1964

Tanganyika - The Road to Independence

Thomas Methuselah Msaky
University of Rhode Island

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.uri.edu/theses>

Recommended Citation

Msaky, Thomas Methuselah, "Tanganyika - The Road to Independence" (1964). *Open Access Master's Theses*. Paper 1788.
<https://digitalcommons.uri.edu/theses/1788>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by DigitalCommons@URI. It has been accepted for inclusion in Open Access Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@URI. For more information, please contact digitalcommons-group@uri.edu.

DT 447
M 7

TANGANYIKA—THE ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE

BY

THOMAS METHUSELAH MSAKY

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE

REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

IN

POLITICAL SCIENCE

UNIVERSITY OF RHODE ISLAND

1964

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
ABSTRACT.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	iv
CHAPTER	
I INTRODUCTION.....	1
II A SHORT HISTORY OF TANGANYIKA.....	3
The Land.....	3
The People.....	4
The Discovery of Tanganyika.....	6
Tanganyika Under Germany.....	10
Tanganyika Under the British Mandate.....	19
Tanganyika Under the Trusteeship Council.....	24
III THE ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE.....	38
Nyerere the Man.....	38
Political Developments in the 1950's.....	44
Tanganyika Nears Responsible Government.....	57
Independence Won.....	65
IV CHANGES AFTER INDEPENDENCE.....	70
Resignation of Nyerere.....	70
Establishment of the Republic.....	73
Return to Power of Nyerere.....	76
V CONCLUSION.....	78
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	80
APPENDIX.....	84

ABSTRACT

The struggle for independence in Tanganyika calls attention to the main political and social obstacles which had to be overcome before independence was won. The major opposition to independence for Tanganyika came from few local tribal chiefs who were afraid of losing their status after independence. Also opposed to independence were those educated civil servants fearing to lose their jobs by joining the National Movement Party, "TANU" (Tanganyika African National Union).

Despite these obstacles presented by tribal chiefs and the educated elite, Tanganyika was able to achieve independence before Kenya and Uganda, its neighbors.

The foremost reason for the emergence of an independent Tanganyika was the dynamic leadership of Mr. Julius K. Nyerere, then the President of the National Movement Party "TANU." His direction of the nationalistic movement and his moderate policies with regard to non-African residents of Tanganyika contributed much to the success of his efforts.

Furthermore, unlike the situation in Kenya and Uganda, no tribe in Tanganyika has exerted a predominant influence upon its development, and its European population has always been far smaller than that of Kenya. Finally, the Tanganyikan Europeans have been less politically conscious and ambitious compared with those in Kenya and Uganda.

This study has drawn upon the records of the United Nations General Assembly, documents and publications from the Trusteeship Council and reports of Visiting Missions to Trust Territories in Africa in 1948, 1951, 1954, 1957, and 1960.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The writer is greatly indebted to Dr. David D. Warren, his research advisor at the University of Rhode Island, without whose continuous support, this research might never have been completed. Gratitude is also due to Mrs. Julia Hoxsie for her generosity in typing the paper.

I

INTRODUCTION

Tanganyika comprises fifteen administrative regions: Arusha, Central, Coast, Kigoma, Kilimanjaro, Mara, Morogoro, Mtwara, Mwanza, Ruvuma, Shinyanga, Southern Highlands, Tabora, Tanga, and West Lake. The total area of the country is 362,688 square miles. The recorded history of the area begins about the eighth century A. D. when active colonization of the coast by Arabs from Oman had started. About the middle of the nineteenth century Arabs and Europeans began to penetrate the interior of the country which was until then unknown. The country was brought under German rule in 1884 following the Berlin Conference and after the native chiefs had fallen into German hands.¹

Soon after the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, clashes occurred between British and German forces. By the end of 1917 all German troops had been forced out of Tanganyika into Portuguese East Africa, and British occupation of the whole country was complete. Under British rule the governor was His Majesty's appointee and numerous government officers controlled the administration of the country. Although there were nationalist political parties in Tanganyika prior to and after Nyerere's Tanganyika African National Union, the nationalists had worked with the colonial power in the Tanganyikan government and they could be bribed very easily to abandon

¹John Gunther, Inside Africa. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955), p. 410.

politics looking to independence.

Nyerere was the key mover in Tanganyika's independence movement, as the writer will discuss later. As a result of the elections of 1958 and 1960, Tanganyika became an independent country in 1961 and a republic within the Commonwealth of Nations on December 9, 1962.

II

A SHORT HISTORY OF TANGANYIKA

I. THE LAND

Tanganyika is situated between the Great Lakes of Central Africa and the Indian Ocean and lies just south of the equator. Tanganyika has an area of 362,688 square miles with a coastline of some 500 miles. It contains the two topographical extremes of the whole continent of Africa with snow-capped Mount Kilimanjaro, 19,340 feet above sea level, and the deep trough-like depression filled by Lake Tanganyika, the second deepest lake in the world.¹ Along the coast lies a plain 10 to 40 miles wide; behind this the country rises to the Great Central Plateau of some 4,000 feet. This plateau is sharply defined along its eastern and western margins by steep and eroded escarpments which reach, in some places, to heights of over 7,000 feet.

Towards the west the land falls to the level of the lakes (Tanganyika 2,534 feet, Nyasa 1,568 feet) which lie in the Great Rift Valley. Tanganyika has numerous rivers, but only a few are navigable for any considerable length, and many dry out during the summer months. The main rivers are the Pangani, Wami, Ruvu, Rufiji, Ruaha, Matandu, Lukuledi and Ruvuma, which drain the Central Plateau and flow into the Indian Ocean. Much of the central part of the country is under open woodland or brush and thicket; large areas are infested by tsetse flies,

¹J. P. Moffett, Handbook of Tanganyika. (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1958), p. 1.

and are, therefore, not settled except where measures to eliminate the fly have been taken.

The climate of the country falls into three main climatic zones: on the coast and in the immediate hinterland conditions are tropical and humid with an average temperature of 76° F. and a rainfall of about 40 inches; the Central Plateau is hot and dry, although with considerable daily and seasonal variation in temperature; and in the mountainous regions the climate is semi-temperate with occasional frost. The climate in these areas is healthy and bracing. Most of the country has a one-season rainfall, that is, from about December to May.²

II. THE PEOPLE

The native Tanganyikans belong to three distinct ethnic groups; the Bantu, who form over 90 per cent of the Tanganyikans, the Nilo-Hamites, and the people of Bushman affinities. It is believed that the aboriginal inhabitants of Tanganyika were of the Bushman type; they lived by hunting and collecting fruits. These three groups constitute the 120 tribes of Tanganyika. Each tribe is defined by its physical characteristics, language, social organization, and mode of living.³

²Ibid., pp. 5-6 (Also see the attached map of Tanganyika in the Appendix)

³Ibid., p. 283.

The largest tribes are: Sukuma, Nyamwezi, Ha, Makonde, Gogo, Haya, and Chagga. Tribalism is still of great importance in the life of the Tanganyikan African. Members of any tribe prefer to live together within their own tribal boundaries and under their highly defined hierarchy of tribal chiefs.⁴ The Tindiga are the only surviving tribe of the Bushman type who retain their ancient way of life. They live in a remote part of the Mbulu district in the Northern Province of Tanganyika, and are noted for being the only tribe which the government makes no attempt to administer. The Kindiga tribe like the Sandave tribe speak a "click" language.⁵

Most of the Bantu might have moved into Tanganyika from the South and Southwest during the last thousand years, occupying the better watered forested land which was of little interest to the pastoralists and gradually gaining ground at the expense of the latter. The influence of the Hamites and Nilo-Hamites on the Bantu people is apparent in the fact that almost all the Bantu tribes of Tanganyika are of the patrilineal type, whereas the typical Bantu structure is matrilineal. It could be that there was much interbreeding, which would account for the many non-Bantu characteristics of those who still speak the Bantu language. The Bantu peoples who occupy about two-thirds of Tanganyika are divided into eight tribes, most of which have their own dialect or language. The biggest of these is the Sukuma, found at the south of

⁴Ibid., p. 149.

⁵Ibid., pp. 284-285.

Lake Victoria, who have attained wealth through the cultivation of cotton. The Chagga, who live on the eastern and southern slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro, are considered to be the most prosperous tribe and the most influenced by Western European methods and education. Their economy is largely based on the cultivation of coffee.⁶

In Central Tanganyika the most important tribes are the Gogo and the Haya. The Makonde and the Yao of the southwest are comparatively recent arrivals from the South who retain their matrilineal customs. The Makonde are the only tribe who have any tradition of representational art. The Swahili of the Coast are Bantu who have long been "detrribalized"; many of them have Arab blood. All are Muslims. Their language, which is Bantu with a large addition of Arabic words, was carried inland by the trading caravans and has become the "Lingua Franca" of almost all of East Africa.⁷

III. THE DISCOVERY OF TANGANYIKA

The discovery of the 1,750,000 year-old skull of "Zinjanthropos" in Olduvai Gorge by Dr. Louis S. B. Leakey in 1959 raises the possibility that the whole history of mankind started in Tanganyika.⁸ Nobody knows exactly when the first contacts between Tanganyika and the outside world began. It is possible that trade connections existed with Arabia and India. Some trading posts were established on the islands along the

⁶ Ibid., pp. 144-145.

⁷ Ibid., p. 254.

⁸ L.S.B. Leakey, The Progress and Evolution of Man in Africa. (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 37.

coast. The oldest known town in Tanganyika is Kilwa Kisiwani, "Kilwa on the Island."⁹

Kilwa Kisiwani has an Arabic chronicle that records its history from the tenth century A. D. down to the time of the arrival of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century. With reference to this account, settlers from Shirazi in Persia reached Kilwa in about 945 A.D. This early period of Kilwa's history is characterized by wars with adjacent Songo and Xanga; in this struggle Kilwa emerged triumphant. The island of Mafia was also dominated during this period. Thus the Zenj Empire became very powerful; its center was Kilwa. Therefore, many towns grew up along the various trade routes to the Indian Ocean. Fleets of trading vessels came from India and Southern Arabia, bringing with them cloth and other commodities and taking back gold, ivory, tortoise shell, and slaves.¹⁰

In 1498 Vasco de Gama sailed along the east coast of Africa on his way to India. Although he had intended to stop at Kilwa, he was prevented by ocean currents. However, he had the chance to stop at Mombasa and Malindi before proceeding to India. The first European to call at Kilwa was the Portuguese, Pedro Alvares Cabral, the discoverer of Brazil, who sailed into the harbor with six ships on July 16, 1500.¹¹

⁹Moffett, op. cit., p. 27.

¹⁰Roland Oliver, The Dawn of African History (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 28.

¹¹Moffett, op. cit., p. 29

The following year, under the command of John da Nova, another fleet put in at Kilwa.

The Portuguese, realizing the importance of East African ports, and wanting to monopolize trade with India, decided to seize control of the East African coast from the Arabs. Between 1500 and 1509 they subdued the entire coast of East Africa and established a tremendous colonial empire which marked the end of the Zenj Empire.¹² Throughout the sixteenth century the Portuguese exercised control over the whole East African coast. The Portuguese rule started to deteriorate because, among many other things, they depended upon the assistance of tributary Arab Sultans, many of whom were not loyal. Mombasa, for example, continued to resist Portuguese control until the end of the sixteenth century when Fort Jesus was erected there.¹³

Early in the seventeenth century Arabs from Oman managed to drive the Portuguese from the Island of Oman, raided Zanzibar in 1652, and destroyed the Portuguese settlements there. Again in March 1696 a fleet from Oman arrived at Mombasa and laid seige to Fort Jesus. By 1698 only Mozambique was left to the Portuguese; there are few traces of the Portuguese period in Tanganyika.¹⁴

Following the fall of Mombasa, all the towns and islands along the coast recognized the authority of the Sultan of Oman. The Arab system of administering the towns was to appoint a governor in each town

¹²Donald L. Wiedner, A History of Africa. (New York: Random House, 1962), p. 103-104.

¹³Ibid., p. 103-104.

¹⁴Roland Oliver, History of East Africa. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), Vol. 1, p. 141.

along the coast, but some towns like Mombasa, Zanzibar, and Kilwa showed signs of independence which could not be stamped out by the Sultan. In 1741 the Mazrui governor of Mombasa renounced the over-lordship of Oman.¹⁵ Kilwa was the second town to revolt against the Oman rule. This unrest continued up to 1776 when the Sultan of Kilwa signed a treaty with a French merchant agreeing to supply him with at least 1,000 slaves annually for the French plantations on Mauritius and Bourbon. The French were permitted to occupy the fortress at Kilwa. During the following years, a number of French vessels called at Kilwa to load cargoes of slaves. Zanzibar, Mafia, and Kilwa were included and the Oman Governor was appointed at Kilwa. Under this regime slave trade expanded.¹⁶

In 1798, the Sultan of Oman signed a treaty with the British; Britain agreed to help the Sultan against his enemies in Oman and East Africa. When the Sultan died in 1805, his son, Said bin Sultan, took over. In 1828, Said bin Sultan led an expedition against Mombasa. By 1837 the Mazrui were overthrown. From there the Sultan proceeded to Zanzibar and took possession of it. He moved his capitol from Muscat to Zanzibar. Soon after the Sultan initiated many development programs; new paths to the interior were opened. Armed men set out on regular schedules for Lake Nyasa and Tanganyika. When Said bin Sultan died, his son, Majid took over and furthered his father's programs. The commercial life of Zanzibar continued to flourish. In 1862, Majid built a town on the main land opposite Zanzibar and named it Dar es Salaam (Haven of Peace).¹⁷

¹⁵Ibid., p. 157.

