



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

SEVENTH DAY

Monday, 2nd October, 1961.

*of proceedings*  
Note taken by Treasury Reporter

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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.

Senior Superintendent W. Wright called and sworn.

MR. DOURADO: You are a Senior Superintendent in charge of the Criminal Investigation Department of the Zanzibar Police Force ?

A. I am, Sir.

Q. And for how many years have you been in Zanzibar, Mr. Wright ?

A. I have been here twelve years.

Q. Could you give us an idea of the strength of the C.I.D. on the 1st June, 1961 ?

A. Yes, Sir. We were three gazetted officers and twenty-eight inspectors, non-commissioned officers and detectives. That is including specialist branches such as the Finger-print Bureau and Photographic Section.

Q. And then at the Elections you took over the responsibility for all possible crime investigation ?

A. I did, Sir.

Q. Did you bring in the entire strength of the Department. Did you call the full force of your Department into action ?

A. The entire force.

Q. What time ?

A. At 6 a.m.

Q. And for what period were they expected to remain on duty ?

A. Indefinitely Sir, with such rest periods as could be given, circumstances permitting.

Q. Had it become apparent that your Department had become involved in other duties ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. What was the nature of those duties ?

A. That of receiving and processing prisoners arrested by the Security Forces.

Q. Was that the reason why your Specialised Sections had to be cut to the minimum ?

A. It was, Sir.

Q. Did your staff have any opportunity of taking some rest on the 1st June ?

A. Practically none, Sir.

Q. When were they first able to get some rest ?

A. During the early hours of the 2nd June I was able to let men off duty for two or three hours at a time.

Q. And for how long did this state of affairs continue ?

A. For the next four days.

Q. Now tell us, later of course, about the crimes that were committed: murders, looting etc. Why was it not possible to undertake on-the-spot investigations ?

A. The volume of crime in the first instance, Sir, and secondly, the volume of persons who were being arrested by the

Q. Did your staff have any opportunity of taking some rest on the 1st June ?

Q. As the Security Forces arrived from Kenya, was it possible to augment your Department, increasing the staff available ?

A. Practically none, Sir.

Q. When were they first able to get some rest ?

A. It was, Sir.

A. During the early hours of the 2nd June I was able to let men off duty for two or three hours at a time.

Q. And to what extent was it augmented ?

A. I brought in from the Uniform Branch of the Force one gazetted officer, two inspectors, two assistant inspectors and

Q. And for how long did this state of affairs continue ?

A. For the next four days.

6 N.C.O.s and constables.

Q. Now tell us, later of course, about the crimes that were committed: murders, looting etc. Why was it not possible to undertake on-the-spot investigations ?

A. It had the effect of increasing the number of arrests

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and consequently increasing the work of reception and processing of prisoners.

Q. And by the 5th June did you establish a prisoners reception centre at Ziwani.

A. I did, Sir.

Q. And who was in charge ?

A. Mr. Owen.

Q. A Superintendent of Police ?

A. A Deputy Superintendent.

Q. Were your Fingerprint and Photographic staff able to revert to their usual duties ?

A. Yes, Sir, they had to revert to their normal duties because the specialist work was increasing.

Q. And you then divided your staff into two groups ?

A. I did, Sir.

Q. Can you tell us what each group was in charge of ?

A. Yes, Sir. Under one gazetted officer I gave half the staff for the investigation of murder.

Q. And the second group ?

A. And the second gazetted officer was placed in charge of the balance of staff with the duty of investigating all serious crimes.

Q. When you found that it was difficult to cope with the volume of work, did you make any request for reinforcements of strength or staff ?

A. I did, Sir.

Q. And when were you able to receive increased staff ?

A. The first reinforcements arrived from Uganda on the 21st June. They were two officers, 7 inspectors - specialist C.I.D. personnel.

Q. Can you produce that list ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Document  
W.W.27

Q. Of these 1,399 arrests, how many of these prisoners passed through the Reception Centre ?

A. 1,224.

Q. I must apologise, Mr. Chairman, I think I have misled the witness: your list is the number of prisoners who passed through the Reception Centre daily.

A. There is also a table to the report, Sir, which detailed daily arrests. I had it prepared and it was put in by Mr. Biles.

Document  
W.W.27.

CHAIRMAN: The name of the document is : "Prisoners received at the C.I.D. Reception Centre".

MR. DOURADO: What was the total number of arrests for the same period ?

A. 1,399.

Q. How did you deal with the balance of 175 ?

A. The balance of 175, Sir, were either taken direct from the Police Station before a magistrate or were, in minor cases, released on Police Bond.

CHAIRMAN: We do not expect you to be able to give us an answer in great detail, but by and large what were these prisoners charged with ? Those that passed through the reception centre ?

A. The largest single number, Sir, were suspected of or charged with murder or looting. That would account for nearly half of the prisoners received at the Reception Centre.

Q. And the balance ?

A. The persons charged with carrying or wearing offensive weapons is the next highest figure, Sir: 169 cases. That would

involve somewhere in the region of 200-250 persons. A similar number were curfew breakers.

CHAIRMAN: What do those two figures you mention represent ?

A. The first figure of 169 represents actual charges preferred and in some cases there was more than one accused person.

MR. DOURADO: Now you mention a special court set up for the purpose of processing prisoners which was discontinued after two days. You then detained persons under a Police detention order ?

