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ZANZIBAR PROTECTORATE.

COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO CIVIL DISTURBANCES
ON 1st JUNE, 1961, AND SUCCEEDING DAYS.

held at

The Legislative Council Chamber, Zanzibar,

before

SIR STAFFORD FOSTER-SUTTON, K.B.E., C.M.G., Q.C. (Chairman)

SIR VINCENT TEWSON, C.B.E., M.C.,

C. A. GROSSMITH, ESQ., C.M.G., O.B.E.

Commencing on Monday, 25th September, 1961.

THIRD DAY.

Wednesday, 27th September, 1961.

of proceedings
Note taken by Treasury Reporter.
-A

APPEARANCES

For the Government:

The Attorney General (Mr. P. N. Dalton)
Mr. B. A. G. Target (Crown Counsel)
Mr. W. Dourado (Crown Counsel)

For the Zanzibar Nationalist Party and the Zanzibar and Pemba Peoples' Party :

Mr. Fraser-Murray
Mr. S. H. M. Kanji.

For the Afro-Shirazi Party :

Mr. K. S. Talati
Mr. B. E. Kwaw-Swanzy.

ON RESUMPTION

CHAIRMAN : Yes Mr. Swanzy.

Mr. KAW-SWANZY : Mr. Robertson, yesterday you said in your evidence that on the morning of Thursday, 1st June, 1961, the Leader of the Nationalist Party had a discussion with you as to the possibility of cancelling the Elections which were going on and he intimated to you that he was withdrawing his people from two constituencies, Raha Leo and Jangombe and that he was going to concentrate his people at Darajani because it was most important to him and it would give moral support to his people there.

CIVIL SECRETARY : Yes.

Q. Now, do you remember, Mr. Robertson, that shortly after this discussion the situation in Darajani deteriorated ?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you remember that it was in the neighbourhood of Darajani that it was later reported that a truckload of Arabs had been seen with arms ?

A. No, I do not remember a report that they were seen at Darajani.

Q. But you remember, do you not, that it was at Darajani that it became necessary to read the Riot Act ?

A. Yes.

Q. And this was shortly after midday ?

A. I believe so, yes.

Q. Mr. Robertson, do you remember the approximate time you had this discussion with the Leader of the Nationalists ? Before or after the reading of the Riot Act ?

A. Approximately 11.15 - 11.30. Speaking from memory, Sir, I think the Riot Act was read at 12.15.

Q. Do you remember also that shortly after that discussion the crowd at Darajani increased ?

A. No, I cannot remember the situation because I was not there.

Q. Did you at any time about this period go to Darajani at all ?

A. No, I personally did not.

Q. Much obliged to you. Now, Mr. Robertson, yesterday I think we agreed, you and I, that we believed that the causes of the events of the 1st June and subsequent days were both political and racial ?

A. Yes.

Q. Would you agree with me that it was also economic and that disturbances were due to the uncertainty of the economic situation at the time ?

A. I do not think the general economic situation had a great deal of influence on the situation.

Q. Now you know, don't you, that Zanzibar depends mostly on the clove industry ?

A. Yes.

Q. You know also, don't you, that prosperity in Zanzibar is measured in terms of the clove industry. Now, yesterday we agreed that the political situation became tense after the 1957 General Elections.

A. Yes.

Q. You would agree with me that between the years 1957 and 1960 there was a progressive deterioration in the economic situation of Zanzibar?

A. No. There was a deterioration after 1957 but by 1961 it was beginning to show signs of improvement.

CHAIRMAN : I think the question was "between 1957 and 1960".

CIVIL SECRETARY : Sorry, Sir.

CHAIRMAN : I think he was confining himself to 1957-1960. Would you answer the question that he put to you.

A. Yes.

CHAIRMAN : You did answer that in 1961 it began to improve.

A. What I am trying to think of is what the clove price was because that is an indication of the up and the down. 1959 was definitely the bottom. My impression is that in 1960 it had begun to improve slightly.

MR. KWAW-SWANZY : Mr. Robertson, may I refresh your memory? I have in my hand the Annual Report of the Provincial Administration for the year 1958.

A. Yes.

Q. And I am quoting from page 2, para. 5 : "The year began with the price of cloves depressed to Shs. 140/- and temporary cessation of purchase of cloves by the Clove Growers Association." Would you agree with that ?

A. Yes.

Q. The price fell to Shs. 80/- in March and the Clove Growers Association only began buying again in August at Shs. 105/- compared with the price of Shs. 195/- per 100 lbs. when buying was suspended at the end of 1957 ?

A. Yes.

Q. That is correct ? The situation in 1958 was worse than it was in 1957 ?

A. I agree with that.

Q. Now, Mr. Robertson, I have in my hand the Annual Report of the Provincial Administration of 1959. I am reading from page 3, paragraph 15 : "The year was one of deflation, if not actual depression. The economic and indeed the whole life of Zanzibar is tied completely to cloves." Would you agree with that ?

A. I think that completely is not right, but otherwise I agree.

Q. This is a Government publication.

CHAIRMAN : It doesn't matter, he doesn't agree with it.

MR. KWAW-SWANZY : In the course of your office would such matters pass through your hands ?

A. I do not draft those reports.

CHAIRMAN : They pass through his hands, but he is not responsible for them.

MR. KWAW-SWANZY : For many years the dangers of this have been known and efforts made to encourage diversification of crops. The two principal countries using cloves, that is, India and Indonesia, owing to lack of foreign exchange, reduced their imports of cloves. In 1959, the floor price was Shs. 110/- until July. From August it was Shs. 70/- as a first payment, with the possibility of a second payment if the total crop was not large. Mr. Robertson would agree that from this picture the situation was getting worse in 1959 than in 1958 ?

A. Yes, I think I have already said so.

CHAIRMAN : The witness said that in 1959 the bottom had been reached.

MR. KWAW-SWANZY : Now, I have in my hand the Annual Report of the Provincial Administration for 1960. I am reading from page 3. Paragraph 18 : "The deflation mentioned on page 3 of the 1959 Report has, if anything, deepened into depression." Would you agree with that, Mr. Robertson ?

A. No, I do not think I would, personally.

Q. There are many signs of unemployment and financial hardships, and the labouring classes appear to be most affected. Would you agree with that ?

A. I agree about unemployment, yes.

Q. Would you agree that the labouring classes were mostly affected by this situation ?

A. Yes.

Q. The price for cloves in the early part of the year were on the lowest levels for many, many years. You will agree ?

A. I cannot remember what it was at the beginning of the year.

Q. Thus, the general level of income of the farming classes was very low ?

A. Possibly.

CHAIRMAN : Mr. Swanzy, I do not want to interrupt you, but Mr. Robertson is speaking from recollection. He made that clear. You can prove all this. You can get it from a witness who is probably better able to speak on this than Mr. Robertson. If necessary we would be prepared to subpoena a witness : the person who wrote it.

A. I apologise if I gave the impression that I was trying to be difficult. There are two points which might help Mr. Swanzy, and the Commission : First, that the minimum wage has been maintained throughout this period and has not been dropped; Secondly, that the

operative period for the price of cloves is not the beginning of the calendar year in January, but July, because each year the price of cloves is fixed in July by Order of the Resident-in-Council and the Clove Growers Association. To the best of my recollection, the price for July, 1960, was higher than for 1959.

CHAIRMAN : Although in the early part of the year it might well have been the lowest.

MR. KWAW-SWANZY : Does that suggest that the reports cover the period from July to January of the year, or the period of January to December ?

A. I think these reports are calendar years.

CHAIRMAN : January to December ?

A. Yes.

MR. KWAW-SWANZY : Now, Mr. Robertson, about this period of progressive depression : During the depression of 1960 there began to infiltrate into these Islands Communist ideologies and one political party was responsible for this introduction of foreign ideas.

A. One political party was responsible but not exclusively so.

Q. And that political party is the Zanzibar Nationalist Party ?

A. Yes, I think that is rather an unfair question, if I may say so. I think I said as follows : 'As far as I know, the Zanzibar Nationalist Party as such has not been responsible for the connections with Communist countries, but a section of that Party has been, and I believe there is not complete identity of views within the Party on this matter.'

Q. Mr. Robertson, that section is an important section of that party, is it not?

A. There is somebody in this room who can answer that better than I can!

Q. Mr. Robertson, would it be right to say that that section is led by the General Secretary of that Party? Now about this period, you would agree that the introduction of this particular ideology brought into Zanzibar winds of the East-West cold War?

A. Yes.

Q. And about this time, according to the Annual Report, many Zanzibaris visited Communist China or Russia?

A. Yes.

Q. All these visits were made through that section of that Party?

A. May I ask, Sir, what year you are referring to?

Q. I am referring to 1960.

A. Well "all is not quite correct: "most". Yes.

Q. Then you would agree that propaganda from Communist sources should result in Zanzibar and one political party burnt in public a model of a rocket?

A. That is so.

Q. You know what that political party is: do you know the name of that political party? - A. The Zanzibar Nationalist Party.

Q. Much obliged to you. You also remember about the same period one political party publicly burnt a copy of the Constitutional Report written by Sir Hilary Blood?

A. I cannot remember exactly the body which burnt it. I know that a copy was burnt. I am afraid I cannot remember who was responsible.

Q. May I read the report to refresh your memory?

A. Yes, except that I have not read it.

Q. The Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party and the Zanzibar Nationalist Party criticised certain aspects of the Report, the latter party going to the extent of publicly burning a copy. Does that refresh your memory, Mr. Robertson ?

A. Well, to some extent, yes.

CHAIRMAN : The witness said he doesn't remember, doesn't know. You can put the report in if there is any dispute.

MR. KWAW-SWANZY : Now about this same period of 1957-1960, there were introduced into these Islands a mass of Communist literature?

A. The flow became noticeable in 1960 but I would not agree that there was a mass of it before that.

Q. You know of the existence of the Mobile Library in Zanzibar.

A. Yes.

Q. Selling mostly Communist literature ?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you remember that at about this period the language of the Zanzibar Nationalist Leaders were couched in the normal jargon used by the Communist Party ?

A. No, I do not think the people who I regard as the leaders of the Party used language couched in these terms.

Q. About this time a broadsheet came into existence known as ZANEWS. Do you happen to know the proprietor/publisher of that broadsheet ? May I show you a copy ?

A. I wouldn't like to say : although my office is responsible for this, my information is that very often the name of the proprietor and publisher can be different from the people who write it.

Q. May I show you a copy of that broadsheet for 1960 and then try to make up your mind from what is written in it whether it is truly the case.

Document
produced

A. This publication says that the publisher is A.R. Mohamed and I believe that is correct.

Q. Now that name is the name of the General Secretary of the Zanzibar Nationalist Party. Now about this period, references to the British Administration in Zanzibar by this section of the Party were words like "colonialists", "imperialists", "neo-colonialists", "fascists": do you remember ?

A. Yes.

Q. And about this period the references to the political opponents of this Party were usually referred to as reactionaries ?

A. Yes.

Q. Imperialist stooges; supporters of neo-colonialism; western capitalist agents. Such use of language, you would agree, was highly provocative in the circumstances of Zanzibar at the time.

A. Quite honestly, I should doubt it as I do not know whether the people to whom those words were applied would understand what they mean.

Q. Mr. Robertson, apart from certain newspapers being written in English, others were being written in Swahili ?

A. Yes.

Q. Efforts had been made to interpret these terms to the hearers of Swahili. Now, you would agree that if the public of Zanzibar were firmly impressed that the second political party was an imperialist agent that would weaken the influence of the leaders of that party ? Then you would agree that the use of these words would be provocative - provoke people into breaking the peace ?

CHAIRMAN : How can the witness say "would" ? He might agree that

CIVIL SECRETARY : I think that this is a theoretical approach. If you want me to assess the effect of those particular words, I do not consider that if you call an Afro-Shirazi a neo-colonialist, I do not think he would be particularly worried about it. Some might, but the ordinary member

MR. KWAW-SWAZY : I am referring to the leadership of the Party.

(CHAIRMAN : We do not want comments from any person sitting in the audience).

Q. Now, Mr. Robertson, you would remember, would you not, that the Constitutional Report which was burnt by one political party was accepted and supported by the Afro-Shirazi Party ?

A. Yes.

Q. I am sorry. I think I omitted to ask you when I asked about Mobile Libraries : Do you know the owner of that Mobile Library ?

A. No, I am afraid I do not know the owner.

Q. Do you know which political party of Zanzibar has influence on that Bookshop ?

A. Well, it is painted red and has UMMA written on it.

Q. What does that suggest ?

A. I would imagine it belongs to the Zanzibar Nationalist Party.

Q. Mr. Robertson, I have in my hand an official report of the 33rd Session of the Legislative Council of 1958 and I am looking at page 78.

A. Yes.

Q. Mr. Robertson, you were present at that meeting ?

A. Is this the 27th November, 1958 ? Yes.

Q. On page 78 you have the contribution by the Honourable Mohamed Shante Hamadi. He is now the Chief Minister.

A. Yes, he is Chief Minister.

Q. May I read, Mr. Robertson. The passage is from the first paragraph : "The policy of the Afro-Shirazi Party is co-operation with the Government of the people." Would you agree to that, is that a fair comment as to the policy of that party ?

A. I think it was, yes.

Q. Including co-operation with the minority groups ?
Correct, Mr. Robertson ?

A. I doubt it.

Q. You doubt it ? "Deliberately restrain from intimidation and subversive activities". Would you say that that is correct ?
That is one of the policies ?

A. The policy is to deliberately to restrain from intimidation and subversive activity.

Q. Or propaganda which would bring about racial disharmony and fear ?

A. I should hesitate to accept that.

Q. Now may I refer to the second paragraph ? Coming back to the question of racialism, intolerance, intimidation and domination, throughout the history of Zanzibar the Africans have been peace-loving and humble people. Would you agree to that ?

A. Yes.

Q. They passed through some very difficult and trying times. They have never privately or openly been the cause of disturbances, anxiety, fear, injury or bloodshed of any sort ?

A. That is not correct.

Q. This is 1958.

A. I am saying it is not correct.

Q. Which part is not correct ?

A. "They have never privately or openly caused any disturbances or bloodshed". There were some riots in 1951.

Q. 1951. Was it by the Afro-Shirazi Party ?

A. No, I have carefully left out "party". I have said privately or openly.

Q. You would agree this speech refers to the Afro-Shirazi Party ?

A. "They have never as a party privately or openly caused any disturbances, etc."?

CHAIRMAN : Is it Africans ?

CIVIL SECRETARY : May I repeat the words ?

CHAIRMAN : I heard it correctly. It is the Africans.

CIVIL SECRETARY : "They" refers to Africans, Sir.

CHAIRMAN : That is what I understood.