¹⁶Moffett, op. cit., p. 33.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 37.

When Majid died in 1870, he was succeeded by his brother Seyyid Barghash, who ruled from 1870 to 1888. By this time explorers were busy in the interior. There was a great increase in missionary work, and the international "scramble for Africa" began.¹⁸

IV. TANGANYIKA UNDER GERMANY

In 1884, during the rule of Seyyid Barghash, the representatives of many European states met at the Congress of Berlin. The various agreements concluded set precise limits of territorial influence in Africa. Following the Congress of Berlin, the German Colonial Society was formed. Its first president was the well known German explorer, Dr. Karl Peters. Towards the end of 1884, Karl Peters came to East Africa and occupied, during the following years, the coast and a part of the inland of Tanganyika partly by force and partly by agreement with the native chiefs.¹⁹ Karl Peters went back to Germany in 1885 with his treaties, but he found Bismarck's attitude toward colonization had changed. This was due to pressure from some north German firms which had interests in East Africa.²⁰

In 1885 the Kaiser issued a charter extending his protection to all territories acquired by Peters and granted the management of the land to the Society. Peters subsequently formed the German East Africa Company and transferred to it all the rights he had secured in his

¹⁸Reginald Coupland, The Exploitation of East Africa. (London: Faker Publishers, 1939) p. 319.

¹⁹Margaret L. Bates, Tanganyika. (New York: Cornell University Press 1962), p. 399.

²⁰J. P. Moffett, Handbook of Tanganyika. (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1958), p. 50.

treaties of 1884. When Seyyid Barghash learned of the German claims he sent a strong protest to the Kaiser. The protest read:

We have received from Consul-General Rohlf a copy of your Majesty's proclamation of the 27th of February 1885, according to which the countries Usagara, Nguru, and Ukumi of which it is said that they lie west of our possessions, are placed under your protection and German rule. We protest against this, because these territories belong to us and we have military stations there, and the chiefs who offer to surrender rights of sovereignty to the agents of the company are not empowered to do so; these places have belonged to us since the time of our fathers.²¹

The Kaiser did not pay attention to this protest; instead he sent five German warships which anchored in the harbor of Zanzibar in August 1885. Seyyid Barghash then was forced to give in to the German demands. Again he was persuaded by the British Consul, Sir John Kirk, who had been instructed by his government to encourage Seyyid Barghash to agree to a German protectorate. Prior to this Britain, France, and Germany had been debating the possibility of appointing a joint commission to investigate the Sultan of Zanzibar's claims to certain territories in East Africa and to determine the exact limits of his territory.²²

The commission began its work in January 1886; during the next few months it visited every major port between Cape Delgado in the South and Mogadishu in the North. Then it submitted a memorandum as the result of its investigation to the three governments (Britain, France, and Germany). The memorandum stated:

²¹Ibid., p. 51.

²²Ibid., p. 52.

... that Seyyid Barghash, the present Sultan of Zanzibar, has up to date justifiable claims only over the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, and the Lamu archipelago as well as over a strip of land ten miles broad along the coast, beginning in the North at Kipini and extending to Tungi on Ruvuma estuary in the South. Besides he has under his full control the cities and districts of Kismayu, Barwa, Merka, Mogadishu, and Warsheik on the Benadir (Somali) coast.²³

This memorandum was accepted by the three countries as the basis for their future actions. Britain occupied and annexed the hinterland behind the ten-mile zone in Kenya. In November 1886 Germany did the same in Tanganyika. Seyyid Barghash lost by far the greatest part of the hinterland claimed by him. The next step taken by Britain and Germany was to persuade the Sultan under pressure to open some coastal towns for European ships. Unwillingly he accepted. In Kenya the harbors of Malindi and Mombasa and in Tanganyika those of Pangani and Dar es Salaam were opened for British and German sailing ships and steamers.²⁴ In 1888 Seyyid Barghash died; his brother and successor, Seyyid Khalif bin Said, concluded a new agreement with the German East Africa Company. Under this agreement Germany was given the right to administer that part of the ten-mile coastal belt which lay adjacent to the German protectorate. Britain now started to suspect the Germans of expansion in East Africa. The two countries signed an agreement on July 1, 1890 whereby Germany (a) recognized the British protectorate over Zanzibar; (b) abandoned all her claims on the coast north of the River Tana; and

²³Richard Reusch, History of East Africa. (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Company, 1961), p. 293.

²⁴Ibid., pp. 290-291.

(c) accepted the extension of the frontier dividing the two spheres of influence. For her part, Britain ceded Heligoland to Germany and undertook to use her influence with the Sultan to "cede absolutely" to Germany the ten-mile coastal strip already leased to the German East Africa Company in return for an "equitable indemnity." It was later agreed that this sum should be 200,000 pounds. The Sultan reluctantly gave his consent to the agreement on September 25, 1890.²⁵

After the acquisition of Tanganyika, the Germans started to penetrate into the interior, but many of the Tanganyikan tribes resisted German occupation and the Germans were engaged in putting down uprisings.

The well known tribal chief who resented German intrusion into his area was Mkwawa.²⁶ This chief raided German caravans passing through his territory. In 1891 he was warned by a German Lieutenant, Von Zelewsky, to stop this practice, but Mkwawa ignored the warning. He continued to wage constant guerrilla warfare until 1898, the year he died. It was in 1894 that Mkwawa built a strong fortified post at Kalenga a few miles to the west of Iringa.²⁷ At the end of that year a double force, led by the Governor, Von Schele, was sent against Mkwawa. Mkwawa's fort was destroyed, but Mkwawa himself escaped unharmed. The following report from a German officer reveals Mkwawa's influence over his people:

²⁵Coupland, op. cit., pp. 484-485.

²⁶Moffett, op. cit., p. 60.

²⁷Ibid., p. 61.

Mkwawa always moved between our patrols. He was supplied with information and food in the very localities where our troops operated, but the inhabitants declined to give our forces any information and denied all knowledge of his presence. When we were hot on Mkwawa's trail, food and liquor would often be found placed in the paths and bush; his people always knew where to find him, and the direction he had taken and the points he would traverse. Altogether, it was certain that Mkwawa exercised an inexplicable influence over the natives, who, when the pursuing troops surprised his camp, would, time after time, blindly hurl themselves on the soldiers, sacrificing themselves merely to give Mkwawa the chance to escape. No scheme for his capture was possible and no one ever knew even what he looked like.²⁸

The Germans set up a new station at Iringa under Tom Von Prince. He waged a constant war against Mkwawa; at last Mkwawa was worn down and his forces dispersed. Finally the Germans offered a reward of five thousand rupees for Mkwawa's head, but so great was his influence that his followers refused to desert or betray him. When at last he was found by Sergeant Merk, the sergeant fired into his body. Mkwawa had apparently died by his own hand rather than be taken alive. His body was turned over to his tribe for burial, but the "skull was sent to the Anthropological Museum at Bremen." Later, in 1954, the skull was returned to Tanganyika and handed over to Mkwawa's grandson.²⁹

The death of Mkwawa did not end the native revolt against the Germans. Further uprisings culminated in the "Maji-maji" rebellion of 1905-06 in which a large part of the Southern Province was involved. This uprising started because again the natives were dissatisfied with

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Ibid., pp. 60-62.

German rule. The Wapogoro and Wangindo tribes were very hostile towards the Germans, and around the end of 1904 they began to spread the news that they had obtained from the spirits a special medicine which would protect against epidemics, even against the bullets of the Germans by turning them into water, in Kiswahili "Maji." They began to sell this medicine to the native population. From it the uprising received its name "The Maji-maji rebellion," (water rebellion).³⁰

The native Africans were convinced that this medicine had a mysterious power to protect against every danger. The revolt began with the murder of a number of the suspected pro-Germans. Well armed with native weapons, bands of Africans were moving from one area to another attacking government outposts and mission stations as they went. Their hatred of German rule united nearly the whole of the African population in spite of their heavy casualties. Unable to suppress the rebellion because of the peoples' passionate support of the rebels, the Germans ruthlessly destroyed villages and crops. By the end of 1907 the inhabitants had been robbed, killed and enslaved by the German policemen; crops and villages had been destroyed, and cattle had been carried off. Casualties from warfare and famine numbered about 120,000 according to German reports.³¹ This was the end of resistance to German power.

Up to the end of the "Maji-maji" rebellion colonial affairs had been the concern of a department of the chancellor's office. However, after the rebellion a separate colonial office was established, and

³⁰Bates, op. cit., p. 400.

³¹Moffett, op. cit., pp. 71-76.

Dr. Bernhard Dernburg was appointed as the first Secretary for the colonies. A policy known as "scientific colonization" was adopted.³² As the first colonial Secretary, Dernburg was largely responsible for a changed official attitude toward the African population in German East Africa. He saw the colony as a source of raw material for German industry; he also viewed the Africans as the colony's most valuable asset rather than as so much labor for German plantations. He forbade the sale of land to settlers; in addition, he declared forced labor on Africans illegal except for public works. Dernburg also brought about the construction of the Central Railway Line in order to open up the interior. Work was begun in 1907; by 1914 the line stretched from Dar es Salaam on the coast to Kigoma on Lake Tanganyika.³³

Other reforms initiated by Dernburg involved administrative changes. He encouraged the appointment of a civilian to the post of Governor; previously the post had usually gone to a military man. He placed the territory's military forces under a separate commander. This change did not deprive the governor of his authority over military forces because he remained the supreme civil and military authority. Dernburg instituted an advisory council composed of three officials and from five to twelve unofficial members to assist the governor. The unofficial members, who were appointed by the governor, had to be natives of Germany. Proposed legislations had to be submitted to the council,

³²Moffett, Op. cit., p. 77.

³³G. W. Kingsnorth, Africa South of the Sahara. (London: The Cambridge University Press, 1962). pp. 118-119.

which met three times a year.

On the side of African administration Dernburg considered that tribal authority was strong enough to be worth preserving in only three areas, Ruanda, Urundi, and Bukoba. In these areas he allowed the native chiefs to retain their administrative authority under the supervision of a German resident. Elsewhere he considered tribal institutions too weak to be useful, and a system of direct rule was set up. The whole country, apart from the three residences, was divided into nineteen civil and two military districts each under a district administrator or "Bezirksamtman." Each district was again divided into groups of villages consisting of twenty to thirty thousand people. In charge of these groups were officials known as "Akida," and in charge of each village was an official known as a "Jumbe" or "Mchili." There were only about seventy German officials, many of them very poorly qualified to administer to the population of nearly seven million. The actual work of the administration depended chiefly on the "Akidas," who were usually Arab or Swahili. Their only qualifications were that they could read and write and therefore, could obey orders. They had both executive and judicial powers and were responsible for the collection of taxes, but not properly supervised in the task, inasmuch as the "Akidas" were in the habit of resorting to oppression and fraud which made the administration detested by the people. ³⁴

German rule ended with the defeat of Germany in World War I. Soon after the outbreak of the war clashes took place between British

³⁴Moffett, op. cit., pp. 77-78.

and German forces on the northern frontier of the German colony, but it was in 1916 that the main assault began on German East Africa. From British East Africa a force led by General Smuts defeated the Germans near Kilimanjaro and in March occupied the northern part of German East Africa and established a provisional administration there while the German Commander, General Paul Von Letlow-Vorbeck, and his forces were confined to the area south of the Central Railway. In November 1917 the German army was driven over the Ruvuma River into Portuguese territory and the occupation of the whole of Tanganyika was then complete. General Paul Von Letlow-Vorbeck, the "Lion of Tanganyika," as his native soldiers called him, formally surrendered on November 13, 1918 and the Colony of "Deutsch-ost-Africa" (German East Africa) was lost to the British.³⁵

By Article 119 of the Peace Treaty with Germany signed at Versailles on June 28, 1919, Germany renounced, in favor of the principal Allied and Associated Powers, all her rights over her overseas possessions, including therein German East Africa. Article 22 of the League of Nations Covenant, which was a part of the treaty, provided for these territories to be governed by mandatories on behalf of the League. It was later agreed that Britain should, on this basis, administer German East Africa, except for the areas of Ruanda and Urundi for which the Mandate was entrusted to the Belgian government. The areas under British administration were from that time onward

³⁵Ibid., pp. 82-87.

known as Tanganyika Territory.³⁶ Its administration continued to be carried out under the terms of the Mandate until 1946, when it was placed under the trusteeship system of the United Nations.

V. TANGANYIKA UNDER THE BRITISH MANDATE

With the termination of the First World War and the transfer of Tanganyika to British Authority as a mandate, the task of reorganization and reconstruction fell to Sir Horace Byatt, the first British Governor. All German settlers were deported, and their freeholds were redistributed to Africans and new immigrants on ninety-nine year leases. The Governor was responsible for peace, order, and good government in the territory; extensive executive, legislative and judiciary powers were accordingly conferred upon him.³⁷ His powers did not go so far as to allow him to formulate basic policies. He was required to obtain instructions from the Colonial Office, after which it was his responsibility to see that they were carried out. Also, the Governor was assisted in his executive work by an executive council; the function of this council was to advise the Governor on such questions as the law might have prescribed, but sometimes the Governor could act contrary to the advice he received. In such a case he was bound to report to the Secretary of State explaining the reasons for his actions.

