban society, the towns themselves were being radically stratified along economic and racial lines. The impression which this development made on the pattern of Tanganyikan towns is a legacy no one can be proud of. Towns in Tanganyika, like in most other territories in colonial Africa, were established within a colonial framework and are

These, from the very outset, included:

(a) the upper class residential area where almost only European civil servants resided;

(b) the commercial and medium density residential area where Asians, particularly Indo-Pakistanis, lived since most of the retail and wholesale trade was controlled by them;

(c) the outskirts of the towns showing various degrees of improvisation where the African proletariat and professional middle class, and some Asians in the lowest economic and social stratum, lived.

This characteristic urban apartheid in Tanganyikan towns certainly helped to promote the emergence of racial consciousness and African nationalism. Thus, the Tanganyikan town was to become the melting-pot of the second half of the twentieth century of African nationalism; it was indeed a veritable pressure cooker in which racial, economic, cultural, and psychic tensions bubbled and boiled to the consternation of the older tribal societies.

\textbf{Early Nationalist Manifestations.} It is important to distinguish modern African nationalism from the earlier chauvinistic and, perhaps, almost instinctive resistance to the foreigner who, in the eyes of nineteenth and early
twentieth century Tanganyikans represented an alien intrusion in the established scheme of things. After all government by the consent of the governed is as old as humanity itself. It was Eve's consent expressed through free will that made Adam monarch of that two-individual society.

In almost no instance has imperial rule established itself without some show of armed force to extinguish the resistance of the existing authorities. The early history of colonial rule in Tanganyika was no exception to this long-tested rule. It was marked by ruthless stamping out of African resistance to colonialism. Thus, when Germany established colonial rule in Tanganyika, she did it by the application of her military prowess. Between the years 1889 and 1905 Tanganyika was seething with trouble and revolts. In 1889 there was an Arab rising in the coastal region of the country where the Arabs had made themselves undisputed masters. This was a revolt against imperial Germany, then in the process of establishing her roots in Tanganyikan soil. In 1891-93 the Germans fought the Hehe of Iringa District, Southern Highlands Province.² The Hehe, led by their Chief Mkwan, were eventually beaten; their Chief took his own life as the handwriting on the wall revealed to him his impending defeat. His skull was taken to Germany and

² Skaffington, op. cit., p. 8.
was enshrined in one of the many German museums.

In 1905 a more widespread and more serious rebellion against German administration broke out. This involved about 25% of the African population. The Germans crushed this rebellion, like the Hehe rebellion, with the utmost ruthlessness. An estimated 120,000 indigenous Tanganyikans lost their lives; this has gone down in history as the Maji-Maji Uprising.

In both cases, the Hehe-German War of 1891-93 and the Maji-Maji Rising were positive demonstrations of a nationalist movement resorting to force. The crushing of this resistance to colonial rule discouraged any further opposition to German administration and its imprint was to be noticed even after the Germans quit the country following the 1914-18 hostilities.

A further mention of the story of Chief Mkwawa's skull might be in order though not strictly relevant. When Germany lost World War II, she agreed, while signing the Treaty of Versailles of 1919, to return the skull of Chief

\[3\text{Ibid.}\]

\[4\text{Ibid. } "Maji was a compound of maize, sorghum seed and water supposed to give protection from European rifle fire."\]

\[5\text{Some comments on Mr. Nyerere's speech at the Fourth Committee of the United Nations, 1957, publication of the Government of Tanganyika.}\]
Mkwawa. This was provided for in Article 246 of the Treaty. This was not complied with until 1954 when a skull "agreeing" with the measurements of the Chief's skull was found in Germany and returned to the Hehe. To communicate the champagne mood which this occasion created among the Hehe would be an attempt to describe the indescribable or that which can best be comprehended by imagination. But one would like to question the authenticity of the skull. Could it be someone else's skull?

After these early nationalist manifestations, and because of the ruthless treatment that was accorded the Africans at this time, the years that followed were uneventful on the surface. Underneath, the seed of African nationalism had been planted and it took several years for this seed to show up its shoot. Meanwhile, however, its roots were spreading wide and far, to all parts of the territory.

Era of Suspended Animation. The period from 1914 to 1945 was devoid of visible manifestations of militant nationalism in Tanganyika. It was also a period of stagnation in most walks of Tanganyikan life. Several reasons could be given for this interlude in the history of Tanganyika. First, Tanganyika's chequered history must


7Ibid.
have been partly responsible for this comparative stagnation. Since the first World War had spread even to this distant land, the years immediately after the war had to be years of reconstruction. Secondly, the world-wide economic collapse of 1929-32 had set the clock back and economic progress was impossible without the sinews of progress. Thirdly, the years of World War I and World War II brought a deficit in terms of manpower and material which was the natural aftermath of any such major catastrophe. This essentially slowed down the tempo of overall development in the country. Lastly, there was the genuine fear especially among the settlers of Tanganyika, that the League of Nations might grab Tanganyika back and hand it to Germany. After Hitler's rise to power in 1933, Nazi Germany was demanding the return of her former overseas colonies, of which Tanganyika was one. This action was even advocated by some vocal Britons and with the progressive decline of the international reputation of the League of Nations, the political future of Tanganyika seemed uncertain. Naturally, this discouraged the settlers who had bought the former German estates after the war from investing more money in

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9Ibid.
these properties. It also discouraged any investment from outside.\textsuperscript{10}

Nevertheless, even during these years some progress was being made. The Missionary Societies and the government continued to operate the schools which they had established. It is true there was no significant expansion in educational facilities, but the already established schools, for though these were, continued to operate and produce a slightly sophisticated nucleus of Tanganyikans who were later to be so vital in articulating the nationalist aims. Societies were sprouting in the towns and their ideas moved up and down by a peculiar process that might be called "Social Osmosis." This was made possible by the free movement between the African townsmen and the rural and tribal Africans. Between them the bonds of friendship and the community of cultural and social interests still existed. But these societies were not political in the real sense of the word. Among these associations were the Tanganyika African Teachers' Association and the Tanganyika African Association, the forerunner of T.A.N.U. T.A.A. was a semi-political organization.\textsuperscript{11} Mr. Nyerere had been its last

\textsuperscript{10}Sheffington, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 9 citing His Excellency, the Governor's Budget Speech in 1936.

President when it transpired into T.A.N.U. This marked the end of the "politics of complaint." In the towns a medley of artisans, traders, and the proletariat were growing increasingly conscious of their rights, and they were not slow to boost up the membership of the "complaining" societies like the Tanganyika African Association. In the countryside a somewhat similar trend could be observed.

The Chagga, encouraged by the Government, much to the chagrin of European settlers, started growing coffee on the foothills of Mt. Kilimanjaro. Shortly afterwards the Kilimanjaro Native Planters Association was engineered by government officials to coordinate the activities of individual African coffee growers and in 1929 the African local government forced the sale of all African grown coffee through the Association which later became the Kilimanjaro Native Co-operation Union or K.N.C.U. In the Southern Province, the Ngoni and Matengo Cooperative Market Union was created in 1936 to market Songea-produced tobacco. All these, in conjunction with the free flow of ideas and reports from within and without Tanganyika, helped to create a race- and right-conscious core among the African peoples.

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13 Skeffington, op. cit., p. 18.
14 Ibid.
Thus, it was during this period of suspended animation that the seeds of Western thought were sown in the soil of static tribal and dynamic urban societies. They germinated slowly and during this whole period pushed their roots underground. Gradually young shoots appeared in the form of "complaining" societies and associations, cracking the visible surface of the ground and spreading in all directions with the roots buttressing, encompassing and pervading nearly the whole African Society of Tanganyika. Western ideas of nationalism, self-determination, democracy, progress, economic and social well-being were being quietly assimilated. As time went on, the growing awareness of race among the politically conscious Africans began to tighten the bonds of unity of purpose between them. Thus, they began to question the justification of traditional political setups, legal dispensation, social and economic discrimination between Africans and non-Africans as well as the physical differences of the three zones in the towns that have been alluded to elsewhere in this study.

Antecedents of African Nationalism. With the passing of the period of splendid isolation, everything that the European settlers or the colonial governments did without proper regard to the well-being of the African was noted carefully by the Africans. It did not matter where it happened. What happened in the Union of South Africa whose de facto but
not de jure colonial setup is racialist in the extreme—was a lesson to be studied by the Africans in Tanganyika as an example of what might happen to them should the reins of government be handed to the minority European community. Such a move was not impossible to visualize. Southern Rhodesia was handed to the minority European settlers to the utter disregard of the African interests. In South Africa and Northern Rhodesia the interests of the Africans were subordinated to the enterprising and exploitive prowess of the European.\textsuperscript{15} Although British colonial policy had recognized the principle that the process of power-devolution should not be made so as to place the African at the mercy of the minority communities, yet events in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia had shown how empty such safeguards could be.\textsuperscript{16} Except for a handful of Africans used by the colonial governments in the lower cadres of the civil service and the beltline of power, the overwhelming number remained stuck in indescribable poverty. The whole scene looked like a pyramid of wealth in a desert of squalor and poverty with the Africans supporting these economies for the poorest wages. In South

\footnotesize
\begin{enumerate}
\item Wieschhoff, op. cit., p. 79.
\item \textit{Ibid.}, p. 77.
\end{enumerate}
Africa and in Southern Rhodesia up to the present time, millions of Africans have been squeezed and forced to live on land that is grotesquely inadequate, while Europeans have plenty of land to spare. Indeed, tales of evictions and other injustices accorded the African in South Africa read like a nightmare of brutality in Sheila Patterson's book. This was indeed the general pattern of development in countries having a substantial minority of European settlers. In West Africa, on the other hand, the self-government stipulated in the British colonial policy was unmistakably to be African self-government, for there the mosquito-scarred European would-be settlers were discouraged by the pestilence; so there was no white settler problem to speak of.

In East, Central, and South Africa this pledge had a different connotation. It is true that British officials like Lord Halifax paid lip service to the political advancement of the indigenous peoples of Africa. Speaking at Chatham House in June 1939, Lord Halifax said:

> There was a time when in the British Empire, as elsewhere, colonies were regarded merely as a source of wealth and a place of settlement for Europeans. You have only to read any of the colonial literature of those

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17 Lenz, op. cit., p. 9.
days to see how little counted the rights and welfare of the Natives. But during the last half century a very different view has gained ground, that the well-being and development of people not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world is "a sacred trust of civilization." That trust had been steadily fulfilled since the War in the case of Mandated Territories, on which the operation of the provisions of Article 22 of the Covenant (of the League of Nations) has conferred immense benefits. The British Commonwealth is fully aware of the heavy responsibility resting upon it to see that, through respect for these principles, continuity and development is assured to the native populations. The mandatory system, in fact, derives from exactly the same Colonial administrative policy.19

If this statement was a testimony of the past repressive practices of the colonial governments upon the indigenous Africans in Tanganyika and elsewhere, it was also a negation, or at least a demonstration of monstrous ignorance by the honorable member, of what was actually happening in the colonies. Restrictions of movement, land ownership, investment, economic activity and of political activity were imposed on the Africans by colonial legislatures in several territories long after this famous Chatham Speech.20

Granted that the ultimate goal of British colonial policy had been the eventual evolution of self-government

19 Wieschnoff, op. cit., p. 62.
20 Lens, op. cit., p. 10.
for Britain's colonies, it is also true that the theory of the policy had shown many contradictions in practice. The vindictive treatment accorded the Africans was in no way in accord with the stated colonial policy. It was true that the stated colonial policy envisaged the devolution of power from Westminster and Whitehall to Dar es Salaam on the basis of the English colonial tradition patterned by Lord Durham in 1839 and which implied the concession of self-government to the nascent Tanganyikan nation. But the same formal process of devolution in Southern Rhodesia had involved, in practice, a diametrically opposite policy wherein political authority was conceded to an immigrant minority without due regard to the nascent African nation. It was true the Legislative Council had been established in 1926 and that this institution as developed in all major African territories appeared to contain the elements of a national parliament. But it was also true that when the Legislature was introduced the Africans remained unrepresented until December 1945 and that for a long time, it represented interests rather than persons, and when Africans were seated on the Council, representation was

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not commensurate with the numerical strength of the African community vis-a-vis the non-African communities. The colonial government failed, when elections were introduced, to provide an equitable electoral system and instead provided a biased system weighted in favor of the minority communities.23 The morbid and moribund system of indirect rule was introduced in the territory whereby local government was vested in the hands of traditional rulers who operated within the framework of a British-controlled administration. This system, needless to say, relied, for its success, on the relations of sympathy and mutual respect between British administrators and the African hereditary rulers to the neglect of the politically conscious, pushing bourgeoisie whose status depended on the new wealth and education, not on lineage. These naturally tended to reject traditional authority on the strength of its being reactionary, incompetent, and pro-colonial practices. It was true also that a number of Africans had gone to school and been educated for positions of leadership; but, when it came to placing them in both the civil service and in the private sector, this African elite had been largely excluded from the exercise of genuine leadership. In 1954 only five Africans occupied senior posts.

in the civil service.24

It was also understood that according to British tradition, Tanganyikans could enjoy certain basic civil liberties without any molestations; they could, for instance, organize for political as well as industrial purposes; they expected that they could make speeches and write articles to criticize the colonial administration. But in actual practice, the legal and administrative restrictions imposed by the colonial government upon nationalists and their organizations - through sedition laws, control over passports and police surveillance, testified for the limitations within which one was to operate. Moreover, under the Trusteeship Agreement Britain had undertaken to administer the territory with the understanding that she would help the people of Tanganyika to get ready for the thorny road to self-government. The agreement, further, provided for periodic visits to Tanganyika by United Nations Visiting Mission teams who were to report to the United Nations of Britain's tutelage in Tanganyika. These Missions, at the outset, expressed great disappointment at the lethargy of the Africans in the political arena. This gave the emerging middle class the moral courage to start a nationalist movement with a more

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definite political program and platform.

The obvious thing happened. This was the mushrooming of associations and societies, a little about which has been touched in the foregoing pages of this thesis. They had a further role to play in the development of Tanganyikan nationalism and this, largely due to the fact that their membership was both urban and rural. They, therefore, provided a network of communications, entirely under African control, through which ideas, information, and instructions could be transmitted from the towns to the rural areas and vice versa. This was so because of the frequent exchanges of visits between townspeople and their relatives in the countryside. In the towns tribal associations tended to help and animate tribal cultures through songs and dances, history, languages and moral beliefs. This, to some degree, helped to offset the estranging urban influences although it could also, and probably did, encourage parish-pump politics and tribalism.25

But most important, perhaps, was their role as forces of social cohesion. The mingling of the various tribal cultures in the town and through a process of acculturation the Africans in the urban areas produced a new culture to which no single tribe could lay exclusive claim.