MR. KWAW-SWANZY : Now he says further that for a long time the Africans were ~~not~~ represented, not only on this Council, but also on many important boards and committees. Would that be correct ?

A. It is true to say that there was no African on the Legislative Council up until 1957, Sir, to the best of my recollection, but I cannot say that with regard to boards and committees. I believe that there were members on the boards and committees.

Q. When did the Legislative Council first start ? In 1926 ?

A. In 1926.

Re-examined by the ATTORNEY GENERAL.

Q. I wish to ask you just a few questions in re-examination. Were you in June furnished with casualty figures by the Medical Superintendent of the hospital?

A. Yes, I was.

Q. Yesterday you gave the figures of the deaths as 62 Arabs. On the first day, the 1st June, how many Africans were admitted for treatment?

A. 1st June - 60 males and 3 females attended - I think that must mean outpatients. Inpatients on 1st June: 15 African males and no females.

Q. How many Arabs?

A. 1st June: outpatients, 74 Arab males, 7 Arab females.

CHAIRMAN: Do these figures relate only to attendances as, so to speak, emergency casualties?

A. Yes.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: You gave us the African figures?

A. The number of African inpatients was 15, Arabs 13.

Q. And following that?

A. 2nd June: outpatients, 37 male Africans, 25 male Arabs; no female Africans, 3 female Arabs. Inpatients: male Africans 9, male Arabs 14. 2nd June: females, inpatients - Africans nil, Arabs 3.

Q. And I think the figures go down to 9th June?

A. They go up to 8th June.

Q. I think my learned Friend, Mr. Swanzy, suggested to you in cross-examination that two elections in six months were unnecessary and too much for Zanzibar?

A. Yes.

Q. Can you say what the attitudes of the parties were after the January election as regards the necessity for holding new elections?

A. I do not think I can give a reliable answer to that because I was not here, and I would be relying on my memory of reading some files which I have not seen recently.

Q. Very well; and finally it was suggested it might have been a wise precaution to levy a day curfew over the whole of the Island from the very beginning?

A. Yes.

Q. On the 1st and 2nd June, were there in fact any incidents in the rural areas to warrant the imposition of a day curfew?

A. There were no incidents reported on 1st and 2nd June which would have warranted a day curfew for the whole island?

Q. And were there in fact sufficient police and military forces to levy an effective day curfew over the island?

A. No, a day curfew could not have been imposed.

CHAIRMAN: As I understood it, you said there were two factors: firstly that no incident occurred to warrant it, in the Government's opinion, and secondly, there were insufficient police to make it effective.

A. Yes.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: I would like to clear one point. I think you said that as far as you knew there were 700 police in Zanzibar police force?

A. Yes, speaking very generally, including the band, I think.

BY THE COMMISSION

MR. GROSSMITH: You mentioned yesterday in 1958 they were boycotting buses and shops.

A. Yes.

Q. By whom were the shops and buses owned, and by whom boycotted?

A. In the case of buses it was boycotts on both sides, that is to say buses owned by people who supported the Afro-Shirazi Party would be boycotted by people who supported the Z.N.P., and vice versa. How it usually happens is this - buses do not usually start a journey till they are full or very nearly full, so you can get a bus staying at a starting place for quite a long time and the driver may not be able to get a load because nobody will care to travel in his bus. There are also problems on the road when they stop: if they see a bus is a Z.N.P. bus and they are Afro-Shirazi supporters they may refuse to get in. I am only giving these as examples - there may be cases when a person who was a Z.N.P. supporter would get in the bus and then everybody else would get out. Those are examples.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Would you indicate how they know which the buses are ?

A. Local knowledge comes into it, but they also carry identification, or used to, as to which political party the bus, so to speak, was supporting. As regards the shops, it was the Afro-Shirazi supporters who boycotted Arab shops.

CHAIRMAN: When you gave your evidence in chief you were asked a question whether any of the political parties did anything to incite disorder up to a certain date which was being referred to - during the whole of the emergency was there any indication of either political party, as such, inciting violence?

A. No, I would say the reverse, that the political parties, as such, did everything that it was possible for them to do to stop the disturbances.

Q. Could you tell us if you had any information about any incitement and, if so, what?

A. Incitement in the sense of people going round and whipping up the mob?

Q. Trying to inflame feelings?

A. No, Sir, I do not remember any case of any particular individual or even group of individuals deliberately going round and trying to incite violence. There was provocation on one side against another.

Q. In what way ?

A. There were reports early on the morning of the 1st June that certain Z.N.P. supporters had been seen going round in vehicles which gave the impression of being a patrol. Rightly or wrongly, that was regarded as provocative by the other side. It was one of the things I mentioned in my evidence in chief that we specially asked the political parties not to organize patrols of their own, and this was one of the things which was broken; and to that extent there was provocation. But I am not aware of any body of persons or individuals who went round actually whipping up the mob and inciting them to violence. Whether it happened in the rural areas with some of those gangs who went round and murdered people, I do not know. The police may clarify that.

CHAIRMAN: Thank you. We may wish to ask you some questions, Mr. Robertson, when we have had a further opportunity of considering your evidence as recorded, in which event we will let the Attorney General know.

By leave - further cross-examined by MR. KANJI.

Q. Did you get a report in writing as to the Z.N.P. vehicle going out patrolling on the election day ?

A. I received this report after the 1st June.

CHAIRMAN: Did you at any time receive a report that ZNP vehicles had been patrolling on 1st June?

A. Yes.

MR. KANJI: It was a report in writing?

A. Yes, I think I have got it in writing: I am not sure.

Q. From whom did you receive the report?

A. The police.

Q. And did the report specify the number of vehicles which were patrolling?

A. No.

Q. What was your impression at the time?

A. What the report said to me was in these sorts of terms, that on polling day vehicles which were known to be ZNP vehicles were seen with young men inside at the back, driving round the town and visiting the various polling areas - I say areas because they did not actually drive right up to the door of the polling station, but they went to the place where polling was taking place, were seen there and then went on. That is the report I was given.

Q. Are you sure the vehicles were not carrying sick people to the polling station?

A. I am quite sure they were not carrying sick people to the polling station.

Q. But you have no personal knowledge?

A. I have no personal knowledge.

Q. Did the police take any action on this?

A. I believe they did, yes; but if you are going to cross-examine me as to what action they took I decline to answer, because I cannot.

(The witness withdrew)

The COMMISSIONER OF POLICE (MR. R. H. V. BILES) called & sworn

Examined by the ATTORNEY GENERAL

Q. Would you give your full name?

A. Roy Henry Victor Biles.

Q. You are Commissioner of Police Zanzibar?

A. Yes.

Q. You first came to Zanzibar in October, 1956?

A. Yes.

Q. And assumed the post of Commissioner of Police on 3rd April, 1958?

A. Yes.

Q. I think you have been in the Colonial Police since 1937?

A. That is so.

Q. I will first ask you about the disposition of the Zanzibar police force on 1st June, 1961. What was the strength of your force on that date?

A. The strength was 624 officers, inspectors and NCO's and constables, excluding the band. The band is 51.

Q. And if you include the band, that would give a total of?

A. 675.

Q. Could we have a breakdown of those figures.

A. 15 superior officers, including 7 Europeans, one of whom was in Pemba. There are 31 inspectors and assistant inspectors; 112 non-commissioned officers; 425 constables and 41 recruits.

Q. Would you give the distribution as regards Zanzibar at that time?

A. There were 69 NCO's and constables on stations and

patrols; there were 30 on transport; there were 30 static guards at His Highness' Palace and at the Residency and elsewhere; there were 86 men at polling stations in the rural area and in the town, and there was a reserve party of 100 men standing by at the police barracks at Ziwani.

Q. Would you point out the situation of the police barracks at Ziwani?

A. The barracks at Ziwani is just here (indicating on map) and these red pins indicate the various polling stations in Ngambo and the Stone Town. The black pin is Central Police Station and the other black pin is Ngambo police station.

Q. And is that map a police map?

A. It is a map prepared by the Survey Dept., on which I have stuck these pins.

(The Chairman asked if the Attorney General would obtain a map marked in the same way as the plan now being referred to and tender it in evidence. The Attorney General agreed.)

Q. Were there any more police in Zanzibar?

A. There were ⁴⁸ men engaged in C.I.D. and Special Branch duties, and 41 recruits, making a total of 404 NCO's and constables.

Q. And in Pemba?

A. In Pemba there were 33 NCO's and constables at the station and patrol duty; there were 4 drivers; there were 79 men at the polling stations and 50 in reserve at Chako Chako. A further 8 men were engaged in C.I.D. and Special Branch duties, making a total of 174. That is a total of 578, excluding inspectors (31) and officers (15).

Q. Now the reserve party of 50 - is that permanently stationed in Pemba, or was it sent from Zanzibar?

A. I did send them from Zanzibar.

Q. Had any arrangements been made with the Government of Kenya for reinforcements?

A. Yes, arrangements had been made with the Government of Kenya for the Kenya police to have one of their general service units at 4 hours' notice with effect from 6.00 hours on the 1st June, and for further Kenya police, and if necessary, troops to be available on later call.

Q. Had you been in touch previously with the Commissioner of Police Kenya?

A. I had. We had arranged between us a plan for aid to Zanzibar from the Kenya police and from the K.A.R.

Q. Now we come to Thursday, 1st June. Did the police take up their duties at the polling stations at an early hour?

A. Yes, at a very early hour.

Q. And where were the reserve party?

A. In Zanzibar; the reserve party was standing by at Ziwani and there were also, in addition to the police at the polling stations, two mobile police stations, that is to say two omnicoaches equipped with radio, each with an inspector and four constables. One was approximately here on the map, between Gulioni and King George VI School, and the other was here in the vicinity of the fire station near Darajani. There were also mobile patrols of radio cars, two in the town and three in the rural areas, each containing a special constable driver, a special constable radio operator and a constable of the Zanzibar police in the back. Their duties were to patrol and report and convey any prisoners that might be taken to the police stations or to the police HQ.

Q. You will remember there was a general election in January 1961 in Zanzibar?

A. Yes.

Q. Were the dispositions you made of your force in June the same as the ones in January 1961?

A. I had made certain changes. In the light of experience gained in January I had increased the number of constables at Gulioni, Raha Leo, Darajani, King George VI School and Kiswandui and Kikwajuni. In addition I had sent out those two mobile police stations which we did not have in the January elections. There were also patrols of officers going around. One gazetted officer was given the duty of patrolling the town, and there was another gazetted officer patrolling each of the northern and southern halves of the rural area. Provision was also made for members of the inspectorate, but when things began to occur at Gulioni and Darajani those had to be cancelled, and most of the officers and inspectors were concentrated on duties in the town.

Prior to the polling day, had your police been lectured regarding their duties during the election?

A. Yes. I had issued a special pamphlet on the duties and responsibilities of the police during the elections. This had been issued initially for the January elections, but had been brought up to date for the June elections. Copies of this were issued to all literate members of the force - the pamphlet is in English and certain parts of it are in Kiswahili also. A few days before the elections, Mr. Meyer, the senior superintendent in charge of the organisation and disposition of the police, personally addressed a large number of NCO's and constables.

Q. And had they been trained in their duties?

A. They had been trained in a standard form of riot drill based on experience gained by various officers in Palestine, Malaya, West Africa, Cyprus and other places. I can produce two copies of that pamphlet, upon which the training is based, if you wish.

Document
RHVB.6

Document
RHVB.7

Documents
RHVB.8

Q. Are there any more documents issued?

A. Yes, a pamphlet giving instructions had been given to all police stations.

CHAIRMAN: And this other document was issued when?

ATTORNEY GENERAL: 23rd April, 1958. Immediately before the election, did you hold a conference?

A. I held a conference of superior officers the day before the elections, to discuss the arrangements and to assess their opinion of the security situation, to find out if they had any problems.

Q. I think it will be useful to know what your disposition of superior police officers in Zanzibar was on the 1st June.

A. On 1st June myself and the Deputy Commissioner were at HQ: Mr. Meyer, the senior superintendent, administration and operations, was in charge of the control room. Mr. Wright, the senior superintendent of police crime, who is in the C.I.D., was in charge of the reception centre for prisoners and the investigation branch for offences reported in connection with the elections. Mr. Derham, deputy superintendent, was also attached to the C.I.D., and he was in the process of taking over from Mr. Wright, who had a roving commission to deal with offences on the ground - he was the senior investigating officer for any offences which were committed. Mr. Bott was in charge of the Special Branch. Mr. Owan, deputy superintendent, was in charge of the riot unit in Chake Chake, Pomba. Seyyid Majid, deputy superintendent, was at Ziwani in charge of one of the riot units. Shoikh Sulciman Said Kharusi, superintendent of police Zanzibar, was responsible for town patrols, visiting all the polling stations in the town. Mr. Misra, assistant superintendent, was the officer detailed for patrol duty in the north. Mr. Pandey

assistant superintendent, was detailed to carry out similar duties in the centre and south of the island. Mr. Mohammed Idi, assistant superintendent, Special Branch, was out in the town reporting back at frequent intervals to the head of Special Branch. Mr. Salim Slim, the Public Prosecutor, was at Ziwani with one of the riot units.

Q. And I think of the other four superior officers two were on leave and two in Pemba - is that so?

A. That is so.

Q. You have a control room at police HQ?

A. A patrol room and information room.

Q. How was the patrol room manned?

A. By special constables, mostly by lady special constables.

Q. And I think the patrol room took a minute-by-minute diary of the events commencing at 6.55 a.m. on 1st June?

A. That is correct.

Q. The original diary, in the form of five books for each of five days (1st to 5th June) will be put in. There is also a copy which has been cyclostyloed. There is a tremendous amount of detail, which I will not, of course, go through, but I think it will be of assistance for all concerned. Mr. Bilos, in this diary in the third column there are various names such as Swara, Fisi, Punda, etc. To what do they refer?

A. In most cases they are the call signs of one of the radio cars - Swara, Tusker, Fisi and so on.

Q. And things like Pomba and Ziwani speak for themselves?

A. Yes.

Q. Now we will go to the morning of 1st June. You were at HQ, I take it?

A. I was at HQ till approximately 9.30, when I went out on an inspection of the polling stations.

Document
RHVB.9

Document
RHVB.9A

Q. I must ask you about reports which started to come in from 8 o'clock onwards. Did you receive any report as to crowds at Gulioni?

A. Yes, there was a report which came in at about 7.45 to the effect that a member of the Nationalist Party ^{was} being held by some Africans. He had tried to vote but it was alleged it was not his polling station. Mr. Derham was there at about 8 o'clock, and he informed Control that the man in question was one of the Nationalist Party agents. Mr. Derham, a few minutes later - at 8.14 to be precise - asked for four more constables to be sent down to Gulioni as there was a fairly disorderly crowd outside the polling station.