At first only ex-officio members were to be found in the Executive

³⁶Quincy Wright, Mandates Under the League of Nations. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1930), pp. 611-612.

³⁷Moffett. op. cit., pp. 89-90.

Council, but later unofficial members were nominated by the Governor.

The ex-officio members from the time the Executive Council was established in 1920 were the heads of important departments of the country's government. These were the chief secretary, the attorney general, the treasurer, the director of medical and sanitary services, the director of education, and the secretary for native affairs. The chief secretary was the principal executive officer of the governor. He acted as governor during the governor's absence, he was the head of the civil service, and he was responsible for the main executive decisions. One thing should be mentioned here: the unofficial members of the executive council, appointed by the governor, could also be removed by the governor.³⁸

Sir Donald Cameron, the Second Governor of Tanganyika, arrived in Tanganyika in 1925. He saw that he had too few European officials to set up an efficient administration dependent on them alone. He also saw that the mandate implied that the aim of government should be to enable the people of Tanganyika to stand by themselves. In reorganizing the administration, he divided the country into eleven provinces, each under a provincial commissioner whose area was divided into districts under district commissioners. (Later on January 1, 1926, Tanganyika was divided into eight provinces.) On the district level he tried to get the person who was accepted by the tribe as the rightful ruler. Gradually the native authority was made responsible for the maintenance of good

³⁸Bates, op. cit., pp. 404-405.

order and government among the Africans in its area. To make it effective, a native court with limited powers of punishment and imprisonment was established. The native authorities were also made responsible for the collection of taxes under the supervision of the district commissioner.³⁹

The district commissioner was responsible for many matters; he supervised the courts and native administration in all its forms; he built up local government and safeguarded African land rights; and he was involved in local development and education.

The district commissioner helped in guiding and advising the senior officers of the local African authority regarding their finances, their building programs, their staff problems, and a number of activities. He also guided and helped county and lower chiefs throughout the district, meeting lower councils and village gatherings, discussing their local affairs and explaining government policy and district plans to them. As an administrative officer, the district commissioner was to supply initiative and to a large extent the ideas and plans for the future. It was his duty to see that the policies and programs of the Central Government were carried out in the field.⁴⁰

Having reorganized the administration, the Governor, Sir Donald Cameron, recommended to the Secretary of State that a Legislative Council with a liberal representation of the unofficial community be set

³⁹ Moffett, op. cit., pp. 100-101.

⁴⁰ Bates, op. cit., pp. 405-406.

up for the colonies.⁴¹ Accordingly, his request was approved, and the first Legislative Council for the Territory was inaugurated on the 7th of December 1926. The Council consisted of thirteen senior officials of government who sat under the Governor's chairmanship with seven nominated non-officials of whom five were Europeans and two were Asians. The Governor had considered the matter of African representation on this Council and at the inaugural meeting made the following statement:

The native community cannot be directly represented because for the present a native cannot be found with sufficient command of the English language to take part in the debates of the council, indeed to understand what is being said. I speak now, of course, of natives of standing who could speak on behalf of the various tribes of the country. But I do not by any means regard the large body of natives as being altogether unrepresented on the Council. Their interests are directly in the hands of the secretary for native affairs, the chief secretary, and the governor himself.

The members of the Legislative Council were chosen by the Governor after consultation with such groups as the Asian Association, the Hellenic Club, etc., who frequently spoke for their interests in the Council. The Council operated as a small group of advisers to the Governor.⁴³ In 1945 the total Council membership was raised to twenty-nine with four new unofficial seats to be reserved for Africans. The first two African members were chiefs. One of them in his first speech

⁴¹Donald C. Cameron, My Tanganyika Service and Some Nigeria. (London: Allen and Unwin, 1939), p. 28.

⁴²Moffett, op. cit., p. 102.

⁴³Bates, op. cit., p. 413.

said, "I have to apologize for the fact that English is not my mother tongue and if I make mistakes at all, members should then be sympathetic to me."⁴⁴ Another African member was nominated in 1947 but this time a commoner, and from there on the degree of local reaction increased.

Chapters XI and XII of the United Nations Charter, approved at the San Francisco Conference in 1945, provided for the establishment of a system of international trusteeship under the United Nations of all the countries which were part of the mandate system, and those territories which were detached from enemy states. The Article states:

The trusteeship system should apply only to such territories in the following categories as may be placed thereunder by means of trusteeship arrangements (a) territories now held under mandate; (b) territories which may be detached from enemy states, as a result of this war; and territories voluntarily placed under the system by states responsible for their administration⁴⁵

As far as Tanganyika was concerned, His Majesty was designated as Administering Authority. The Administering Authority undertook to administer Tanganyika in such a manner as to achieve the basic objectives of the International Trusteeship System laid down in Article 76 of the United Nations Charter.⁴⁶ Although Tanganyika as a mandate came under the System of International Trusteeship when the United Nations

⁴⁴Moffett., op. cit., p. 129.

⁴⁵Ruth B. Russell, A History of the United Nations Charter. (Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1958), p. 825.

⁴⁶Ibid., pp. 76-77.

was established in 1945, she did not change her mandate status for nearly another two years. Finally in 1947, her status changed and she became a trust territory of the United Nations.⁴⁷

VI. TANGANYIKA UNDER THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

Tanganyika came under the Trusteeship System of the United Nations after World War II. Article 76 of the Charter states specifically that trust territories are to be developed "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 peoples concerned, and as may be provided by the terms of each trusteeship agreement."⁴⁸ By Article 2 of the Trusteeship Agreement, which placed Tanganyika under the British, "His Majesty is hereby designated as Administering 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," Great Britain, as the Administering Authority, undertook to "develop the participation of the inhabitants of Tanganyika in advisory and legislative bodies and in the government of the Territory, both central and local, and to take all other appropriate measures with a view to the political advancement of the inhabitants of Tanganyika."⁴⁹

⁴⁷Bates, op. cit., p. 415.

⁴⁸Ruth B. Russell, A History of the United Nations Charter. (Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1958), p. 1048.

⁴⁹United Nations, Yearbook of the United Nations, 1946-1947. (New York: Department of Public Information, 1947), p. 193.

By the end of the year 1947 the British Government passed an Order-in-Council linking Tanganyika administratively with Kenya and Uganda. A High Commission and a Central Legislature were created to deal with specified departments and services of inter-territorial significance such as railways, post offices and many others.⁵⁰ However, the Government of Tanganyika remained responsible for the basic services of the territory; the new arrangements did not affect the judicial personality of Tanganyika.⁵¹

The Territory was administered by the governor with the assistance of an advisory executive council which consisted of the governor, and official and unofficial members. The governor had the right to veto any ordinance. There was no form of electoral representation in the Territory; appointments to the central legislator and to local government bodies were by nomination.⁵² There was no new legislation designed specifically to further political advancement towards the objective of self-government or independence. The political advancement of the Territory was mainly a question of education to enable the indigenous peoples to fit themselves for the assumption of greater responsibility in local government and in the general administration of the Territory. Another African was appointed to the Legislative Council;

⁵⁰His Majesty's Report, Administration Report for 1947, Appendix XIV

⁵¹United Nations Document T/P.V. 84. p. 47. (Also see Document T/P.V. 85. pp. 57-60)

⁵²J. P. Moffett, Handbook of Tanganyika. (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1958) p. 307-308.

this brought the African representation to three, and some consideration was given to a further increase in the number of African members in the future.⁵³

With the appointment of the fourth African member in April 1948, the Legislative Council consisted of the governor, fifteen official members, all Europeans, and fourteen unofficial members of whom seven were European, four Africans and three Asians. The Executive Council consisted of official and unofficial members, in 1948 there were seven.⁵⁴

For administrative purposes the Territory was divided into eight provinces, each in the charge of a provincial commissioner, who was responsible to the governor. The provinces were again divided into districts in the charge of district commissioners who were responsible to the provincial commissioner. Throughout the Territory, native authorities were established with certain specified jurisdiction over the indigenous inhabitants within their respective tribal areas. Although this procedure recognized the traditional tribal authority, in some areas where the inhabitants had no closely knit tribal constitution or where there was a mixture of tribes, the people were called upon to choose their council of headmen. These authorities derived their legislative and executive power from the Native Authority Ordinance. Many native authorities exercised certain residual powers derived from native law and custom. Some were empowered by an order made by the governor to

⁵³His Majesty's Report, Administration Report for 1947, p. 30.

⁵⁴Great Britain Colonial Office, British Territories, (Tanganyika) London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1948.

administer any law specified in such order. Attempts were made to bring about federations of chiefs to cover wider areas for certain common purposes of native administration.⁵⁵

The Territory's judicial organization was made up of (1) the High Court, (2) the special tribunal, and (3) subordinate courts. Appeals went from the High Court of the Territory to the Court of Appeal for East Africa. Criminal cases were dealt with under the East African Criminal Code. For civil cases the Indian Code of Civil Procedure was used. The official language of the courts was English, but provisions were made for interpretation. The tribunals were composed exclusively of indigenous inhabitants. Their primary function was to give effect to well established customary laws of the indigenous society. No attempt was made to codify native law and custom.⁵⁶

During the sixth meeting of its second session, on December 1, 1947, the Trusteeship Council decided to send its first Visiting Mission to the Trust Territories of Ruanda and Urundi, under Belgian administration, and Tanganyika under British administration. The Mission departed from its headquarters on July 15, 1948, composed of Mr. H. Laurentie of France (chairman), Mr. E. W. P. Chinnery of Australia, Mr. Lin Mousheng of China, and Mr. R. E. Woodbridge of Costa Rica. In East African Trust Territories, the Mission made "observations and recommendations on political development, on the question of inter-territorial organization

⁵⁵United Nations, Document T/P.V. 84. page 84.

⁵⁶United Nations, Document T/P.V. 85. page 13.

on economic and social conditions, and on education and health matters.⁵⁷

While in Tanganyika, the Visiting Mission received numerous requests from the African population for an increase in African membership in the Legislative Council. Also the Africans complained to the Visiting Missions that the African members on the Legislative Council were not representative of the Africans of the Territory and as a consequence were in touch only with their own people or only a section of their own communities, and in fact were not responsive to the needs of the majority of the Africans.⁵⁸

Some organizations like the Tanganyika African Association submitted a petition to the Visiting Mission, asking that the right to vote be instituted in the Territory. This organization was not a purely nationalistic organization; it claimed to the Visiting Mission that it had 39 branches throughout the Territory and a total membership of 1,780.

The Mission in its observations on political advancement in the central government concluded thus:

The overwhelming majority of the Africans are not yet capable, and under existing conditions will not be able for some considerable time to come--of assuming full political responsibility. Therefore, the Mission considers that the Administering Authority might now give urgent consideration to the formulation of appropriate measures for accelerating the development of

⁵⁷United Nations, Everyman's United Nations, 1945-55. (New York: Department of Public Information, 1956), p. 72.

⁵⁸United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1948. Report on Tanganyika, pp. 11-12.

the inhabitants of Tanganyika towards self-government or independence.⁶⁰

The British Government, in commenting on the Visiting Mission's Report, said that the Mission could not become fully familiar with the territory in the six weeks it had had at its disposal. With regard to the view that African representation on the Legislative Council should be increased, the Administering Authority stated that it was rather difficult to find Africans who could participate usefully and effectively. On the subject of an electoral system, it said that the aim of the Government was to introduce this at the level of the tribal council, to be followed at the district and provincial levels; and this would be a sound political development.⁶¹

In December 1949 the Governor of Tanganyika established the Committee on Constitutional Development. This Committee consisted of the member for local government, the member of law and order as chairman, and all unofficial members of the Legislative Council. The Committee was to review the constitutional structure in the Territory, both local and territorial, and then make recommendations for future constitutional developments.⁶² The Committee completed its investigations by the end of 1950, and on March 12, 1951, the Committee submitted its conclusions and recommendations to the Governor. The Committee emphasized some political

⁶⁰Ibid., pp. 34-35.

⁶¹Ibid., pp. 246-247.

⁶²Tanganyika, Constitutional Development Report. (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1951) p. 1.

development.⁶³

The Committee proposed that the unofficial membership of the Legislative Council should be increased from fourteen to twenty-one, with each of the three main racial communities receiving seats. Also it was suggested by the Committee that some consideration should be given to the appointment of an African member to the Executive Council "combined with a form of elective representation."⁶⁴ After receiving the Committee's report, the Governor announced that he had accepted the recommendation to appoint an African to the Executive Council. Consequently, Chief Kidaha Mwakwaia, a member of the Legislative Council, was appointed as an unofficial member of the Executive Council.⁶⁵

The second Visiting Mission from the United Nations went to the East African Trust Territories in July 1951. The Mission was composed of the following members; Mr. Enrique de Marchena, of the Dominican Republic (Chairman), Mr. G. R. Laking, of New Zealand, Mon. Charles Dilokrit of Thailand, and Mr. William I. Cargo of the United States.⁶⁶ The Mission arrived at Mwanza in Tanganyika on August 13, 1951. It thereupon made visits to and held meetings and interviews in several centers in different provinces. On September 1, 1951, the Mission arrived in Dar es Salaam and held meetings with representatives of the various

⁶³Ibid., p. ii.