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The task of these associations was to act as spokesmen for the rights of the rest of the Africans. They opposed discrimination on the basis of race and decried everything settler-originated and especially if it came from intruding Kenyan settlers. They resisted the idea of amalgamating the East African territories and condemned compulsory labor on the strength that it separated families which frequently led to matrimonial disasters.26

From Racial Consciousness to Nationalism. The period between the end of World War II in 1945 and July 7, 1954 when T.A.N.U. was born might as well be designated the Age of Political Foundations. Since December 1945, for the first time in the history of Tanganyika, Africans had been nominated to Legislative Council. On December 13, 1946 Britain placed Tanganyika under the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations. In doing this Britain signed a new agreement according to which she agreed to administer Tanganyika under the general supervision of the Trusteeship Council and in accordance with the principles and objectives of the International Trusteeship system.27 The first United Nations Visiting Mission visited Tanganyika in 1946.28


27 See Appendices B. and C.

Its report expressed concern over the political progress of the Africans which they felt had been proceeding at a snail's pace. It reported the fact that only since December 1945 had Africans been invited to take seats in the country's Legislature and that the Africans occupied only the lower echelons in the civil service. It revealed that African education had been "in the doldrums" for the fifteen years preceding the Mission's visit. The Tanganyika African Association, in its memorandum to the Mission, expressed concern over compulsory labor legislation arguing that forced labor led to the breaking up of families since the laborers were not encouraged, far less advised, to take their families with them to the European Estates for which they were recruited; and that, in any case, housing facilities for families at the Estates were non-existent. The Association, in the same memorandum, further complained of discrimination in all its manifestations as well as raising objections to land alienation.

In their report the Mission endorsed the grievances made by the Africans. The British Government, however, condemned this report in almost all respects.

In 1949 the Governor, Sir Edward (now Lord) Twining set up a committee to consider the constitutional future of the country. The committee was under the chairmanship of Sir Charles Mathew. In particular, it was charged to review
the constitutional structure, both local and territorial, and to make recommendations for its future constitutional development.29

The Tanganyika African Association by now had made great strides towards a political organization and, in its memorandum to the Constitutional Committee, proposed the following set-up for the Legislative Council.30

(I) His Excellency the Governor;
(II) Eighteen official members;
(III) Nine non-official African members;
(IV) Seven non-official non-African members;
(V) Two representatives, one each for Dar es Salaam and Tanga elected on a non-racial basis.

The Association further recommended that Swahili be a second Legislative Council official language.

On March 12, 1951, the Constitutional Committee submitted its report to the Governor. Its main recommendations were:

(a) that the Legislature should be expanded;
(b) that the official majority in the Legislature should be maintained;

30Ibid., p. 6.
(c) that racial parity should be introduced in the Legislature. This was to enhance the form of parity representation as understood hitherto both in Tanganyika and in Kenya. The old parity was between Europeans and non-Europeans. The party envisaged by the Committee was one based on a 1:1:1 ratio between Africans, Asians, and Europeans.31

By and large these recommendations were labelled "progressive" in a continent where European conservatism had established its new home. The Asian Association in the territory received these proposals, on the whole, with outstretched arms. However, they were a blow to the Tanganyika African Association (T.A.A.). Julius K. Nyerere was the President of T.A.A. and it was at this point that he felt like parting company with the politics of "complaints" and start tackling the basic problem of colonialism. This was long overdue. United Nations Visiting Missions to Tanganyika had previously pointed a finger of scorn at the indifference of the Africans in their own politics. Would it not be better to transform T.A.A. into a full-fledged nationalist movement?32

31 Hatch, op. cit., pp. 88-89.
32 Walter Goldschmidt, ed., The United States and Africa, the American Assembly, Columbia University, June 1958, pp. 64-66.
The Emergence of Julius K. Nyerere. Tanganikkan nationalism, as an organized force, or the emotional desire for unity and political autonomy among the peoples of Tanganika came very much later than it did to Kenyans or to the people of Ghana. But when it came it grew into a mammoth power in under ten years. One of the reasons why Tanganika slept through this momentous African revolution was the fact that no African leader came to the fore in Tanganika until 1953.

Up to 1953 there was no political organization in Tanganika. Organizations like the Tanganika African Teachers Association and the T.A.A. existed but they were social organizations, if anything. They were organizations through which the grievances of African civil servants were expressed to the colonial government. The African at that time was interested in demanding fair treatment more than in the basic issue of routing colonialism. In 1953 Julius Kambarage Nyerere emerged from the realm of unknown people in the territory as the man of the hour and of necessity in a key territory. He became the political Moses of Tanganika.

Nyerere was born either in 1922 or in 1923. Nobody knows exactly when. His father, Chief Burito, was a


34 Ibid.
ruler of one of the smallest and least known tribes of Tanganyika. This is the tribe of the Wazanaki in Musoma District of Tanganyika. Julius K. Nyerere was one of the Chief's twenty-six children and was born to one of the several wives of the Chief.

At the age of twelve Julius Kambarage Nyerere was sent to a Native Administration School at Musoma, 26 miles away from his village; subsequently he attended the St. Mary's Secondary School and the Government Senior Secondary School in Tabora. He received his further education at Makerere College, the University College of East Africa, where he obtained his diploma in education. After that Nyerere went back to Tanganyika and taught at St. Mary's Secondary School, Tabora, for some years whereupon he was awarded a Tanganyika Government bursary to enable him to study history and economics at the University of Edinburgh in Scotland. There he took his Master of Arts degree. While at Edinburgh Nyerere is said always to have had two girl friends because he believed that there was safety in numbers for him as one who had gone there to study and not to get married.36

In 1952 Nyerere returned to Tanganyika and renewed

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his ties with T.A.A. while assigned to teach at the Roman Catholic College of St. Francis at Pugu near Dar es Salaam. He is, himself, a Roman Catholic convert.

In 1953 he was elected President of T.A.A., whereupon he proceeded to transform it into a political organization dedicated to rout colonialism, root and branch, from the face of Tanganyika. Thus, he drafted a new Constitution for T.A.A. which was adopted by the Association at its annual conference in Dar es Salaam on July 7, 1954, whereupon the organization became T.A.N.U.

Single-handed as he was at Edinburgh University, Nyerere became even more self-disciplined when he returned to Tanganyika.37 As a teacher at Pugu, he walked, almost invariably, the twelve miles into Dar es Salaam to organize and attend political gatherings and then walked back again the same distance through lion-infested forests of the region separating Pugu from Dar es Salaam.

Nyerere had made up his mind to fulfill his mission of leading and organizing T.A.N.U. He would not even accept the prestige - and security - carrying post of District Officer when it was offered him by the Governor.38

Small in stature, Nyerere carries about with him a

37 Ibid.
38 Ibid.
black walking stick with an ivory handle, a habit which has
come to be identified with T.A.N.U. membership. Harsh as
truth and uncompromising as justice, Nyerere has dealt
summarily with those officers of T.A.N.U. found to be
embezzling and misappropriating the funds of the organiza-
tion. He is a chain smoker and likes to sip gin and tonic.
He has said that he has "all the vices"39 but he is also an
extremely hard working man and for this his admirers have
elevated him to the status of a hero who practices what he
preaches. Nyerere has also been described as the "key to
everything" in Tanganyika and as one who is "fifty years
ahead" of anyone else in the vanguard of African national-
ism.40 He is a forceful but undramatic speaker with a ready
wit and a sense of humor.41 Nyerere is at home in both
English and the Swahili language. He is married and has a
family.

The Birth of T.A.N.U. It was on July 7, 1954 that
the morbid and moribund T.A.A. was unscrambled and trans-
formed into T.A.N.U. in Dar es Salaam with Julius K. Nyerere
continuing to be President of the metamorphosed Union.
T.A.N.U. was to operate in the same environment as its

40 Ibid.
41 British Information Services, I.D. 1342, op. cit.
predecessor T.A.A.; all persons were still equal in Tanganyika but some persons were more equal than others. Disparity was still rampant. A differential scale for wages between Africans and non-Africans prevailed in a land where colonial administrators, colonial teachers, and Christian missionaries were preaching equality of opportunity to earn and to learn for all people. Millions of homes were little less than hovels and yet in the towns and in the estates Europeans and Asians led lives which reflected mountains of wealth in a desert of poverty when compared with that of the African professional middle class, let alone that of the rank and file of the African community. African and non-African schools built by the same government displayed the same monstrous disparity both externally and internally. Idle men and "Khanga" wearing women roamed in the streets of Dar es Salaam, Tanga, and several main towns, jobless, hopeless, and without dignity. In 1953 only 6.0% of the total African population were wage-earners.42 Blighted areas, neglected children in the towns and in the countryside were unmistakable signs of standardless living and reflections of a government which, in the eyes of many African nationalists, did not seem to care a tinker's curse for its citizens. It reflected injustice, government's lack

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of a dynamic and respectable program earmarked to improve Tanganyikan life on all fronts by launching a national crusade against poverty, ignorance and disease. If the colonial government was not going to do it quickly enough, or not at all, the Africans themselves must resolve to do it. But without political power all would be vainglorious and pharisaic talking. Hence, the freedom movement, T.A.M.U., was inaugurated with the following aims and objectives:

1. To prepare the people of Tanganyika for self-government and independence, and to work relentlessly until Tanganyika is self-governing and independent.

2. To work against tribalism and all isolationist tendencies amongst the Africans and to build up a United Nationalism.

3. To work relentlessly for the establishment of a democratic form of government, and as a first step towards democracy, to work for the introduction of the election principle on all bodies of local and central government.

4. To work for the removal of every form of racialism and racial discrimination.

5. To achieve African majorities on all bodies of local and central government, and committees, boards or corporations of public service.

6. To encourage and organize trade unionism and the Cooperative Movement, and to work with trade unions and cooperative societies and other organizations whose objects are in harmony with the aims and objects of the union.

7. To urge the government:

   (a) to see that the producer gets the best price for his commodities, and that the consumer buys from the best market;
(b) to help the African to establish small industries whenever possible and take an increasing share in the owning and running of big industries.

(c) to establish technical schools for training skilled African artisans;

(d) to establish a system of assisted farming and thus enable the African farmer either cooperatively or individually to apply modern methods of farming;

(e) to establish and enforce a minimum wage system and see that the African worker gets a living wage and decent conditions of employment;

(f) to introduce compulsory and universal primary education for the African child; and to increase the institutions of secondary and post secondary education.

8. To oppose the alienation of land for non-African settlement, except with the consent of the Africans themselves freely expressed through their chiefs and elected representatives.

9. To oppose all foreign immigration which in the opinion of the Tanganyika African National Union is likely to aggravate racialism and racial antagonism in Tanganyika.

10. To oppose any move to join Tanganyika in a Union or Federation with the other East African Territories until the demand for Federation comes from the African inhabitants of these territories. . .43

These were the aims and objects for which T.A.N.U. was formed. They might be summed up as intended to secure national solidarity and life more abundant for the African

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43 Constitution of T.A.N.U.
people of Tanganyika, dedicated to the cause of humanity, devoted to justice and order and working for the good of all and to the detriment of none: African, Asian or European. As might be assumed the task T.A.N.U. assigned to themselves was near enough to a Himalayan climb. In the following chapters is told the story of their political achievements: how they went about accomplishing them, what handicaps and barriers they encountered and how they managed this rough ride without resorting to violence, passive resistance, or any other conventional response to a stubborn colonial rule.
CHAPTER IV

THE RISE OF MILITANT NATIONALISM

Political Setting. The Mathew Report was a shock to serious thinking budding African nationalists. It had brushed aside all the proposals of T.A.A. when it recommended the introduction of racial parity in the Legislature. Elsewhere in the neighborhood new political ideas were being thrown into the open for bold colonial governments to pick. One of these was the philosophy of the Capricorn Africa Society, intended to become a multiracial society but currently dominated by white settlers. In 1952 the Capricorn Africa Society came out with their declarations which affirmed:

(a) that all men, despite their varying talents, were born equal in dignity before God, and had a common duty to one another;
(b) that the differences between men, whether of creed or color, were honorable differences;
(c) their belief in the destiny of the British East and Central African territories and their peoples;
(d) their belief that Southern Rhodesia, Kenya, Northern Rhodesia, Uganda, Nyasaland, and Tanganyika might be bound in a single self-governing federation under the British Crown, wherein men of all races should live side by side in harmony, sufferance and freedom;

(e) that to strive towards such a goal would provide a sense of shared purpose and dedication transcending racial differences; and that its attainment would bring untold benefits to Africa and its people, to the British Commonwealth of Nations and to mankind.\(^1\)

And bound by those convictions, they submitted that:

(I) Africa South of the Sahara was comparable in natural resources with other continents of the world;

(II) the peoples of Europe had two responsibilities in Africa, and those were complementary to one another: they had an obligation to mankind to develop the continent jointly with the Africans, so that it should contribute from its great resources to the wealth of the world; they had an equally important obligation
to give to the African both incentive and opportunity to achieve higher standards of life, and thus make possible a true partnership between races;

(III) the Africans as yet lacked the technical know-how, the industrial maturity, and the numbers to develop the continent by themselves;

the two-fold responsibility of the European could not be discharged by reserving all Africa's sparsely populated areas for gradual development at a pace determined by the African's birthrate; it could be discharged and Africa's development quickened, by an increasing combination of western immigration and technology with the latent capacity of the African and other races;

(IV) British East and Central Africa should be amalgamated to make the political unit an economic viable one and this could serve as the first move in the unfolding history of Africa's integration.

Turning to the subject of voting rights, the declaration stated:

(V) all Africans who had attained the necessary social and educational standards must
be accorded the responsibility of franchise and be given no less opportunity than their European fellow citizens to play their part in an expanding, civilized community.²

This was anathema to the African nationalist everywhere in the territories concerned. This was especially intensified when later the Society advocated a single system of voting based on a qualified franchise and a multiple vote.

The whole purpose of the Society tended to be reminiscent of Cecil Rhodes' empty ideal: "Equal rights to all civilized men", since such an ideal could only be a constructive goal if the means of civilization were made increasingly available to all the people.³ It reminded the budding African nationalist of the recommendations of the Mathew Report which had given the Asians and Europeans in Tanganyika equal seats in the Legislature in spite of the fact that numerically, the Africans far outstripped the two other ethnic groups even when combined. This was prostituted democracy and might eventually lead to the subordination of the African as he had been in Southern

²Ibid.

Rhodesia where both Cecil Rhodes' ideal and the ideals of the Capricorn Africa Society emanated. It is interesting to note that David Stirling, the president of the Society, and a signatory to these declarations, was a Tanganyikan settler. This statement made the African nationalist even more concerned than earlier when time and time again he had asked for a clear statement of policy from the administering Authority about the future of Tanganyika. On June 23, 1952, the Secretary of State for the colonies had made the following statement in the House of Commons, a statement which was far from satisfactory to the nationalist:

First, it is the intention to continue to administer the territory in accordance with the terms of the Trusteehip Agreement until the ultimate goal of self-government has been reached. Her Majesty's Government confidently hopes that when that goal has been attained Tanganyika will be within the British Commonwealth. Her Majesty's Government attaches importance, for the interests of the inhabitants of Tanganyika, to maintenance and promotion of British traditions and the British connection with the territory. Secondly, her Majesty's Government interprets the Trusteehip Agreement and Article 76 of the United Nations Charter as imposing on the Administering Party an obligation to provide for the full participation of all sections of the population, irrespective of racial origin, in the progressive development of political institutions and in the economic and social advancement of the territory. Each section of the population must be enabled and encouraged to play its full part in the development of the territory and its institutions, in complete confidence that the rights and interests of all communities, both indigenous and immigrant, will be secured and preserved."