Q. Were they sent?

A. They were sent, and at 8.25 when they arrived Gulioni was reported to be fairly quiet. At 8.39 there was a further call for more reinforcements at Gulioni as the crowd had increased, and Mr. Meyer arranged for Seyyid Majid to go to Gulioni with 25 men from Ziwani. They were on their way by 8.43. At 8.48 there was a report of an incident at Raha Leo, and at 8.50 Mr. Misra was instructed to go to Raha Leo to find out.

Q. That is the civic centre?

A. Raha Leo is the Civic centre which is here (indicating). The first one was Gulioni, which is here (indicating). I beg your pardon - before going on to Raha Leo, I would mention that at 8.51 there was some argument at Kiswandui School, where it was alleged that women were being insulted. They were told to go to Kikwajuni School. I think they had gone to the wrong polling Station.

Before you go any further, did you see Shoikh Ali Muhsin that morning?

A. Yes, he came to my office at 8.45 accompanied by Abdulla Said and another of his young supporters.

Q. Did he make a report of assault on his agent?

A. He did, Sir.

Q. Was the case referred for investigation to a police officer?

A. It was referred to Mr. Wright for investigation.

At 9.20 Mr. Bott, Special Branch Officer, reported that there was trouble at Raha Loo, so instructions were issued for 25 men from Ziwani to be sent there. At 9.30 I myself went out with an assistant inspector to visit the various polling stations. I went first to Raha Loo - that is from HQ, which are just here (indicating). There was a fairly large crowd but everything appeared to be orderly, with the exception of one man, who was misbehaving himself. There were 25 or more police officers there under the command of Mr. Misra, I arrested the man who was creating trouble and had him taken away. I am not quite sure where I met Sheikh Khamis Mohamed Rajaby. I think it was at Raha Loo.

Q. Is he the district officer?

A. He is the district officer. I then went from Raha Loo to Ngambo police station, which is over here (indicating), and there was a small crowd outside and a man with a bloody nose who said he had been assaulted. From there I went to the Trade School.

CHAIRMAN: The first person you mentioned you had arrested; did you form any opinion as to his political party?

A. All I can say is he was an African.

Q. And the man with the bloody nose?

A. He was also an African.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Did you form any opinion as to his political thoughts?

A. No, Sir.

Q. Now I think you had got to the Trade School.

A. When I got to the Trade School everything was quite orderly. The voters were lined up in queues, except that there were two men outside one of the polling booths who were calling out names. I inquired from the presiding officer as to whether those men had permission to be there and he said no. I found out they were unofficial agents of the Afro-Shirazi Party. I had their names and addresses taken by Asst. Inspector Salum Khassibi, and had them moved by the NCO who was on duty there. As I was about to leave the polling station a small altercation broke out in the queue and there was an argument as to whether a certain person was eligible to vote or not. Through the medium of the asst. inspector I explained to the people present that it was not up to them to decide who should vote and who should not vote, but a matter for the presiding officer. A few minutes later Mr. Kharusi came along and he assisted me in explaining things to some of his supporters. I asked him to tell them to behave themselves, and he very kindly did so. I got into my car and I was going to Gulioni: on my way out I met Soyid Soud bin Ahmed, the District Commissioner (Urban), who said he thought I should take a look at Gulioni. I went down the road from the Trade School down to Gulioni and on the way through one of the back streets here (indicating) I met a crowd of people, men and women, who were dragging a woman along. She was crying and I gathered that they had arrested her because they said she had voted twice. I rescued the woman and commandeered a car which was passing, and sent that woman and the persons who had arrested her, and my assistant inspector, to the police station at Ngambo.

Q. Did you form any judgment as to whether they were supporters of one party or another?

A. I think that the woman was a Nationalist Party supporter and that the people who had arrested her were Afro-Shirazis,

but that was purely my impression.

Q. You went to Gulioni?

A. I went to Gulioni, and there was quite a crowd outside: it was quite orderly though. There was a group of people by a petrol station here and there were more people sitting along the kerb by the voting station here (indicating). There were voters coming and going, and I think 25 or more police were there at the time. While I was there, moving a few people back from the polling station, a vehicle which I think was a Nationalist Party vehicle approached by Lady Janbai Road here, and there was a rush of young men who were sitting on the kerb towards this vehicle. I stopped some myself, and the party of police who were there stopped the remainder, and drove them back. The vehicle turned round and, as far as I know, went away. I went along Hollis Road and to Darajani. I think I reached Darajani at about 10.15 or 10.30. There was an altercation going on near the fence outside the polling station - the polling station is a school just here (indicating), and there is a fence all the way round it. There were people lined up in orderly queues inside round the fence, but there was a group of people outside the fence and one man outside the fence was arguing with a man in the queue. I gathered the man in the queue was a Nationalist and the man outside the fence was an Afro-Shirazi. I had him removed by the police, and I personally directed the police in moving the crowd right back from the wire round the polling station, back almost to the road.

Q. Is there a wide open space there?

A. There is a very large open space.

Q. Full of stone and bits of stick?

A. Yes, covered with debris. The crowd was quite good-humoured. They did not resist at all. While I was moving them I found one man with a knife stuck down the back of his trousers. I arrested him, and handed him over to some of my subordinates, and he was taken away.

Q. Was he wearing any party colours?

A. He was not, but I know his name and I know him to be a member of the Afro-Shirazi Party, and I think, but I am not sure, of the Afro-Shirazi Youth League.

Q. You say you moved the crowd back, and then what was the next incident?

A. I was just about to leave, and then there was a sudden rush of people round this end of the polling station, coming from the direction of the Nationalist Party HQ, just about here (indicating). A group of 30-40 people rushed at the polling station and climbed over the wire. I took Thomas Toto and a few constables, and we pulled some people down from the wire. I went inside to get to the polling station, and as I was there a further rush took place of people trying to get inside the polling station. I had a tear smoke pistol in my hand at the time, and I fired a tear-smoke cartridge into the ground in front of me. I think it actually hit a man on the leg because I was jostled at the time. However, there was quite a lot of smoke. Asst. Inspector Thomas Toto dropped a tear smoke grenade, and the people dispersed. Unfortunately it also dispersed some of the lady voters, who happened to be in the vicinity, but I am afraid that could not be helped.

Q. You say they gave the direction of the Nationalist Party headquarters ?

A. Yes.

Q. Were they a particular age group or all age groups ?

A. They were all ages, Sir. There were some quite young, almost schoolboys, and there were some who were comparatively elderly men.

Q. Could you form an impression as to whether they supported one or other of the Parties ?

A. It was only a very vague impression. My impression was that they were Afro-Shirazis.

Q. I interrupted you.

A. I moved from the side here (illustrating on map) round to the front again and as I came round I found an altercation going on. A group of about 20 or 30 people engaged in argument all around one man. I fired another tear smoke cartridge into the ground at their feet and they dispersed very quickly and I then found that the man in the middle was an Arab supporter of the Nationalist Party; the crowd around him were Afro-Shirazis and one of the crowd was waving a knife saying that it had been taken off this Arab so I had the Arab and a number of the persons surrounding him taken away and conveyed to the police station.

Q. Did the situation become quiet ?

A. The situation was fairly quiet after that at Darajani so I went back to police headquarters.

Q. May I refer you to page 6 of the Exhibit RHVB. 9. Did you receive a report at 9.56 concerning Manga Arabs ?

A. Yes, Sir. That was regarding a group of Manga Arabs with sticks in a vehicle which had been stopped at Hollis Road.

Q. Where is Hollis Road ?

A. Hollis Road is here (illustrating on map). There had been an earlier report, Sir. I ascertained this when I returned to police headquarters. There was an earlier report at 9.45 of some Arabs armed with sticks heading towards Darjani. That is page 5, Sir. There was a further report at 10.21 from a vehicle in the vicinity of the Fire Station which is almost next door to the Nationalist Party election office.

Q. Fire Station at Darajani ?

A. No, the Fire Station is actually down here.

Q. It has another name ?

A. Kisiwandui. At 10.21 there was a report from a vehicle of a lorry full of people armed with sticks leaving the vicinity of the fire station.

Q. Prior to that, at 10.11 had a report been received of a pick up ?

A. There was, Sir, yes. That was at Gulioni. I think that refers to the incident I have already mentioned myself, Sir, when I said that a vehicle came along and was surrounded by the locals and by the Afro-Shirazis and the police intervened. That was an open pick up with Nationalist Party supporters armed with sticks in it.

CHAIRMAN: Is that D.F.2, a motor lorry ?

A. I am not sure of the number, Sir. Mr. Derham did report a number but I am not sure of the number.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: That was a pick up. The lorry D.F.2 is referred to at Item 187 on page 7; 10.46 - Civilian bus D.F.2 - not confirmed. At 11 a.m. did you receive a report all quiet at Gulioni ?

A. I did, Sir.

Q. I think you said you went back to the office ?

A. I went back to the office, Sir. I arrived about 11.15 and found the Civil Secretary, Mr. Robertson, and Mr. Smithyman and Sheikh Ali Muhsin there at police headquarters. Sheikh Ali Muhsin then stated that the Nationalist Party was withdrawing from the elections at Raha Leo and Gulioni.

Q. Did he give you any reason ?

A. He did give reasons, Sir. As far as I recall he said that his supporters were being intimidated and prevented from voting.

Q. What was the next report that you received ?

A. There was a report.

Q. Referred to on page 8, 211, 212.

A. There was a report at 11.26, Sir, that a crowd was beating a man at Holmwood School.

Q. Where is Holmwood on that map ?

A. Holmwood is here (Illustrating on map).

Q. That is getting towards the country ?

A. Going on towards Chwaka on the outskirts of the town.

Q. Yes ?

A. A half riot squad, that is 25 men, was sent there at 11.28. There was also a report at about the same time of a Nationalist Party leader being beaten at Raha Leo. A radio car was sent to Raha Leo to investigate but the report was not confirmed. At about 11.30 there was a further report received that a Nationalist Party supporter at the King George VI School was telling Nationalist Party members to stop voting and to go to Nationalist Party Headquarters at Darajani.

Q. Was he named ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Who was it ?

A. That was Haji Hussein Idarus.

Q. Nationalist headquarters at Darajani ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. King George VI School is where ?

A. Over here (illustrating on map) That is Nationalist Party headquarters just above the red pin.

Q. Did the situation at Darajani stay quiet ? You told us it was quiet when you left. Did it stay quiet ?

A. No, Sir. It started to worsen at Darajani. There was movement of Nationalist Party supporters from this edge of Ngambo towards Darajani from Gulioni to King George VI School, moving towards Darajani and the Afro-Shirazis were following them, and it eventually developed into a build up of Afro-Shirazis on the open ground here. They were unarmed at the time and a build up of Nationalist Party supporters outside and around Nationalist Party headquarters here at Darajani and also at a Nationalist Party office at Mtendeni.

Q. As a result of the deterioration of the reports you received did you give any instructions about the use of the riot squad ?

A. Yes, Sir. When a report came to me that knives were being flashed at Darajani I spoke to Sheikh Suleiman Said Kharusi who was at Darajani and told him that I thought the time had come for him to read the Riot Act. But I left it to his judgment as to whether he did so or not because he was better able to assess the situation there than I was in Police Headquarters.

Q. What time did you tell him to read the Riot Act when he considered it necessary ?

A. That was just after twelve noon, 12.6 according to the controlling log.

Q. I do not know if you have said what unit of police did he have under his command ?

A. He had 50 men, Sir.

Q. Did you receive reports about that time about the demeanour of the crowd at Darajani ?

A. Initially the Afro-Shirazis had no offensive weapon other than the odd man like the one that I arrested with a knife stuck round the back of his trousers, but when the Nationalists appeared on the scene or the odd Nationalist was seen with a stick or a sword the Afro-Shirazis rushed to piles of firewood which were unfortunately lying conveniently near at hand and armed themselves with sticks and they also gathered up piles of stones from the piles of coral for building purposes which were lying around on this part of the reclaimed land.

Q. Is there a market there ? Is it close to the market ?

A. It is quite close to the market (Illustrating on map). The market is on the other side of the road but all down here is reclaimed land right down to the bridge now and people had set up markets here. I do not know whether they are official or not. I think most of them are unofficial.

Q. Where they sell firewood?

A. They sell firewood and there are usually piles of building materials, coral, logs and odd bits and pieces lying about and also a lot of junk which had been dumped there by people.

Q. Yes.

A. The situation then developed, as far as I can gather, I have only the reports which have been made to me, to go by; the Afro-Shirazis on one side with sticks, throwing stones, and on the other side nearer Nationalist Party headquarters the Nationalists with sticks and some of them with swords. The police under Sheikh Suleiman Said Kharusi, Superintendent of Police, Zanzibar, in the middle trying to keep the peace. Sheikh Suleiman Said Kharusi did read the Riot Act.

CHAIRMAN: How many men did you say he had with him.

A. Fifty, Sir. The half unit, 25 men, from Gulioni under Seyyid Majid had been moved up to Darajani as soon as things quietened at Gulioni and things begun to hot up at Darajani.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Seyyid Majid was the officer in charge of reserve unit at Gulioni?

A. That is right. He had gone out with the first party of 25 police which went to Gulioni.

Q. Yes.

A. The Riot Act was read at 12.34. Instruction was passed again at 12.14 but the original instruction was given by me at 12.6.

Q. Did you have a report also at that time regarding voting at Trade School?

A. Yes, Sir. At 12.18 there was a report that a large mob of Africans was stopping people from entering the Trade School.

Q. Is that a polling station?

A. That is a polling station (illustrating on map).

Q. As a result of the situation did you take any action to contact the Commissioner of Police, Kenya, at that time?

A. I spoke to the British Resident, Sir, and he agreed that I could ask the Commissioner of Police, Kenya, to send the reserve which he was holding for us forward at once. The British Resident also agreed to clear the matter through the Governor of Kenya. I spoke to the Commissioner of Police, Kenya, on the telephone at 12.45 hours.

Q. And requested reinforcements?

A. And requested one Company, approximately 110 men of the Kenya General Service Unit to be sent forward by air to Zanzibar.

Q. At this time was a rifle squad sent to Darajani?

A. It was, Sir.

Q. And were any rifle shots fired ?

A. No, Sir. The crowd dispersed without the riot squad having recourse to rifle fire.

Q. Can you say in which direction the crowd dispersed?

A. They moved mostly down this way; a lot of them went back through here through Mtendeni, going back towards Sakafuni Mahonda and that was where further trouble occurred around the back of the Nationalist Party headquarters.

Q. Can you say what sort of trouble?

A. According to reports I can only give information which has been reported to me. There were Nationalist Party supporters in shops and offices along the roads leading through here (illustrating on map) and as the Afro-Shirazis came past they assaulted them, dragged them off their bicycles and beat them up; in one or two cases they used swords on them.