⁶⁴Ibid., pp. 18-21.

⁶⁵"Rains Do Their Worst to Tanganyika Roads," New Commonwealth, Vol. XXI (June 1951), p. 702.

⁶⁶United Nations. Everyman's United Nations, p. 272.

communities in the Territory and with senior government officials. Thereafter the Mission left for Northern Province and met with the Governor at Arusha. The Mission left Tanganyika on September 15, 1951, and spent four days in Nairobi Kenya discussing the operation of the Inter-Territorial Organization with the Chairman and principal officials of the East Africa High Commission. On October 7, 1951, the Mission was in Europe, where it held conversations with ministers and high officials of the Administering Authorities concerned. It then returned to New York on October 17, 1951 and adopted the reports on the territories visited during December.⁶⁷

In October 1948, representatives from the British and Greek communities in Tanganyika met and formed the Tanganyika European Council; its purpose was to serve European settlement and interests, and work for the advancement of all peoples of the territory under British leadership.⁶⁸ This organization opposed the Governor of Tanganyika in 1949 when he established the Committee on Constitutional Development. It opposed this plan because it feared that this would mean the swamping of the Europeans.⁶⁹ When the Visiting Mission was in Tanganyika, the Members of

⁶⁷United Nations. Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa. Report on Tanganyika, 1951. Document T/946 and Corr. 1.

⁶⁸Margaret L. Bates, Tanganyika. (New York: Cornell University Press, 1962), p. 414.

⁶⁹"Tanganyika Not Ready for Constitutional Change." New Commonwealth XXII (July 1951), p. 59.

the Tanganyika European Council informed it of their opposition to the Governor's proposal. The Mission summarized their views as follows:

The European Community had, up to the present, played a predominant role in the introduction of civilization and in the development of the Territory. The Asian and African Communities were still politically immature, the present proposals were unduly favorable to the Asian Community, what was needed for the development of the Territory was a period of political stability to enable economic development, European unofficial members of the Legislative Council who had signed the report were not representatives of their community, and accordingly further consideration of the report should be postponed until a system of elections had been introduced.⁷⁰

This idea was not popularly held by all Europeans in Tanganyika. According to the Tanganyika African Association, the Committee on Constitutional Development was an attempt to strike a blow at racialism. Although it accepted a great proportion of the Committee's proposals the Tanganyika African Association was not satisfied with the proportion of unofficial seats proposed for Africans. Therefore, when the Visiting Mission was in the Territory, the Association presented a memorandum to it concerning the political situation in the Territory:

The word "inhabitants" we understand has now been interpreted to mean everyone living here, Africans, Asians, and Europeans. This is an unfortunate interpretation. If one community of the immigrant races think there is another half-century before we can take our part side by side with them in the government of this country, then they have the choice of either marching slowly with us or going elsewhere. The greatest political tragedy that could ever happen in

⁷⁰ United Nations. Visiting Mission Report to Trust Territories in East Africa. Report on Tanganyika, 1951. Document T/946 and Corr. 1, p. 59.

this country is the granting of full political rights to immigrant races and denying them to us. We are willing to share this right with the immigrant races on a basis of partnership, but we are not, and never shall be willing to surrender what we have come to regard as our rights, and allow our interests to be relegated to an inferior position.⁷¹

The Mission, referring to complaints by the Tanganyika African Association that the non-Africans claimed all the privileges of inhabitants of the Territory and at the same time retained the nationality and other advantages of their country of origin, considered that the situation could be improved by the establishment in the law of the Territory, a status of citizens of Tanganyika referring to "all persons of whatever origin or nationality genuinely domiciled in the Territory." The Mission expressed its opinion of the Government in working on the problem of communalism, in which the Administering Authority stated that "it was considering the suggestion concerning citizenship." It further stated that it gave special protection to the interest of the African population.⁷²

During its eleventh session, the Trusteeship Council adopted the following recommendation concerning Political advancement in the Territory:

The Council, considering the need for the development of a sense of territorial consciousness on the part of all sections of the population, notes with approval the Administering Authority's efforts to amalgamate and federate tribal units, and endorses the suggestion of

⁷¹ A/2150, Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventh Session, Supplement No. 4, p. 30.

⁷² Ibid. p. 30-31.

the the Visiting Mission that the Administering Authority should consider the establishment in the law of the Territory of a status of citizen of Tanganyika applying to all persons of whatever origin or nationality genuinely domiciled in the Territory.⁷³

The 1951 Visiting Mission did express the hope that the Administering Authority would consider appointing additional African members to the Executive Council. In response to this, the Administering Authority indicated that the training of Africans for political responsibility would be primary and that the membership in the Executive Council depended entirely on knowledge and experience. The Committee on the Constitutional Development had recommended that the Legislative Council should be expanded in size and that the official majority should be retained until experience had been gained in an enlarged Council, also the criterion for unofficial membership should be equal division of seats among the three main races. The Council proposed that "the membership of the Council should be the Governor, 21 official members and 20 unofficial members, i.e., seven Africans, seven Asians and seven Europeans. The Committee explained that it had:

. . . found it impossible, on a basis of numbers, or financial interest or of political maturity, to make any assessment of the relative claims to representation by the three races.⁷⁴

During its eleventh session, the Trusteeship Council was informed

⁷³Ibid., p. 31

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 32.

by the special representative of the Administering Authority that Her Majesty's Government had accepted the recommendation submitted by the Constitutional Development Committee, that the official seats on the Legislative Council should be distributed equally among the three races.

The Trusteeship Council adopted the following recommendations during its eleventh session:

The Council, considering that in the political development of the Territory as a whole (a) is of the opinion that, although the proposal of the Committee on Constitutional Development for equal representation of the three races in the Legislative Council represents a useful step as an interim measure, this proposal does not offer a satisfactory long-term solution, (b) in view of the doubts expressed by the Visiting Mission as to the wisdom or practicability of delaying for five years the implementation of the legislative reforms, expresses the hope that progress with the overall development of new political institutions . . . and suggests that the Administering Authority consider the use of a common electoral roll with appropriate qualifications as one possible form or bridge between the proposed system of communal representation and a more representative one.⁷⁵

The Council . . . has accepted the recommendation of the Committee regarding⁷⁶ African membership on the Executive Council,

In regard to inter-territorial organization, in its report the Visiting Mission showed that the interests of Tanganyika within the framework of the kind were being violated because Kenya and Uganda received more telecommunications equipment than Tanganyika.⁷⁷

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 32.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 32-33.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 39.

Prior and up to the Visiting Mission in 1951, the Executive Authority in the Territory was vested in the Governor, who was appointed as the representative of the Crown, and in matters of major policy, he acted under the direction of the Secretary of State for the colonies. He was advised by an Executive Council on all matters which the law prescribed should be dealt with by the Governor in Council and on such matters as he might see fit to refer to the Council. The Legislative Council consisted of the Governor as President, fifteen nominated official members and fourteen nominated unofficial members of whom four were Europeans.⁷⁸

After the Visiting Mission had been in Tanganyika, and the political situation of the Territory reviewed by the Trusteeship Council and the Council's suggestions had been made, the Government of Tanganyika initiated some amendments. One of them was that of 1953 whereby the structure of the Legislative Council changed. By this change the Governor no longer sat as President of the Legislative Council. Instead the Speaker presided over the sessions of the Council. The Speaker was neither an official nor unofficial member of the Council, and had no veto power. Although the Governor was not allowed to participate in the Council's debates, he possessed the right to address the Council at any time when it was in session. Also he possessed the power to give assent or refusal to any bill passed by the Legislative Council.⁷⁹

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 3.

⁷⁹Bates., op. cit., pp. 418-419.

In 1953, a Special Commissioner, Professor W. J. M. Mackenzie, from Manchester University was assigned to work on a system for election of unofficial members to the Legislative Council. During his two trips to Tanganyika, he observed that a citizenship qualification would not be appropriate in Tanganyika because of the variety of her nationalities. He accordingly recommended the franchise to be based upon birth and residence. He also opposed discrimination on grounds of sex or race. To have a broad basis of franchise, Professor Mackenzie rejected an income, property, or educational test.⁸⁰ By the end of 1954 the unofficial membership in the Executive Council was increased to six; two Africans, two Asians and two Europeans.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Moffett, op. cit., pp. 136-137.

⁸¹ Ibid., pp. 137-138. (Also see Tanganyika Information Services Tanganyika's Parliament, 35 Years of Making History. (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer) 1961, p. 7.)

III

THE ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE

I. NYERERE THE MAN

In Tanganyika there are about 120 tribes which, before independence, had hereditary chiefs. Each tribe was characterized by its occupation. Julius Kambarage Nyerere, born in 1921, is the son of Chief Burito Nyerere of the Zanki tribe. This is a tribe of thirty to thirty-five thousand persons, many of whom herd cattle and goats. Until he was twelve years old, Nyerere lived according to the pattern that had prevailed in rural Tanganyika for many years. Then he was fortunate in being able to attend the local government schools at Musoma and Tabora for nine years. In 1943 he went to Makerere College in Uganda, the only college in those days serving students from the whole of British East Africa (Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika). Two years later he earned his teaching diploma.¹

While in Makerere College, Nyerere organized the Social Society and the Makerere Branch of the Tanganyika African Association. After obtaining his diploma he taught at St. Mary's Mission School at Tabora. In 1949 he became the first Tanganyika student to go to a British University, taking his Arts degree at Edinburgh. Here he became more aware of the whole problem of imperialism and colonialism. By the time he returned to Tanganyika, he was already determined on a political

¹Thomas P. Melady, Profiles of African Leaders. (New York: The Mcmillan Company, 1962), p. 68.

career; his determination was confirmed when he learned that the Africans in Tanganyika were restless because they lacked a leader who would spearhead their demands. Nyerere did not go into politics right away; instead, he took to teaching again at a Catholic School outside the capitol of Dar es Salaam. While teaching, Nyerere entered non-political groups in Dar es Salaam and there he met some persons sympathetic to his plans for the future.

Nyerere began to take an increasing interest in the Tanganyika African Association, an organization formed by British civil servants in 1929 as a social club for Africans. Nyerere had some ideas for the development of this organization of which its founders would have disapproved. In 1953, Nyerere's opportunity came. He was elected president of the Tanganyika African Association. The first thing Nyerere did was to rewrite the Association's constitution in such a way as to give it a political complexion. He renamed it the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). This was the birth of the nationalistic movement which brought independence to Tanganyika. After the formation of TANU, Nyerere was confronted with a tough decision--whether he should leave his teaching profession or whether he should pursue politics. Nyerere, a good Catholic, tried to get advice from an Irish priest, then the principal of St. Frances High School, Dar es Salaam, where Nyerere was teaching. The priest advised him that teaching and politics were not a good combination.² Nyerere saw that the members of the old Tanganyika African

²Tanganyika Information Service, (Council of Ministers-Biographical Data), Dar es Salaam, Government Printer, 1960, 1963), p. 1 (Also see George Dunhevell, Julius Nyerere. (Dar es Salaam, Government Printer, 1961), pp. 5-6.

Association numbered about 17,000; he was also aware that there were no finances. Most of all he was not sure as to how the Tanganyikans would respond to a call of nationalism. As far as colonial rule was concerned, Nyerere had no constitutional means of disseminating his ideas and principles of nationalism. He realized that torture, arrest, poverty, and other bitter consequences might befall him by leaving the teaching profession and entering into politics.

At last, Nyerere resigned from Saint Frances High School. From there on he started to mobilize support for his platform: "Complete independence in the shortest possible time!" Money was painfully solicited. In the early period of his nationalism drive some of Nyerere's subordinates, often without his knowledge, were guilty of extremism and intimidation. The main objectives of TANU were the introduction of universal adult suffrage at both the central and local government levels; the establishment of a timetable of constitutional, economic and educational development; the setting up of a territorial university; and increased Africanization of the public service. TANU emphasized that the Territory's economy depended upon the land and labor rather than upon immigrant groups and foreign investment. As such, it was opposed to land alienation to non-Africans. TANU again and again emphasized that its objective was to establish a democratic African state in which non-Africans would be guaranteed equal citizenship rights.

In 1955, Nyerere appeared before the United Nations; this was the first time on record of an African to have been sent by a territorial organization (TANU) to represent his people's hopes to the United Nations.

While in the United Nations he signed the 1954 Visiting Mission Report, recommending the establishment of a fixed date for self-government within the next two decades. The British Government tried hard to block this request by influencing the United Nations not to accept the report.³

Nyerere was convinced that all races could live together harmoniously, as he said; "TANU is going to prove that you can have a democracy in a plural society in Africa, and have it happy."⁴

Nyerere narrowly escaped jail in a number of occasions while advocating his belief that if a man is not prepared to fight, even die, for the cardinal principles of individual and national liberty, then he betrays his birthright. Nyerere refused to ally with any of the pseudo-nationalist parties established by the nominated members of the legislative council under the influence of the then British governor. He even refused to sit in the legislature.⁵

Right from the beginning, Nyerere's real competitor was Thomas Mlangi Marealle, a chief of the Chagga tribe who had joined with the Governor, Edward Twining, to harass Nyerere's TANU. Nyerere, however, was not disheartened; his conviction that freedom can be obtained through constitutional methods made him move forward. Nyerere indicated that TANU was formed to win independence and was aimed not against the white community, but against colonialism as such. The idea dominating

³Thomas P. Melady, Profiles of African Leaders. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962) p. 67.

