



Revolutionary State-Making in Dar es Salaam

Tracing Dar es Salaam's rise and fall as an epicentre of Third World revolution, George Roberts explores the connections between the global Cold War, African liberation struggles, and Tanzania's efforts to build a socialist state. Instead of understanding decolonisation through a national lens, he locates the intersection of these dynamics in a globally connected city in East Africa. *Revolutionary State-Making in Dar es Salaam* introduces a vibrant cast of politicians, guerrilla leaders, diplomats, journalists, and intellectuals whose trajectories collided in the city. In its cosmopolitan and rumour-filled hotel bars, embassy receptions, and newspaper offices, they grappled with challenges of remaking a world after empire. Yet Dar es Salaam's role on the frontline of the African revolution and its provocative stance towards global geopolitics came at considerable cost. Roberts explains how Tanzania's strident anti-imperialism ultimately drove an authoritarian turn in its socialist project and tighter control over the city's public sphere. This title is also available as Open Access on Cambridge Core.

George Roberts is Lecturer in Modern African History at King's College London, where his research focuses on the international history of decolonisation in Eastern Africa. He was previously a Junior Research Fellow at Trinity College, University of Cambridge. He was awarded PhD by the University of Warwick in 2016, which was shortlisted for the Audrey Richards Prize for the best doctoral thesis in African Studies by the African Studies Association of the UK in 2018.

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Revolutionary State- Making in Dar es Salaam

African Liberation and the Global Cold War,
1961–1974

GEORGE ROBERTS
King's College London



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Abbreviations

ADN	Allgemeiner Deutscher Nachrichtendienst (General German News Agency) – <i>GDR</i>
ANC	African National Congress – <i>South Africa</i>
ASP	Afro-Shirazi Party – <i>Zanzibar</i>
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CCM	Chama cha Mapinduzi (Party of the Revolution) – <i>Tanzania</i>
CDU	Christlich Demokratische Union (Christian Democratic Union) – <i>FRG</i>
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency – <i>USA</i>
CID	Criminal Investigation Department – <i>Tanzania</i>
COREMO	Comité Revolucionário de Moçambique (Mozambique Revolutionary Committee)
EAC	East African Community
EAF	East African Federation
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office – <i>UK</i>
FRELIMO	Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Mozambique Liberation Front)
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany
GDR	German Democratic Republic
IPI	International Press Institute
KGB	Komitet gosudarstvennoy bezopasnosti (Committee for State Security) – <i>Soviet Union</i>
MAE	Ministère des affaires étrangères (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) – <i>France</i>
MAE-DAL	Direction Afrique Levant, MAE (Africa and Middle East Division) – <i>France</i>
MAE-DAM	Direction Afrique Malgache, MAE (Africa and Madagascar Division) – <i>France</i>
MfAA	Ministerium für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten (Ministry for Foreign Affairs) – <i>GDR</i>

List of Abbreviations

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MfS	Ministerium für Staatsicherheit (Ministry for State Security, ‘Stasi’) – <i>GDR</i>
MNE	Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) – <i>Portugal</i>
MOLINACO	Mouvement de Libération Nationale des Comores (National Liberation Movement of Comoros)
MSZ	Ministerstwa Spraw Zagranicznych (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) – <i>Poland</i>
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NEC	TANU National Executive Committee
NUTA	National Union of Tanganyika Workers
NWICO	New World Information and Communications Order
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
PAC	Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania – <i>South Africa</i>
PAFMECA	Pan-African Freedom Movement of Eastern and Central Africa
PAIGC	Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde)
PAYM	Pan-African Youth Movement
PDP	Panafrican Democratic Party – <i>Malawi</i>
PIDE	Polícia Internacional e do Defesa do Estado (International and State Defence Police) – <i>Portugal</i>
RTD	Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam
SCCIM	Serviços de Centralização e Coordenação de Moçambique (Services for the Centralisation and Coordination of Information for Mozambique) – <i>Portugal</i>
SHIHATA	Shirika la Habari la Tanzania (News Agency of Tanzania)
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic Party of Germany) – <i>FRG</i>
STC	State Trading Corporation – <i>Tanzania</i>
SWAPO	South West Africa People’s Organisation – <i>Namibia</i>
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TAZARA	Tanzania-Zambia Railway Authority
TBC	Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation
TPDF	Tanzania People’s Defence Force
TYL	TANU Youth League

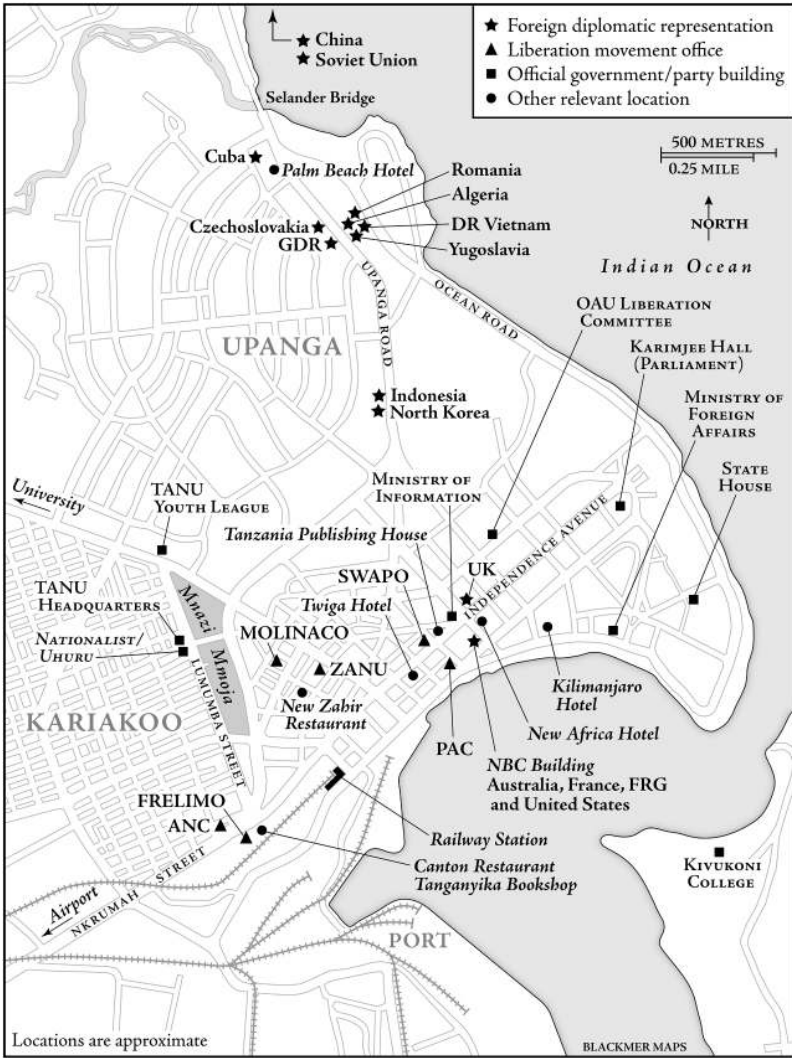
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UDSM	University of Dar es Salaam
UN	United Nations
USARF	University Students' African Revolutionary Front – <i>Tanzania</i>
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZNP	Zanzibar Nationalist Party
ZPPP	Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party

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Map 1.1 Tanzania and its neighbours, circa 1968. Map by Kate Blackmer.

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Map 1.2 Central Dar es Salaam, circa 1968. Map by Kate Blackmer, incorporating research by George Roberts and Mejah Mbuya of Afriroots, with assistance from Natalie Smith.