CHAIRMAN: Before we get too far can you give us any idea of the size of the crowd before the Riot Act was read ?

ATTORNEY GENERAL: I do not know if it is reported, Sir.

A. I was not there at the time, Sir.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: I will be able to call evidence, three police officers.

CHAIRMAN: Was any attempt made to disarm any of these people who were armed?

A. Before they got there or at the time?

Q. At the time.

A. As far as I am aware the Superintendent of Police, Sheikh Suleiman Said Kharusi, did go forward and attempt to disarm some of the Africans armed with sticks.

CHAIRMAN: What about the people armed with swords?

A. As far as I am aware there was no attempt ^{made} to disarm them unless they were found engaged in some act of violence. As far as I know they were just standing around in the background initially on the defensive around their headquarters. But that is all that I have been told, Sir.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Prior to the crowds dispersing had tear smoke been thrown?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. You have just told us that the crowds went away from Darajani?

A. They moved down this way, Sir, (illustrating on map) and we then received a number of reports in control regarding incidents at Mtendeni. Each time the police went down there we found it was all quiet but each time the police party withdrew further report came of an African being assaulted or ambushed or dragged into a shop and beaten up.

CHAIRMAN: An African?

A. Yes. Those were the initial reports we were receiving there.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: When you received reports at the control room patrol cars were sent if available immediately to the scene?

A. They were, Sir, yes.

Q. After the crowd dispersed at Darajani did the situation in Darajani calm down for the time being?

A. The situation in and around the polling station calmed down and voting was going on throughout the afternoon but the trouble then moved around the back here and began to spread down and eventually through to Mwembeladu. The Africans coming through from here who were being attacked were going back this way saying the

Arabs are killing us and that was what started up more trouble over here.

Q. During the afternoon did any trouble start elsewhere in the Nganbo?

A. There were a number of incidents, Sir, yes. There was an incident at 14.10 at Holmwood where there was a scuffle described in patrol room log as a bit of a riot. There were two reports of incidents outside the town that afternoon, one at 14.10 when a report was received from Mkokotoni regarding fighting at Mahonda.

CHAIRMAN: Would you mind pointing that out?

A. That is on the other map, Sir. All these blue pins are polling stations. There was also a report later at 14.10 regarding trouble at Mkwajuni near Mkokotoni.

Q. That was a long way from the urban area?

A. That is. It was completely unconnected. It had no bearing on the trouble in here but it arose because one of the officers, I think it was the presiding officer at the polling station, wanted to go to the lavatory and so he took a number of unused battered ballot papers with him in his bag so they should not be tampered with in his absence. According to the reports I have received he was arrested by some of the Afro-Shirazi Party on the charge of attempting to destroy ballot papers. However it was sorted out by the police and polling went on quite quietly at Mkoajuni after this had been sorted out.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: As we are on that point were any other reports of rioting or disturbances received on June 1st from the rest of Zanzibar Island?

A. I would have to go through the log, Sir, if you do not mind. I would rather not rely on my memory.

CHAIRMAN: You can refresh your memory.

A. Thank you, Sir. At Msufini 14.11 Sheikh Ali Muhsin reported that people were throwing stones and attacking Nationalists at Msufini, this on the Chwaka Road on the way out of the town, this end of the town. I am sorry, I was confused. I said it was on the outskirts of the town. I was mixing it up with Msugeni. It is just about Ward 12. Sheikh Ali Muhsin also reported that people were congregating in a shop there so Mr. Misra was instructed to go to Msufini from Holmwood as soon as he had cleared up the trouble which had taken place there. At about the same time it was reported by the patrol car at Darajani that Mr. Ibuni Saleh, the Nationalist Party candidate for the Darajani constituency had withdrawn.

Q. What does withdraw mean? What did you understand by "withdraw"?

A. That he had packed up and gone home, as far as I could make out.

Q. Was Mr. Ibuni Saleh elected for Darajani?

A. He was, Sir. He is now the member for Darajani.

Q. About what time was that?

A. That was at 14.15.

Q. At the same time, 2.15 was there a meeting of the Security Committee at police headquarters?

A. I think that was at 2.30, I am not sure. Yes, it was at 2.15 at police headquarters.

Q. Was it decided to ask for further reinforcements?

A. I spoke to the Commissioner of Police, Nairobi, during the meeting and asked him to get another Company of the General Service Unit down to Zanzibar as early as possible. He telephoned me later and informed me that the first Company would arrive at about

18.15 and the second Company first thing the following morning.

Q. During that afternoon was a report received of a murder at Mikunguni?

A. One of the police patrol cars with Mr. Knight, special constable, in it picked up some injured man at Mikunguni.

Q. Would you indicate where it is?

A. By 29 on the map.

CHAIRMAN: You have referred to two types of special constable. You had some at your headquarters, ladies, and now you have referred to another one. How many did you have ?

A. I have to refer to my records for the exact figures.

Q. How many of these special constables of both sexes? Presumably ladies were used as clerks?

A. They were on radio and telephones and the European men were two to a car patrolling. Eventually there were six cars operating altogether, six mobile patrols each with two special constables.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Is that a copy of your Special Constable Car Patrol (Document passed to witness)?

A. I have here, Sir, the complete disposition of the police force and special constables in detail.

CHAIRMAN: Can you tell us how many special constables you had of both sexes?

A. The number grew as we went on during the disturbances. Initially there were nine women special constables and twenty men special constables.

Q. And by the end of the emergency what had the numbers grown to?

A. I have not got that information with me.

Q. Someone can give it to me?

A. It can be produced Sir, yes.

CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: We were talking about Mikunguni and you were saying a report was received from Mr. Knight.

A. Yes, Sir. He reported that his patrol car had picked up five injured men, one of whom was very badly hurt and he died on the way to the hospital. The name of the man was Musa Juma.

Q. Have you prepared a document entitled Murders, Sequence of Reports ?

A. It has been prepared under my direction in the C.I.D., Sir.

Document
RHVB. 10.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: I have a copy, Sir. I think it might be very useful.

CHAIRMAN: Very useful.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: That was the first report of death on that day?

A. Yes, Sir.

CHAIRMAN: Have you any idea of whom he was a supporter?

A. I think he was a Afro-Shirazi, Sir, but I am not sure.

Q. As you give evidence if you know or you have information you might say.

A. Yes, Sir. Mr. Wright, Sir, who will be giving evidence later as the Senior Superintendent (Crime) will be able to give full details.

CHAIRMAN: We need not go into it now.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Now as we are dealing with this particular document, RHVB.10, we will look at the second item on 1st June.

3.50 p.m. was a report received as regards another death ?

A. Yes, Sir. This time it was a man called Mafudh Hamoud. He was picked up by a police patrol car at Mikunguni. He died in hospital and it appears that he was one of a number of persons attacked in a coffee shop by a gang. Mafudh Hamoud as far as I know was an Arab.

Q. During the afternoon of 1st June did disturbances continue in the Ngambo part of Zanzibar?

A. Yes, Sir. They moved. (Illustrating on map). The pattern of disorder moved slowly from Darajani through Mtendeni, Msufini, passed Raha Leo, around Mwembeladu and down to Mikunguni where there was fighting between Arabs and Africans on the road leading out of town towards Chwaka. There was also an incident of fighting reported at Kisima Mchanga near the fire station.

Q. Page 16 of Exhibit 9. 14.38 did you receive a telephone message?

A. Yes, Sir. There was a report that the Afro-Shirazis were stopping Arab cars and lorries and beating up the people inside. The report was received from Ziwani but it did not specify exactly where this was taking place. It merely said Ngambo - the whole of this area. All these places I have mentioned are loosely referred to as Ngambo although Ngambo police station - is in Area 28 which is Mwembejuguu. The police station is marked in black on the map.

Q. If you refer to page 17 of the diary there were constant reports of incidents, Msufini, Mikunguni and the Trade School?

A. Yes, Sir. (Places indicated on map.)

Q. Did you get reports during that afternoon of groups armed with knives ?

A. There were reports of groups armed with all sorts of offensive implements, knives, swords, sticks, and in fact at 15.00 hours it appeared to be general for nearly everyone who was moving around in Ngambo to be carrying some sort of weapon, a stick if nothing else.

Q. Did incidents occur all during that afternoon in the Ngambo area?

A. Yes, Sir,

Q. Was a decision taken to impose a curfew?

A. Yes. The decision was taken at the security committee held at 2.15. which His Excellency the British Resident attended. It was decided to impose a state of emergency and to impose a curfew from 7 p.m.

Q. On what area?

A. On the whole of the town as far as I recall Sir. It was Legal Notice No. 36, 1961, imposed a curfew on the township of Zanzibar. That is this Stone Town and Ngambo between the hours of 7 p.m. and 6 a.m.

CHAIRMAN: Mr. Attorney, have you a copy of that?

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Yes, Sir, it is in the booklet containing emergency legislation.

CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: In fact it has been revoked and replaced by another omnibus curfew regulation. Would it have been practicable to impose a day curfew on Ngambo during the afternoon of June 1st?

A. It would have been impossible to enforce, Sir. It had not the forces available.

Q. Had your forces been on duty by then since early morning?

A. A large number of men had been on duty since 5 o'clock in the morning, Sir.

Q. You say you had sent for one Company of the General Service Unit, Kenya?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Did that arrive that afternoon ?

A. It arrived at the airport at 18.15.

Q. And did they commence their duties immediately ?

A. They went to Ziwani, dumped their baggage first and they were in action within about an hour or an hour and a half of their arrival.

Q. During this time were the police continuing to patrol in the Ngambo area?

A. Yes, Sir, I sent Mr. Meyer out towards the close of the evening to take over from Sheikh Suleiman Said and to organise curfew patrols throughout the Ngambo area.

Q. Were those curfew patrols carried out by your men or the Kenya Police or both ?

A. Both, Sir. Eventually they were taken over almost entirely by the Kenya Police and my men were given some rest. I think the last batch of my men was withdrawn at about 22.00 hours. I would like to check that.

Q. The Ngambo riot squad ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. When was that stood down ?

A. 22.40 hours.

CHAIRMAN: Can you tell us the hours of polling ?

A. From 8 a.m. to 6 p.m., Sir.

Q. And that was applicable to the whole of the polling all over Zanzibar ?

A. Yes, Sir. The reason for imposing the curfew from 7 p.m. was to enable lawful voters to get home before the curfew.

SIR VINCENT TEWSON: So it was not possible to operate the curfew in the afternoon?

ATTORNEY GENERAL: No, not without interfering with the voting in the Ngambo.

A. It would have interfered with the voting in the Ngambo and in any case I do not think I could have enforced it effectively with the forces at my command then.

CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Did the situation in the Ngambo quieten down after curfew had been imposed ?

A. During the night it quietened down completely, Sir, and there was very little reported. At 20.30 there was a report of some people coming up Lady Janbhai Road with sticks (illustrating on map) and at 20.27 there was a report of a crowd stoning the house of the District Commissioner Rural which is just next to Ngambo Police Station here.

Q. Was that investigated ?

A. Yes, Sir. Sheikh Suleiman Said, Superintendent, Zanzibar, went to break up the crowd.

Q. Was the crowd on the Lady Janbhai Road broken up ?

A. A vehicle was sent there to disperse them. I think that was the last we heard of them. It was all quiet throughout the night and in the morning with the aid of the G.S.U. that had special patrols along Hollis Road and down Lady Janbhai Road to

enable dock workers to get to the docks because they were frightened to come through the town for fear that they would be attacked so we had to arrange special patrols.

Q. I would like to get first of all the casualties. First report of casualties in the early morning on Friday, 2nd June, 210 hours. Item 655, page 2 of 2nd June.

A. A report from the Assistant Director of Medical Services that 145 persons had been treated of whom 59 had been admitted and one of them had subsequently died. That report was up to 10 p.m. the previous night and did not take into account dead bodies which had been taken direct to the mortuary.

Q. How many were there ?

A. At 9 o'clock on the 2nd the number of dead reported to me was 8 and there had been 103 arrests.

Q. Did you receive any reports about wrecked cars?

A. I did, Sir. The report came to me from Mr. Forsyth-Thompson and I arranged for them to be removed by the P. W. D. There were two of them which were reported to be blocking the road near Ngambo Police Station.

Q. At 8.15, item 699, was a report received of a dead Body ?

A. Yes Sir, it was reported to be found at Miemboni Sir, it was actually this red pin here at Mwembeshauri.

Q. I thought there were only two bodies found on the 1st but I see there are four. Would you refer to exhibit 10 ? Were four more murders reported on 1st June ?

A. Yes Sir. One was reported at 3.50 p.m. at Mwembemimba.

Q. It is on exhibit 10, Mr. Chairman, item 3. There was a man reported dead ?

A. He was taken to the mortuary at 4 p.m. by a police patrol car, Sir.

Q. Who was he ?

A. Hamid Hamoud.

Q. And at 5 o'clock ?

A. At 5 o'clock, Sir, there was a report to a constable at Ngambo police station by an unknown woman that a person named Ashul Abeid had been seriously injured at Mwombomimba. Police from Ngambo police station went to the spot and removed the injured person to the hospital, where he died on 4th June without recovering consciousness.

Q. At 6 p.m. ?

A. There was a report made to central police station by the staff of a hospital that a man named Mahommed Jaffer had been taken to hospital by a taxi driver and had died in hospital.

Q. Where was that incident ?

A. That incident had taken place at Barasto Kipando - this red pin in No. 6 here (indicating).

Q. And at 9 p.m. ?

A. At 9 p.m., Sir, a police officer on duty with the GSU reported to Ngambo police station that they had found a dead body at Makadara, a man subsequently identified as Khalfan Huweish.

Q. To bring the total of dead up to coincide with the numbers you received at 9 o'clock, 8 dead on the second day at 6.35 a.m., was there a report made of a death ?

A. Yes Sir, a report was made to Ngambo police station by a police officer who found a dead body beside the road at Kwahani.

CHAIRMAN: I wonder, Mr. Attorney, is the object of this examination to show how the riots progressed ?

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Yes. And the next ?

A. The next was at 9.28 when Mr. Misra, ASP, discovered the body of Saleh bin Said at Holmwood.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: In order to try to save time as much as possible I will take it as shortly and quickly as I can.

CHAIRMAN: I am not trying to stop you, Mr. Attorney, but if there is any other way of doing it, by all means take it.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: On the rest of this Friday, 2nd June, were a further nine murders reported to the Police ?

A. A further seven.

Q. Was it involving nine persons ?

A. Involving nine persons, that is correct, Sir; A farther seven cases, nine murders. Three of them were at a place called Kitope-Ndani.