⁴Ibid., p. 68.

⁵George Dunehevall, Julius Nyerere. (Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1961). p. 3.

TANU was one of colonialism and not of racialism. In sensing the growing fear of the European, Asian, and other settlers in Tanganyika, Nyerere had this to say:

We have fought our battle here against the injustice of a colonial system which qualified the "rights" of an individual according to the color of his skin. Are we (Africans) now to turn around and deny that principle ourselves by discriminating against those whose skins are not black?

Our desire to give confidence to the non-Africans who have made their homes among us is, again, based on a principle: the principle of Human Rights.⁶

Nyerere indicated from the beginning that he did not want non-Africans to feel like foreigners in Tanganyika. In all of his political meetings, Nyerere spoke with restraint and in a friendly humor to white audiences. He never advocated violence or spoke in terms of hate. As such he was more trusted by the Europeans and the Asians than most of the nationalist leaders in Africa.

In 1958, Tanganyika's first elections to select non-Europeans in the legislative council was introduced. The system followed was that each of the fifty constituencies would elect three members--an African, an Asian, and a European--and every voter was required to vote for a candidate of each race. The franchise was based on an age qualification of 21 years, a residential qualification, and a requirement of at least two years of secondary education (grade 8) or an income of at least 150 pounds (\$420) a year, or the holding of one of certain specific

⁶Melady, op. cit., p. 69.

offices in any community.⁷

Nyerere opposed this electoral plan, and in protest he resigned in the Spring of 1958 from his appointed seat in the Legislative Council, but the government of Tanganyika did not heed his demand for single member constituencies. However, his party did participate in the September 1958 election. When the results were announced, TANU had won over the opposing party, "United Tanganyika Party," which was controlling the unofficial side of the sixty-seven member council. Since then, Nyerere has dominated the political scene in Tanganyika.

In August 1960, Tanganyikans went to the polls in a second general election as a prelude to the introduction of an elected majority in the executive and the legislature. The results were a resounding demonstration of the nation's confidence in Nyerere and his party-- TANU won 70 out of the 71 seats. On September 11, 1960, the Governor of Tanganyika called on Nyerere to form a government and to become Tanganyika's first Chief Minister.⁸

Nyerere, aware of his new office and the feeling of the Africans towards the white settlers, went on to remind the Tanganyikans that they had to learn how to forget the annoyances and prejudices, the irritations and humiliations of the past. The only way in which the past

⁷ British Information Service, Tanganyika: The Making of A Nation. (London: Cox and Sharland Ltd., 1961) p. 30.

⁸ George W. Sheperd, Jr., The Politics of African Nationalism. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962), pp. 57-58.

could help them was in showing them where they went wrong in their dealings with their fellowmen. He made it clear that, Tanganyika's political development would be used to discredit any color consciousness. "A man's color is no sin in Tanganyika," Nyerere concluded in his speech on Tanganyika's radio on September 3, 1960.

On May 1, 1961, Nyerere was sworn in as the country's first Prime Minister. He remained the Prime Minister of Tanganyika until the country achieved her independence on December 9, 1961. The country was shocked when it came to be known that her Prime Minister had decided to resign in order to devote his full energies to the TANU. On January 22, 1962, Nyerere tendered his resignation to the Governor of Tanganyika. He then personally appointed his successor, Rashid Kawawa, and the new cabinet. Later that year Nyerere was elected to the presidency of the newly organized republic.

II. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE 1950's

During August and September of 1954 a United Nations Visiting Mission visited the Trust Territory of Tanganyika. The Mission was composed of the following members appointed by the Trusteeship Council: John Stanhope Reid of New Zealand; Rafael Equizabal of El Salvadore; Rikhi Jaipal of India; and Mason Sears of the United States. While in Tanganyika the Mission toured the country and met all segments of the population. Each person was allowed to approach the Mission and to make his views known to it.⁹ As a result of talking with the people and

⁹United Nations. United Nations Review, Vol. 11, (May 1956), p. 18.

officials from different parts of the country, the Mission concluded that in "the first years of the post-war period the progress of the Africans had reached very high levels in certain areas."¹⁰ The Mission reported that "among a number of the better educated Africans who are in a position to influence public opinion, there is a desire for a more definite sense of direction than they now have regarding the future development of the Territory."¹¹ The Mission brought out the doubts and uncertainties of Africans who regarded the government's multilateral policy as endangering their conception of Tanganyika as an ultimately African state. The Mission believed that this could be stopped by providing an outlet for legitimate aspirations.

It also felt that a more concrete series of targets, aimed at self-government, would culminate in good understanding and more confidence, allowing the country to move quickly and smoothly forward. The Mission was of the opinion that the people of Tanganyika could be educated to become self-governing within a period of 20 to 25 years. Also, the Mission held that it should be possible to set intermediate targets and target dates for phases of political advancement toward complete independence somewhere between 1975 and 1985. To bring this about it recommended the establishment of a substantial African majority on the unofficial side of the Legislative Council at the end of three years from

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 4.

¹¹ United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1954. Report on Tanganyika. (New York: 1955), pp. 66-70.

the commencement of the parity legislature.

J. S. Reid, Chairman of the Mission, looked upon these recommendations as "ambiguous" because he held that the administering authority's obligation to bring the inhabitants of Tanganyika to independence as soon as possible was contained in the Trusteeship Agreement, but it was not up to the people to try as of then to fix a time for independence in terms of years.

The Tanganyika Standard, in reaction to this report, published the following statement:

In a lengthy report today, the United Nations Visiting Mission which toured Tanganyika for five weeks last year, outlines its impressions and puts forward several drastic recommendations, particularly relating to political development.

The Mission looks forward to a legislative council with a majority of Africans on the unofficial benches at the end of three years from the commencement of the "parity" period, and self-government within 20 to 25 years.

The Chairman, Mr. J. S. Reid, from New Zealand, disagrees with the majority's view that the constitutional progress should be speeded up and approves, in general, the present cautious approach of the government.¹²

Concerning the general political situation, the Mission observed that political activity was most pronounced among the Tanganyikans. The Tanganyika African National Union was seen by the Mission to be the leading "national movement." The Mission expressed its satisfaction with the quality of the leaders of the movement, especially because of

¹² Editorial in the Tanganyika Standard. January 26, 1955.

their moderation and sense of realism. Reaction to the Mission's report was described this way by Mr. Mason Sears, the American member of the Mission:

The forecast of independence perhaps somewhat before 1975, but not later than 1985, was considered revolutionary, and immediately precipitated strong reaction, even resentment, among European administrators and businessmen throughout East Africa. They considered the estimate to be totally unrealistic, claiming that it was far too short a period to enable a Territory like Tanganyika to prepare itself for self-government.¹³

The Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) did not make any official comment until it had obtained a copy of the Mission's report. When the copy was obtained, TANU noted that the Mission favored its position. Therefore, it remained for TANU to take some steps to bring it to the attention of the Trusteeship Council that the Tanganyikans did support the Mission's report. To this end, TANU concluded that it would raise some money to send a representative to New York to testify before the Trusteeship Council.

Within a matter of a few days some \$1,680 had been collected in the country. TANU's Central Committee then announced that Julius Nyerere, its President, would represent TANU at the Trusteeship Council's debate on the Visiting Mission's Report, which was scheduled for the end of February 1955. On the day that Nyerere left for New York the Tanganyikan Unofficial Members' Organization, a body composed of all the unofficial members of the Legislative Council, announced that it was sending a multi-

¹³Mason Sears, "The Congo, Africa, and the United Nations," Africa Today, VII September 1960. p. 14.

racial delegation to New York to testify against the Visiting Mission's report. The delegation would consist of three people, a European, an African, and an Asian.¹⁴

When the Visiting Mission's report was published on February 22, 1955, the Administering Authority criticized it on the ground that the Mission gave greater emphasis to the views of TANU's Central Committee than to the views of responsible and well-educated native authorities. Also the Mission's proposals would tend to create an atmosphere of financial insecurity and threaten the basis of those social services which existed.

When the Trusteeship Council's discussions started, Sir Charles Phillips, the European delegate from Tanganyika Unofficial Members' Organization, told the Council that the unofficial members of the Legislative Council, opposed the establishment of a target date for self-government, because such an act would plunge the country into political and financial unrest. Also, he pointed out, his fellow members felt that the Mission had failed to realize the main objectives of the Tanganyikan people, which was to develop a prosperous country.¹⁵

Contrary to Sir Charles Phillips' position, Nyerere supported the report of the Visiting Mission and made it clear that the vast majority

¹⁴Margaret L. Bates, Tanganyika. (New York: Cornell University Press, 1962.) pp. 419-420.

¹⁵United Nations Trusteeship Council, Official Records, 15th Session, 590th-591st Meetings, pp. 209-214.

of Tanganyikans did not oppose the report as Sir Phillips asserted. Nyerere told the Council that the Tanganyika Unofficial Members' Organization could not be considered to represent the Tanganyikan people, because they were not the people's choice. Further, Nyerere emphasized that the main purpose of TANU was to prepare the people of Tanganyika for independence; the first step was to establish an African majority on all representative bodies.

In 1955, constitutional reform enlarged the Tanganyikan Legislative Council; the Council then consisted of sixty-one members, thirty-one appointed by the Government and thirty representative members instead of fifteen official and fourteen non-official members. Those appointed by the Administration included officials and non-officials, among them six unofficial members of the Executive Council and two women. Representative members were nominated by the Governor and included ten Africans, ten Asians and ten Europeans, one of each race being appointed to represent each of the eight provinces and the capital, Dar es Salaam, and the remaining three representing such interests as the governor might direct when appointing them.

The new Legislative Council met for the first time in April, 1955. The new Council functioned quite satisfactorily; its debates were noted for their non-racial approach to the problems of the country. When the Trusteeship Council was called upon to report its observations and recommendations on Tanganyika, the Council stated:

These developments augur well for the next step in constitutional development, when there will be

elections on a common roll. In this connection, the Council welcomed information that the Governor of the Territory is to make a policy statement at the opening of the Legislative Council in April 1956 concerning the introduction in certain areas of elections on a common roll, with appropriate voting qualifications.¹⁶

These again call for increases in African representation in the Legislative Council, so that an elective and representative body in accordance with the wishes of the people would be established as soon as possible.

Opening the new session of the Legislative Council on April 25, 1956, the Governor announced that the government proposed to introduce common roll elections in a few constituencies, perhaps in the first quarter of 1958. He also said that in view of the existing system of parity representation in each constituency, each voter should vote for three candidates, one for each race.¹⁷

Following the Governor's speech, Nyerere said that his party, TANU, would push forward its demand for universal adult suffrage, since there was no justification for the imposition of electoral restrictions.¹⁸ TANU's executive committee met to evaluate the Governor's speech and give some recommendations accordingly. In September 1956, TANU submitted to the government a memorandum which outlined the Union's constitutional proposals. These constitutional changes would involve both the Executive and the Legislative Council. Also proposed was the abolition of the

¹⁶Ibid., 592 Meeting, pp. 219-233.

¹⁷United Nations, United Nations Review, Vol. II, (May 1956), p. 70.

¹⁸Editorial in the Tanganyika Standard. April 5, 1956.

parity system of representation for "unofficials" in both councils. TANU's demand was to make the African representative members equal in number to their non-African members. There would be sixteen seats for Africans, eight for Europeans, and eight for Asians on the unofficial side. Nyerere, addressing a press conference in London at the end of September 1956, said that TANU was not going to take part in the forthcoming elections to the Legislative Council on the basis of the parity system. He did point out that TANU wanted a timetable for Tanganyika's constitutional development which would provide for the ending of the Trusteeship in a period not longer than a quarter of a century.¹⁹

In December 1956, the time of the Trusteeship Council's annual report to the General Assembly, Nyerere decided to attend so that he could challenge any misrepresentation and give TANU's view concerning the political situation in Tanganyika. Before the Fourth Committee of the United Nations General Assembly, Nyerere called for a declaration by Britain that Tanganyika would be developed as a democratic state. He stated that such a declaration would be an assurance that Tanganyika would be primarily an African state, since 98 per cent of the Territory's population were Africans. Nyerere appealed for development on a non-racial basis, whereby a person's race would be irrelevant to his participation in the Territory's government.²⁰

¹⁹Editorial in the Kenya Weekly News, October 5, 1956, p. 3.

²⁰United Nations General Assembly, Official Records, 11th Session 4th Committee, 579th and 582nd meetings, pp. 149-165.