4Hatch, op. cit., p. 57 et seqq.
But the African wanted a statement that was to assure him that he was eventually to control the reins of government. It added nothing new to what was already known. The same thing had been declared in 1950 and in 1951 by Secretaries of State for the colonies, James Griffiths and Oliver Lyttleton respectively. Even Burke had inferred the same thing in 1783 when he said this about India: "All political power which is set over men ... ought to be in some way or another exercised ultimately for their benefit." That had been the moral foundation of British colonial policy which in practice had meant, in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, putting the fate of millions of Africans into the hands of a few thousands of European settlers. Was this the intention of these evasive statements? Were the 8½ million Africans in Tanganyika to be placed in the hands of the 20,000 odd European settlers and civil servants? If not, in the eyes of African nationalists, a statement of assurance was in order and so they demanded it.

It was a politically charged environment that T.A.N.U. inherited from T.A.A. But more was yet to come.

The recommendations of the Mathew Constitutional

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6 Ibid.
Committee were accepted by the United Kingdom Government and a new Legislature came into being in April 1955. It consisted of sixty-one members, thirty-one of whom were official and thirty unofficial. As recommended by the Mathew Committee, the unofficial element of the Council was so constituted as to introduce racial parity and hence there were ten Africans, ten Asians and ten Europeans. The Council was still a nominated Council with a number of ex-officio members on the official side of the House. At the same time the Executive Council was so enlarged as to include the Governor, three ex-officio members, five nominated official members and six non-official members, two from each of the three main races.

Parallel with this development was the announcement by the Governor of the appointment of Professor W.O. Mackenzie, Professor of Government at Manchester University. His terms of reference were to inquire further into the constitutional problems of the territory. The main recommendations of the Mackenzie Report were that elections should supersede nominations for members of the Legislative Council and other local bodies and that an experiment should be

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7 Hatch, op. cit., p. 89.
8 Ibid.
tried, probably in Dar es Salaam, in interracial election. After another visit to Tanganyika by Professor Mackenzie's Commission, the Government of Tanganyika made public a number of constitutional proposals. The proposals were to be put into effect with the coming of the first general election in 1958-59. These proposals purported:

(a) the maintenance of racial parity in the Legislature;
(b) the introduction of elections, on a common roll basis, in a few selected constituencies and on a restricted franchise requiring as prerequisites a minimum standard of education, a minimum standard of wealth and responsibility;
(c) a residential and age qualification.

T.A.N.U. had already been born when the new multi-racial council met in April 1955 and were already demanding self-government freely elected by all the people on a universal adult franchise basis. They were already up on their feet cursing and confounding multi-racial government on a racial parity basis. The recommendation by the 1954

9Ibid.

United Nations Visiting Mission was that a time limit for the achievement of independence by Tanganyika should be set at 20 years encouraged T.A.N.U. in their demand for self-government in spite of the fact that the United Kingdom Government had brushed the recommendation aside calling it "wild and extremist."\textsuperscript{11}

**Battles on the Home Front.** T.A.N.U. had to wage several battles on the home front in order to establish themselves and be recognized as the voice of the people. But they were battles without bullets. The first of these battles was in the constitutional area where they encountered opposition from the European settlers and the colonial administration. Even the press was very much in the vanguard of painting black everything T.A.N.U. came up with; for instance, the accusation that T.A.N.U. wanted to get rid of the non-Africans in Tanganyika.\textsuperscript{12} Hence, started a campaign against the Government-launched multiracial council on the basis of racial parity. First T.A.N.U. made counter-proposals and demanded:

(a) that the Government of Tanganyika should make a declaration that the territory was to be developed as a democratic State and, since the

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\textsuperscript{11} Hatch, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

population of Tanganyika was overwhelmingly African, that it would be primarily an African State;
(b) that by 1958 the official side in the Legislature should be so re-organized that, while retaining the official majority, the non-official members on the official side should be nominated to give parity between Africans on the one hand and non-Africans on the other; specifically on the official side there should be 17 officials and 16 unofficials of whom 5 should be Africans and 6 non-Africans;
(c) that on the representative side of the Legislature, there should be introduced parity between Africans and non-Africans; specifically, there should be 16 Africans and 16 non-Africans;
(d) that all Representative Members should be elected on a common roll and on a universal adult franchise basis;
(e) that the Executive Council should be similarly re-organized such that, while retaining the official majority, the unofficial members should be included to give parity between Africans and non-Africans; and that there should be introduced the ministerial system with
some portfolios allocated to non-official members.\textsuperscript{13}

T.A.N.U.'s argument against the proposals of the Government were presented in a publication entitled "T.A.N.U. and the Vote." They argued that the government's intention to introduce a restricted franchise based on education, property, and responsibility was a travesty of democracy and was calculated to bar most Africans from the right to vote since both wealth and education were in the hands of the non-African communities; they further said, "apart from the possibility of enfranchising clever thieves who had escaped the busy eye of the police, and disenfranchising the honest, poor, and ignorant," a suffrage based on education and property amounted to protecting those who least needed protection and depriving those who needed it most, for the vote "is a political protection in the hands of the citizen against an unscrupulous government," and in a modern state, when governments regulate education and economic development, the hope of the poor and the ignorant, who unfortunately formed the majority, was some feeling at least that the government of the country was as much theirs as it is the government of the rich and the educated. T.A.N.U. then condemned racial parity as a colonial gimmick intended to

perpetuate multiracialism and undemocratic government.

T.A.N.U. had a new frontier to explore on the home front. The organization had just been formed and beginnings are always difficult in any worthwhile venture. There was tribalism to contend with and the colonial administration which, besides being antagonistic to T.A.N.U. itself, tended to encourage parish-pump politics and tribalism.

There were the problems of selling the ideas of nationalism to an overwhelmingly illiterate population. The roads were bad and militant missions sent by T.A.N.U. to the rural areas to propagate and broadcast the ideas of African nationalism had to work during the better part of the year climatically until the organization had established branches in the various towns and minor settlements of the territory.

There was a definite attempt to split the Chiefs and the nationalists. It was not easy for T.A.N.U. to register new branches and, not infrequently, those registered were closed under some mysterious legalistic order from the colonial government. Permission to address open meetings was withdrawn from Julius K. Nyerere, the president of T.A.N.U.

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Speaking to a convention of Tanganyikan chiefs, Sir Edward Twining, then governor said:

"... We have recently been experiencing a new phenomenon of a political party composed largely of people whose tribal links have been loosened, and who have not the proper respect of the Native Authorities and chiefs. Most of their ideas come from outside the territory, put into their heads by the people who have not got the true interests of Tanganyika at heart and want to apply here methods which are not particularly suitable to our local conditions. They base their appeal on the emotional attractions of extreme nationalism, which in effect is nothing more than racialism. As a result of a series of historical accidents Tanganyika cannot yet be said to be a nation, but it is for us to build the country up to nationhood. This does not mean, however, that there should not be local patriotism. Indeed, it is a thing to be fostered, and a keen but friendly rivalry between tribes and districts is a healthy development. ..."

These were definitely difficult days for the nationalist movement. On another occasion the same governor had upheld qualitative franchise and had condemned the democracy asked for by African nationalists as prostituted democracy which "glib-tongued politicians" thought of as an open sesame for the fulfillment of their own ambitions. 17

17 Governor's Speech to First Convention of Chiefs held at Mzumbe, Morogoro on Tuesday, 14th. - 16th. May, 1957.

18 That notorious speech: Statement made by Julius K. Nyerere at the 579th meeting of the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly of the U.N.O.
Despite, or even because of this animosity from the colonial administration, T.A.N.U. leaders speaking softly and carrying T.A.N.U. sticks mustered a large number of party enthusiasts. In 1956 Mr. Nyerere was able to tell the United Nations that in two years they had built a nationalist movement which was the biggest and the strongest anywhere in East or Central Africa. At some point T.A.N.U. was obligated to limit the enrollment because it was not yet in a position to run a mass movement while in other places this limitation was due to the Registration of Societies Ordinance which imposed certain restrictions on it.

The Timbre of Tanganyikan Nationalism. This remarkable growth and solid backing of T.A.N.U. by the general mass of the people was due to a variety of factors. What were these factors and characteristics of Tanganyikan nationalism? One was that in Nyerere, T.A.N.U. had a tolerant, far-seeing, key man at the helm. He was the man of the hour and of necessity. The New Commonwealth described him as an "able, sincere and modest leader." His honesty and modesty won

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19 Ibid.
him staunch followers both among the African bourgeoisie and the proletariat. When attempts were made to divide the chiefs and the nationalists, he put his cards on the table and told the chiefs that theirs was not the concern for the reins of central government for which T.A.N.U. was trying to win back from the colonial administration. The issues involved were British Imperialism and Tanganyikan nationalism.\(^{22}\) Also on the asset side was the fact that colonial rule had degenerated into a conflict between races and symbolized essentially a class conflict, with wealth and privilege concentrated in non-Africans and the Africans being substantially an industrial proletariat and an impoverished peasantry. Then there was the availability of a lingua franca, Swahili. That a common language was significant could not be over-emphasized. Indeed, Swahili as a factor in forming and sustaining social cohesion and national solidarity was the anchor sheet and bulwark of T.A.N.U. It served, through talk and mass media, as a means of recalling and recalling immediately the past and present experiences of the Africans. It served as a means of telescoping the future of Tanganyika and indigenous Tanganyikans were made aware of the immediate present through its role as a vanguard of disseminating and transmitting news.

\(^{22}\) Young and Fosbrooke, op. cit., p. 180 citing "Seuti ya Tanu."
It served the important function of an instrument by means of which the expression and arousal of feeling and desire of a people brought together by accidents of history and facing a common fate. As a political weapon, Swahili secured the union of all that speak it, in thought, feeling, and action towards the maintenance of the African society in general. Then might be added the fact that tribalism in Tanganyika was not such an important threat to nationalism; the reason being that there were too many small tribes for anyone of them to exert itself without being drowned in the colossal melting-pot. Indeed, a community of interests among the Africans was growing all the time. Finally might be added the burgeoning of the Swahili mass media. This was especially so when Mwafrika, a Swahili newspaper, came into being since it championed the cause of African nationalism in Tanganyika. That nationalism, when it came, was not extreme is partly explained by some of the foregoing points. Bishop Stanway suggests a few more:

(a) That there were few educated people, and this meant that fewer were aware of the strength of the case for independence;
(b) There was no serious land pressure and only a comparatively small settler group;

23 Young and Fostrooke, op. cit., p. 176 citing "Sauti ya Tanu."
24 Ibid.
(c) The commercial group was always, as a whole, in favor of progress, as that meant more sale for their goods;
(d) The government had a wide basis to history and recognized what must inevitably come;
(e) The best missionaries were in the vanguard of the nationalist movement, though they could not in the nature of things be involved politically.\(^{25}\)

It could be possible also, besides the Bishop's reasons, that the imprint of German brutality was still lingering in the minds of many Africans and therefore rendered resorting to violence again unthinkable.

**Battles at the international level.** T.A.N.U. had another front open in their struggle against colonialism. As a Trust Territory, Tanganyikans had the privilege of petitioning the United Nations. And so whenever a major deadlock between the colonial government and the nationalists arose, the tendency was for nationalists to try to get their view vented at the United Nations. On three occasions T.A.N.U. sent their leader, Julius K. Nyerere, to plead their case before the United Nations.

On the first occasion, in 1955, Julius K. Nyerere addressed the Trusteeship Council. In his plea Mr. Nyerere told the council that the 1954 United Nations Visiting Mission report on Tanganyika, which the Administering Authority had called wild and extremist, had restored hope and confidence among the people of Tanganyika and that any outrageous assertion that many people rejected it had no foundation whatsoever. He also exposed the fallacy that Government in the hands of Africans would necessarily be unstable and therefore frighten away foreign investors. Precedent and trends in West Africa were confirming the contrary view. T.A.N.U. rejected racial parity and was now demanding an assurance from the British Government and the Council similar to that given to Uganda recently, namely that Tanganyika, though multiracial in population, would in the long run have a government which would be primarily African. At the same time he stressed the point that non-Africans, if they chose to be Tanganyikans, would be welcome and live protected like all other citizens but without special privileges couched in the psychological phrase "minority

27 Ibid.
rights." Also brought to the attention of the Council were the perennial problems of land alienation, immigration, lack of educational facilities and economic development of Tanganyika. On the second time, in 1956, following Governments unwillingness to take counsel from T.A.N.U. in its final election proposals, Nyerere appealed to the United Nations to bring its influence to bear on the Administering Authority so that the latter might consider the constitutional counter-proposals made by T.A.N.U.

On the third occasion, the T.A.N.U. chief was accompanied in his appearance before the Trusteeship Council by Thomas Marealle, Ex-Paramount chief of the Wachagga. Both of them presented the problems of Tanganyika. Marealle upheld most of Nyerere's previous statements and added that in his opinion, given the proper political climate, independence could be attained within ten or fifteen years. He also denounced the reactionary European settlers.

Marealle's speech was a triumph for nationalism. It indicated beyond reasonable doubt that there were Chief's who sympathized with the cause of nationalism. The

Governor, in his speech at the First Convention of Chiefs had indicated that the tribal system was incompatible with nationalism. Yet here was Marealle, the Chairman of the Chief's Convention siding with the nationalists.

When Mr. Nyerere took the floor at this Trusteeship Council meeting, he told the Council that T.A.N.U. wanted an assurance from the Government of Tanganyika to the effect that Tanganyika would be developed as a democratic and, primarily as, an African state. Simultaneously with this statement, T.A.N.U. wanted a symbolic change in the complexion of the Legislature in accordance with the proposals T.A.N.U. had submitted to the government of Tanganyika.

The Twining Administration: A Stubborn Era. Sir Edward Twining, now Lord Twining, took his gubernatorial office in 1949. He was a big man and his big stomach is supposed to have added a great deal to his personality; he had "a robust and earthly sense of humor and an ability not to hurt fools too much" when he failed to suffer them gladly. Fond of gubernatorial "progresses," which

30 Governor's Speech to the Convention of Chiefs at Mzumbe on 14th - 16th May, 1957.
31 Official Records, T/SA. 818.
reminded students of English history of the Elizabethan era, he loved to appear in official attire with a maximum of pomp and circumstance.\textsuperscript{33} To be sure, few governors had been so popular. But slowly and surely he turned to be most uncooperative with the nationalists. Nationalism was anathema to him. Dealing with the tribes was his speciality as he went round the country. He described tribal systems as the bulwark of Tanganyikan African society and nationalism as an exotic force.\textsuperscript{34} To be sure, he initiated several constitutional reforms in the territory but could not heed nationalist counsel.