Q. Could we just see the township area where these occurred, and then we will go to the country.

A. The murders on the first day were these marked with red pins, at Mfusini, at Mwembeshauri, three at Mwembemimba, one at Makadara, and two at Mkunguni.

CHAIRMAN: That is the first day ?

A. The red pins are the first day, 1st June.

Q. And they were all in the township area ?

A. Yes Sir. There was another one at Holmwood, Sir, and one at Kwahani here. On 2nd June there was one here near Mwembemimba, Mwemboladu, one at Mwombojugua, quite near Ngambo police station, two here quite near Mikunguni on the way out of town, and one here at Kwahani. There were also three persons reported killed at Kitopo-Ndani in the rural area. These three green pins here indicate the bodies of the three deceased at Kitopo-Ndani.

Q. When did you receive that report ?

A. The information was received at 3.42 p.m. by the control room.

Q. On 2nd June ?

A. On 2nd June, Sir. It had been reported earlier to Mkokotoni police station, that is the police station here which covers the whole of that area.

Q. But the report did not reach you until what time ?

A. Not until 3.42 p.m., Sir.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Was there a police patrol sent out ?

A. Yes Sir, a police patrol, I think it was Mr. Misra, but I would like to check that - yes, at 1605, Sir.

Q. What item is it ?

A. Item 881, Sir. The report was received in our control room at 1542 and at 1605 Mr. Misra with fifteen men including a rifle party of five men was sent to Kitopo-Ndani.

Q. We will continue with the morning of Friday, 2nd June. At 9.30 hours did the second company of the Kenya general service unit arrive ?

A. Yes Sir.

Q. What happened during that morning ? Did incidents happen in the Ngambo ?

A. I attended a meeting in the council chamber when the British Resident asked the leaders of the Nationalist Party and the ZPP to form a government, and while I was there there were reports of stoning in Ngambo. There was also a report at 11.34 hours of a vehicle going around Ngambo warning people to evacuate the town. Police vehicles were sent out to try to intercept this vehicle but they failed to do so.

Q. Can you say whether the report specified who was making this suggestion, the warning that the people should evacuate ?

A. No Sir.

Q. Or where they should evacuate to ?

A. I have not received that information, Sir.

Q. During that morning were the people who had been killed the previous day buried ?

A. They were not buried until the afternoon, Sir. The number of dead had risen to eleven who were actually in the mortuary, and arrangements were made for their funeral in the afternoon, beginning at 1600 hours as far as I can recall.

Q. Were police escorts arranged for the funeral of these dead ?

A. Yes Sir.

Q. During that morning and early afternoon of Friday, 2nd June, was patrolling continued by the police in Ngambo ?

A. Patrolling throughout the Ngambo area, Sir, and there were also reports in the Stone Town.

Q. Did the situation remain quiet ?

A. No Sir.

Q. Were there incidents ?

A. There was a further incident. There was a report at 1829 of a group of the Youths' Own Union armed with shot guns near the Seyyid Khalifa ground.

Q. Is that the football ground in the Ngambo ?

A. That is the football ground in the Ngambo, Sir.

Q. Is that union affiliated to or part of a political party ?

A. It describes itself as the militant youth organisation of the Zanzibar Nationalist Party, Sir.

Q. Did you receive a report during that morning concerning the Afro-Shirazi Youth League at 1200 hours ?

A. There was a report, Sir, at about 1200 hours of members of the Afro-Shirazi Youth League, which is the opposition equivalent of the Youth Own Union, being along the roads leading out of town.

CHAIRMAN: Is that recorded in the police diary ?

A. No Sir, this is a report which was received and recorded in a Special Branch diary; it was information as opposed to a report coming into the control room. It was an item of information, intelligence.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: An intelligence report ?

A. An intelligence report that they were on these roads leading out of town-- Chwaka ...

CHAIRMAN: Can you tell us the nature of the report ?

A. It merely said that they were congregating there, and there were later reports of vehicles being stoned as they went past, and a pass sign was developed which was like that (witness indicated a "V" sign), which indicated that you were an Afro-Shirazi supporter, and the vehicle was then let through without being stoned.

Q. Is there any report of those youths being armed ?

A. No Sir, they were merely throwing stones as far as I am aware.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: During the afternoon did the situation improve, or did it get worse, or did it remain uneasy ?

A. It certainly did not improve, Sir. I think if anything it worsened, and it was only the presence of the additional police, the GSU, which kept it under any measure of control.

Q. Was any decision taken that afternoon to call forward troops from the mainland ?

A. Yes, a decision was taken at a security committee meeting, Sir, that we would call forward troops the following day. A message calling them forward was sent at 1937 hours on 2nd June.

Q. That is to Nairobi I presume ?

A. That was to Nairobi, the General Officer Commanding.

Q. During that afternoon were arrangements made to evacuate persons from parts of the Ngambo area ?

A. Yes Sir, we arranged with the police and GSU for Arabs living in these predominantly African or Afro-Shirazi areas to move out of Ngambo into the Stone Town. We had to arrange escorts for them.

Q. Can you say approximately how many Arabs were removed to Stone Town?

A. I think it was about 300, Sir.

Q. And escorted by your police ?

A. Escorted by the police, Sir.

Q. You have dealt with the report of the murder in Kitope where you say Inspector Misra went with fifteen men. Is that the first report of any incident or murder or death in the rural area ?

A. That was the first serious incident of any kind in the rural area, Sir.

CHAIRMAN: Which item is this ?

ATTORNEY GENERAL: It is item 875, referred to again in 881, Sir. That was the first incident which was serious in the rural areas. Was the curfew imposed again at 1900 hours ?

A. It was in the town, Sir.

Q. Were any reports received during the night of incidents in Zanzibar town ?

A. There was a report of a murder at Miembeni at 1959; it was really a report of a dead body rather than a murder, the murder had taken place much earlier, and it was not Mwemboshauri.

Q. Is that one you have already referred to?

A. Yes. The night was quiet, nothing very serious was reported after curfew. Mr. Misra reported in from Mahonda at 2221 that he had made five arrests in connection with the murders at Kitope-Ndani, and had brought in one badly injured man who was an eye-witness and who had been admitted to hospital.

Q. Now I think we have come to Saturday, 3rd June, described by an earlier witness as the worst day of all. I

think there were nine incidents involving murder reported to you, were there not. Perhaps you will look at exhibit 10.

A. There were five murders reported in the town, Sir.

Q. On 3rd June is this ?

A. On 3rd June, Sir, yes. One of them was at Kwahani and the others at Mwembemimba. Those are the orange marks on the map here.

Q. Would you refer to exhibit 10, page 3 ?

A. One at Kwahani

Q. Yes, that is page 2.

A. Jangombe covers most of this area. I think, Sir, it is not listed among these places of reference, and I think this case which is listed as Jangombe here is one of those at Mwembemimba here.

Q. You say there were five in the town ?

A. In the town, five, yes. There was one at Kwahani, one at Jangombe, probably Mwembemimba, another one at Mwembeladu, another one at Mwembemimba. There were more than that, I am sorry, Sir. There were three victims of the Mwembeladu murder, and there were two victims of the one in the Mwembemimba area.

Q. As the day progressed did reports come in of those in the rural areas?

A. The first reports in the rural area on 3rd June were from Chwaka where men alleged to be Afro-Shirazis attacked a shop in Chwaka village. The police went to the area and the crowd dispersed. A man named Hamid Homid was rescued but died shortly after the arrival of the police; Soyaid Majid bin Said with a strong party of police was sent down from Ziواني to Chwaka, and he investigated the case and made a number of arrests. That was followed by a report to Mwera. The report was received at Mwera at 2.10 p.m. saying there was trouble at Bambi. At 8.15 p.m. there was further information that persons had been killed. A Zanzibar police and GSU team went out along the Mwera road up to Bambi and recovered some bodies. Eventually there were nine people found to have been killed in that one area. There was also a report made to Mkokotoni police station to the north of an incident at Kichungwani, which is only a little way down the road from Mkokotoni, and the inspector from Mkokotoni police station went there. He found a man named Said Zahor still alive and removed him to Mkokotoni dispensary, but he died there. The investigations were carried out by police from Mkokotoni police station who arrested a number of persons in connection with the murder.

Q. Magogoni?

A. This was a report made to Fuoni police station at about 5 p.m. On the road going south to Makunduchi a number of persons had been attacked at Magogoni. Eventually it was discovered that seven persons had been killed. It is this place here alongside the words Mlana Kwercwo. The police from Mangapwani police station dealt with that case. At 6.15 p.m.

a report was made to a police patrol which was operating in this area that an attack had been made on people at Mitakawani. The trouble is some of these places have two names, which is shown on the map here as Pangoni.

MR. KWAW-SW.NZY: May I help. This will be near Usini.

A. I beg your pardon, it is shown here on the map as Motokwan, marked here as Usini. There were two people killed here.

Q. Looking at this, can you say to what race the victims of these matters on 3rd June belong to?

A. They were mostly Arabs; they may all have been Arabs, I am not sure about that, but they were mostly Arab.

Q. Did the first company of KLR arrive early that morning by air?

A. It arrived at 7.30 in the morning of the 3rd, Sir.

Q. Had you asked for one company or two companies?

A. I had asked initially for one company, and had said that when the officer commanding troops had had an opportunity of discussing the situation with myself we should possibly ask for more than one company, but I wanted the opportunity of discussing the situation with him before asking for more troops.

Q. Did you in fact discuss it with him?

A. I did, Sir.

Q. Was a request made for more troops?

A. Yes Sir.

Q. At what time?

A. The request was made at 10 o'clock on 3rd June after discussion with the O.C. troops.

Q. What reinforcements did you ask for?

A. We asked for a further company of the KLR.

Q. The 5th KLR?

A. Yes.

Q. That company consists of 120 men, does it?

A. May I just think about this; it was rather confusing. Initially the O.C. troops came over with one company and had a company of 5th KLR standing by. When he arrived after discussion he called forward the second company almost immediately, and very shortly afterwards called for a third company, but I am not altogether clear about the times that this took place, Sir, because I merely discussed it with him and the executive action calling troops forward was taken by him through the Civil Secretary's Office.

Q. Can you give the Commissioner a general picture of the security situation in Ngambo and outside the town that morning, Saturday, 3rd June?

A. It started off rather the same as the 2nd started; it was quiet at the beginning, the dock workers were going through to the docks, but it was not very long before incidents started to occur. At 7.05 one of the GSU patrols actually apprehended two Africans breaking into a house at Mwombominba.

Q. That is item 1260?

A. There was also cause for concern because some of the Arabs who had been evacuated the day before showed signs of going back to Kwahani and Mwenbeladu to their shops which they had evacuated previously. At 7.41 there was a report from Darajani of two Africans being chased by Arabs. At 7.55 crowds began to gather along the Miombwoni Road; at 7.58 there was a report of stone-throwing at Lady Janbai Road and a man was arrested. At 7.59 there was report of a large crowd armed with sticks and stones surrounding a wrecked car on the Chwaka

Road in the Mikunguni area, and they were moving towards the Trade School. The GSU were sent to deal with that. At 8.05 there was further report from Msufini, right in the middle of Ngambo, that Arabs were chasing Africans. At 8.15 there was a further report of people with stones at Michonzani, that is not very far from Msufini, in fact it is in the next area to Msufini. That was followed by a report at 8.20 of crowds with stones at Mwombo Tanga. That is again in the same area, Sir. At 8.27 there was a report from one of the Kenya police patrols of three Arabs being involved in a fight, and two of them being wounded.

Q. Item 1304 should read 0828 and not 1828.

A. I am sorry, Sir, there are a number of errors, not only typing errors but actual timing errors in the original log where people have come on duty hurriedly and unfortunately copied down what they thought was a 1 or a 7 and have written a 7 instead of a 1 without looking at the top.

Q. Item 1312.

A. At 8.37 another of the GSU patrols found Africans looting an Arab shop in Ngambo. At 8.48 Msufini was reported to be all quiet, and at 8.50 the first company of troops arrived at the airport and set off on a flag showing patrol around the town. At 9.15 a call was received from the mental hospital at Holmwood which is at the back of the police barracks that there was a large number of people with weapons, and Sheikh Sulciman Said, Superintendent of Police, Zanzibar, was sent there with some of the Kenya police.

Q. Did he find anything there?

A. When they arrived at Holmwood they found there was nothing to report.

Q. What does the entry "No Wamanga" mean?

A. It suggests that the people who were reported to be with weapons were Wamanga Arabs.

Q. But none were found?

A. None were found.

Q. Why is that?

A. Because they come from Oman, they come from overseas; it is a Swahili expression describing the Omani Arab who is not long resident in Zanzibar. At 9.44 there was a report of Africans collecting at Mkunguni again on the Chwaka Road, and cars passing were giving this victory sign which became the Afro-Shirazi pass sign.

Q. I call the Commission's attention to item 1347, to indicate what multifarious duties the police had to undertake that morning. Item 1352?

A. The police patrol in Holmwood having combed the area around the mental hospital, arrested four Africans with sticks and knives and a bag of stones. At 9.50 there was a report from Sulaiman Said Kharusi, Superintendent of Police, Zanzibar, that Zanzibar Nationalist Party headquarters at Kikwajuni - I am not sure of the exact location, but it is somewhere in this area (indicating) - was being looted, and at 9.42 a report was received at Ngambo police station and passed to control that the Shoha of Kwahani was reporting looting in shops and thought there might be dead bodies in shops.

Q. I do not know if the Commission know what a Shoha is; would you describe it?

A. I think it is a corruption of the word Shoikh; it means a headman appointed by Government, there are Shehas in villages. Each little village has a minor Government official.

CHAIRMAN: Yes, I was accustomed to that in the Middle East; it is the same kind of man.

A. The same kind of man, yes.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Yes?

A. At 10 o'clock there were reports of members of the Youths' Own Union going around Stone Town armed, with red bands on their arms, and instructions were issued that anyone wearing any form of political uniform was to be arrested.

CHAIRMAN: Did those red bands indicate the ZNP?

A. Yes Sir.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Was that in Ngambo or in Stone Town?

A. That was in Stone Town, Sir. There were subsequent reports of Africans being intimidated, and I had a complaint from the Assistant Director of Medical Services that his sweepers and cleaners were being molested by these men with the bands on their arms. At 10.14 there was another report to Ngambo police station by an Arab woman that her house at Mwombeladu, quite near Ngambo, was surrounded by Africans, and her family of eight were inside. At 10.36 there was trouble reported at Mwenbetanga near Msufini. At 10.35 there was a further report regarding trouble at Mkunguni, and at 10.38 there was a report from Chwaka police station on the east coast that there was fighting there. That was in connection with the murder which I have already referred to at Chwaka. At 11.43 three boys with red armbands were arrested by police patrol in the Stone Town, and at the same time a report was received that members of the Nationalist Party were breaking into African houses at Mwenbetanga. At 11.44 there was a report from Mkokotoni of fighting on the Wembe Makundi road, and at 11.45 there was further report of six Arabs and one Indian having been killed at Kitopo Ndani. That report was exaggerated. There were actually two further deaths at Kitopo Ndani on the fourth day. At 12 noon there was a report of people moving

Kizimbani, Dollo.