At the end of the debate the Committee drafted a resolution concerning political development in Tanganyika, which it submitted to the General Assembly by a vote of 47 to 15 with 11 absentions. In its final form the resolution recommended that the Administering Authority should consider making a statement on the policy it proposed to follow in Tanganyika, and should include in it the principle that, in accordance with the aims of the International Trusteeship system, the "Territory shall be guided towards self-government or independence and shall become a democratic state in which all inhabitants have equal rights."²¹

When the Council's resolution became known in Tanganyika, the European community protested. They indicated that they were no longer willing to support any aspect of British policy in Tanganyika. The year 1957 was characterized by an increasingly harsh policy on the part of the government with regard to TANU. Some TANU branches were banned. Nyerere himself was refused the right to hold meetings in different areas of the country, especially in Tanga Province.²² The reason given by the Administering Authority was that TANU had identified itself with opposition to the lawful authorities and to the measures sponsored by those authorities for the progress and betterment of the people.

The Trusteeship Council's annual review of developments in Tanganyika took place in June 1957. When the Council at its twentieth session discussed the question of the general policy to be followed in

²¹Ibid., Resolutions. Res. 1065.

²²Editorial in the Kenya Weekly News, July 26, 1957. p. 20.

Tanganyika, it had two African petitioners, Thomas Mlangi Marealle, the Paramount Chief of the Chagga tribe, and Julius Kambarage Nyerere, the President of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU).

The Paramount Chief said that it was now universally appreciated that, when the time came, the Tanganyikans would accept nothing less than a government with a predominantly African majority. Given a realistic basis of partnership and sound economic planning and political stability, Tanganyika could be independent in ten or fifteen years. If Africans in nationalistic circles, who were still insisting on a wholly African government, could be convinced of the sincerity of the communities, it should not be difficult to persuade them to agree to a qualified partnership structure. The pressing problems and needs of the country were economic development, education for leadership, courageous political planning and psychological reorientation.²³

The President of TANU re-emphasized the need in his organizations's view for a declaration by the Administering Authority that Tanganyika was going to be developed as a democratic and a primarily African State, in order to remove African fears of future domination by an immigrant minority, and to remove the false fears of some of the immigrant minorities that they might be dominated. With regard to the franchise, Nyerere criticized the voting qualifications on the ground that, whereas the majority of the non-Africans would receive the vote, the vast majority of the Africans, including those who accepted the obligation to pay taxes,

²³United Nations Trusteeship Council, Official Records, 20th Session, 817th - 820th Meetings, pp. 143-158.

would not do so. The Paramount Chief said that the government was confronted mainly by administrative difficulties in widening the franchise, and he believed that there would be great difficulty in some places in explaining the value of the vote to the people. On the subject of political activity, the President of TANU told the Council that he had been accused of saying in speeches things which he had never said. He contended that the action which had been taken against TANU's branches was in the nature of a penalty imposed on TANU as a whole for the activities of individual members of it, and that the organization did not countenance any breaking of the laws. He stated that TANU would like to participate in the forthcoming elections, and he expressed hope that conditions of freedom would prevail.

The Paramount Chief stated that political organizations were allowed full play in Tanganyika, but lately African politics had taken a serious turn. This was to be expected, because up to a few years previous, politics had been extremely radical in character, and African political amateurs could not be expected to give up extremism over night when more experienced and educated people across the border were clinging to it.²⁴

As had been announced earlier by the Governor, a ministerial

²⁴United Nations Trusteeship Council, Official Records, 20th Session 817th - 820th Meetings, pp. 142-159.

system of government was introduced in Tanganyika on July 1, 1957. The Council of Ministers consisted of: The Chief Secretary, the Minister for Constitutional Affairs, the Attorney General, the Minister for Finance and Economics, the Minister for Social Services, the Minister for Local Government and Administration, the Minister for Natural Resources, and the Minister for Communications and Works.

The Governor again appointed six assistant ministers from the unofficial ranks of the Legislative Council; the assistant ministers' duties were to speak for the departments assigned to them. The Governor made these appointments on a non-racial basis. Four of the assistants were Africans, one European, and one Asian.

The Tanganyikan government lifted its ban against public meetings organized by TANU in July 1957. Earlier in June 1957 the Governor had dissolved the Legislative Council and appointed a new one. He nominated Nyerere as one of the representative members of the Dar es Salaam constituency, Chief Marealle as an unofficial member on the government side, and Rashid Kawawa as one of the three members appointed to represent general interests on the unofficial side. This new council met for the first time in September 1957. It changed the constitution of the Council, providing for the creation of a tenth constituency. The Council's membership rose to thirty-four members on the government side and thirty-three members on the representative side.²⁵

In his address opening the new Legislative Council, His Excellency,

²⁵ British Information Service, Tanganyika: The Making of A Nation. (London: Cox and Sharland Ltd., 1961), p. 28.

the Governor of Tanganyika, explained that the principal need of the country at its present stage of evolution was for political stability and economic development. He believed that if these conditions were fulfilled, the rate of progress toward independence could not only be maintained, but probably could be increased.²⁶

The Governor of Tanganyika from time to time attempted to slow down TANU's activities towards independence. He tried to get some support from the African tribal chiefs for the government's policy to crush TANU's activities in their areas. The Governor reported to the chiefs that he had heard rumors that tribalism was to be destroyed in Tanganyika upon the attainment of independence. The Governor continued to praise the fine job the tribal chiefs had done towards the development of Tanganyika. He warned the chiefs to be tougher against the nationalists, who did not have proper respect for their tribal chiefs. He expressed his conviction that disaster, torture, etc., would follow if such important institutions as the tribal system and the office of chief were rejected.²⁷

During the months of October, November, and December 1957, the registration of voters for the 1958 and 1959 elections took place. This led to a big debate in the December session of the Legislative Council on the matter of the compulsory tripartite vote. Nyerere said that in such a system many people would be forced to vote for someone about whom

²⁶Legislative Council, Council Debates, 33rd Session, pp. 15-16.

²⁷Editorial in the Kenya Weekly News, May 31, 1957, p. 20.

they knew nothing. Nyerere's motion failed to pass. A week later Nyerere resigned from the Legislative Council, issuing the following statement, "The Government has consistently, and for the most unconvincing reasons, rejected every proposal that I have made in the Legislative Council. Most of the proposals have been compromises of those originally made by my organization."²⁸

III. TANGANYIKA NEARS RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

A Visiting Mission from the United Nations visited Tanganyika from August 9 to September 17th, 1957. Its report was released in early January 1958. The Mission revealed that it had heard some complaints from Africans that the African Assistant Ministers were accorded only a limited role. Also it indicated that Africans were almost unanimously opposed to the parity formula as well as to certain features of the electoral system. In accordance with the Legislative Council Elections Ordinance, which was passed in 1957, the elections would be based on a common roll but, in order to maintain racial parity, each voter would be required in all contested elections to cast a vote for three candidates, one from each race. The ordinance also provided for a qualitative franchise. Each elector was required to have attained the age of twenty-one, to have resided in Tanganyika for three of the preceding five years and also to possess one of the three following qualifications: education up to the level of grade 8; an income of 150 pounds (\$420) a year; or experience in certain specified categories of office.

²⁸ Editorial in the Tanganyika Standard, October 4, 1957, p. 20. and December 19, 1957, p. 1.

These qualifications excluded the majority of the African population which, as the Visiting Mission brought out, consisted largely of peasants living in a subsistence economy and with very little education among the adults. The Mission noted that both the government of the Territory and the Administering Authority regarded the introduction of territory-wide elections on a common roll as a bold experiment which had yet to be tested in practice and which deserved a fair trial. However, it was pointed out to the Mission that the electoral plans had been approved by the Legislative Council and that any change in the system would delay the elections for at least two years. In the opinion of the government, such changes should await the study of the electoral system to be undertaken by the Constitutional Committee of the Legislature, which would be established immediately after the elections and would include elected representatives. In this respect the Mission hoped that the Constitutional Committee would be established after the 1958-59 elections as a significant forward step.²⁹

In February 1958, Luberi M. Mtemvu, a former provincial secretary of TANU, made it known that he was forming the Tanganyika African Congress. Mtemvu said that he was fed up with the moderate political philosophy of Nyerere and TANU. He felt that Tanganyika should not be primarily African, but completely African, and asserted that Nyerere advocated equal rights for non-Africans in order to protect his European and Asian friends. He opposed categorically the possibility of

²⁹ United Nations, Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirteenth Session, Supplement No. 4. (A/38 22), Vol. 11, Chap. 1, Paragraphs 24-39.

TANU's opening its membership to non-Africans.³⁰

TANU held its annual conference in January. It decided not to boycott the elections as it had threatened, but to put up candidates and encourage its members to vote. Before the conference concluded its business, a resolution was passed calling on the government to increase the number of unofficial members in the Legislative Council. During the period of January, February, and March, many of TANU's branches were closed because some irresponsible members started to spread rumors that Tanganyika was to be independent before the end of the year, after which time no one would have to pay taxes in any form. When Nyerere was informed about these activities of unrest, he urged TANU members to act as responsible citizens. He made it clear that any TANU member found acting contrary to the government's policy would be asked to give up his membership and would be dealt with accordingly.³¹

Sir Edward Twining's term as Governor of Tanganyika came to a close in June 1958, after nine years of service. His successor, Sir Richard Turnbull, was sworn into office on July 15, 1958. Earlier TANU indicated its opposition to the tripartite system of voting; later, as the time of elections neared, it decided to make the best of the situation. In August 1958, it announced its intention to indicate which of the European and Asian candidates it regarded as being most favorable

³⁰Margaret L. Bates, Tanganyika. (New York: Cornell University Press, 1962), p. 426.

³¹Editorial in the Tanganyika Standard, January 20, 1958, p. 2.

to African interests. In September 1958, elections were held for the first time, in five of the ten constituencies; elections in the remaining constituencies were held in 1959. Following the elections, the Administering Authority stated, " . . . a committee of the newly composed legislature will be created to consider possible further constitutional advances."³² Three candidates, one African and two Europeans, were returned unopposed. Of the remaining twelve successful candidates, the four Africans, including Nyerere, were all members of TANU and the eight non-Africans were all formally supported by TANU before the elections were held. Mr. Nyerere was subsequently elected as chairman of the newly formed Tanganyika Elected Members' Organization (TEMO).

The new session of the Legislative Council met on March 17, 1959. The Governor of Tanganyika, in opening the session, said that since the elected members held the majority of the seats in the Council, he considered it desirable to give administrative responsibility to several members of the elected opposition ahead of the grant of responsible government. Therefore, on July 1, 1959 he proposed to establish a Council of Ministers under the presidency of the Governor and composed of seven official ministers and five non-official ministers appointed from among the elected members of the Legislative Council. Of these five, three were to be Africans, one an Asian and one a European.³³

³²Bates, op. cit., p. 428.

³³Ibid., March 18, 1959, p. 1.

The Governor also announced that he was setting up a post election committee to recommend further African representation in the Legislative Council, changes in the franchise and the system of tripartite voting, and the creation of a territorial council. He said that by the time the committee's report was made public he hoped to make an announcement that would include a forecast. He expected non-official majorities to be introduced into both the Council of Ministers and the Legislative Council. But the Governor cautioned that all these would come about only if the ability to operate in a workmanlike manner existed and law and order were maintained. Following these changes, the Administering Authority had announced that a chief minister would be appointed from among the unofficial members of the Legislature, and the Council of Ministers would be re-organized to include a large majority of unofficial ministers.

TANU submitted its proposal to the post election committee; it proposed that nine out of the twelve ministers should be elected members of the Legislative Council. Only the portfolios of Defense, External Affairs, and Legal Affairs would be filled by officials. The Governor would retain his veto. The first proposal envisaged a Legislative Council of eighty-two members, seventy-nine of them elected. Of the seventy-nine elected seats, twenty-one would be temporarily reserved for minorities (thirteen for the Asians and eight for the Europeans). The remaining fifty-eight seats would be open to candidates of any race.³⁴

³⁴ John Stonehouse, Prohibited Immigrant. (London: Bodley Head, 1960.), pp 137-138.

In July Nyerere left for London where he remained up to the middle of August, demanding responsible government at the Colonial Office and stating that the Tanganyikans were willing to settle for responsible government right away and wait for a longer period for independence. He said that he was willing for independence to be delayed because of the country's position in regard to education and economy. When he came back to Tanganyika, Nyerere said that he was very pleased with the British attitude toward Tanganyika. Up to this time the political slogan all over Tanganyika was Uhuru (Freedom). Now Nyerere thought it necessary to tell his people that Uhuru meant hard work; thus he changed the slogan from Uhuru to Uhuru na kazi (Freedom and work). Later when he was Prime Minister he added another word to the slogan, Uhuru na kazi na Upendo, (Freedom, Work, and Love).