Under this administration, T.A.N.U. had to appeal to the United Nations after failing to convince the Government to speed up the tempo of democratizing the machinery of government. Under this administration, and never afterwards, T.A.N.U. had a rough time in securing registration for their branches. Under this administration the Government published a booklet entitled "Some Comments on Mr. Nyerere's Speech at the Fourth Committee of the United Nations" which tore to pieces nearly the whole of Mr. Nyerere's speech. To this Mr. Nyerere replied by a counter-publication and reproduction of what he called "That Notorious Speech" so

\textsuperscript{33}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{34}Governor's Speech to the Convention of Chiefs, \textit{op. cit.} Also see Governor's Address to Legislative Council, April 4, 1955.
that people might read it for themselves and make up their own minds about its contents. During this same period the Government introduced racial parity in the Legislature in the teeth of protests from the nationalists and criticism from the United Nations.

There might be some truth in saying that as the colonial governor goes so goes the colonial office. Certainly at this time the colonial office was assiduous against nationalist demands as was the Tanganyikan administration. Counsel and criticism from the United Nations were paid back in their own coin. The title of Sir Alan Burn's book sums up very ably what the colonial office and colonial government were doing at that time.\textsuperscript{35} The first General Elections in 1958 and 1959 were held in accord with the wishes of the administration which brushed aside the proposals of T.A.N.U. and the counsel of the Trusteeship Council. During this time, permission for Mr. Nyerere to address public meetings was withdrawn. This was surely a stubborn era and an anti-nationalism era.

\textbf{The Emergence of Neonationalism.} No sooner had T.A.N.U. established itself than other parties appeared on the Tanganyikan political scene. First to appear was the dead, or dying, multiracial party, conceived in the

Governor's study. This was the United Tanganyika Party. The Party came out with an impressive manifesto couched in Biblical language and embodying ten beliefs like the decalogue. But as the 1958-59 General Election was to show it had won the least popularity among the African masses who rallied around Julius Kambarage Nyerere and his T.A.N.U. The architects of the document prefaced it with the statement that the party had no connection with any other society. This was probably an attempt to disassociate themselves with the already unpopular Capricorn Africa Society. Then they listed their beliefs stipulating:

1. That only those people of the world who believed in the beneficence and power of God and accepted His will were blessed;

2. That all men were born equal with certain inalienable rights as human beings and were equal in the love of God and in the dignity which He gave to man. Differences in race, color, and creed did not constitute any inequality in human dignity and in those inalienable rights;

3. That different peoples had varying natural gifts, and that a wise peoples was one which

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36 Adams, op. cit., p. 103.
sought the development and full use of all those gifts;

4. That all races of Tanganyika were completely dependent upon one another for their peace and happiness and prosperity, and for their upward progress towards nationhood;

5. That no one race could truly and permanently prosper alone by its own unaided efforts; no one race could be left to lag behind without retarding the progress of others;

6. That the integration of the efforts of all races toward nationhood for the people of Tanganyika would result in new bonds of interest and mutual respect and regard between them;

7. That the evolution of Government in Tanganyika should be a developing process directed towards full self-government within the Commonwealth, in which all races would take their part. The party accepted the Trust Territory status for Tanganyika, and that final responsibility for Tanganyika rested with Her Majesty's government and would
continue to do so until self-government was attained;

8. That in the existing circumstances the constitution then obtaining (this provided for racial parity), with such developments and innovations as were compatible with the principles of the constitution, should be maintained, and should continue until such time as the main races were more nearly formed into one whole as responsible citizens of Tanganyika and had advanced further on the road to nationhood;

9. That those people of Tanganyika who had had the advantages and benefits, moral and spiritual, social and cultural, economic and political, of older civilizations had an over-riding obligation to spread those advantages throughout the length and breadth of Tanganyika and to enable those, less fortunate to share in them. The party accepted as an obvious fact that acceptance of the principle would entail sacrifices, not only on the part of the givers but also the receivers;

10. That the party formally declared its abhorrence of the attitude of mind known as the
color-bar and its manifestation in the form of racial discrimination. 37

Needless to say, U.T.P. cut a very poor figure with the Africans in general and with the nationalists in particular. In the first place it was formed in the study of a Governor with whom the nationalists had had difficulties to compromise. In the second case it encouraged a constitutional status quo which the nationalists were trying all they could to reform. In the third place, it was headed by a European settler and appeared to be a Capricorn Africa Society or Cecil Rhodes' "Equal rights to all civilized men" in sheep's clothing. These points were brought forward more clearly in the aims of the party which followed the decalogue-form of its beliefs. The aims were:

(a) To uphold the principles in the manifest and to strive for their adoption by all people of goodwill;

(b) To respect the established government, both central and local, and also legitimate traditional authority recognized by government and the people, to support or promote changes only by constitutional means;

(c) To expose all attempts at changes in the Constitution of Tanganyika by unconstitutional means and all subversive and seditious activities, whether they come from within or without the territory;

(d) To evolve the most suitable form of franchise for the circumstances of Tanganyika and to resist all proposals which would lead to the domination of one racial group over the others or the subjugation of one group by the others;

(e) To advocate and advance the social and economic development of the country by the speediest possible means in order:

1. to raise the standards of living of all races and, in particular, of those inhabitants who were living at subsistence levels;

2. to provide the means to raise the standards of education and to stimulate the spread of literacy throughout the country;

3. that the political and social integration of the various races should be accelerated;

(f) To promote the utilization and improvement of the natural resources of the country for the benefit of all its people and to protect them, where necessary, for posterity;

(g) To sponsor and encourage all desirable forms of free enterprise and cooperative effort;

(h) To further the equalization of the status of men and women among all the people of Tanganyika;

(i) To exercise constant vigilance regarding the sovereign position of Tanganyika. 38

Although this statement included many points of

agreement with T.A.N.U., it also included many points of 
basic disagreement. A further basis for nationalist 
suspicious was the fact that the manifesto had appeared 
over the names of thirty signatures of nominated members 
of the Legislature and of these only six were Africans. 

Soon afterwards another organization mushroomed. 
This organization specifically called itself a thinking 
group, and not a political party. The group called itself 
"The Tanganyika National Society" and its manifesto endorsed 
the philosophy of the Capricorn Africa Society based on the 
principles that: all races in the territory should have 
one loyalty to Tanganyika and that self-government for 
Tanganyika should be within the British Commonwealth of 
Nations; there should be established a common citizenship 
for all citizens of Tanganyika, regardless of race, color 
or creed; all racial discrimination should be protected and 
advanced and that there should be a single system of voting 
based on a qualified franchise and a multiple vote. 

As time passed by, still newer nationalisms sud- 
ded. One that might be worth mentioning was the African National Congress (A.N.C.)\(^{39}\) which came as a result of a schism 
between T.A.N.U. and Zuberi Mtemu, then Acting Secretary-
General of T.A.N.U. Mtemu was outlawed from T.A.N.U. 

\(^{39}\) Manifesto of African National Congress; also 
cited in East Africa and Rhodesia, August, 1938.
whereupon he formed this new party which wanted: self-
government "now", all Ministries to be filled by Africans
except the Ministries of Justice, Defence, Foreign Affairs,
Finance and the portfolio of the Chief Secretary which were
to be in the hands of British expatriates only for a time.
Further A.N.C. advocated universal adult franchise. The
manifesto ended with the keynote "we prefer self-government
with danger to servitude in tranquility."

Which of these nationalism had the most impact on
the masses was not quite certain now that everyone of them,
T.A.N.U., U.T.P. and A.N.C. claimed that the membership in
their parties was growing like a tropical bush-fire. However,
with the impending General Election to be held partly in 1958
and partly in 1959, the answer to this uncertainty was just
around the corner. In the meanwhile Nyerere was calling for
national solidarity.

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40 Julius K. Nyerere, Barriers to Democracy.
CHAPTER V

THE TRIUMPH OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM

T.A.N.U. and the First General Election. To assess the depth of the impact of nationalism among the masses would be a nearly impossible task. Notwithstanding the remarkable showing that T.A.N.U. had put up against the wearing forces and divisive tactics of the imperialists, no one could say for sure that T.A.N.U. spoke for the masses. It was not surprising that the colonial administration, more often than not, had taken a stand against Mr. Nyerere's statements that he was speaking for the African people of Tanganyika. When Mr. Nyerere opened his speech at the meeting of the Fourth Committee of the United Nations General Assembly by "It is my privilege on behalf of my people," Government took him to task and said that he had no right to speak for the vast majority of the people of Tanganyika.¹ To the atmosphere already charged with doubt and political animosity were added more doubt-raising factors. The United Tanganyika Party and the African National Congress each claimed to have a large number of supporters. It appeared

¹Some Comments on Mr. Nyerere's Speech at the Fourth Committee of the United Nations, 1957, op. cit.
that each and every one of the three parties had become a full-pledged nationalist party speaking for the masses. The first chance to evaluate these claims came during the First General Election which was held in two parts to facilitate the administrative work involved and in the hope that the lessons which would be learned in the first part would greatly add to the success of the second part. Five constituencies went to the polls in September, 1958, and the other five in February, 1959. It will be recalled that Government had issued their election proposals to which they would not add an iota of the counterproposals made by T.A.N.U.

T.A.N.U. was in a very unpleasant dilemma. Should they boycott the elections or partake of them conditionally? For months they hovered between these two opinions. Finally, at the National Conference held in Tabora in 1958, and after a heated controversial debate, a decision was arrived at whereby T.A.N.U. chose the lesser evil of the two: to take part in the elections on the proviso that the proposals made by the Government, and especially those relating to the tri-partite voting system and racial parity, were only an interim feature in the constitutional development of the territory. All of the election proposals provided for a qualitative and restrictive franchise. This meant that very few Africans would qualify for voting or be eligible as
candidates. The tripartite voting system forced every qualified voter to cast three votes on his ballot if it was to be valid—one for an African, another for an Asian and yet another for a European. In other words, all constituencies were to be three-member electoral districts with each of the three main races in the country having the right to have one of their number returned to the Legislature by all the three races.

Appeal to reason rather than emotion convinced T.A.N.U. to pick up the election gauntlet and fight through to demonstrate their long-cherished belief that they, and not U.T.P. or A.N.C., were the voice of the people.²

T.A.N.U. now concentrated on the issue at stake. They put up candidates in the ten constituencies and recommended a list of Asian and European candidates.³ Its platform in these elections advocated: freedom and independence as inherent rights of all countries; equal opportunities to learn and to earn, etc., equality of all men in their rights and duties of citizenship, without regard to race, color, class or creed; it advocated constitutional changes through constitutional and non-violent means; it condemned the constitution because it was racialist and undemocratic, the

²Skaffington, op. cit., p. 34.
³Ibid.
tripartite voting system because it was racist, undemocratic and made the common roll a mockery, and the limited franchise because it created first-rate citizens and second-rate citizens by the use of arbitrary criteria. The platform also denounced qualitative franchise for being contrary to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—"an insult to everybody except to a negligible minority" of Tanganyikans. The platform then went on to condemn any further insulting delay in constitutional reform; it demanded the immediate introduction of geographical representation through single-member constituencies based on population, universal adult suffrage and free vote of the basis of one man, one vote, one value. T.A.N.U. demanded, further, immediate constitutional reforms which would introduce a majority of elected members both in the Legislature and in the top executive exhalons of Government. And, finally, they demanded the immediate introduction of a non-racial education system.

It was an exciting time. At the same time U.T.P. and A.M.C. also put up their candidates including I.C.W. Baylons, then Chairman of U.T.P. and Zuberi Mteavu, Chief of A.M.C. When the returns came out, T.A.N.U. and T.A.M.U.-supported Asian and European candidates were successful.

4"Let Us Govern Ourselves"
everywhere in the country, and both in the first part of the election and in the second. U.T.P. lost everywhere in the country during both the 1958 and the 1959 elections. Its president and treasurer suffered heavy defeats—and as events were to show later, the General Election was a political funeral for U.T.P.; A.N.C. was similarly routed, its Chief receiving only 53 votes when all was told.5

The Birth of T.E.M.O. When the new Governor, Sir Richard Turnbull who had assumed duty in July, 1958, addressed the Legislature on March 17, 1959, it was in the presence of a united opposition, thirty strong, under the able and respectable chairmanship of Julius K. Nyerere. This opposition, the Tanganyika Elected Members' Organization (T.E.M.O) consisted of ten Africans, ten Asians and ten Europeans who had been elected, in a real sense, by T.A.N.U. and its sympathizers. All, consequently, were sworn to resist the tripartite voting system and racial parity in the Legislature.6 Derek Bryceson, one of the greatest contemporary immigrant Tanganyikans, became Nyerere's right-hand man on T.E.M.O. with Amir Jamal, another dedicated immigrant Tanganyikan, as Treasurer of the organization.7

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5 Skeffington, loc. cit.
7 Skeffington, loc. cit.
On July 1, 1959, the Governor invited five Elected Members to fill five ministerial posts on the Executive; three of these were Africans, one an Asian and the other a European with Julius K. Nyerere still leading the opposition. By October, that year, the nominated element in the House had been diminished in such proportions that the Elected Members, including the new Elected Ministers, had a majority over the official side. But by a gentleman's agreement the Elected Ministers, being officially government, were not to oppose official policies without giving a two-day notice within which the Government would allow them temporarily to resign their portfolios and the government would then appoint an over-balance of nominated members, so as to maintain the relative strength of the official side over the elected side.\(^8\)

The Turnbull Administration: Era of Understanding.

The Turnbull administration was, in a real sense, a progressive era, an era when the administration and the most influential nationalist movement seemed to operate in a teamwork spirit. There were no grudges, one against the other, and the words from the Governor himself, unlike those of his predecessor, spelt out the fears that had been haunting the nationalists for a long time. He never called them names,

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\(^8\) The New Commonwealth, January, 1960.
except when he was forced to call a spade a spade. But not so with Sir Edward Twining who at one time described the African nationalists as:"

... a political party composed largely of people whose tribal links have been loosened, and who have not the proper respect of Native Authorities and Chiefs. ... They base their appeal on the emotional attractions of extreme nationalism, which in effect is nothing more than racialism. 9

On another occasion, Sir Richard Turnbull's predecessor replying to the constitutional proposals put forward by T.A.N.U. said:

Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom is determined to go forward on the basis of qualitative democracy. ... The principles of democracy are being followed here--and not the prostituted meaning of democracy which glib-tongued politicians think of as an open sesame for the fulfillment of their own ambitions. 10

This was a period when T.A.N.U. constantly appealed to the United Nations and on one occasion Nyere's speech to the Fourth Committee was heavily bombarded by the Twining administration in a publication entitled "Some Comments on Mr. Nyere's Speech at the Fourth Committee of the United Nations" 11 whereupon Mr. Nyere hit back by publishing the

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9 Governor's Speech at Chief's Convention, 14th-16th May, 1957, op. cit.
10 Statement by Mr. Julius K. Nyere at the 579th meeting of the U.N. General Assembly Fourth Committee on Dec. 20, 1956, A/C. 4/3R. 579.
11 Ibid.
statement he had made for people to know what he really said in a pamphlet entitled "That Notorious Speech."

