

INDEX

African Chiefs (Special Powers) Act (1957), 38Africanization, British attitude towards, 17-18, 105-6; Ford Foundation advisers on, 107-8; and non-African citizens, 106-7; progress of, (1959-61) 91-4, (1962) 124-6, (1963-9) 128-33, 218-21; TANU policy towards, 105-7, 110, 124–6 Anderson, David, 107n, 124n Arusha Declaration, 227-43 passim; background to, 227-8, 232-5; implementation of (1967), 238-41; Nyerere and, 228–31; objectives of, (equality) 232-6, 238-9, (self-reliance) 231-2, (socialism) 237; reception of, 237-8, 239-43; timing of, 242-3

Babu, A. M., 137, 162, 181, 192 Barker, Jonathan, 261 Bennett, George, 37 Bomani, Paul, 95, 121, 140, 183, 191 Brett, Anthony, 20n British administration in Tanganyika, African nationalism, policy towards, 18, 35-6, 48-9; Africanization, policy towards, 16-18, 98-9, 105-6; economic policies of, 19-20; multiracialism promoted by, (Legislative Council) 28-31, 38-9, 41-2, (District Councils) 31-4, 39-41; TANU, policies to counter, (decentralization) 48, (chiefs) 37-8, 40, (repression) 37, (United Tanganyika Party) 38-9; transition to independence, policies regarding, 17-19, 49-59, (British officers) 99–102, (financial settlement) 102-3 British Economic Mission, 183

British government, African nationalism, policy towards, 11–13; East Africa, policy regarding (1945–50), 13–19; and the Rhodesian crisis, 147–50; Tanzania, relations with, 87–8, 127, 147–52 passim, 178–9
Brown, Roland, 88n, 138, 203
Bryceson, Derek, 51, 121, 191
Burengelo, Frederick, 197–8

Cabinet, civil service, relations with, 182; establishment of, 95; Kawawa, leadership in (1962), 121-3; TANU, relations with, 212–13 Canada, military aid program, 157-8; technical assistance, 157 capital assistance, (1961-5) 133-4, (1965-9) 166-70; British, 102-3, 133-4, 149; Chinese, 161-6; I.D.A., 158; Scandinavian, 158; Soviet and East European, 158-61; terms of, 166-70 Chiefs, in Convention, 1958-60, 38, 40-1; removal from local government, 108, 194; TANU's use of, 194n China, People's Republic of, capital projects in Tanzania, 163-4; grants and loans, 162-3, 165-6; military assistance, 148, 165; and railway to Zambia, 164-6; and Tanzanian nonalignment, 166, 250 Chiume, Kenayama, 44-5 citizenship debate (1961), 112-13 civil service and the Arusha Declaration, 235-6, 241-3; Asians, policy towards, 106; expatriates' role within, 91-3, 98-

101, 129-33; independence, problems

at the time of, 91-4; as an oligarchy, 221-6, 232-3, 235-7, 263; salaries of,



306 Index

217-19, 221; secondary school places, influence upon, 222-4; self-assurance of, 182; see also Africanization class formation, in colonial period, 21-3; education and, 223-5; egalitarian measures to counter, 247-8; politicians and civil servants, place within, 217-22, 224-6; in rural areas, 215-18; rural and urban gap and, 216-17; in urban areas, 215-16 Cohen, Sir Andrew, 14–15, 29, 57n Commissioners, Regional and Area, 122; detention powers of, 187 Committee on Constitutional Development (1951), 29-31 Commonwealth Conference, (1965) 149; (January 1966), 149-50; (September 1966), 150 Congo, crisis over Belgian-U.S. intervention (1964), 142-4 cooperatives, 178, 191-2; Report on (1966), 183, 191-3, 215; TANU and, 191-4 Council of Ministers (1959-61), 50-2 Creech-Jones, Arthur, 14-15

decentralization, 48-9, 251, 258 deportations (1961), 115-16 development plan, 1961-4, 96-7, 102-3; 1965-9, 168-78 passim, 181-2 District Development and Planning Committees, 199, 200

East Africa, relations within, 177-8, 202n economic development, 19-22, 174-7, 215-17 education, 92-4, 111, 178; Asian discrimination within, 223; legislation regarding (1961), 111; local government and, 199-200; and manpower planning, 129-30; private schools and, 224; secondary school places, 222-3; St Michael's and St George's, 45 Ehrlich, Cyril, 20 elections, 1958-9, 39-41; 1960, 54-5; 1965, 205–7 Eliufoo, Solomon, 51-2, 95 expatriates, compensation and pension rights of, 99–101; importance of,

(1959–61) 91–3, (1962–7) 129–34; episodes involving (1961), 115; Minis-

ters, relations with, 104-5, 108-9; by

national origins, 131-2; salaries of, 99

Finucane, James, 194n, 262 Fletcher-Cooke, Sir John, 58 foreign aid, see technical assistance; capital assistance foreign relations (Tanzania), 127–71 passim; with Britain, 127-8, 147-52, 182; with China, 161-6, 250-1; with Germany, 139-42; with Soviet Union, 158-61; with U.S., 132-3, 141-7; see also technical assistance; capital assistance; see also under individual countries franchise, 1958-9, 39; 1960, 54; Nyerere on, 65-6 Frelimo, 135 Fundikira, Chief, 40, 51, 95, 121 Germany, Democratic Republic of, 138, 139-40 Germany, Federal Republic of, aid to Tanzania, 133, 140, 168; controversy over East German consulate, 139-41 Glickman, Harvey, 77-9, 252 government structure, 1960-1, 95-6; 1961-5, 97-8; see also civil service; one-party state