Q. Now we come up to 12 noon. During that morning did you have to detach police escorts to escort His Highness to Mbwoni to the Privy Council.

A. I did, Sir.

Q. Where is Mbwoni?

A. Beside his summer palace, just before you got to Bububu. We had to escort His Highness into town and then back again into Mbwoni.

Q. How many police did you detach for that duty?

A. I cannot remember the exact number; it was a Landrover full I think, seven or eight policemen.

Q. Now we have got to mid-day. Was a decision taken that morning to impose a day curfew?

A. Yes, Sir, at a security committee meeting which was held that morning I was given powers of imposing a day curfew.

Q. Did you in fact impose day curfew?

A. I did, Sir, I imposed day curfew from 2 p.m. in the Ngambo.

CHAIRMAN: That is on the 3rd?

A. That is on the 3rd, Sir. In the Ngambo it is local Notice No. 40 of 1961. The curfew was merely from 2 p.m. until 7 p.m., but arrangements were made for people to be allowed out for food and water between 5 p.m. and 7 p.m.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: It is page 138 of Emergency Legislation. At 7 p.m. I presume there was the ordinary curfew?

A. At 7 p.m. the ordinary night curfew applied, Sir,

Q. What were the reasons for imposing day curfew on the Ngambo?

A. It seemed that the only way of restoring order and preventing these incidents from occurring was to make everybody go into their houses and stay there, otherwise it was rather like playing on Tom Tiddler's ground. The police patrol would go out and as the patrol went through the streets so everyone would be behaving perfectly well. As soon as the patrol was passed then they would be at one another's throats again; if a member of the opposing party happened to come along then he was likely to be cut up or beaten to death. The hooligans of Zanzibar - there are quite a large number of habitual criminals living in Ngambo, 200 or 300 - have played a large part in the murder and looting, breaking into shops and killing anyone who happened to be there and wandering off with anything they liked inside the shop.

(The proceedings were adjourned for a short time)

ON RESUMPTION.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Mr. Biles, at the adjournment we reached the stage in history at 12 o'clock on Saturday, 3rd June, 1961 and we come to the afternoon of that day. How did the situation develop in the town of Zanzibar after midday ?

A. As far as the town was concerned, Sir, there was little of importance. We enforced the curfew successfully and there were no reports of anything serious in the town up to midnight. A number of arrests of curfew-breakers were made.

Q. That afternoon, did another Company of the K.A.R. arrive?

A. A second Company of the K.A.R. arrived at 13.00 hours on the 3rd June, Sir.

Q. Were any incidents reported from the town at all ?

A. No, Sir.

Q. Were any incidents reported from the rural areas ?

A. There was a report just after midday, Sir, by Mr. Misra, Assistant Superintendent of Police, of firing on some looters at Mwembe Makumbo.

Q. Where is that? Is it in the town? Was that before the curfew?

A. It is in the vicinity of a place called Saateni where the Government Press and Power Station are. It was before the curfew.

Q. It is in fact the industrial area of Zanzibar town. I see here an item No.1215, Kizimbani. Firing on Arabs and dispersed. Do you know anything about that ?

A. I only know what it says in the Control Room log. That was a report put in by one of the patrol cars. So far as I am aware, there were no casualties. At 12.12 there was a report from the District Commissioner, Urban, of mainland Africans gathering at Kiboje in the rural area. It is not far from Uzini, the place where there were two murders on the 3rd of June. At 12.14 there was a report from a radio car of a murder near the Cable & Wireless Station on the way to Mtoni, just going out of the town, Sir, not far from Mwembe Makunde.

Q. Is that not Exhibit 10 ?

A. That is Item 12/19, Sir.

Q. Yes, but Exhibit 10 of the Commissioner's report of the murders ?

A. It is not confirmed here, Sir. The trouble was that a lot of these reports were coming from people in one area of the town who were not quite sure of the description according to the map and they were saying it was one place. There was a certain amount of confusion which could only be sorted out when the C.I.D. team arrived.

CHAIRMAN: You are sorting out now the items you are referring to. After all they were kept in a moment-to-moment diary in circumstances that were not normal.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: I see Item 1226 says there was a report of knives at Chaani.

A. Chaani is on the road between Pangani and Mkokotoni. It was followed by a report which came in at 12.22 that A.S.P. Pandey and fifteen men were going to Kiboje and they were going via Chaani. They were patrolling in the northern area and were directed down to Kiboje via Chaani.

Q. We come to a report, Item 1232, concerning a shop and deaths at Mwembeladu.

A. Yes, Sir, that was a report from one of the vehicles with Special Constables and the C.I.D. subsequently went out to investigate it. There is one report here at 11.50 a.m. on page 3 of the Exhibit, Mwembeladu, reported by Mr. Davies who was a Special Constable operating in one of these vehicles. There were two others, one at Jangombe and the other at Mwembe Mimba, which are probably the other reports referred to here.

CHAIRMAN: Need the Commission go into every one of these incidents ?

ATTORNEY GENERAL: I will go as quickly as I can. Did you get a report from Chwaka and the country districts ?

A. Sir, from 13.20 hours Soyid Majid telephoned from Chwaka and the report was to the effect that he had 21 prisoners and he wanted to remain there and send the prisoners in. There were three deaths reported but in the event it was only one man who was found dead. That was reported initially at 10.30 a.m. and that was by Hamid Hemed.

Q. Page 18, Item 1288. Was that the person you had at Bambi ?

A. It was reported initially from Mwera Police Station at 14.10 and the initial report merely said that there was trouble at Bambi.

Q. And you received the report that an Arab house was surrounded at 14.31 ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. I think it is correct to say that during the rest of the day the reports from the various districts of Ngambo was that it was all quiet. Is that correct ?

A. Generally, Sir. There was the odd report, one which came in at 15.31 from the hospital saying there was trouble at Mwembeladu and there was the odd call for help from an Arab who had locked himself in his house and we had to go and rescue him.

Q. The curfew was imposed as usual in the town, was it ?

A. That is so, Sir.

Q. And what patrols did you have available ?

A. There were patrols of the Zanzibar Police in the rural areas. In the town it was mainly the General Service Unit up to 7 p.m. and then the military took over and as far as I can remember they relieved the G.S.U. so that they could go and rest. They had been on duty almost continuously from the time that they had arrived.

Q. Was it a quiet night in the town of Zanzibar ?

A. Fairly quiet, Sir, yes. There were reports coming in: for instance at 17.45 there was a report from a radio car regarding a lorry carrying people with knives and guns in the vicinity of Mwanakerekwe. There were the 7 murders at Mwanakerekwe. They are referred to in this other Exhibit as Mikunguni and they were all Arabs as far as I know and the Arab population in this area and in the vicinity of Kimu were very excited.

A. They are shown at 2106 and also 2100 in the log. I would draw attention here to an error in the original of 2084 to 2090 - an error in six items. It says "1059 Kima". It should be 16.59. It should go down to 2090; and the first reference to Mwanakerckwe was 2085 at 17.05 when the report was received that a thousand men armed with shot-guns and pangas were at Mwanakerekwe attacking the Afro-Shirazis.

Q. Did you say the reference to Mwanakerekwe was wrong ?

A. No, Sir, Magogoni is either in Mwanakerekwe or Mwanakerekwe in Magogoni. I am not quite sure which.

Q. Is that report investigated by the Police ?

A. That report was investigated by the patrol of Special Constables which went to Fuoni just beyond Mwanakerekwe. The Police station is shown here on the map by the green mark, and he could not find an armed group, but he saw two armed Arabs and two injured children. At the same time a report was received from another vehicle to the effect that there was fighting beyond the road block on the Chwaka Road just outside the town. At 18.30 there was a further report that Arabs were attacking Africans on the Fumba Road at Mile 9. A patrol car was sent to deal with that.

Q. Generally, were reports received during that evening ? Various reports of disturbances in the rural areas which the Police were sent to investigate ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Now we come to Sunday, 4th June, 1961. If I might refer first of all to Exhibit 10, the document relating to the murders. How many incidents of murder were reported on the 4th June, the Sunday ? How many incidents involved how many victims ?

A. The difficulty is, Sir, that I am not quite sure about the 4th. There were seven incidents reported on the 4th.

They did not necessarily occur on the 4th.

CHAIRMAN: When did they occur ?

A. Some occurred on the 3rd and some occurred on the early morning of the 4th.

CHAIRMAN: Give us the ones that actually occurred on the 4th. That gives a better picture of how events were

A. One at Mbaleni in the northern area. There were three more at Mbaleni and a different part of Mbaleni. Four victims and two more victims were at Kitope Ndani; two at Uzini and one more at Dunga Bweni. There was also one in the early morning of the 4th at Koaniin the town.

CHAIRMAN: So the incidents you referred to were all incidents of deaths which ostensibly occurred on the 4th?

A. Yes.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Deaths by violence ?

CHAIRMAN: That is what we are talking about. Victims of the Riot.

Q. Can you say if they were Arabs or Africans ?

A. They were nearly all Arabs, Sir. As far as I am aware, Sir, they were all Arabs.

Q. Was it quiet in the town of Zanzibar in the morning of Sunday, 4th June ?

A. It was quieter than at dawn, Sir. At 17 hours there was a report by Mr. Derham of crowds gathering at Mwembeladu.

Q. During that morning, did the General Officer Commanding, East Africa and the Commissioner of Police, Kenya arrive ?

A. Yes, Sir, they arrived at 10.30 hours.

Q. And did also a Company of 6th K.A.R. arrive ?

A. Yes, Sir, it was the first Company of the 6th K.A.R.

Q. They came from Dar-es-Salaam, didn't they ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Was confidence held ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. And later that morning was a request made for more troops ?

A. At about 12.00 hours, Sir, it was thought that more troops should be brought forward.

Q. Can you say what troops were asked for ?

A. An additional company of the 6th K.A.R. and the Third Company of the 5th K.A.R., making a total of three companies of five K.A.R. and two companies of 6th K.A.R., in addition to the two companies of the Kenya Police.

Q. During the day, let me deal with the town first, were incidents being reported ?

A. There were one or two incidents, Sir. At 9.40 there were two Africans picked up causing a disturbance in Creek Road and two more were picked up carrying a wireless set. A crowd of about fifty Africans was reported to have surrounded a shop at Mwembeladu and a patrol of G. S.U. was directed to go there. At 9.35 a report of fighting at Mwembeladu came in and at 9.45 one man was shot by the Police at Mwembeladu.

Q. What was he doing?

A. He was looting. Asst. Superintendent Salim Slim was evacuating an Arab family at Mwembeladu. He had taken the Arabs a little way down the road and suddenly the man wanted to go back to his shop for something he had forgotten. They went back and found a group of Africans already in the shop, looting it. They rushed out at Salim Slim and this Arab, and Sheikh Salim Slim opened fire. Two men were injured and taken to hospital. As far as I am aware, no man was killed.

Q. What was the next incident?

A. At 10.05 there was information that houses of the members of the Nationalist Party had been broken into at Kizimkazi, which is in the south of the island near Makunduchi. The police station at Makunduchi has been shown by the green mark. That is one of the few reports of trouble in the south of the island, otherwise the Makunduchi/Kizimkazi area was quiet from here, from Tunguu: otherwise there was very little trouble.

Q. And was this reported at 11.47, item 3405 - what was that report?

A. That was that a group of the Youths' Own Union were intimidating Africans near Paradise Mansions. Paradise Mansions is at Shangani: it is in the Stone Town. It transpired the Africans were Health Department workers. At 11.46 there was a report from Special Branch that Africans were gathering again at Mkunguni, and at 12.45 I received a report from the Assistant Director of Medical Services that the total number of deaths was 33, that 13 injured persons had been brought in that day - that is the fourth, including 7 gunshot wounds; and that there had been one death that day. At 12.52 one of the GSU patrols reported fighting at Mwembetanga, which

is getting nearer the area where there are more Arabs and Nationalist supporters. It is the area where they join up, more or less. Afro-Shirazis are mainly over here (indicating) with little pockets of Arabs and Nationalists, and nearer Darajani and Kiswandui is more of a Nationalist area, with more Arabs in it. At 13.00 Sheikh Ali Muhsin telephoned to tell me he had dispersed a thousand of his followers who had collected at Malindi near the harbour here (indicating) - an area mostly populated by Arabs.

Q. During Sunday, were further Arabs evacuated from Ngambo or from the rural areas - do you know if they were coming in from the Stone Town?

A. Yes, they were coming in the whole time, and we were providing escorts wherever we could.

Q. I will go on to the next day, unless you have any special item to mention - Monday 5th. During the night of Sunday and Monday, I suppose a curfew was enforced?

A. Yes.

Q. I think it was only enforced in the town?

A. Yes, that is correct.

Q. On Monday, 5th June, did you go out into the rural areas yourself?

A. I did in the afternoon. I think I had a meeting in the morning.

Q. Where did you go?

A. I went first of all down the Makunduchi Road to Fuoni police station, where I found a small boy, a refugee who was homeless. His father had been killed among those who had been attacked at Mwanakwerekwe and he was staying with the NCO at the police station. I went down to Tunguu, where I paid a visit to Project Mercury. All was quiet. Some villagers in a coffee shop at Tunguu informed me

there were a number of Makonde moving in the area who were armed.

Q. Who are the Makonde?

A. It is a tribe of mainland Africans who live partly in Portuguese East Africa and partly in Tanganyika. They are rather primitive and savage people. Their faces are tattooed and some file their teeth; and if there is any trouble in the rural areas there is a strong tendency to refer to the trouble-makers as Makonde, but it is not always the Makonde. They are generally feared by the people of Zanzibar.

CHAIRMAN: They do not belong to a particular political party?

A. They are mostly Afro-Shirazi supporters, if they support any political party, because they are mainland Africans mostly.

Q. But do you know whether in fact they do support any party?

A. I do not know in fact.

Q. Are they always present in the body politic, so to speak?

A. I think so, Sir, yes.

Q. It is not something that has arisen as a result of this?

A. No, Sir. Whenever there is trouble in Zanzibar since I have been here - that is just on five years - there have been current two rumours. One has been that the Manga Arabs would be coming in with their swords to kill the Africans, and the other is that the Makonde were making spears and bows and arrows to attack the Arabs. Whenever there is any tension, those two rumours circulate with unflinching regularity.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: It is possible, of course, the Makonde will not have votes.