T.A.N.U. had been struggling to wring out of the Administering Authority an assurance that Tanganyika would be developed as a truly democratic state and, therefore, as a primarily African State. Sir Edward Twining did not give it. And when Sir Richard Turnbull took over the administration everybody was expecting the worst for he had been in Kenya during all his Colonial Service career. However, events proved wrong the people's expectation. Sir Richard was to be a most understanding and a most cooperative Governor for nationalists to work with. He treated the nationalist neither as a saint nor as an agitator, but as an individual with whom he should make every effort to establish human contact. This was the beginning of a progressive and reconstruction era.

One of the first actions of Sir Richard Turnbull was to advance the date of the second half of the 1959 elections so that the Post Elections Committee, to be appointed at the end of the elections, could be set to work more quickly. On October 14, 1958, the Governor came out with the much-awaited-for statement when he told the

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12 Cohen, op. cit., p. 61.
13 Speech by Governor to Legislative Council, October 14, 1958.
Legislature:

In terms of population the Africans are, and always will be, an overwhelming majority in Tanganyika and as the country progresses it is right and proper, as indeed it is natural and inevitable, that African participation both in the Legislature and in the Executive should steadily increase. It is not intended, and never has been intended, that parity should be a permanent feature of the Tanganyika scene.

On the other hand it is intended, and always has been intended, that the fact that when self-government is eventually attained both the Legislature and the Government are likely to be predominantly African should in no way affect the security of the rights and interests of those minority communities who have made their homes in Tanganyika. I am glad to note that the responsible leaders of major political parties in the territory are in complete agreement on this important matter and that there is, therefore, a good prospect that in due course there will exist in Tanganyika a Government in which Her Majesty's Government will be able to devolve their trust as being a Government under which responsible people of all races would feel secure.\(^{14}\)

This speech broke the thaw of the cold war that was going on between the Administration and the African nationalists especially, T.A.N.U. From there on the two worked hand in glove, criticising each other where criticism was due and giving credit where credit was due.

For example, when the Governor, on March 17, 1959, announced that the number of Ministers would be raised to nine or twelve beginning on July 1, 1959, and that out of

\(^{14}\)Ibid.
these five would be unofficials made up of three African Ministers, one Asian Minister and one European Minister, Mr. Nyerere accepted the measure of responsibility given the unofficials to test their willingness to assume responsibility. At the same time he criticized the Government for not having granted what the people wanted: Responsible Government. He also condemned race in Tanganyikan politics.  

His views were echoed by the Deputy Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Derek Bryceson, who said that they did not think of themselves as Africans, Asians and Europeans but rather as a united opposition working hand in glove and determined to work for Responsible Government; the opposition united as "a construction team to build a nation."  

The Post-Elections Committee. This Committee was envisaged by Sir Edward Twining first in April 1957 and later in September 1957 when he gave a rough and ready made over-view of what could be the terms of reference of such a Committee.  

Sir Edward Twining was replaced by Sir Richard

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17 *Governor's Speech to Legislative Council*, April 30, 1957.

18 *Governor's Speech to Legislative Council*, Sept. 17, 1957.
Turnbull in July, 1958, in September that year and in
February, 1959, elections were held in which T.A.N.U.
swept the entire board of votes. This impressive victory
for T.A.N.U. added weight to their demands for accelerating
the tempo of political development towards self-government
and independence. In March, 1959, Sir Richard Turnbull an-
nounced the appointment of the Post Elections Committee
under the chairmanship of Sir Richard Ramage. Its terms
of reference were:

FIRST - Having regard to the fact that it
is not intended that parity of representa-
tion in the Legislative Council should be
a permanent feature of the Tanganyika
Constitution, and bearing in mind the need
for adequate representation of the main
minority communities and the desirability
of keeping the total number of Elected
Members to a figure not greatly in excess
of the present total of Representative
Members; to recommend what, if any, changes
should be made in the present number of
constituencies and in their boundaries; and
what, if any, changes should be made in the
present tripartite voting.

SECOND - To recommend whether, there should
continue to be Members of Legislative
Council representing such interests as the
Governor may think fit, and, if so, to
recommend how many there should be and how
they should be selected.

THIRD - To recommend whether, within the
general principles of a qualitative
franchise, any changes in the present
qualifications for candidates and voters
would be desirable; and if so, what those
changes should be.

FOURTH - To consider whether a Territorial
Council composed of representatives of the Chiefs and of others, whose experience and wisdom would enable them to make a valuable contribution to the deliberations of such a Council, should be established, and to consider its composition, powers and functions including the power to consider any bill and to report upon it to the Legislative Council; and to make recommendations accordingly. 19

Memorable T.A.N.U. Memorandum. The Committee received an impressive number of memoranda and also visited several districts to receive oral evidence. T.A.N.U. submitted to the Committee a memorandum in which they reiterated their 1958-59 proposals:

(a) That the Legislature should have a majority of elected members;
(b) That the Executive should have a majority of elected Ministers;
(c) That elections should be by universal adult suffrage and on a common roll; and
(d) That the racial parity system of representation should be abolished. 20

This, T.A.N.U. expected, should be brought to fruition before the end of 1959.

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Specifically, T.A.N.U. proposed that the Executive should consist of a minority of official Ministers who should hold the portfolios of Defence, External Affairs and Legal Affairs (Attorney General). The Legislature should consist of 79 elected and not more than 3 non-elected members. Of the 79 elected members 21 should be for reserved seats and the rest open. Of the 21 reserved seats 13 should be Asian including Arab and 8 should be for Europeans.

T.A.N.U. also opposed a statutory Territorial Council on the strength that it was unnecessary and that the Convention of Chiefs provided the necessary channel through which the Chiefs could advise the Government.

In addition to the above T.A.N.U. recommended the creation of 58 constituencies—44 of which would be single member, 7 two-member and 7 three-member constituencies, with a further proposal that in the two-member constituencies every voter should be given two votes, and in the three-member constituencies, three votes. The exercise of one or more of the votes should be voluntary and no ballot paper should be invalid because of a voter not using his/her votes. No one candidate, however, should receive more than one vote from any one voter.

The memorandum stated, further:

The proposals we are submitting are not designed to provide representation for Africans, Asians and Europeans as such. They
are designed to pave the way for a truly democratic form of representation. In a truly democratic situation the majority need no special protection. Their interests are taken care of by the democratic process itself. We are not, therefore, suggesting representation for the African as such. We are suggesting that a majority of seats be free seats which can be contested by any Tanganyikan.

While the aim must be to get away from any form of racial representation we do not feel that we can at this stage dispense with some form of special representation. We must devise some temporary means which will make sure that our Legislature has people drawn from a cross section of the whole population. It is for this reason that we are suggesting reservation of seats for the minority communities.

The Rennie Report: On the basis of their findings, the Post Elections Committee made the following recommendations relating to the four terms of reference:

FIRST
1. That parity of representation should be abolished.
2. That the common roll and normal electoral arrangements should be maintained for minority communities.
3. That no seat should be reserved for the Arab Community who could, however, participate in the seats reserved for Asians generally.
4. That there should be 29 constituencies
based on Districts, each with one open seat.
5. That the term "African" seat should cease to be used and in its place such seats should be described as "open."
6. That there should be eight reserved seats for the European minority community and eight for the Asian community.
7. That compulsory multiple voting should be abolished.
8. That where there are reserved seats, each voter should have as many votes as there are seats but may only give one vote to one candidate in each of the open or reserved seats.
SECOND
That there should be no further appointments of members nominated to represent special interests.
THIRD
A. In summary the recommendations of the Committee in regard to the qualifications for voters were:
   1. That the minimum age should continue to be 21 years.
   2. (a) That the residential qualification
should continue to be residence in Tanganyika for three years out of the last five years, or

(b) the holding of a certificate of permanent residence, and in either case

(c) the applicant must have been ordinarily resident in the constituency in which he wishes to be registered as a voter.

3. That in the case of man, registration as a voter should depend on the holding of a receipt for Personal Tax for the year immediately preceding the year of registration as a voter, or the holding of an exemption certificate covering that period.

4. That in the case of women, registration as a voter should be dependent on having one of the following qualifications:

(a) owning a house in a town or a homestead elsewhere;

(b) paying any form of direct tax or rate;

(c) holding a licence for any form of business for which a fee is paid;
(d) literacy to the extent of being able to fill in without assistance the application to register as a voter;

(e) holding, or having held a prescribed office.

5. That consequent on the proposals in (3) and (4) above, the present provisions regarding literacy and income as qualifications should be repealed.

6. (a) That there should be added to the list of office holding accepted as a qualification for registration as a voter, membership of a recognised village council;

(b) the qualification given by holding a prescribed office should be extended to all past holders of such offices.

B. The recommendations of the Post-Elections Committee in respect of qualifications for candidates were:

1. That the period of residence in Tanganyika required of a candidate should be reduced to three years out of the five immediately preceding nomination.

2. (a) That the literacy qualifications should be amended to require an ability
to follow a debate in English

(b) That the authority to accept or reject a candidate on literacy grounds should be limited to the Speaker.

3. That the number of voters required to nominate a candidate for a reserved seat should be increased to 35, of whom 25 should belong to the community in question. In open seats the number should be 35 without racial qualification.

4. That a voter should only be permitted to sign the nomination paper of one candidate in an open seat, and one candidate in each minority category where there are reserved seats.

5. That the other qualifications should remain as before.

FOURTH

1. That there should not be a Territorial Council of the nature suggested; and

2. That Government should continue to use the Chiefs' Convention as a source of advice in appropriate cases; and

3. That statutory recognition of the Chiefs' Convention should be given through local
legislation.21

Going beyond its terms of reference, the Committee proposed that, in the event of an elected majority in the Legislature, 50 constituencies should be created returning 71 members, of whom 50 would represent "open" seats, and the Asian and European minority communities would then have reserved for them 11 and 10 seats respectively.

The Aftermath of the Ramage Report.22 After the Government of Tanganyika and the Secretary of State for Colonies in the United Kingdom had scrutinized the Ramage Report, the Governor addressing the Legislature on 15th December, 1959, said that he had been authorized by the Secretary of State to say that, provided there were no untoward developments, the Executive Government would be reformed, after the September 1960 General Election, on the basis of an unofficial majority and that the arrangements for the General Election referred to should be such as to provide for a majority of elected members in the new Legislature.23 All the main recommendations of the Ramage Report had been granted by the Secretary of State. The only noticeable change was in the qualifications for voters for


23Governor's Speech, 15th December, 1959.
which the Secretary of State had decided in favor of the
following new qualifications to apply for both men and
women:

(a) That the applicant should be able to
read or write English or Swahili; or

(b) That the applicant should have an
income of $214 per annum; or

(c) That the applicant should be or have
been the holder of a prescribed office.
The Governor was to retain the power to nominate
a small number of members to the Council to ensure that
specialized knowledge and experience were made available
to aid the Council in its deliberations.

In welcoming the new constitutional changes based
on the Ransage Report, Mr. Nyerere appealed to his
enthusiastic people not to discriminate against the im-
migrants whose trust was in the good will of the Africans.24

The occasion marked a landmark in constitutional
development. The country was on the threshold to
independence or, as the Tanganyika Standard put it:
"Halfway mark to Uhuru."25 The tension that had been

24 Monthly Survey of Commonwealth and Colonial
Affairs, No. 70, January, 1960.

25 Tanganyika Standard, December 16, 1959; Uhuru
is the Swahili equivalent for freedom.
swelling in the days past exploded into a starshell of happiness. The Tanganyikan Standard described this occasion most graphically under the heading "Tension exploded into starshell of happiness."26

On April 26, 1960, the Chief Secretary, Mr. J. Fletcher-Cooke, told the House that the Governor had been authorized by the Secretary of State to announce that, beginning October 1, 1960, changes would be made in the Executive Government of Tanganyika. A post of Chief Minister would be created who would be the Governor's principal adviser and Leader of Government Business of Legislative Council. In carrying out his general coordinating functions, the Chief Minister would work through the Provincial Administration. In addition to that, the post of Chief Secretary would be abolished and a new post of Deputy Governor would be created. The Deputy Governor would be a member of the Council of Ministers but not of the Legislative Council and would be the head of the Civil Service. He also said that the Council of Ministers would consist of the Governor, who would be its President, the Deputy Governor, ten unofficial Ministers and two Civil Service Ministers. The Civil Service Ministers would be the Attorney-General and the Minister for Information. Over and

26Ibid., See Appendix E
above these changes an unofficial Minister would be appointed as Minister for Home Affairs. His portfolio would include Police, Prisons, and Immigration. However, the responsibility for the use and operational control of the Police Force would remain vested in the Governor himself, who, acting in his discretion might, in the exercise of that responsibility, give directions to the Commissioner of Police as the professional head of the force. And finally the Chief Secretary said that the Executive Council would cease to exist.27

27 *The Month in Tanganyika, April 1960*, issued by the Public Relations Department.
CHAPTER VI
THE COMING OF A NEW ERA

Twilight of Colonialism. Despite earlier attempts by the colonial administration to discourage T.A.N.U., the only effective African freedom movement, the triumph for African nationalism has now come to stay. The colonial power has accelerated the process of surrendering its authority piecemeal at an unprecedented tempo owing to the pressures of the United Nations, of African nationalists and of what Sir Andrew calls "interrelated pressures". These included the progressive opinion both in Britain and in Tanganyika itself which covered a large political spectrum such as the Labor Party, the Fabian Society, the Church in Tanganyika and the various Missionary Societies at home and abroad not forgetting the progressive press in the United Kingdom and elsewhere in the world. The United Nations visiting Missions in their constant vigilance over the development of the territory tended to pressure the colonial power to liberalize its colonial policies as it affected

1Hatch, op. cit., p. 247.

Tanganyika and to boost up African nationalism with its pragmatic program for achieving independence.

The End of an Era. The far-reaching constitutional changes announced by the Governor in Legislative Council on December 15, 1959 marked a tremendous leap forward in the country’s constitutional history. It told of the beginning of a new era. The practical effect of the announcement was to bring to a close a long monotonous chapter of colonial rule and to introduce a government by the consent of the governed. The occasion also marked the end of the era of "blaming" in the territory. The time for the African to shoulder responsibilities had come. The time for formulation of bold, dynamic and respectable policies which would engender among the people of Tanganyika a momentum which will generate healthy minds and healthy bodies had set in.

With these constitutional changes came the need on the part of all Tanganyikans to act in concert and face the problems of maturation and independence as a united team. These constitutional reforms were a culmination of a series of accelerated political changes made over a period of eighteen months during the Turnbull administration the characteristic feature of which was mutual understanding and goodwill. It became no longer a question of demanding and pressing for political rights although, it is true, the
statement made by the Governor did not fully meet the demands of nationalists. Thus, on the franchise area, restrictions were maintained and, although the franchise was somewhat modified and liberalized only up to a maximum of one million voters, out of a population of over nine million, were expected to qualify for a vote in the September 1960 Second General Election. Nevertheless, this figure of one million voters was a rise from the 1958-59 General Election statistics of sixty thousand registered voters. Indeed, it was the end of an era. In the future the burden of responsibility was to rest on the indigenous Africans who form the majority of the country's population. Upon the African people fell the call to greatness in dealing with the delicate problems of an ethnically diversified society. Old nationalist promises would have to be given a new meaningful interpretation which would, in its turn, maintain and enhance the symphony of political harmony in the territory as the necessary prelude and springboard to more ambitious schemes in the realms of economic and social progress. Parity was gone. The tripartite voting system was dead. Government by colonial Civil Servants was now at the end of its tether and the country was now nearing

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\(^{3}\) Ibid.
the destination of its political goal. The Colonial government and the colonial power surrendered a substantial measure of authority to the people of Tanganyika. These would, in the future, call the tune of Government.