Hailey, Lord, 8, 14, 18 Huntington, Samuel, 75

Iliffe, John, 20n, 22n, 23n independence, British hesitancy regarding, 18–19, 53–4; final advance to, 55–6; Nyerere caution concerning, 84–6; settlement, (and British officers) 99–101, (financial terms of) 101–3 International Development Association (I.D.A.), 158, 168
Iringa cattle-dipping scheme, 27
Israel, foreign aid to Tanzania, 133, 168, 169

Jamal, Amir, 1, 51, 102, 121, 178; on British pensions and compensation payments, 151; and Soviet aid negotiations, 160

Kahama, George, 51–2, 112, 121, 178 Kamaliza, Michael, 123, 189, 190, 228 Kambona, Oscar, 95, 104–5, 121; and alleged American plot, 145, 147; and army mutiny, 178; East German consulate crisis, role in, 140; and oneparty state, 187, 203



Index 307

Karume, Abeid, 137, 138-42 passim
Kassela-Bantu, Joseph, 246
Kawawa, Rashidi, 95, 116, 121-6 passim;
Africanization policy of, 124-5;
Nyerere, contrast with, 121-2; oneparty state commission, chairman of,
203; as Prime Minister, 121-6 passim;
on TANU supremacy, 214

leadership rules (1967), 231, 235-7, 239
Legislative Council, British policy
regarding, (1945-9) 13-15, (1952-8)
28-31, 38-40, 41-2, (1959-61) 54-6;
debates in, (Africanization) 106,
(citizenship) 112-13, (education) 45,
(independence) 86-9 passim; elections
to, (1958-9) 39-41, (1960) 54-6
Leys, Colin, 216
Listowel, Lady, 12n, 54n
local government, (pre-1961) 18-19,
24-8, 31-4, (1962-9) 194-201 passim;
government controls over, 195-7;
reform of, 108-10, 198-201; TANU
attitude towards (1959-60), 34-5, 45-6

MacKenzie, Kenneth, 39 MacLeod, Iain, 55 Makwaia, Chief David Kidaha, 187 Marxists, critique of bourgeoisie, 245-6; negligible influence of (1966), 228; Nyerere, contrast with, (alignment with socialist bloc) 153-6, (class struggle) 221, 225-6, 254-5, (foreign aid) 156-7, 169-70, (participation) 221-2, 251-3, (trade with West) 250, (vanguard party) 245-6, 259-61 Maswanya, Saidi, 124 Mazrui, Ali, 177 Meek, Kim, 95, 125 Mitchell, Sir Philip, 15-17 multiracialism, British policy towards, 12-13; at District and County levels, 31-4, 39-41; at national level, 28-31, 38-42 mutiny, army (1964), 178 Mwanjisi, Roland, 122

National Assembly, composition (1965), 205-6, 211; elections to, 206-7; emoluments of members of, 219; expulsions from, 209; TANU, relations with, 208-15 passim; see also one-party state; Legislative Council

National Conference, see under Tanganyika African National Union National Executive Committee, see under Tanganyika African National

National Union of Tanganyika Workers (NUTA), founding of, 189; Report on (1967), 183, 191; TANU, relations with, 189–91

nationalism in Tanganyika, agricultural policies and rise of, 25–8; colonial government response to, 18–19, 35–40, 47–8; early exponents of, 22–4; local government policy's contribution to, 24–5, 31–5; multiracialism and rise of, 28–31; Native Authorities and, 25–8, 34, 37–8, 40–1; social origins of, 21–2

nationalizations (1967), 238, 241 Native Authorities, and rural development, 25–8, 40; and TANU, 38, 40–1, 108–9, 194

Nyerere, Julius, on Africanization, 110; and the Arusha Declaration, 227-37 passim, 238-9; British, attitude towards, 88, 101-3, 127-8; China, on relations with, 163, 166, 250-1; on Chiefs, 40, 108; on citizenship, 64-5, 112; on constitutional issues (1956-61), 43, 50-1, 52, 84-5, 86-8; election of (1962), 126; leadership of, 5-6, 80-1, 110, 116-18, 255-7; Marxists, contrast with, (on class struggle) 221, 225-6, 254-5, (on foreign relations) 153-7, 169-70, (on participation) 221-2, 251-3, (on vanguard party) 245-6, 259-61; on minority races, 43-4, 86-7; on non-alignment, 155-6, 250-1; on the one-party state, 68-70, 202; opposition, on the role of, 69, 77–80, 82, 120, 188; political thought of, (democracy) 65-70, 120, 188, 253, 255-8, 259-60, (equality) 63-5, 112, 217-19, 225-6, 228, 234, 258, (man and society) 72–7, (socialism) 5–8, 70-1, 119-20, 228-9; on pluralism, 74-6; on preventive detention, 184-5; resignation of (1962), 114-19; and Rhodesian independence, 149-50; on southern Africa, 87-8, 135-7; on student unrest, 233-4; on TANU, 116-19, 205, 258-9; on traditional society, 76; on the transition to