On October 20, 1959, the Governor of Tanganyika informed the Legislative Council that Tanganyika's next general election would be changed from 1962 to September 1960 and that the tripartite system of voting would be ended. On December 12, 1959, when the post election committee report was released, the Governor announced that he had been authorized by the Colonial Secretary to say that Tanganyika would be granted responsible government following the coming general election, provided that things continued as calm as they had been in the country. The committee's report was accepted without opposition. The new Legislative Council recommended by the committee and approved by the Legislative Council would have seventy-one elected members; fifty of these seats would be open to members of any race, eleven would be reserved for Asians, and ten for Europeans. There would still be a small

number of nominated members.³⁵

A Visiting Mission from the United Nations went to Tanganyika in April 1960. The Mission was composed of the following members: Mason Sears of the United States (Chairman); P. K. Edmonds of New Zealand; Miguel Stano Lopez of Paraguay; Omar Loutfi of the United Arab Republic; and a small secretariat staff accompanied the Mission. During its three-week tour of the Territory the Mission visited all but one of the eight provincial centers. Dividing itself into two groups, the Mission covered more than four thousand miles in little over a fortnight, meeting and talking with people. Presenting the Mission's report to the Trusteeship Council, Mr. Sears declared that the survey spoke for itself and represented the unanimous views of its members. If it could be summed up in one sentence, he said the report would prophesy "that with patience and hard work, great days are ahead for Tanganyika."³⁵

Dealing with political progress in the territory, the Mission noted that in the next elections of the Legislative Council, due to take place about the end of September 1960, the great majority of the seventy-one elected seats would be filled by voting on a much wider suffrage than previously. The Mission also noted that after the general elections, a total of ten of the twelve government ministers, including

³⁴ Editorial in the Tanganyika Standard, December 16, 1960, pp. 1-3.

³⁵ T/1550. United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1960. Report on Tanganyika. (T/1532 and Add. 1)

the position of Chief Minister, would be held by members of the Legislative Council who were not official. Such changes, the Mission observed, had contributed to a wholly satisfactory climate of public opinion in the Territory. The Mission stated that the TANU, under the leadership of Julius Nyerere, was the only political organization in Tanganyika which gave proof of enjoying mass support; at that time it held all elected seats in the Legislative Council.

Noting that Julius Nyerere, the President of TANU, had expressed reservations concerning the continued presence of the Governor in the Council of Ministers, the Trusteeship Council was confident that the new arrangements would represent a short-lived stage in the progress of Tanganyika towards independence. The Mission expressed the view that Her Majesty's Government might be expected to receive with sympathy any resolution from the Legislative Council seeking the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement and the introduction of independence.

Elections on the basis of the new franchise (as recommended by the post election committee in 1959) were held in August 1960; the elected members of the new Legislative Council comprised forty-nine members of the TANU, twenty-one TANU-supported non Africans and one independent African who, although a TANU supporter, was not the party's official candidate. There were two European ex-officio members and eight nominated members (four Europeans, two Africans, one Arab and one Goan).

With the elections completed, the new Council of Ministers was formed. On September 1 the Governor invited Mr. Julius Nyerere, President of TANU, to form the new government that he was to head as Chief Minister.

The names of the new ministers were announced on September 3, and on the same date the appointment of Mr. J. Fletcher-Cooke (formerly Chief Secretary) to the new post of Deputy Governor was also announced. The new Council of Ministers consisted of the Governor as President, the Deputy Governor, ten unofficial ministers, of whom one European was a nominated member of the Legislative Council, and two civil service ministers, the attorney general and the minister of information services. Of the ten unofficial members, seven were Africans, two Europeans and one Asian. The full list of appointments was as follows:

Chief Minister	J. K. Nyerere (African)
Attorney General	J. S. R. Cole, Q.C. (Official)
Minister for Information Services	J. J. Davis (Official)
Minister for Finance	Sir Ernest Vasey (European)
Minister for Lands Survey and Water	Chief A. S. Fundikira (African)
Minister for Health and Labor	D.N.M. Bryceson (European)
Minister for Home Affairs	C.C. Kahama (African)
Minister for Communications, Power and Works	A H. Jamal (Asian)
Minister for Agriculture and Cooperative Development	P. Bomani (African)
Minister for Commerce and Industry	A.Z.N. Swai (African)
Minister for Local Government and Housing	R.M.K. Kawawa (African)
Minister for Education	O. S. Kambona (African) ³⁶

When the new Legislative Council met for the first time on October 11, 1960, it was announced that a constitutional conference would be held in March 1961 to discuss the final plans for independence.

IV INDEPENDENCE WON

In addressing the first meeting of the new Legislative Council, which met on October 11, 1960, the Governor said:

³⁶ Editorial in the Tanganyika Sunday News, September 11, 1960.
p. 2.

When the Secretary of State saw the United Nations Visiting Mission to Tanganyika in London in April this year, he said he believed the way forward in Tanganyika in the immediate future was to put into effect the decisions which had then just been taken; and, after the elections, to study in consultation with the elected leaders, what the next steps should be. The final stages of political development in Tanganyika are therefore, in sight.

. . . the Secretary of State has instructed me to say that Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom is fully conscious of, and are in complete sympathy with the desire of the people of the territory . . . to assume full responsibility for the conduct of all internal affairs.

Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom has formed the view that stock could most profitably be taken of all these matters early in 1961 The beginning of March would be the earliest time that would be convenient for him.³⁷

It was announced by the Governor in the same meeting that a constitutional conference would take place in London in March. The purpose of the meeting was to advise the Secretary of State on the arrangements needed to be made for the attainment of self-government, preparation for independence and the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement. Later the meeting place was changed; instead of the Chief Minister and his colleagues going to London as previously arranged, the Secretary of State went to Tanganyika, and the constitutional conference took place in the Karimjee Hall in Dar es Salaam on the morning of March 29, 1961.³⁸ In his opening address to the conference

³⁷ Great Britain. Tanganyika: Report for the Year 1960. (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1961). p. 169.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 2.

the Secretary of State made clear that Her Majesty's Government accepted the proposal of independence for Tanganyika; the primary object was to discuss the attainment of independence. In defining the purpose of the conference, the Secretary urged the conferees "to look at the problems that will face this country at independence and see whether we can agree on a date and the work which must be completed beforehand."³⁹

At this historic conference, it was agreed that the date for the introduction of full internal self-government would be May 1, 1961, and that the date for independence would be December 28, 1961. (This date was later changed to December 9, 1961) Her Majesty would be willing to introduce a resolution in the General Assembly of the United Nations proposing the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement on that date. Further, it was reaffirmed that the Government of Tanganyika has indicated its intention to apply for membership in the Commonwealth. Also the hope of continued friendly ties between the two countries in the future was expressed.⁴⁰

At the closing session of the Conference on March 29, 1961, the Secretary of State had this to say to the people of Tanganyika:

. . . The first of our principal decisions has been that full internal self-government in Tanganyika should be introduced in the very near future; this means that in a few weeks' time the Governor, the Deputy Governor and the two official Ministers will withdraw from the Council of Ministers. This body will be re-named the cabinet, and will be presided over by a Prime Minister instead of Chief Minister. At this point most of the powers now

³⁹ Great Britain, Report of the Tanganyika Constitutional Conference, Cmd., 1360: (London: 1961), p. 3.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 8.

exercised by the Governor will disappear. . . . I now come to what is obviously the feature of our discussions awaited with most attention and interest. We have agreed that the date of internal self-government should be May 1, 1961. We have agreed further that the date for the full independence of Tanganyika should be December 28, 1961.⁴¹

The Chief Minister of Tanganyika addressed his people at the closing session of the conference in these words:

I speak to you this morning with a full heart. This is the day our people of Tanganyika are made aware that they will have their independence in this year of 1961 . . . this is a day of triumph for Tanganyika. . . . I rejoice to say that it is not a day of triumph over anybody. It is a happy victory for a good cause in which all are the winners. One and all in Tanganyika can rejoice with us in saying "Uhuru 1961."⁴²

On December 8, 1961, at midnight in the new National Stadium, the police band played to celebrate the coming of independence. After a while the Governor of Tanganyika, Sir Richard Turnbull, and the Prime Minister of Tanganyika walked together to the center of the field near the flagstaff; the lights of the stadium faded and the Union Jack was lowered quickly to the ground while the band played "God Save the Queen." Then a bright light came on to illuminate the new flag of Independent Tanganyika. Now the crowd present started to cheer, some crying because of joy and others laughing. As the new flag started to rise, the band struck up "Mungu Ibariki Africa," a Swahili song meaning "God Bless Africa." Thereupon the two leaders (the Governor and Prime Minister) shook hands and returned to their seats. Outside Dar es Salaam, a beacon flared atop Mount Kilimanjaro to cele-

⁴¹Ibid., p. 14.

⁴²Ibid., p. 17.

brate the creation of a new nation.⁴³ The idea for a flame atop Mount Kilimanjaro was initiated by Prime Minister Nyerere in the Legislative Council on October 22, 1959 when he said, "We, the people of Tanganyika, would like to light a candle and put it on top of Mount Kilimanjaro, to shine beyond our borders giving hope where there was despair, love where there was hate and dignity where before there was only humiliation."⁴⁴

That the transition in Tanganyika had been so smooth was a tribute not only to British reasonableness but to the remarkable ability and charm of President Nyerere, who led his people to independence without bloodshed, in truth almost without the utterance of strong words. After independence, Tanganyika became the 104th member of the United Nations and later applied and became a member of the Commonwealth.⁴⁵

⁴³Bates., op. cit., p. 431.

⁴⁴George Dunhevall. Julius Nyerere. (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1961.) p. 1.

⁴⁵British Information Services, Tanganyika: The Making of A Nation. (London: Cox and Sharland Ltd., 1961). p. 39.

IV

CHANGES AFTER INDEPENDENCE

I. RESIGNATION OF NYERERE

As the First Prime Minister of Tanganyika, Mr. Nyerere had an extremely difficult task grappling with many problems in the country. For example, the labor unions tended to regard "Uhuru" or freedom as something which would bring everything with it; there were groups which still exercised discrimination. The first incident involving race relations occurred in January 1962, when four British and one Swiss subject were expelled on the grounds that they had been rude to African politicians including the Mayor of Dar es Salaam. The Swiss National hung "Uhuru" badges on his dog's collar and said that his dog had as much right to independence as Tanganyikans. The Prime Minister, in signing the expulsion orders, said the Government's decision was "deliberate and carefully considered." He was, he said determined that the people would get at least one thing from independence--personal respect. As he said: "For many years we Africans have suffered humiliations in our own country. We are not going to suffer them now. Neither can we allow Africans to be divided into categories of those who are entitled to respect and those who are not."¹

On January 22, 1962, Mr. Nyerere resigned (after only forty-four days) from his office as Prime Minister of Tanganyika. His decision to

¹News item in the London Times, January 17, 1962. (Also see "Mr. Nyerere's Decision." The Economist. (January, 1962). p. 329.

resign the premiership shocked the whole country; many people were worried, including the civil servants as well as businessmen, when he resigned. He handed over office to Mr. Rashid Kawawa, former Minister without Portfolio, but he himself selected the new team of ministers.² Many people jumped to the conclusion that the reasons for Nyerere's resignation was that he was forced to resign by the more radical wing of TANU exerting pressure for a wholly African, rather than a multi-racial regime. Nyerere explained that the decision to resign from the premiership was his own; there was, he said, no disagreement between himself and his colleagues.³ In his press conference Mr. Nyerere declared:

I want to state quite definitely and categorically that the policy of the government has not changed either internally or externally. The changes I have announced are a reflection of our unity and of our determination to give every Tanganyikan citizen a full opportunity to take part in the struggle that confronts us to achieve this purpose it is necessary to have an able, elected Government which has the full support and cooperation of the people. This we have had and will have. It is also necessary to have a strong political organization active in every village, which acts like a two-way, all-weather road which the purposes, plans, and problems of Government travel to the people at the same time as ideas, desires, and misunderstandings of the people can travel direct to the Government. This is the job of the New TANU.⁴

²Ibid., The Times, January 23.

³Ibid., The Times. January 23.

⁴Tanganyika Information Services, Press release, (mimeographed) January 23, 1962.

Mr. Nyerere continued in explaining that the two roads of Tanganyika could be best served by the Government being carried on by a very able set of ministers. Through efficient cooperation between the government and the political organization, the people could best be served. In a further reference to his resignation Mr. Nyerere said:

I know that this will come to many of you as a shock, but this is because of habit. It is habit, too, which might cause some of you to misunderstand the significance of this step. We know that it is unusual for a Prime Minister to step down from his position as leader of the government, and to undertake leadership in the country of the party which supports the new Government It is, therefore, with the fullest confidence in the new Government and in the people of Tanganyika that I now undertake my new task—that of taking part in the building of the new TANU re-shaped to meet the circumstances of Independent Tanganyika We go forward, as before, in unity, with good humor, and with great joy at the opportunity we now have before us.⁵

Mr. Kawawa was sworn into office as Tanganyika's second Prime Minister by the Governor General, Sir Richard Turnbull, on January 22, 1962. It must be pointed out here that Mr. Kawawa was the man who founded the Tanganyika Federation of Labor in 1955 and became its first Secretary General. There is no doubt that, under his leadership, the trade unions in Tanganyika emerged as a major force in the economy. His union cooperated closely with TANU when he joined it in 1956. He rose to the post of TANU's Vice-president in 1960. As Prime Minister of Tanganyika, Mr. Kawawa, at his first press conference, confirmed that the government had been requested by the national executive of TANU to initiate steps toward making Tanganyika a republic in the near

⁵Ibid., (also see The Times, January 23, 1962)

future.⁶

II ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPUBLIC

When Tanganyika became independent on December 9, 1961, she automatically became a monarchy. By deciding to remain within the Commonwealth, Her Majesty the Queen, as head of the Commonwealth and sovereign of several of its member countries, became Tanganyika's sovereign, and the government of Independent Tanganyika became her Majesty's government.⁷ This sounded as if it were not the government of Tanganyika although in reality it was. Furthermore, the Queen of England was not an African nor was the Queenship a convincing symbol for an African. Therefore, the British Monarchy has always been a foreign institution.