Notwithstanding this tremendous Constitutional progress, the passing of the era of colonialism bestowed upon the coming new era unprecedented challenges. Even with the rich deposits of coal seams in Songea with the rich diamond mine at Mwadui, Tanganyika will take some time to develop. A bold economic program is necessary. A bold educational system is necessary to make good the shortage of trained manpower that is so badly needed in Tanganyika. The country's greatest contributory factor to national wealth—the people of Tanganyika. The country cannot afford to maintain indefinitely, at inducement pay, the expatriate Civil Servants who as of May 1960 occupied 2,960 senior posts in the Civil Service of which 2,418 were occupied by European expatriate Civil Servants and 542 by Asian expatriate Civil Servants.5 The gravity of the situation is serious taking into consideration what the Chief Secretary, John Fletches-Cooke, told the Legislature of the territory on May 24, 1960. Mr. Fletcher-Cooke said that an estimate of

5Ibid., May 1960.
2,800 posts had been made which would require to be filled during the next decade, allowing for the normal wastage and the fact that the posts would continue to exist as they were. That meant that 2,800 qualified indigenous Tanganyikans would have to be found for these posts in a land where only seventy Tanganyikans had degrees and 40 had diplomas. The new era, indeed, opens with a beacon of hope in Tanganyika and a call to national greatness through sacrifice, bold, sturdy and astute leadership, unity of purpose, hard work and goodwill among the people of Tanganyika. And these must work in concert. With these factors obtaining in abundance the task ahead: the task of translating past hopes and nationalist stated aims into action, would be made a lot easier.

**Task Ahead:** *Translating T.A.N.U. objectives into action.* It is almost universally accepted that for an effective independence or self-government a country needs certain basic requirements. Desirable requirements include economic independence, adequate social services and an adequate number of professional middle class and a respectable local government lay-out. In all these, Tanganyika cannot be said to be self-sufficient. Much more needs to be grown, dug and made for the needs of the people and for

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6Ibid.
sustaining, let alone enhancing, the country's export trade. The rapid, harmonious political progress needs to be supplemented by a correspondingly viable economic program. As the fifth United Nations Visiting Mission to Tanganyika early in 1960 stressed, economic and financial aid for Tanganyika, both before and after independence is of paramount importance. Problems like education, medical services and the civil service issue, that is, the need for Tanganyikanizing the Civil Service must be tackled boldly and imaginatively. A "crash program" should be launched, possibly with the assistance of the United Nations, to alleviate whatever shortages may exist in the various echelons of the Tanganyika Civil Service.

Springboard to Abundance. National solidarity can lead to life more abundant for all Tanganyikans if all Tanganyikans remain united. After independence, in their search for plenty, the spirit that bound all Tanganyikans together in their search for political freedom must persist and serve to bring the necessary progress in the other walks of Tanganyikan life. There is need to maintain and sustain this solidarity in order to fight against ignorance, poverty and disease. There is need for national solidarity.

in order to wipe off the various injustices, the legacies of colonialism, in record time and with a minimum of friction. Indeed, to build an economically viable and socially integrated nation out of the various ethnic groups in the country, now far from a reality, will need sacrifices on the part of one and all. Old cultures will come out somewhat transformed and metamorphosed. They must do that if the melting-pot is functioning properly. The initial economic growth and social progress must be rapid in order to start the new nation with a respectable degree of egalitarianism. And this must be initiated by the new government with the cooperation and sacrifice of the citizens. Only then could Tanganyika be a beacon of hope to confused nations of Africa.

The problems are hydraheaded and they need to be solved by a clearheaded government. This transitional period to full independence is the time when long-range programs should be planned and made to operate. The towns must be more socially and economically integrated or they will serve as the germ of dissatisfaction in later years just as earlier on they served as the seed-beds of African nationalism. No freedom is worthwhile lasting in Africa if

it is static freedom. Static freedom is dangerous. Absence of development programs in a land of unopened frontiers cannot bear any other testimony but that of a selfish government. Tanganyika's freedom should be one that must prod and explore all the unbeaten tracks and contingencies that lead to economic and social justice. It must be a freedom that will enhance the living standards of the peoples of Tanganyika.

People strove for their political freedom not only because it is their right but also because they wanted it to serve them to achieve social and economic justice and, generally, life in abundance. Tanganyika's freedom should launch a crusade on all frontiers of national life to make the country "safe for democracy." As Sir Andrew says:

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... practical steps must be taken to expand African education and promote economic advancement for Africans as part of the general programs of development.

T.A.N.U.'s watchword "Freedom and Toil" is in order although "Freedom, Toil and Reform" would be better still to indicate that the purpose of toiling in freedom was to promote reform in all needed areas of national life. The freedom must include freedom from poverty, ignorance and disease as well as freedom to launch wars on those monstrous vices. Any aid from outside the country, in keeping with the country's

philosophy for foreign aid should be used in: expanding basic utilities like communications, power, water supplies, town housing schemes – this should be handled by the new government since it is a slow paying investment and private capital seeks quicker and higher returns than such public utilities can provide; priming the aid pumps for investment in industrial, commercial, agricultural or mining projects – for these also government assistance should be sought; research work of all kinds and education for Tanganyikanization, that is for providing Tanganyika with a leadership and a citizenry articulate enough to uphold democracy.

From Colonial Economics to Economics of Independence. The aims and objectives of T.A.N.U. with respect to economic policy of self-governing Tanganyika have been expressed as intended to mould a nation where every citizen will have equal opportunities of earning his bread. They are to eliminate economic parasitism between man and man, between tribe and tribe and between people of one ethnic group and another and to reduce to the barest minimum the differentials of wealth among Tanganyikans. It is also the aim of T.A.N.U. to discontinue all sorts of differences

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11Ibid.

which could interfere with human rights in a democratic
country. It is also the aim of T.A.N.U. to do all in its
power and as fast as possible to raise the standards of
living and the economic standing of all the people and
especially, of those who depend for their livelihood on
tilling the land, and such other work which involved the
sweat of the brow.

In a further statement of policy, Mr. Nyerere has
stated that when independence comes to Tanganyika, expatriate
Civil Servants would fall into two categories - those who
choose to stay will continue to serve under their present
terms of service with due compensation should they have to
be released of their duties by the Government and those who
may wish to leave on their own accord; these would not be
compensated. The policy would also be one of accelerating
the tempo of Tanganyikanizing the Civil Service and
consequently, there would come a time when some expatriate
Civil Servants would no longer be needed. In the event of
that coming day, due compensation will be awarded.13

But more would be needed if the country's economic
apparatus were to be brought up to standard. The normal
assumption that colonies are consumers of manufactured goods
of the metropolitan country and suppliers of raw materials.

13Sauti ya Tanu, No. 61, November 23, 1959.
for the colonial power must be dropped. The country must start to build her own primary and secondary industries of such basic commodities as are necessary and urgent for the uplift of the living levels of the people. This break-away from the metropolitan economic apparatus is not easy. In certain cases it might neither be desirable nor necessary. But the invisible barriers which determine economic power along racial lines must be broken at all cost. That will be a difficult task since the barriers were established under the aegis of the colonial government through their authority directly or indirectly to intervene. And because these barriers were introduced by a government they should be broken down by the deliberate intervention of a new governmental authority which alone will be in a position to exert enough pressure for the reversal of the previous governmental sanctions.

It is obvious that the capital necessary for such reform intended to establish rounded economics could only come through a national pooling of resources by the new government. It must be admitted, though, that the economic anarchy which the colonial government will leave behind when it folds its wings will present and intensely difficult problem for the new national government. The new government will find it not easy to create a stable, integrated and non-racial economy. That is part of the legacy which
nationalists must be prepared to come to grips with, for as Donaldson says, "... true independence postulates control of the country's economic affairs."¹⁴

The 1957 United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa had this to say:

The Mission recognizes that political advancement at the central government level is conditioned by many factors especially economic and educational progress and the development of local government.---The rate of advancement in the economic, social and educational field will, moreover, apart from being greatly affected by territorial political conditions themselves, undoubtedly be influenced by the availability of financial and other resources and the capacity and willingness of all sections of the population to adapt themselves wholeheartedly to new standards of life and to transformed social, economic and political conditions and relationships; not last among the problems involved in the latter factor will be the facility with which a minority of settlers and a more substantial number of Asians in the territory accept that greatest emphasis must be laid upon the advancement of the African community.¹⁵

These problems still haunt Tanganyika and greater stress on sacrifice will have to be demanded of those who have the interests of Tanganyika at heart.

In the new Tanganyika it might be a sound thing to


¹⁵Sir Andrew Cohen, Speech to the Fourth Committee of the United Nations, November 5, 1958 (mime).
institute a national civil service scheme whereby every citizen would be required to serve the country for some specified period. This should take the place of, or run parallel with, a national service scheme on the military level. Young men should be required to serve their country in some capacity before embarking on careers of their own choice. They might be required to teach in the villages for some period; they might be asked to help in some development schemes launched by either the central government or the local governments. Salaries of primary teachers should be upgraded in order that they might take up further work in connection with evening classes for a specified number of hours each week; this should be a nation-wide crusade to stamp out illiteracy and should be nationally launched. Local government authorities should be encouraged to draw up development schemes, some of which should be met by cooperative action. Rural medical auxiliaries should be similarly upgraded after assigning to them more work in connection with rural development schemes. Agricultural instructors should be similarly treated. A minimum wage must be established throughout the length and width of the country in such a way that it will make manual labor a

15 Sir Andrew Cohen, *Speech to the Fourth Committee of the United Nations*, November 5, 1958 (mim.).
dignified service to the community and make employers and employees alike conscious of their role in the overall development of the country.

**Priming the Aid Pump.** The analysis of the economic problems confronting the new Tanganyika in the foregoing paragraphs compels the acceptance of the corollary that to overcome some of these problems some form of foreign aid will be necessary, at least in the initial stages of independent Tanganyika. This will be compelled by the facts of life in Tanganyika and the country's mounting enthusiasm to move forward and assume a twentieth-century nationhood status. Speaking in Legislative Council on April 27, 1960, Tanganyika's Minister of Finance, Sir Ernest Vasey told the House that the new government, which would be elected by the people, had ahead of it tremendous political and economic responsibilities. To ensure that the transition to independence economically improved the lot of the people would imply the necessity to overcome several obstacles and to solve several problems. To do this effectively, Tanganyika would need friendly hands to help it along on that marathon race.16 Needles to repeat, these friendly hands will be needed to furnish the sinews of progress in several other walks of life. They will be needed to help Tanganyika provide the means of banishing and

discouraging nepotism, lawlessness and above all, to help
the country in its war against ignorance, poverty and
disease. Other uses to which such foreign aid could be put
have been discussed in the foregoing paragraphs. It is now
necessary to discuss the sort of foreign aid that would be
most beneficial to the new Tanganyika.

In the wake of a divided world between the Com-
munist bloc and the non-Communist bloc, with the two
contemporary mammoth powers, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.,
on opposite sides, it is important to understand the relative
merits or demerits of a bloc-interest foreign aid vis-a-vis
a bona fide foreign aid scheme. Underlying this evaluation
is the assumption that Tanganyika abhors colonialism in all
its ramifications and irrespective of whether it is
practised by a non-Communist or a Communist power! Basic to
this assumption is the fact that, in their struggle for
political freedom, Tanganyikan nationalists stressed, and
rightly so, the worth and the dignity of man. The Universal
Declaration of Human Rights was a standard of reference in
these struggles. It is to be hoped, therefore, that when
independence comes the sacred writ will serve as the
guiding rebus of this new nation. Domination from alien
powers, whether economic, or political, implicit or explicit,
must be repulsed. It is for this reason that any form of
foreign aid to which political strings, or any other forms of
detrimental strings, are attached, implicitly or explicitly, should not be accepted. Such aid would serve only to shatter the moral fiber and the political independence for which the people of Tanganyika have been fighting with sacrifice in hope. Julius K. Nyerere has also condemned foreign aid with political strings attached to it. As he says,

... where older nations with the means to assist under-developed countries do offer their help, the lesson is the same; the receiving countries are treated as pawns in the international game of chess. 17

Enlarging on this point, Nyerere says that foreign aid with political strings is usually given with the view of either counteracting the influence of a rival power or of buying the friendship of the receiving country so long as that friendship embraces within its scope the element of enmity with the rival power. This kind of foreign aid, as Nyerere says, is worthless and dangerous. 18

The best form of foreign aid that would be in the interests of Tanganyika would be one given in the form of foreign trade rather than foreign aid. It should be an aid earmarked to help the people of Tanganyika to produce more, to sell more and stabilize the prices of such key cash crops

18 Ibid.
as sisal, cotton and coffee which hitherto have been very vulnerable to the fluctuating prices in the world market. Such aid could be in the form of technical know-how so vital in priming Tanganyika's leadership pump. Teachers, engineers, doctors and research scientists lent out to Tanganyika on the country's existing rates of pay, with the lending nations helping to offset whatever deficit in the salary. This does not minimize the importance of financial aid. On the contrary, the suggestion is intended to hammer home the fact that financial aid to a materially underdeveloped country is useful only if the aid is supplemented by technical assistance; and above all, the aid must be free from political strings and should, preferably, be channeled through the United Nations.
CONCLUSION

The roots of African nationalism in Tanganyika go back to the advent of German colonization of the territory in 1885. Tanganyika, about the size of Colorado and Texas put together, was as diverse as the tens of tribes, languages and cultural patterns could make it. Whatever outward sign of unity that might have been noticed in those days when the Western powers were in the champagne mood of founding colonies, stemmed from the fact that it was all a country of a black race with Arab intruders here and there. Any further sense of unity emanated from the fact that the country was taken over stem to stern by a German colonial power. No single part of present-day Tanganyika escaped the hold of German Imperialism.

Looking in retrospect, from the twilight days of colonialism, colonial powers have justified colonialism for propaganda purposes on the pretext that until the white man went to Africa, its vast hinterland did not know the wheel or the plough. Tribal feuds were rampant and in Tanganyika, the hundred twenty tribes had little in common between them; but so were the Angles and the Celtic. The roads, railroads,
hospitals, schools and other accoutrements that the Colonial powers might claim to have taken with them to Tanganyika, however, represent self-assessments which are, at best, fictionalized half-truths. The colonization of Tanganyika had realistic goals of rich trade, exploitation of the mineral wealth, cheap land and cheap labor. Early colonial activities in Tanganyika bore testimony on this.