A. Most of them would not, but there are quite a number of Makonde who are His Highness' subjects who have been born in Zanzibar.

Q. Now you got a report on Tunguu?

A. I went up to Dungabweni, and then to Koani, where I called on the Mudir.

Q. Would you just explain the Mudir?

A. A mudir is a government official and in the hierarchy he rates just below an assistant district officer. He had a large number of refugees in his house but he was quite happy, and I handed over to him the small boy I had collected because he knew the family and he undertook to see he was properly looked after. I then went along to the junction between Kizimbani, Dole Road and the Chwaka Road. I went north there past Chemani, Dole and up to Mfenesini. From Mfenesini I went north towards Kazole, and at about mile 13 - I am not sure about the mileage but I think it was 13 miles - I saw an Arab in the middle of the road waving a sword. I stopped to find out what he was up to, and he said about 300 Makonde had just gone along the road. I put him in the car and drove on with him. After we had gone about half a mile we came to Kazole, where there was a crowd - it was certainly not 300, it was probably between 30 and 50 Africans - armed with spears, pangas, knobkerries and various other implements. They appeared to be trying to break into a coffee shop on the left-hand side of the road, that is the west side of the road. I fired a shot over their heads, and they spread out across the road, some going to the west and some going to the east. One or two of them still remained, so I fired three more shots and they then dispersed both ways. When I could not see anyone more about, I went immediately to Mahonda police station, which is this green mark on the map (indicating), which is about two miles from Kazole, where I collected the sergeant

major and some constables with Greener guns. I went straight back to Kazole and found that during my absence, which was 10 to 15 minutes, a patrol of the 5th K.A.R. had arrived. They had heard the shots and had gone off to the bush and come back with two prisoners, one with a knife and one with knobkerry. There were two injured prisoners there, one an African with his nose slit by a knife or panga cut, and the other with an eye injury. I gave them first-aid and took them and the two prisoners back to Mahonda. On the way back to Mahonda, the Arab with the sword whom I had picked up before I got to Kazole pointed to two men going along the road with a bicycle and said, "There are two of them." I did not think they looked like two of them, but nevertheless I took them along to the police station and left them there. At Mahonda police station I put the two injured men in a taxi - I am not sure whether it was a taxi or private car, but I think it was a taxi - coming back into Zanzibar, and then got into my own car and came back towards Kazole. When I arrived at Kazole, I found that the military patrol was still there and was informed they had found a man who was dead. There was a body lying on a native bed. I went up to inspect it and I found it was an old Arab. He was not dead: he was still alive. He had his right arm completely severed - his right forearm - and just hanging by a piece of skin, and had various other injuries which I did not examine too closely. I patched him up as best I could, requisitioned a prison vehicle which was taking prisoners to the prison camp off the road here from Kazole to Kichwele.

I took the prisoners out, put them in charge of the sergeant

major and sent this injured man in the vehicle post haste back to

the hospital. I understand that he did survive the night - he was operated on - but he died the following day. I was just about to leave when I was informed there was another casualty. It was another African who had a bad cut on his upper arm, either from a spear or a panga. I put a field dressing on that and arranged for him to be sent into hospital. I was then informed there was a further dead body about half a mile up the road from Kazole - an Arab who had been killed by the gang. I therefore took Mr. Naish, an administrative officer who had been travelling with me as my personal aide, with two Arab guides, to see this Arab, mainly to make sure he was not alive. We went up there and found him lying on the track. His face had been slashed right across with a panga or some sharp instrument, cut right through the cheekbone and into the head. He also had a neck injury. I did not move the body. A party of Kenya police under Police Inspector Morgans happened to arrive about that time. They drove up in a Land Rover, so I handed the man over to them to get him identified by relatives before he was buried. I then went back down the road, visiting Mfonisini, passing His Highness' palace at Kibwoni, where there were a number of refugees inside; and finally back into the town.

Q. The items at the top of page 10, are those two the victims you found - Masoud Said and Mzee Mbarika?

A. As far as I am aware.

Q. Was any other murder reported that day ?

A. There were three other murders reported that day, at Kitundu not very far from Kazolo, the place I had passed through on my way north. The first report of that was received at 20.10 hours at Bububu police station marked in green on the map. The report was made by a man named Issac Mohamed, who belonged to the agricultural station nearby. This was a most unpleasant case : the house of a man had been set on fire and as he and his family came out, they had been murdered with pangas. There were three deaths.

Q. Were they Arabs, the victims ?

A. As far as I am aware, Sir. Police and military patrols were there very soon after the incident. The smoke was soon, but the people responsible had got away by the time the patrol arrived.

Q. During the day had you received a report from the hospital as to the number of postmortem examinations carried out ?

A. Yes, at 13.10 hours I was informed there were 13 bodies which had been removed from the mortuary for burial, and that 52 post-mortem examinations had been carried out since the emergency began.

Q. During that day, did the military patrol the whole of Zanzibar Island ?

A. They covered the whole of the island. That day they moved out into the rural areas. There was a company at Bububu, the house near the police station. There was another company at Koani, near Mwera police station. There was a platoon at Mahonda police station. There was a company - I am not sure whether there was a company at Chwaka or not - but there was a platoon at Makunduchi, and they were patrolling the whole island.

Q. As regards the town of Zanzibar, who did the patrols ?

A. The Zanzibar police, the G.S.U. and the military were taking it turn and turn about. The Zanzibar police were supporting the troops and we were handing over periodically to the K.A.R.

Q. That is Monday, 5th June. Were any serious incidents reported in the town ?

A. On the 5th it was fairly quiet in the town. There was the odd case of looting reported, but on the whole, so far as I remember, the town was under control.

Q. During the 5th June was a curfew imposed on the whole of Zanzibar Island ?

A. Legal enactment Notice 42 of 1961, page 141 of the booklet, imposed a curfew between the hours of 7 p.m. and 6 a.m. throughout the rural and urban district of Zanzibar - that is from 7 p.m. on the 5th to 6 a.m. on the 6th.

Q. And during that day were further regulations enacted ? Did you enact a regulation prohibiting the entry of any person into the Protectorate unless he was in possession of a valid passport - legal enactment No.44 ?

A. I did, Sir.

Q. Now we come to Tuesday, 6th June. Was a murder reported early that morning ?

A. There was a murder reported at 7.6 a.m. at Mwera Police Station and the Inspector in charge of Mwera Police Station went out on a combined police and military patrol.

CHAIRMAN : Are all these individual cases listed in Exhibit 10 ?

ATTORNEY GENERAL : Yes, Sir. This is the last but one.

CHAIRMAN : Unless there is any point you wish to make in connection with any particular individual one, is there any necessity to go over the ground in such detail ?

ATTORNEY GENERAL : I just wanted to indicate the pattern of the disturbances dying down. I have really finished now except for one more on the 6th. There was only one reported ?

A. There was only one reported on the 6th.

Q. How many incidents were reported during the night of the 6th ?

A. There was one incident where an African was shot by the troops. There were six arrests for curfew breaking.

Q. It was correct to say the night was generally very quiet ?

A. The night was very quiet, Sir.

CHAIRMAN : Would it not be possible to indicate Mr. Attorney, I think it is fairly clear from Exhibit 10, who is an African and who is an Arab as far as the murders are concerned ?

ATTORNEY GENERAL : Yes. It is not always clear from the name whether they are African or Arab.

CHAIRMAN : That is why I said "Fairly clear". Presumably it is not conclusive.

ATTORNEY GENERAL : We also have the evidence that 62 of the dead were Arabs so that assists us in coming to the conclusion they were all Arabs.

CHAIRMAN : Would it not be possible for you to give us a table day by day in the form suggested by my colleague on my right showing the number of persons arrested, injured, ^{and} murdered, by race ?

ATTORNEY GENERAL : All by race, Sir ?

CHAIRMAN : If it were possible ?

ATTORNEY GENERAL : I do not think we could give arrested by race, Sir.

A. It would be extremely difficult to do it by race.

CHAIRMAN : Was it not possible for you afterwards ?

A. There were 1,339 arrests.

Q. Were they arrested and then many released ?

A. I should think about 300 or 400 of them were ultimately released. The vast majority of the persons arrested were African or Shirazi. It can be obtained from case files, but I am afraid it will take a little time. My Senior Superintendent (Crime) is preparing statistics similar to what you are asking for but I do not know whether he is able to produce particulars of race except for the more serious offences, such as murder.

Q. When is this likely to be finished ?

A. He is working on it at the moment. I expect he will probably be giving evidence here in three or four days' time. If I could know exactly what particulars you want ?

CHAIRMAN : The particulars I have just given.

ATTORNEY GENERAL : Arrested by race; injured by race; murdered by race. We have given you the deaths by race - 62.

CHAIRMAN : I know you have, but it is now spread over many pages of evidence. What I was asking was whether it was possible to provide a simple table which we could pick up and look at on one sheet of paper.

ATTORNEY GENERAL : I have put it in, the racial death on a single sheet of paper that comes from the hospital.

SIR VINCENT TEWSON : Day by day ?

ATTORNEY GENERAL : No, not day by day.

CHAIRMAN : I was asking whether it was possible to do

it day by day. Mr. Attorney, what I was asking was whether it was possible to prepare a table such as suggested by Sir Vincent Towson. It would be very helpful if you could. It would give a very good picture.

A. Day by day, arrests by race, injured by race and murdered persons by race ?

Q. Arrests by race, injured by race, murders by race.

A. Just those three, Sir.

CHAIRMAN : Injured by race. Those figures would have to be obtained from the hospital.

ATTORNEY GENERAL : I have them here, Sir.

CHAIRMAN : What I am asking is would it be possible to provide a table such as this with all the information collated ? I should have thought it was a perfectly simple matter to do so.

ATTORNEY GENERAL : This is here.

CHAIRMAN : We shall be obliged if whoever is responsible would supply it.

A. Over how many days, Sir.

Q. Until the trouble ceased.

A. I should say it was the fifth day which was the last day of serious trouble.

Q. I think so because it is obvious from the evidence that the Attorney has just led that by the fifth day the graph was going down. It went up and down.

A. Following that it was merely a question of investigation and arrests.

ATTORNEY GENERAL : May I borrow Exhibit 5 to assist the police in completing their table ? It is part of the figures you want.

CHAIRMAN : Certainly.

MR. TALATI: May I suggest on the same table it should be shown the party to which the person belonged ?

CHAIRMAN: I do not think it would be possible. Just think about it. How are they going to tell ? In some cases they could tell but in many cases it would be quite impossible to tell.

MR. TALATI: I agree with you.

CHAIRMAN: It would be misleading if you only had half or a third or a quarter. We do not want to get misleading documents. This will not give a complete picture but it will contain facts which are scattered now over something like 200 pages of evidence. I am not blaming anyone about that, it is necessary for the Attorney to lead evidence to put forward the whole picture.

MR. TALATI: I should make it quite clear that my intention is not to mislead anyone in this matter.

CHAIRMAN: Nobody thought it was.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: I will just finish off the details. We have heard the situation as regards day to day security was improving. Were the reinforcements gradually returned to Kenya ? Have you got details ?

A. I have very brief details, Sir, in my notebook. The G.S.U. left on the night of 11th June, both Companies. One Company of the 5th K.A.R. left on 16th June. There was a changeover between a Company of the 5th K.A.R. and the 6th K.A.R. on 22nd June and the third Company of the 5th K.A.R. finally left on 24th and 25th June, leaving only the 6th K.A.R. here. One Company of the G.S.U. was called back from the 5th to 7th of July for the opening of the Legislative Council here when it was anticipated that there might be trouble. The 6th K.A.R. finally left between 9th and 14th of this month, having been relieved by two Companies of the

Coldstream Guards who took over on 12th September.

Q. Since the disturbances have you had authority to raise a General Service Unit in Zanzibar ?

A. I have, Sir.

Q. How many men ?

A. We are referring to it as the Police Mobile Force, not the General Service Unit. It will be organised and trained on the lines of the General Service Unit and will consist of 124 officers and men, including drivers.

Q. And you are in process of raising that force ?

A. I have already raised one platoon which are partly trained and the best part of a second platoon has also been enlisted this month.

CHAIRMAN: That will then form part of the regular Force ?

A. That will be part of the regular force, Sir.

Q. When were you authorised to do that ?

A. About two months ago, I think, Sir. The official authority had to come from the United Kingdom because the United Kingdom will probably have to foot part of the bill in due course but I was given authority by Government in July, in late June or early July, to enlist an extra fifty men as a start so a start was made on it in July, Sir.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Now, Mr. Biles, I want you to come to your assessment, from intelligence reports, of the underlying reasons for the disturbances.

A. It is partly political, Sir, and partly racial.

There has long been a strong feeling of resentment among the African population of what formerly were their Arab masters. During the past year or more considerable emphasis has been laid by members of the Afro-Shirazi Party on the bad old days of slavery and whereas the Nationalists on the one hand have regarded the British as being

Imperialists, neo-Colonialists and oppressors who should be kicked out, the Afro-Shirazis have taken the view that it is not only the British but the Arabs who are Imperialists and the foreigners here.

There has been constant reference in the Press and in public speeches to "settlers". They refer to Arabs here as settlers here rather in the same terms as Europeans are referred to as settlers in Kenya. There has been the emergence of two youth movements which have both been a source of trouble to Government for many months. First the Youths Own Union.

Q. Whose organisation is that ?

A. It is a Nationalist Party organisation.

CHAIRMAN: Can you tell us when it was first formed ?

A. I cannot give you the exact date.

Q. Approximately.

A. If I may refer to my Annual Report I think I have it fairly accurately. I think it was 1958, Sir, but I am not sure of that. I know it was formed while the leader of the Nationalist Party, Sheikh Ali Muhsin was away in Cairo. It was organised by Sheikh Ali Mohamad Babu, who is sitting in front of you.

Q. That is the General Secretary ?

A. The General Secretary of the Nationalist Party and the first signs that we had were parading and drilling. They also blossomed out with a political uniform; a red beret, a red tie with three stars on it representing one, Zanzibar, one Pemba and the other the coastal strip. They had white shirts and khaki trousers and the girls had a similar uniform. Legislation was enacted prohibiting political uniforms and they changed that particular uniform for a further uniform which was worn more generally by members of the Nationalist Party. That took the form of a blue cloth with the Zanzibar Nationalist Party insignia in white on it. It was made into shirts for the men and into dresses or blouses for the women.

There was one prosecution in 1959, in November 1959 nine persons were prosecuted and discharged as first offenders for wearing this political uniform.

There is now a third variation of it being prepared which consists of a white cloth with red cockerels on it.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: You say cloth. You do not mean West African cloth ?