308 Index

socialism, (class consciousness) 245-6, (coercion) 252-5, 259-63, (equality) 245-8, 258, (participation) 251-63, (self-reliance) 248–5t, (TANU's role) 258-9; and the U.S. 'plot', 145-7

one-party state, 201-15 passim; authoritarian component to origins, 187; Commission on, (appointment) 202-3, (evidence before) 204, (recommendations of) 205-6; Constitution of (1965), 206-7; elections within, 206-8; Nyerere on, 68-70, 202

One-Party State Commission, 202-6; on local government, 198-9; on Parliament, 214; on TANU, 204-5

Organization of African Unity, African Liberation Committee, 135; meeting in Dar-es-Salaam (1964), 179; resolution on Rhodesia (1965), 149

Penal Code, amendment to (1955), 37 Perham, Margery, 11-12, 88n Post-Elections Committee (1959), 44, 54 Preventive Detention, Act of (1962), 185-6; defence by Nyerere, 184-5; use of, 186-7, 189

Regional Development Committees,

Rhodesia, Tanzania-British crisis over, 148-50 passim; O.A.U. resolution on (1965), 149 Rowe, E. G., 48-9

St Michael's and St George's School, 45 Saul, John, 192n, 217n, 252-3, 257, 262 Shariff, Otham, 181 Shivji, Issa G., 221n, 241 socialism, Arusha Declaration and, 227-43 passim; coercion and, 252-5, 259-63; leadership rules, 235-9; nationalizations, 238, 241; Nyerere on, 5-8, 70-1, 119-20, 228-9; transition to, 7-8, 243-64 passim; see also entries under Arusha Declaration; Nyerere,

South-East Lake County Council, 32-3 southern Africa, liberation of, 87-9, 128,

Soviet Union, relations with, 158-60 Sukumaland, 25-6 Svendsen, Knud-Erik, 247, 248, 249

Swai, Nsilo, 95 Sweden, assistance from, 158, 168

Tanganyika African Association, 22, 30, 36

Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), aims and objectives, (1954) 172–3, (1962) 173; authoritarian tendencies within, 185-8; British relations with, (in administrative matters) 45-6, (on constitutional issues) 49-50, 52-5, 56-9, (on the Council of Ministers) 94-5, (on the Executive Council) 51-2, (in Parliament) 44-5; early history of, (beginnings) 22-4, (local government) 24-5, (multiracialism) 28-35, 41-2, (and Native Authorities) 25-8, 40; electoral successes of, (1958-9) 41, (1960) 55; Nyerere's role in (1962), 118-19; relationship with: (civil service) 94-5, 96, 107–10, (government leaders) 107-8, 109-10, 117-18, 212, (local government) 196-9, 200-1, (National Assembly) 204-6, 207-8; and socialism, 172-4, 228, 240, 246; structure and organization, (administration) 210, 213, (cooperatives' role within) 192, (National Conference) 210-11, (National Executive Committee) 211-213, 237-8, (NUTA's role within) 190; see also entries under one-party state

Tanganyika Salaries Commission (Adu Report), 218

Tanzara Railway, 164-5 technical assistance, 129–34, 156–62; British, 131-4, 151, 170; Chinese, 161-4; Czechoslovakian and Polish, 160-1; 'middle'-power, 157-8; summary of, 132

Thurston, J. L., Report on Africanization, 107

trade unions, controls over, 123, 186–7; Report on, 183, 191; unrest in, 110-11, 123; links with TANU, 190 Trades Disputes (Settlement) Act 1962,

Tumbo, Christopher, 123, 186 Turnbull, Sir Richard, 12, 41-2, 47-8, 50, 53-5

Twining, Lord Edward, 19, 29–30, 35–6, 38



Index 309

Uhuru (Swahili party paper), 113, 122 ujamaa vijijini (socialist villages), 253-5 Uluguru Land Usage Scheme, 26-7 United States of America, aid, 132-3, 157, 168; Congo, role in, 142-4; crisis with Tanzania, 141-2; 'plot' against Nyerere, 144-7 United Tanganyika Party, 38-9, 41 University College, Dar-es-Salaam, 178, 184-5; student crisis (1966), 233-5

Vasey, Sir Ernest, 95–6, 102–3, 122 village resettlement, 178, 183

Wambura, Joseph, 112

Wicken, Joan, 35, 88n Workers' Development Corporation, 190 World Bank assistance (I.D.A.), 158, 168

Zambia, rail link with Dar-es-Salaam, 164-5; crisis over Rhodesian independence, 148; see also Tanzara Railway Zanzibar, 137-42 passim; colonial politics in, 137-9; Communist role in, 139-40; dispute over East German embassy in, 139-41; revolution in, 138; Revolutionary Council of, 180, 206, 214; union with Tanganyika, 138-9, 179-81