The harsh German administration generated only that which would be expected: the Behe-German war and the Maji-maji Rebellion which were symbols of embryonic African nationalism. When the British took over after World War I, it was a hard-hit Tanganyika that they inherited. The settlers, impressed by their Kenya counterparts, embarked on a fruitless struggle to duplicate Kenya conditions in Tanganyika. But the African Tanganyikan was already a humiliated citizen in his own country. He was discriminated against, underpaid, underhoused and undereducated. When the Legislative Council was established in 1926 he was not represented until December, 1945, when a small token number of two Africans were nominated to the Council. His land was alienated and there was talk above his head that an East African Federation might be imposed on him. He was barred from public places. The otherwise enlightened British Colonial Policy changed its shape and face in practice so much that its architects in London would probably have never
recognized it as the same policy they had issued.

Associations immediately mushroomed first in the towns and thence to the rural areas to defend and claim the social, economic and political rights of the African. But these were ineffective. They were still to find their roots in the somewhat torn and tattered culture to which the African was subjected in the new town by an imposed veneer of capitalism on his tribal economic institutions. However, as the new wealth increased - first, among traders and artisans in the towns and then among cash-crop growers like the Chaggas, the Bahaya, the Banyakyusa and the Wasukuma, a modicum of right-conscious Africans began to emerge. Their number was supplemented by a professional middle class who, though an oasis in a desert of underprivileged Tanganyikans, provided the leadership needed to articulate the growing bush-fire of African nationalism.

The interwar period was devoid of any kind of development in Tanganyika. The world economic crash of the early 1930's added to this stagnation. After the Second World War, Colonialism in Asia and then in West Africa was taking a new lease of life. And as the rising tide of African nationalism grew, its ripples got to the capital harbor of Tanganyika when T.A.N.U. was born in Dar es Salaam on July 7, 1954. The first years were hard for T.A.N.U. The colonial government was unfriendly, the country was large,
the roads were bad and illiteracy was claiming the highest
toll in the country's population. But, assisted by the
common tongue, Swahili, the social set-up in the towns, the
ever-growing middle class and the United Nations, T.A.N.U.
waged defensive and offensive wars without bullets on the
home front and on the international scene against its enemies
in particular, and against the enemies of African nationalism
in general. This was especially so during the Twining
administration.

For a long time T.A.N.U. and the Trusteeship Council
of the United Nations urged the Administering Authority and
the Colonial government to make a statement about the
ultimate aim of British policy in Tanganyika. For a cor-
respondingly long time such a statement was withheld or
only vaguely stated. For a long time the Council had urged
the Administering Authority to work closely and harmoniously
with the political leaders of Tanganyika and especially with
the African nationalists. This seemed to work the other way
during the stubborn era of the Twining administration. The
Trusteeship Council emphasized the need for racial harmony
and underlined the need for an increase of African
participation in the government of their country. Under the
Twining administration the keynote was multiracialism and
racial parity was hailed as the answer to political advance-
ment in multiracial Tanganyika. Both T.A.N.U. and the
Trusteeship Council pressed for the abolition of racial parity in the Legislature and for the liberalization of the franchise. Both T.A.N.U. and the Trusteeship Council urged the Administering Authority and the colonial government to strengthen the economy of the country by stepping up the efficiency of agriculture and promoting industry. They urged the Colonial government and the Administering Authority to expand secondary and other forms of education with a stress on integration of schools. They also urged the significance of the Tanganyikanization of the Civil Service. All this was only mildly responded to during the stubborn era. It needed a new governor with a greater vision and sympathy with the aspirations of the African nationalists. And since then the wagon towards a greater Tanganyika has been on the move.

The progressive era and the period of political reconstruction and understanding set in with the coming of Sir Richard Turnbull, as Governor of the territory, in July, 1958. His first action was to allay the fears of the Africans by making a statement of policy with regard to the political future of Tanganyika. This statement confirmed that future governments of Tanganyika would inescapably be predominantly African. Thereafter, the Governor worked hand in glove with the nationalists. The ship of Tanganyika's
fortunes was now in expert hands. The two sides, government and nationalists, started playing ball and piloted the ship of the territory's fortunes through rocks and shoals into comparatively open waters where the destination of independent Tanganyika is in sight. To Nyereu goes the credit for leading T.A.N.U. out of those uncertain and turbulent days when T.A.N.U. was anathema to the colonial government into these happy days when it has gained the respect of millions of people in Africa and abroad. To Sir Richard Turnbull goes the credit of turning the current of hate into one of understanding the aspirations of nationalists. And all Tanganyika must be credited with the orderliness and good humor which they exhibited in those times of stress. Those were the days to flare up into violence; they did not. Those were the days to pay the colonial government in its own coin; they did not. When they were pointed at with fingers of scorn, they bought T.A.N.U. walking sticks and smiled!

But the achievement of self-government will be only the beginning of T.A.N.U.'s programme laid down in its Constitution. More action will be needed from both the governments, central and local, and all Tanganyikans either as individuals or on a cooperative basis. The valleys must be crossed and the hills climbed which stand
on the way to economic autonomy and life more abundant for all. The deserts of political apathy, ignorance, poverty and disease must be crossed and fertilized to make Tanganyika "safe for democracy" and democracy meaningful to Tanganyikans.
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APPENDIX
APPENDIX A

BRITISH MANDATE FOR TANGANYIKA

The Council of the League of Nations:

Whereas by Article 119 of the Treaty of Peace with Germany signed at Versailles on June 28th, 1919, Germany renounced in favor of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all her rights over her overseas possessions, including therein German East Africa; and

Whereas, in accordance with the treaty of June 11th, 1891, between Her Britannic Majesty and His Majesty the King of Portugal, the River Rovuma is recognized as forming the northern boundary of the Portuguese possessions in East Africa from its mouth up to the confluence of the River Msinje; and

Whereas the Principal Allied and Associate Powers agreed that, in accordance with Article 22, Part I (Covenant of the League of Nations), of the said treaty, a mandate should be conferred upon His Britannic Majesty to administer part of the former colony of German East Africa, and have proposed that the mandate should be formulated in the following terms; and

Whereas His Britannic Majesty has agreed to accept the mandate in respect of the said territory, and has undertaken to exercise it on behalf of the League of Nations in accordance with the following provisions; and

Whereas by the aforementioned Article 22, paragraph 8, it is provided that the degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory, not having been previously agreed upon by the Members of the League of the League, shall be explicitly defined by the Council of the League of Nations;

Confirming the said mandate, defines its terms as follows:

ARTICLE I. The territory over which a mandate is conferred upon His Britannic Majesty (hereinafter called the Mandatory) comprises that part of the territory of the former colony of German East Africa situated to the east of the following line:
ARTICLE 3. The Mandatory shall be responsible for the peace, order and good government of the territory, and shall undertake to promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of its inhabitants. The Mandatory shall have full powers of legislation and administration.

ARTICLE 4. The Mandatory shall not establish any military or naval bases, nor erect any fortifications, nor organise any native military force in the territory except for local police purposes and for the defence of the territory.

ARTICLE 5. The Mandatory:

(1) shall provide for the eventual emancipation of all slaves and for as speedy an elimination of domestic and other slavery as social conditions will allow;

(2) shall suppress all forms of slave trade;

(3) shall prohibit all forms of forced or compulsory labour, except for essential public works and services and only then in return for adequate remuneration;

(4) shall protect the natives from abuse and measures of fraud and force by the careful supervision of labour contracts and the recruiting of labour;

(5) shall exercise a strict control over the traffic in arms and ammunition and the sale of spirituous liquors.

ARTICLE 6. In the framing of laws relating to the holding or transfer of land, the Mandatory shall take into consideration native laws and customs, and shall respect the rights and safeguard the interests of the native population.
No native land may be transferred, except between natives, without the previous consent of the public authorities, and no real rights over native land in favour of non-natives may be created except with the same consent.

The Mandatory will promulgate strict regulations against usury.

ARTICLE 7. The Mandatory shall secure to all nationals of States Members of the League of Nations the same rights as are enjoyed in the territory by his own nationals in respect of entry into and residence in the territory, the protection afforded to their person and property, the acquisition of property, movable and immovable, and the exercise of their profession or trade, subject only to the requirements of public order, and on conditions of compliance with the local law.

Further, the Mandatory shall ensure to all nationals of States Members of the League of Nations, on the same footings as to his own nationals, freedom of transit and navigation, and complete economic, commercial and industrial equality; provided that the Mandatory shall be free to organize essential public works and services on such terms and conditions as he thinks just.

Concessions for the development of the natural resources of the territory shall be granted by the Mandatory without distinction on grounds of nationality between the nationals of all States Members of the League of Nations, but on such conditions as will maintain intact the authority of the local government.

Concessions having the character of a general monopoly shall not be granted. This provision does not affect the right of the Mandatory to create monopolies of a purely fiscal character in the interest of the territory under mandate, and in order to provide the territory with fiscal resources which seem best suited to the local requirements; or, in certain cases, to carry out the development of natural resources for the benefit of the Mandatory of his nationals, directly or indirectly, nor any preferential advantage which shall be inconsistent with the economic, commercial and industrial equality herein before guaranteed.

The rights conferred by this article extend equally to companies and associations organised in accordance with the law of any of the Members of the League of Nations, subject
only to the requirements of public order, and on condition of compliance with the local law.

ARTICLE 8. The Mandatory shall ensure in the territory complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship which are consonant with public order and morality; missionaries who are nationals of States Members of the League of Nations shall be free to enter the territory and travel and reside therein, to acquire and possess property, to erect religious buildings and to open schools throughout the territory; it being understood, however, that the Mandatory shall have the right to exercise such control as may be necessary for the maintenance of public order and good government, and to take all measures required for such control.

ARTICLE 9. The Mandatory shall apply to the territory any general international conventions already existing, or which may be concluded hereafter, with the approval of the League of Nations, respecting the slave trade, the traffic in arms and ammunition, the liquor traffic, and the traffic in drugs, or relating to commercial equality, freedom of transit and navigation, aerial navigation, railways, postal, telegraphic, and wireless communication, and industrial, literary and artistic property.

The Mandatory shall co-operate in the execution of any common policy adopted by the League of Nations for preventing and combating disease, including diseases of plants and animals.

ARTICLE 10. The Mandatory shall be authorised to constitute the territory into a customs fiscal and administrative union or federation with the adjacent territories under his own sovereignty or control; provided always that the measures adopted to that end do not infringe the provisions of this mandate.

ARTICLE 11. The Mandatory shall make to the Council of the League of Nations an annual report to the satisfaction of the Council, containing full information concerning the measures taken to apply the provisions of this mandate.

A copy of all laws and regulations made in the course of the year and affecting property, commerce, navigation or the moral and material well-being of the natives shall be annexed to this report.
ARTICLE 12. The consent of the Council of the League of Nations is required for any modification of the terms of this mandate.

ARTICLE 13. The Mandatory agrees that if any dispute whatever should arise between the Mandatory and another Member of the League of Nations relating to the interpretation or the application of the provisions of the mandate, such dispute, if it cannot be settled by negotiation, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice provided for by Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

States Members of the League of Nations may likewise bring any claims on behalf of their nationals for infractions of their rights under this mandate before the said Court for decision.

The present instrument shall be deposited in original in the archives of the League of Nations. Certified copies shall be forwarded by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to all Members of the League.
ARTICLE 75. The United Nations shall establish under its authority an international trusteeship system for the administration and supervision of such territories as may be placed therunder by subsequent individual agreements. These territories are hereinafter referred to as trust territories.

ARTICLE 76. The basic objectives of the trusteeship system, in accordance with the Purposes of the United Nations laid down in Article I of the present Charter, shall be:

   a. to further international peace and security;

   b. to promote the political, economic, social educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned, and as may be provided by the terms of each trusteeship agreement;

   c. to encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion, and to encourage recognition of the interdependence of the peoples of the world; and

   d. to ensure equal treatment in social, economic, and commercial matters for all Members of the United Nations and their nationals, and also equal treatment for the latter in the administration of justice, without prejudice to the attainment of the foregoing objectives and subject to the provisions of Article 80.

ARTICLE 77.

1. The trusteeship system shall apply to such territories in the following categories as may be placed thereunder by means of trusteeship agreements:

   (a) territories now held under mandate;
(b) territories which may be detached from enemy states as a result of the Second World War; and

(c) territories voluntarily placed under the system by states responsible for their administration.

2. It will be a matter for subsequent agreement as to which territories in the foregoing categories will be brought under the trusteeship system and upon what terms.

ARTICLE 78. The trusteeship system shall not apply to territories which have become members of the United Nations, relationship among which shall be based on respect for the principle of sovereign equality.

ARTICLE 79. The terms of trusteeship for each territory to be placed under the trusteeship system, including any alteration or amendment, shall be agreed upon by the states directly concerned, including the mandatory power in the case of territories held under mandate by a Member of the United Nations, and shall be approved as provided for in Articles 83 and 95.

ARTICLE 80.

1. Except as may be agreed upon in individual trusteeship agreements, made under Articles 77, 79, and 81, placing each territory under the trusteeship system, and until such agreements have been concluded, nothing in this Chapter shall be construed in or of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples or the terms of existing international instruments to which Members of the United Nations may respectively be parties.

2. Paragraph I of this Article shall not be interpreted as giving grounds for delay or postponement of the negotiation and conclusion of agreements for placing mandated and other territories under the trusteeship system as provided for in Article 77.

ARTICLE 81. The trusteeship agreement shall in each case include the terms under which the trusteeship territory will be administered and designated the authority which will exercise the administration of the trust territory. Such authority, hereinafter called the administering authority, may be one or more states or the Organization itself.
ARTICLE 82. There may be designated, in any trusteeship agreement, a strategic area or areas which may include part or all of the trust territory to which the agreement applies, without prejudice to any special agreement or agreements made under Article 43.

ARTICLE 83.

1. All functions of the United Nations relating to strategic areas, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreements and of their alteration or amendment, shall be exercised by the Security Council.

2. The basis—objectives set forth in Article 76 shall be applicable to the people of each strategic area.

3. The Security Council shall, subject to the provisions of the trusteeship agreements and without prejudice to security considerations, avail itself of the assistance of the Trusteeship Council to perform those functions of the United Nations under the trusteeship system relating to political, economic, social, and educational matters in the strategic areas.

ARTICLE 84. It shall be the duty of the administering authority to ensure that the trust territory shall play its part in the maintenance of international peace and security. To this end the administering authority may make use of volunteer forces, facilities, and assistance from the trust territory in carrying out the obligations towards the Security Council undertaken in this regard by the administering authority, as well as for local defense and the maintenance of law and order within the territory.

ARTICLE 85.

1. The functions of the United Nations with regard to trusteeship agreements for all areas not designated as strategic, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreements and of their alteration or amendment, shall be exercised by the General Assembly.