A. The latest form of cloth to which I am referring is manufactured in Japan.

Q. It is not worn as a wrapper ?

A. It can be made into either shirts, dresses or blouses. It is normally made up into some sort of garment.

CHAIRMAN: From the information you have what was the ostensible object of forming this youth organisation ?

A. It was rather like the Black Shirt organisation, Sir. According to my information they were trying to stir up a spirit of militant nationalism among the youth. They even had small children running round in political uniforms for a little while, marching and drilling, and the object was in the event of trouble they would have a group of strong arm men or boys who would deal with anyone who did not see eye to eye with them. During various processions around the town members of the Y.O.U. acted as stewards trying to organise the processions and on one occasion they even tried to take over traffic control from the police. We had to stop them from doing that.

The Shirazis followed that up by forming the Shirazi Youth League.

Q. When was that ?

A. I think that came into being in 1959, Sir, but I am not sure about these dates without consulting my records.

Q. Have you got your records here ?

A. Not here, Sir.

Q. Can you do it overnight ?

A. I can overnight, certainly, Sir,

Q. And then confirm the dates ?

A. Yes, Sir.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Perhaps you would also look at your records and see when the Federation of Progressive Trade Unions and Human Rights League were formed.

CHAIRMAN: I believe, Mr. Attorney, that the Commissioner of Police was just about to tell us about the Shirazi Youth League.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Yes, Sir.

A. They have been an even worse thorn in the flesh of the authority than the Youths Own Union. The Youths Own Union has maintained a certain amount of discipline. It has responded to a certain extent to the discipline of the Party leaders. On the other hand the Shirazi Youth League which consists mainly of a rather lower grade of individual and appears to have attached a large number of the hooligans from the town has behaved in a completely undisciplined manner, has given the Superintendent of Police, Zanzibar, considerable trouble in controlling them at public meetings. They have refused to co-operate with the Superintendent of Police, Zanzibar, and it was necessary for me in April to warn them that unless they behaved themselves better I should have to instruct the Superintendent of Police, Zanzibar, to refuse them permits to hold public assemblies. They have complained consistently regarding the Superintendent of Police. They do not seem to be able to understand that he was acting entirely on my instructions. They have attacked him in the Press and in public speeches and have endeavoured to drive a wedge within the

Police Force, between what they call local officers, that is to say the Zanzibari, the non-European gazetted officers and the rank and file, the rank and file being mainly African or Shirazi and the officers other than the Europeans being mainly Arab or Asian.

There was considerable ill feeling arising out of squatter disputes in 1958. This area here, Sir, the area from the town - this is a very rough description - down to Tunguu; from Tunguu going north to Kinyasini, going west from Kinyasini to Mahonda and coming south from Mahonda to the town again. That is, by the way, the area which is at present under night curfew, is probably one of the most fertile parts of Zanzibar. There are living in small groups here and there, a large number of squatters, many of whom either come from the mainland, Tanganyika, or have close links with the mainland and in the rural villages are small shops or small farms owned by what are referred to here in Zanzibar as Manga Arabs. They are Arabs from Oman who are not necessarily belonging to families long resident in Zanzibar.

In 1958 pressure was brought upon a large number of employees by the Nationalist Party to join their organisation, to buy Party cards. Those who refused to buy Party cards were then told that they could get off the land. There was a whole series of complaints, landlords complaining that squatters would not go, squatters complaining that they were being evicted. Landlords and landlords' overseers destroying squatters' crops. There were assaults and the situation from a security point of view was very dangerous.

Q. You said the year ?

A. That was 1958, Sir. Eventually it was necessary for ...

CHAIRMAN: What sort of numbers approximately would have been involved ?

A. The number of disputes or number of persons involved ?

Q. Persons involved, squatters. Could you give us the figures tomorrow morning, or approximate figures ?

A. I should say there are at least three or four hundred squatters, Sir, involved.

Q. That were having disputes, because there were many more squatters ?

A. Yes, Sir. This is a list which has been compiled from the files of the District Commissioner Rural relating to actual disputes in 1958 and 1959 in the area of Bambi where the murders took place, Chaani, Chemani, Dole where another murder took place; Chukwani where a murder has taken place since the early days of the disturbances, Dunga where another murder took place. There are at least 400 names here, Sir.

Q. Of persons who were having disputes ?

A. Of squatters who were actually having disputes.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Can you say how were the disputes settled ? Were they taken in front of magistrates or through the District Commissioner ?

A. Special legislation was enacted which gave the District Commissioner power to deal with the case, and it was made unlawful for a landlord to evict a squatter without paying him or at least offering him due compensation.

Q. If there was a dispute as to the compensation it was taken in front of the District Commissioner ?

A. That was taken before the District Commissioner.

Q. How many cases were dealt with ? I can put this through another witness, but this witness will know too.

A. In 1958 there were 63 disputes tried by District Commissioners; in 1959, 27, and in 1960, 12.

CHAIRMAN: This would only have reference to cases in which there is a dispute as to compensation ?

A. Yes, these would be cases where there was contravention of the law, Sir, where a landlord destroyed crops or refused to pay, or something like that.

Q. Refused either to pay or to give adequate compensation ?

A. Yes. In retaliation for this the Africans and Afro-Shirazis raised a boycott against shopkeepers not only in the town but in the rural areas, and it hit the Manga Arabs and Asians living in the rural areas very hard. It put quite a number of them out of business. There were also boycotts of transport. The Afro-Shirazis had their own buses which they identified by having a green palm frond on the bonnet or somewhere on the vehicle, and the Nationalist Party buses usually identified themselves with a red flag. At one time the supporters of one party would not travel in the bus of the other party. If there happened to be 20 Nationalists in one bus and an Afro-Shirazi came in, for example, then the Nationalists would leave the bus, or vice versa, so that the bus would not travel. The buses do not run to a time schedule, Sir, they merely go when they are full.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: What form did the boycott take ? Were people urged to boycott the shop ?

A. No Sir, apart from the political factor there was an economic factor. The Afro-Shirazi party at that time was settling up Afro-Shirazi co-operative shops, and the boycott took the form rather of saying - "Now, do go and buy at the Afro-Shirazi shop; make all your purchases at the Afro-Shirazi shop." There was very little of the more active form of boycott, saying "Don't go and buy at this shop, or that shop."

CHAIRMAN: There was very little propaganda saying "Don't"?

A. There was very little of that, Sir.

Q. Really an encouragement ?

A. An encouragement, yes Sir.

Q. It is hardly a boycott, is it ?

A. It was not a obycott in the strict sense.

Q. The buses from your description could fairly be described as boycott but not the shops.

A. I say boycott because it is referred to here as boycott, but I went into it very carefully.

Q. It is very little more than is done in any other country by people who are advertising. You take the co-operatives in England - "Buy at the Co-op".

A. I know, Sir, yes. There was very little we could do about it. We were on the alert for intimidation. One man was bound over I think for watching and besetting.

Q. But it amounted as far as shops were concerned to no more than that ?

A. Yes.

Q. At any stage ?

A. The Afro-Shirazis did develop a Swahili word which gave great offence to the Nationalists. They started saying "Zuwiya" which I gather means "stop" or "cease". This was interpreted by the Nationalists as stop going to Nationalist Party shops, stop travelling on the Nationalist Party vehicles. At most political meetings this word would be used by the Afro-Shirazis. There was also a lot of ill feeling about the use by the Nationalist Party of His Highness's flag, which the Nationalists adopted as their party flag. At one time they had an emblem with three stars on it similar to the three stars on their tie, but latterly at Nationalist Party meetings and on Nationalist Party vehicles it has been the plain red flag which has been displayed, and the Afro-Shirazis have been very angry because the Nationalist tendency has been to say that anyone who refuses to wag a red flag is disloyal to His Highness the Sultan. The Afro-Shirazis

have therefore tended to wave green branches, which is the manner in which the people in Tanganyika, the African National Union, normally show their enthusiasm. They show green branches as anyone else would wave a flag. That has aroused ill-feeling between the two parties. There has also been ill-feeling due to the practice of one party painting a red cock on the wall of its house to identify itself as a Nationalist Party supporter, whereas another side has had either a well, which is the Afro-Shirazi symbol or a fish, which is the ZPP symbol. We do not see many of the fish about, but there are quite a lot of red cocks and wells. The YOU about a year ago acquired a number of vehicles including motor scooters, and were using these for their own patrol purposes, and to keep observation on various Government offices and on their political opponents. This was particularly noticeable towards the end of January and February this year before the formation of the caretaker government when there was a lot of negotiation going on with allegation and counter-allegation of bribery, kidnapping, intimidation, but when the Nationalist Party succeeded in persuading two members of the Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party to join with them, giving them 11 seats in the Legislative Council, and the Afro-Shirazi Party managed to make one member of the ZPP stand firm as a supporter of the Afro-Shirazi Party, the score was then 11 all, and neither side could form a government. The Afro-Shirazis resented this trouble. They felt they had been cheated because they had a larger number of seats than either of the other two parties. There was a very tricky situation on 26th January outside the house of Othman Shariff.

Q. Who is Othman Shariff ?

A. At present he is the leader of the opposition, one of the Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party representatives. Bakari Mohammed Bakari had gone to Shariff's house to discuss things with

him, and a group of the Youths' Own Union and vehicles turned up to rescue him because there was rather a large crowd of Africans outside the house who were just interested in what was going on. The police had to intervene, and we fortunately managed to stop a riot, but it was a very tricky situation. There has also been a certain amount of ill-feeling generated by the organisation of a new trade union organisation calling itself the Federation of Progressive Trade Unions, which is Nationalist Party inspired, supported mainly by members of the Nationalist Party, strongly Communist influenced, and it has been engaged in anti-mainland African activities. It has been supporting the Nationalists in their attitude that they do not want the mainlanders over here taking work away from the Zanzibaris, that there should be strict immigration control, and no mainlander should be allowed over here except under control. In the dock wharf there was a certain amount of difficulty again, I think it was in 1958 when the Nationalist Party decided to introduce its own labour because they did not like the African labour there which was mainly supporting the Afro-Shirazi Party.

Q. If I may just interrupt for a moment and bring you to the question of immigration that you mentioned a moment ago, prior to your passing an Order that nobody was to enter the Protectorate except on production of a valid passport, what was the law concerning the entry into the Protectorate of mainland Africans, or East Africans from the British possessions.

A. The only requirement for an African of Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya other than those of the Kikuyu, Mbu and Meru tribes, were that he should report to an immigration officer. He was not required to possess any travel document, nor is he required to have any form of entry permit or pass.

CHAIRMAN: Other than the members of the three tribes you have named ?

A. Other than the members of the three tribes, Sir.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Is there anything else you want to say ?

A. There are a few other points, Sir. In May there was a visit made just before the elections by Bibi Titi, a member of TANU.

Q. What is TANU ?

A. Tanganyika African National Union. She came over here as the guest of the Afro-Shirazi Party and at a public meeting made a speech which I personally considered to be highly seditious. Unfortunately, she had left Zanzibar before I was able to get the speech translated and obtain legal opinion on it. However, that speech was reproduced in an Afro-Shirazi paper, I think it is called the Sauti Ya Afro-Shirazi, and proceedings for sedition were instituted against that paper.

Q. Was that speech critical of anybody - any race?

A. It was highly critical of the Arabs, and referred the Africans back to the days of slavery, and elaborated on a number of unpleasant things the Arabs were supposed to have done to African women.

CHAIRMAN: Has the case been taken against the paper?

A. Proceedings were instituted but the case was due for trial on I think 5th June in the middle of the disturbances, when it was deferred, and subsequently a non per sequi(?) was entered, because it was felt that to proceed with it at that time would merely have revived ill feeling and the Government was anxious to calm things down. There was also action pending against one of the Afro-Shirazi

papers, I am not sure whether it was the Sauti Ya or a paper called Agozi, for a defamatory attack upon the Superintendent of Police of Zanzibar, but again proceedings were dropped because it was decided we did not want to stir things up. The speeches made at public meetings by both parties were highly provocative.

Q. Was all this before the emergency commenced ?

A. It has been going on for a number of years, Sir, for two or three years, rising and waning, rising and waning. Before the emergency began in April and May there was a revival of the attacks on Arabs by the Afro-Shirazis, that is verbal attacks at meetings, and attacks in their papers, and that was reciprocated by the national party who then introduced the subject of religion, due to a somewhat incautious speech made by Bishop Betja and reported in the press. The Nationalists put out propaganda that the Afro-Shirazi party was being supported by TANU, and that if they won the elections Zanzibar would become a province of Tanganyika, and that the Christian religion would slowly be introduced and the Moslem religion would suffer accordingly. The Afro-Shirazis in their attacks against the Arabs angered the Arabs considerably because of certain references which by allusion were taken to refer to members of the Royal Family, and it was necessary for me to issue a written warning to all parties, including the Federation of Labour, Federation of Progressive Trade Unions, the Human Rights League.

Document
RHVB.11.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: I would like to put that letter in, dated 16th May, reference PHQ/409/385. Perhaps the witness could read it and then put it in. (Witness read letter)

CHAIRMAN: You addressed a similar letter to the other organisations you mentioned ?

A. Yes, I addressed it to ten organisations which are listed in this letter. Do you wish me to read them out, Sir ?

CHAIRMAN: No.

A. Following that, Sir, there was a certain toning down in speeches. I would say that prior to this the Superintendent of Police Zanzibar had, acting on my instructions, refused permission to a number of persons.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Were the people to whom permission had been refused to speak from both parties or mainly from one or the other ?

A. They were mostly from the Afro-Shirazi Youth League or the Human Rights League. There were some from the Nationalist Party. I think there was at least one from the Federation of Progressive Trade Unions.

Q. Was the Human Rights League affiliated to or connected with any party ?

A. The Human Rights League is not affiliated as far as I know with any party, but it does support the Afro-Shirazi party.

Q. We have been talking about the tone in which the papers referred to each other - the Afro-Shirazi attacking the Arabs; in what way did the Nationalist Party refer to the Afro-Shirazi Party ?

A. They referred to them as neo-colonialists, and imperialist stooges.

Q. Would you have a look at this document ? Would you look inside to see who it is published by and what it purports to be ?

A. This is a periodical published by the Foreign Mission of the Zanzibar Nationalist Party. It is published in Cairo, and at the back are listed a number of nationalist branches to which people are invited to write for other information.

Q. Would you look at the first page inside and read the first paragraph ? - (Witness reads first paragraph). How did that come into your possession ?

A. That was obtained by my Special Branch, Sir, in Zanzibar here.

Q. And it is entitled ?

A. Dawn in Zanzibar. This is No. 3, dated July to August, 1961.

(In answer to the Chairman :-

The representatives of the various parties have no comments on the record of the proceedings of the first day, Monday, 25th September, 1961).