On February 15, 1962, the Tanganyikan National Assembly approved a motion urging the Government to amend the constitution "to provide that Tanganyika become a republic within the Commonwealth as soon as possible." The Prime Minister said that the Government was asking the Assembly to consider only the principles underlying the creation of a republic. He said, "If the principles are approved, the Government will, at a later date, present to the house detailed proposals for their consideration."⁸

On April 5 Mr. Kawawa, the Prime Minister, said that Tanganyika would become a republic in 1962 if the necessary legislation could be

⁶Helen Kitchen, "Why did Julius Nyerere Resign?" Africa Report, VII (February 1962), p. 7.

⁷Proposals of the Tanganyika Government for a Republic. (Government Paper No. 1, 1962) (Dar es Salaam, 1962) p. 1.

⁸London Times, February 16, 1962.

enacted in time. A target date for the announcement was reported to be December 9, the first anniversary of Tanganyika's independence. The Prime Minister emphasized again that his government had no intention of leaving the Commonwealth; it still believed membership to be in the best interests of both Tanganyika and the Commonwealth. Preparations were made for the election of the first president of the republic of Tanganyika, according to a government statement. This involved printing five million registration and voting forms for the direct election of a president by universal adult suffrage.⁹

The constitution of the new republic provides for an Executive President who is both head of state and head of the government. He is not bound, as a matter of law, to accept or seek the advice of any other person or authority. The President appoints a Vice-president, ministers, and junior ministers from among the members of the National Assembly, who assist him in carrying out his functions. He presides over them.¹⁰ The constitution further provides that although the first president of the republic is chosen by a direct election on the basis of universal suffrage, the second presidential election will be based, with certain modifications, on the provisions of the Ghana constitution which directly links the election of the President with the election of members of the National Assembly. That means "a presidential election will take place whenever parliament is dissolved." At the general election following the dissolution, it will be open to any candidate standing for

⁹Ibid., April 19, 1962.

¹⁰Tanganyika Government Paper No. 1, op. cit., p.4.

election to the National Assembly to declare a preference, in writing, in favor of a particular presidential candidate.¹¹

As regards the relationship between the Executive President and the National Assembly, the President is not a member of the National Assembly, but he is entitled to address the assembly either personally or by message. Furthermore, the President has the power at his own discretion to summon, prorogue, and dissolve the National Assembly. He also has the power to nominate up to ten members of the National Assembly.¹²

Although senior judges are appointed by the President without parliamentary ratification, and the public prosecutor is a civil servant who remains subject to the executive, the judiciary is declared independent of the executive.¹³

The constitution was approved by the parliament when it met on June 5. It was during the same session when the date for the holding of an election to choose the president was set--November 1. The only candidates were Julius Nyerere, leader of the governing TANU and former Prime Minister, and Zuberi Mtemvu, President of the opposition African National Congress. In November the Tanganyikans went to the polls to vote for the first President of the newly formed republic. With completion of election

¹¹Loc. cit.

¹²Proposal of the Tanganyika Government for a Republic. (Government Paper No. 1, 1962) Dar es Salaam, 1962. pp. 6-7.

¹³"Presidential Elections," Tanganyika News Review, IV, (November 1962.)

and counting of the votes, Mr. Nyerere, President of TANU, had a total of 1,127,652 votes against 21,311 for his opponent, Mr. Zuberi Mtemvu, President of ANC. Therefore, Mr. Nyerere was declared President-elect.

III RETURN TO POWER OF NYERERE

As President-elect Mr. Nyerere was sworn in as President of the Tanganyikan Republic, on December 9, 1962, only a few hours after attending a midnight ceremony marking the country's attainment of independence. He took the oath from the Chief Justice, Sir Ralph Windham. Chief Petro I. Marealle, one of the tribal chiefs told the President:

With the help of the countrymen who placed themselves at your disposal, you have, day and night, given your life to serve this nation with enthusiasm and great skill so as to save it from the foreign domination to its present glorious status and, today the people all over the world have witnessed the fact that Tanganyika is among the recognized nations within the Commonwealth of Nations.¹⁴

Following the African traditions and customs, Chief Marealle asked another tribal chief by the name of Chief Mazengo to present Mr. Nyerere with the robe, spear, and shield. The Chief told the President:

Chief Mazengo gives you this long robe which marks that you are the Father of this Nation and that the favor of your leadership be spread all over the country in the same way as this long robe has spread all over your body.

Chief Mazengo gives you this spear which signifies a symbol of courage and protection both to yourself and to the citizens of Tanganyika. We pray that you may stand firm all the time.

This shield signifies the symbol of defense of your young nation which is now handed over to the protection

¹⁴Tanganyika News Review, V (December, 1962) p. 8.

of your able hands¹⁵

In his inaugural address the President, Mr. Nyerere, said that the new task for Tanganyikans was to convert the land they had won into a "good place for all citizens to live in," based on equality, in which no one would suffer without medical attention, no one would be ignorant without having the opportunity to improve himself, and no one would lose his freedom to live his own life in harmony with his neighbors. Afterwards the cabinet was sworn in before the President's State House. The Prime Minister, Mr. Rashid M. Kawawa, became Vice-president. A new Ministry for National Culture was created for the purpose of investigating and recalling the glorious past. As the President said in his address to the National Assembly on December 10, 1962:

A country which lacks its own culture is no more than a collection of people without the spirit which makes them a nation. Of all the crimes of colonialism there is none worse than the attempt to make us believe we had no indigenous culture of our own; or that what we did have was worthless--something of which we should be ashamed, instead of a source of pride.¹⁶

"Goodbye and Thank you" were the signals hoisted on the frigate H.M.S. Loch Ruthven, which sailed out of Dar es Salaam harbor taking the Governor-General, Sir Richard Turnbull, and Lady Turnbull, on the first stage of their journey back to England.¹⁷

¹⁵The Times, December 9, 1962.

¹⁶President's Address to the National Assembly, December 10, 1962.

¹⁷The Times. December 9, 1962.

CONCLUSION

Tanganyika is by far the largest of the three republics of East Africa (formerly known as the British East Africa). Tanganyika's development was slower than that of the two territories of East Africa (Kenya and Uganda). Its towns were very few and smaller; its economy was held back during the period of depression, when the territory was on the edge of bankruptcy.

Tanganyika's political development began after World War II; after the war the United Nations became responsible for the supervision of Tanganyika's administration. It provided the basis for the development of Tanganyika's nationalism. Not only did the United Nations receive reports from the government of Tanganyika, but it also sent Visiting Missions to tour the territory and make recommendations. It is popularly believed that the Visiting Mission of 1954 laid the groundwork for the emergence of Bwana Julius Nyerere and his party, the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU).

In Tanganyika no tribe has ever exerted a dominant influence upon her history. Her non-African population has always been far smaller than that of the rest of East Africa. Consequently the non-Africans have been less politically conscious in comparison with Kenya and Uganda, where population and land pressures are concentrated and predominant political groups live in the capitols. In Tanganyika, major concentrations of population are in the Southern and Northern Hill Country, far from the capitols. The non-African had no desire to

became involved in local politics. This explains why Tanganyika became independent ahead of the rest of the former British East African colonies.

Tanganyika's independence has not yet solved its continuous problems of disease, ignorance, and poverty. Indeed, Tanganyika's real struggle is just beginning.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS

- Bates, Margaret L. Tanganyika. New York: Cornell University Press, 1962
- Cameron, Donald C. My Tanganyika Service and Some Nigeria. London: Allen and Unwin, 1939.
- Coupland, Reginald. The Exploitation of East Africa. London: Faker Publishers, 1939.
- Gunther, John. Inside Africa. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955.
- Kingsnorth, G. W. Africa South of the Sahara. London: The Cambridge University Press, 1962.
- Leakey, L. S. B. The Progress and Evolution of Man in Africa. London: Oxford University Press, 1961.
- Melady, Thomas P. Profiles of African Leaders. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962.
- Oliver, Roland. The Dawn of African History. London: Oxford Univeristy Press, 1961.
- _____. History of East Africa. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963.
- Reusch, Richard. History of East Africa. New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Company, 1961.
- Russell, Ruth B. A History of the United Nations Charter. Washington, D. C.: The Bookings Institution, 1958.
- Sayers, Gerald F. The Handbook of Tanganyika. London: Macmillian Company, 1930.
- Sheperd, Jr., George E. W. The Politics of African Nationalism. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962.
- Stonehouse, John. Prohibited Immigrant. London: Bodley Head, 1960.
- Wiedner, Donald L. A History of Africa. New York: Random House, 1962.
- Wright, Quincy. Mandates Under the League of Nations. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1930.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

Dunhevell, George. Julius Nyerere. Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1961.

Moffett, J. P. Handbook of Tanganyika: Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1958.

Tanganyika Legislative Council. Council Debates 31st Session and 33rd Session, Dar es Salaam: 1956, 1958.

Tanganyika Information Service, Tanganyika Constitutional Development Report. Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1951.

_____. Tanganyika's Parliament 35 Years of Making History. Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1961.

_____. Residents Address to the National Assembly 10th December 1962. Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1962.

_____. Proposals of the Tanganyika Government for a Republic, Government Paper No. 1, 1962. Dar es Salaam: The Government Printer, 1962.

HIS/HER MAJESTY'S PUBLICATIONS

Great Britain. Tanganyika. Report for the Years 1947-1960. London: H. M. Stationery Office.

_____. Report of the Tanganyika Constitutional Conference. London: Report Cmd. 1360. H. M. Stationery Office 1960.

British Information Service. Tanganyika: The Making of A Nation. London: Cox and Sharland Ltd. 1961.

UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

United Nations. Everyman's United Nations. 1945-46. New York: Department of Public Information 1956.

_____. General Assembly. Official Records 7th and 11th Sessions. 4th Committee, 579th and 582nd Meetings. New York, 1953-1957.

- _____. Official Records of the General Assembly, 13th Session, No. 4 (A/38 22). Vol. 11.
- _____. Official Records of the General Assembly, 7th Session, Document A/2150.
- _____. Trusteeship Council, Official Records. 11th, 15th, 17th, 21st, 23rd Sessions. New York: 1952, 1955, 1956, 1958, 1959.
- _____. Trusteeship Council. Petition from the Tanganyika African Association, Headquarters, Dar es Salaam, Concerning Tanganyika. Document T/Pet. 2/210. New York, 1959.
- _____. Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa. Report on Tanganyika, 1948. Lake Success, 1950.
- _____. Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa. Report on Tanganyika. 1951, 1954, 1957, 1960. T/1032, T/1169, T/1401, T/1550. New York: 1952, 1955, 1958, 1960.
- _____. United Nations Review. Vol. II, May 1956.
- _____. Documents T/P.V. 84-85. New York, 1948.

PERIODICALS

- Kenya Weekly News (Nakuru) (October 5, 1956). 3; (May 31, 1957). 20; (July 31, 1957). 20.
- Kitchen, Helen. "Why Did Julius Nyerere Resign?" Africa Report, VII (February, 1962). 7.
- "Mr. Nyerere's Decision," The Economist, January 1962. p. 329.
- "Presidential Elections," Tanganyika News Review. Vol. 4, November 1962, p. 1, Vol. 5, December 1962, p. 8.
- "Rains Do Their Worst to Tanganyika Roads." New Commonwealth, XXI (June 1951). p. 702
- Sears, Mason. "The Congo, Africa and the United Nations." Africa Today, VII (September 1960. p. 14.
- "Tanganyika Not Ready for Constitutional Change." New Commonwealth, XXII (July 1951), p. 59.

NEWSPAPERS

London Times, January 17, 1962 - January 23, 1962, February 16, 1962,
April 19, 1962, December 9, 1962.

Tanganyika Standard. April 5, 1956, October 4, 1957, December 19, 1957,
January 20, 1958, March 18, 1959.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX I

IMPORTANT DATES

- 1884-1885 Tanganyika came under German influence when Dr. Karl Peters negotiated treaties with chiefs, their land then being declared German
- 1890 Coastal strips were acquired by Germany on payment of 200,000 pounds to the Sultan of Zanzibar.
- 1889-1905 Germans engaged in quelling native uprisings.
- 1914-1917 Clashes between British and German troops occurred in World War I, German forces being completely expelled in November 1917.
- 1919 In Versailles Peace Treaty, Germany renounced all rights over overseas possessions, and the United Kingdom received a League of Nations Mandate to administer the territory except for the areas of Ruanda and Urundi, which came under Belgian administration.
- 1946 Tanganyika was placed, by agreement, under the United Nations Trusteeship system.
- 1958 First general election was held
- 1959 Her Majesty's Council of Ministers in Tanganyika were sworn in. Twelve members, including three Africans, one European and one Asian, constituted the Elected Members of the Legislative Council.

- 1960 Second general election was won by the Tanganyika African National Union, which gave the Territory a majority of elected members in both the executive and legislature.
- 1961 May 1, Internal self-government was established on December 9, Tanganyika achieved full independence.
- 1962 January 22, the Prime Minister, Mr. Nyerere, resigned:
On December 9, Tanganyika became a Republic with Nyerere as its first President.