2. The Trusteeship Council, operating under the authority of the General Assembly, shall assist the General Assembly in carrying out these functions.
APPENDIX C

TRUSTEESHIP AGREEMENT FOR THE TERRITORY
OF TANGANYIKA

Whereas the territory known as Tanganyika has been
administered in accordance with Article 22 of the Covenant of
the League of Nations under a Mandate conferred on His
Britannic Majesty; and

Whereas Article 85 of the United Nations Charter,
signed at San Francisco on 26 June, 1945, provides for the
establishment of an international trusteeship system for the
administration and supervision of such territories as may
be placed thereunder by subsequent individual agreements; and

Whereas His Majesty has indicated his desire to
place Tanganyika under the said international trusteeship
system; and

Whereas in accordance with Articles 75 and 77 of
the said Charter, the placing of a territory under the
international trusteeship system is to be effective by
means of a Trusteeship Agreement;

Now, therefore, the General Assembly of the United
Nations hereby resolves to approve the following terms of
trusteeship for Tanganyika.

ARTICLE 1. The Territory to which this Agreement
applies comprises that part of East Africa lying within the
boundaries defined by Article 1 of the British Mandate for
East Africa, and by the Anglo-Belgian Treaty of 22 November
1934, regarding the boundary between Tanganyika and Ruanda-
Urundi.

ARTICLE 2. His Majesty is hereby designated as
Administrating Authority for Tanganyika, the responsibility for
the administration of which will be undertaken by His Majesty's
Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and
Northern Ireland.

ARTICLE 3. The Administrating Authority undertakes
to administer Tanganyika in such a manner as to achieve the
objectives of the international trusteeship system laid down
in Article 76 of the United Nations Charter. The Administrat-
ing Authority further undertakes to collaborate fully with
the General Assembly of the United Nations and the Trusteeship Council in the discharge of all their functions as defined in Article 87 of the United Nations Charter, and to facilitate any periodic visits to Tanganyika which they may deem necessary, at times to be agreed upon with the Administering Authority.

**ARTICLE 4.** The Administering Authority shall be responsible (a) for the peace, order, good government and defence of Tanganyika, and (b) for ensuring that it shall play its part in the maintenance of international peace and security.

**ARTICLE 5.** For the above-mentioned purposes and for all purposes of this Agreement, as may be necessary, the Administering Authority:

(a) shall have full powers of legislation, administration, and jurisdiction in Tanganyika, subject to the provisions of the United Nations Charter and of this agreement;

(b) shall be intitled to constitute Tanganyika into a customs, fiscal or administrative union or federation with adjacent territories under his sovereignty or control, and to establish common services between such territories and Tanganyika where such measures are not inconsistent with the basic objectives of the international trusteeship system and with the terms of this Agreement;

(c) and shall be entitled to establish naval, military and air bases, to erect fortifications, to station and employ his own forces in Tanganyika and to take all such other measures as are in his opinion necessary for the defence of Tanganyika and for ensuring that the territory plays its part in the maintenance of international peace and security. To this end the Administering Authority may make use of volunteer forces, facilities and assistance from Tanganyika in carrying out the obligations towards the Security Council undertaken in this regard by the Administering Authority, as well as for local defence and the maintenance of law and order within Tanganyika.
ARTICLE 6. The Administering Authority shall promote the development of free political institutions suited to Tanganyika. To this end, the Administering Authority shall assure to the inhabitants of Tanganyika a progressively increasing share in the administrative and other services of the Territory; shall develop the participation of the inhabitants of Tanganyika in advisory and legislative bodies and in the government of the Territory, both central and local, as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of the Territory and its peoples; and shall take all other appropriate measures with a view to the political advancement of the inhabitants of Tanganyika in accordance with Article 76(b) of the United Nations Charter.

ARTICLE 7. The Administering Authority undertakes to apply in Tanganyika the provisions of any international conventions and recommendations already existing or hereafter drawn up by the United Nations or by the specialized agencies referred to in Article 57 of the Charter, which may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of the Territory and which would conduce to the achievement of the basic objectives of the international trusteeship system.

ARTICLE 8. In framing laws relating to the holding or transfer of land and natural resources, the Administering Authority shall take into consideration native laws and customs, and shall respect the rights and safeguard the interests, both present and future, of the native population. No native land or natural resources may be transferred, except between natives, save with the previous consent of the competent public authority. No real rights over native land or natural resources in favor of non-natives may be created except with the same consent.

ARTICLE 9. Subject to the provisions of Article 10 of this Agreement, the Administering Authority shall take all necessary steps to ensure equal treatment in social, economic, industrial and commercial matters for all Members of the United Nations and their nationals and to this end:

(a) shall ensure the same rights to all nationals of Members of the United Nations as to his own nationals in respect of entry into and residence in Tanganyika, freedom of transit and navigation, of property both movable and immovable, the protection of person and property, and the exercise of professions and trades;

(b) shall not discriminate on grounds of nationality against nationals of any Member of the United
Nations in matters relating to the grant of concessions for the development of the natural resources of Tanganyika and shall not grant concessions having the character of a general monopoly;

(c) shall ensure equal treatment in the administration of justice to the nationals of all Members of the United Nations.

The rights conferred by this Article on nationals of Members of the United Nations apply equally to companies and associations controlled by such nationals and organized in accordance with the law of any Member of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 10. Measures taken to give effect to Article 9 of this Agreement shall be subject always to the overriding duty of the Administering Authority in accordance with Article 76 of the United Nations Charter to promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of Tanganyika, to carry out the other basic objectives of the international trusteeship system, and to maintain peace, order and good government. The Administering Authority shall in particular be free:

(a) to organize essential public services and works on such terms and conditions as he thinks just;

(b) to create monopolies of a purely fiscal character in order to provide Tanganyika with the fiscal resources which seem best suited in local requirements, or otherwise to serve the interests of the inhabitants of Tanganyika;

(c) where the interests of the economic advancement of the inhabitants of Tanganyika may require it, to establish, or permit to be established, of specific purposes, other monopolies or undertakings having in them an element of monopoly, under conditions of proper control; provided that, in the selection of agencies to carry out the purposes of this paragraph, other than agencies controlled by Government or those in which the Government participates, the Administering Authority shall not discriminate on grounds of nationality against Members of the United Nations or their nationals.
ARTICLE 11. Nothing in this Agreement shall entitle any Member of the United Nations to claim for itself or for its nationals, companies and associations the benefits of Article 9 of this Agreement in any respect in which it does not give to the inhabitants, companies and associations of Tanganyika equality of treatment with the nationals, companies and associations of the state which is treats most favorably.

ARTICLE 12. The Administering Authority shall, as may be appropriate to the circumstances of Tanganyika, continue and extend a general system of elementary education designed to abolish illiteracy and to facilitate the vocational and cultural advancement of the population, child and adult, and shall similarly provide such facilities as may prove desirable and practicable in the interests of the inhabitants for qualified students to receive secondary and higher education, including professional training.

ARTICLE 13. The Administering Authority shall ensure in Tanganyika complete freedom of conscience and, so far as is consistent with the requirements of public order and morality, freedom of religious teaching and the free exercise of all forms of worship. Subject to the provisions of Article 8 of the Agreement and the local law, missionaries who are nationals of Members of the United Nations shall be free to enter Tanganyika and to travel and reside therein, to acquire and possess property, to erect religious buildings and to open schools and hospitals in the territory. The provisions of this Article shall not, however, affect the right and duty of the Administering Authority to exercise such controls as it may consider necessary for the maintenance of peace, order and good government and for the educational advancement of the inhabitants of Tanganyika, and to take all measures required for such control.

ARTICLE 14. Subject only to the requirement of public order, the Administering Authority shall guarantee to the inhabitants of Tanganyika freedom of Speech, of the press, of assembly, and of petition.

ARTICLE 15. The Administering Authority may arrange for the cooperation of Tanganyika in any regional advisory commission, regional technical organization or other voluntary association of states, any specialized international activity not inconsistent with the United Nations Charter.

ARTICLE 16. The Administering Authority shall make to the General Assembly of the United Nations an annual
report on the basis of a questionnaire drawn up by the Trusteeship Council in accordance with Article 88 of the United Nations Charter. Such reports shall include information concerning the measures taken to give effect to suggestions and recommendations of the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council. The Administering Authority shall designate an accredited representative to be present at the sessions of the Trusteeship Council at which the reports of the Administering Authority with regard to Tanganyika are considered.

ARTICLE 17. Nothing in this Agreement shall effect the right of the Administering Authority to propose, at any future date, the amendment of this Agreement for the purpose of designating the whole or part of Tanganyika as a strategic area or for any other purpose not inconsistent with the basic objectives of the international trusteeship system.

ARTICLE 18. The term of this Agreement shall not be altered or amended except as provided in Article 79 and Article 83 or 85, as the case may be, of the United Nations Charter.

ARTICLE 19. If any dispute whatever should arise between the Administering Authority and another Member of the United Nations relating to the interpretation or application of the provisions of this Agreement, such dispute, if it cannot be settled by negotiation or other means, shall be submitted to the International Court of Justice provided for in Chapter XIV of the United Nations Charter.
APPENDIX D
SUMMARY OF LANDMARKS IN CONSTITUTIONALISM

Stage 1

December 7, 1926: First Legislature set up consisting of the Governor, 13 senior Colonial Government officials and 7 Governor-nominated unofficial members of whom 5 were Europeans and 2 Asians. Africans were not represented.

Stage 2

1938: (a) Legislature still cabal-type consisting of the Governor, 13 senior Colonial government officials and 10 Governor-nominated unofficials, 7 being Europeans and 3 Asians.

(b) Executive Council entirely made up of Colonial government officials.

Stage 3

1945-1947: (a) Legislature still cabal-type consisting of the Governor, 15 senior colonial government officials and a maximum of up to 14 Governor-nominated unofficials; specifically there were 13 unofficials; of whom 7 were Europeans, 3 Asians and 3 Africans.

(b) Executive Council enlarged by an additional 4 Governor-nominated unofficial members of whom 3 were Europeans and 1 Asian.

Stage 4

1949: The Mathew Constitutional Committee appointed to reconsider constitutional future of the country. Committee recommended: an enlarged Legislature, racial parity and retention of official majority.

Stage 5

1950: (a) Legislature's complexion very much as preceding period but the number of nominated unofficials was stepped up to 14 by making the number of African unofficials 4 instead of 3.
(b) Executive Council unimpaired.

Stage 6

April, 1950: (a) New Legislature based on Mathew Report consisting of 61 members of whom 31 were on Government side and 30 on "representative" side of the latter 10 were Africans, 10 Asians and 10 Europeans and all 30 nominated by the Governor. Speaker replaced the Governor. Of the 31 members of the Government side, 14 were nominated unofficials including 4 Africans, 7 Asians and 3 Europeans.

(b) Executive Council consisted of 8 officials and 6 nominated unofficials; of the latter, 2 were Africans, 2 Asians and 2 Europeans.

Stage 7

1955: Appointment of Mackenzie Commission which was charged with the task of inquiring further into the Constitutional problems of the country.

Important recommendations from the Mackenzie Report were: that an electoral system should be introduced instead of the nomination of the unofficial members of Legislative Council and Local Government bodies, and that an experiment in interracial election should be made, probably in Dar es Salaam, with a common electoral roll instituted for that constituency.

Stage 8

1956: Government election proposals stipulating a qualitative franchise based on racial parity, wealth, education and holding of a named public office and a tripartite voting system. These proposals were diametrically opposed to the demands of T.A.N.U.

Stage 9

April, 1957: Governor announced introduction of ministerial system whereby former heads of
groups of departments were to be Ministers and 6 unofficial Assistant Ministers were to be appointed.

July 1, 1957: Ministerial system began. Of the 6 Assistant Ministers, 4 were Africans, 1 Asian and 1 European. First move of associating "unofficials" with the Executive business of Government.

Stage 10

September, 1958: First part of the First General Election in five electoral districts on the basis of qualitative franchise as proposed by Colonial government.

February, 1959: Second part of the First General Election.

Political triumph for T.A.N.U., orbituary for U.T.P. and A.N.C.

March, 1959: Appointment of Ramage Committee to review the Constitution of Tanganyika and make recommendations for further progress.

Stage 11

July 1, 1959: Five elected Members moved over to the Government benches as Ministers but could oppose Government policy if they notified Government 48 hours in advance in which time they could resign their positions temporarily and the Government would make this necessary over-balance of nominees. This was a "Gentlemen's Agreement."

Stage 12

December 15, 1959: Governor announced, in legislature, further constitutional changes. The Ramage Report endorsed most of the proposals sent to them by T.A.N.U. Government endorsed most of the report.

Stage 13

September, 1960: Second General Election based on a slightly liberalized franchise.
(a) Legislature to consist of 71 elected members returned from 50 constituencies. Of the 71 members, 50 would represent "open" seats, 11 seats would be reserved for Asians and 10 for the European community.

(b) Governor to retain the power to nominate a limited number of members to ensure that specialized knowledge and experience might be available to aid the Council in its deliberations.

October 1, 1960 (a) Council of Ministers to change composition in line with Legislature. Specifically the Council to be made up of the President (Governor), the Deputy Governor, 10 unofficial Ministers including the Chief Minister, and two Civil Service Ministers - the Attorney-General and the Minister for Information Services.

(b) Executive Council replaced by Council of Ministers.
BIBLIOGRAPHY
When the Governor, Sir Richard Turnbull in morning dress, arrived in the ancient Rolls, all public seats in Karimjee Hall were filled. Outside in the humid morning several thousands of Africans, many of them in Tanu green, waited quietly behind crush barriers. Acacia Avenue was lined along its length with other Tanu members and private cars and taxis were bedecked with flowers and foliage.

Outside the hall movie cameras whirred as Ministers and leading members of the Elected Members, moved into the focus; tribal robes mingled with the latest fashions from London, Rome and Paris, dark formal suits with lightweight, tropical garb, and the green shirts of Tanu officials fitted in and out like emerald fireflies among those with tickets to the hall.

There was lacking today the pomp and circumstance of the guard of honor, the 17-gun salute; but there was added such an air of expectation that the tension was almost palpable.

The Governor, tall and impassive, read his speech from the Throne; twice the elected members clapped spontaneously--once when he announced the reconstitution of the Council of Ministers to give them an elected majority, and once when he said there would be an elected majority of members in the new Council; and all joined to applaud his tribute to Sir Richard Ramage and the members of the Post-Elections Committee.

And at the end of his address to which all present had listened with almost painful attention there was more applause, louder and more sustained.

It was not until Mr. Nyerere appeared on the steps outside the Hall, though, that the quiet, colorful scene burst into a starshell of animation. A forest of green Tanu membership cards waved a joyous welcome.
Smiling happily the T.A.N.U. leader waved a green branch: in a moment he was surrounded and garlanded with a brightly-floral leis.

Then as the crowd broke through the barriers in a wild surge of singing, chanting, Uhuru—shouting enthusiasm he was seized, uplifted and carried shoulder high through the almost mysteriously happy crowd which yet behaved with order and cohesion.

Cameramen were swallowed up in the good-humored stampede. Without losing for a moment his happy smile, Mr. Nyerere, one of the chief architects of this peaceful, bloodless victory, went shoulder-high to Acacia Avenue where a long procession of decorated cars and taxis were drawn up. His own car was gay with flowers. Sitting high and in full view he led the procession through the town, where thousands sang and cheered and waved and wrote their own small joyful peace into the history of this new Tanganyika.¹