A. Detention orders issued by the Police under the Emergency Regulations, Sir.

Q. When did you discontinue ?

A. On the 23rd of June.

Q. Can you give us a picture of the persons detained on this date. How many were convicted, how many were charged and acquitted ?

A. On the 23rd June, Sir, the position was this: 257 persons had already been convicted by the courts.

CHAIRMAN: For what ?

A. Various offences, Sir, but principally curfew breaking and carrying offensive weapons.

Q. No convictions of murder ?

A. No convictions of murder. A further 61 had been acquitted or the charges against them had been withdrawn. 254 were already remanded in custody, charged with murder. A further 168 were remanded in custody charged with other serious offences. 356 were awaiting trial but were in custody, either having been released on Police or court bond. 303 had been released with charges being preferred against them.



MR. DOURADO: Now referring to this last figure of 303, the persons who were released without any charges laid against them: is there an explanation for this ?

A. Yes, Sir. There were, of course, a number of arrests on a reasonable suspicion where it was later found that no offences had been committed but the bulk of the releases concerned persons involved in minor offences.

Q. Such as ?

A. Breach of curfew and for whose cases the arresting officers, being members of the Kenya Police General Service Unit or the K.A.R., had already been changed over and had returned to Kenya.

Q. And you had no evidence ?

A. We had no evidence, Sir. There would have been great expense bringing them back, and we did not consider it worthwhile.

Q. When the offence was of a serious nature, did you bring the officer back to Zanzibar ?

A. We did in such cases.

Q. Now, you have prepared a schedule of all the crimes committed during the Emergency ?

A. All the crimes reported to the Police.

Q. Can you produce them ? What period did that cover ?

A. It covers the first fortnight of June or first 12 days of June and it includes also crimes reported at a later date, but which are known or are believed to have occurred during that same period of the first twelve days of June.

Q. Can you produce that schedule ?

A. I apologise for the alteration, Sir, it has been brought up-to-date over the week-end.

Q. Now, from all these reports that you have received, you are able to give us a picture of how the disturbances progressed and how the crimes were committed ?

A. Yes Sir.

CHAIRMAN: May I ask one question ? We have been given to understand that the third day was considered to be the blackest of the lot. From the point of view of disorders ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. But I notice that more persons are shown as arrested on the fourth day than the third day: the third day: 125; the fourth day: 171. More people passed through your reception centre on the 4th day. Was that the backlog ?

A. Yes, Sir, the position being that I have recorded these figures from the time of arrival at the reception centre.

Q. It does not represent the number of arrests made on any particular day ?

A. No, Sir.

MR. DOURADO: As I have said, you were able to form a picture of how these crimes developed. Did you prepare any plans showing the progress of how the crimes developed ? How many plans have you prepared ?

A. I have prepared five maps in all.

Q. What is the first one ?

A. The first is a picture of the incidents in the township on the 2nd day of June and it is broken up into various periods, each period of time being indicated by a different coloured peg.

Q. And similarly you prepared plans for the 2nd and 3rd June ?

A. No, Sir. For the 2nd and 3rd of June and of

lootings of abandoned property which occurred from the 1st June, but where it is impossible to have the exact day of the commission of the offence.

CHAIRMAN: When you say the lootings of abandoned property, do you mean looting of premises which had been vacated by the owners ?

A. I do, Sir.

MR. DOURADO: And the fifth plan is a picture of crime complaints in the rural areas from the 2nd June ? Can you produce these plans ?

A. I can, Sir. May I correct it ? It is "vacated houses", not "abandoned property".

Document  
W.W. 29  
A,B,C,  
D & E.

CHAIRMAN: I think the term "abandoned property" is a misnomer.

SENIOR SUPERINTENDENT WRIGHT: I have had a document prepared describing town incidents. This continues to the 4th June, in the town area itself.

MR. DOURADO: The plan, Mr. Chairman, gave one an indication of disturbances.

A. The statement for the 1st June is more detailed, Sir.

CHAIRMAN: The exhibits speak for themselves. We need not go into any detail. They are very helpful.

MR. DOURADO: Except for one thing, Mr. Chairman: the plans do not state which incidents are murder. I thought I might give you a rough idea of what happened. Now, let us try and get a rough idea of what happened on 1st June and succeeding days. Let us start at 8 a.m.

What did it start with ?

A. Commencing about 8 a.m., Sir, there were incidents at polling stations in the Ngambo area, particularly at Gulioni, Raha Leo and Holmwood. These were incidents in which Nationalist Party agents and voters were accused of voting twice, or encouraging such practice, and were then assaulted and some arrested by groups of Afro-Shirazi Party supporters.

Q. Were any complaints registered ?

A. Yes, Sir, there have been 13 complaints of this nature registered from 8 a.m. on 1st June.

Q. The period 8 - 10 a.m. ?

A. Yes.

Q. During this period, were there any offences involving the use of weapons ?

A. There was one in which there was an allegation of a knife having been used, but in the bulk of these offences no weapons were in evidence.

CHAIRMAN: Was that confirmed ?

A. It is one thing which we have not been able to prove in our case, Sir. In general, weapons were not used at this stage.

Q. Between 8 and 10 you only have one instance of a complaint ?

A. One instance in which a complaint of a knife being used was alleged.

Q. Or any deadly weapon ?

A. Any deadly weapon, Sir.

MR. DCURADO: And from these incidents, where did the incidents spread to ?

A. The incidents then spread to Darajani in particular and,

to a lesser extent, to Mtendeni and between 10 a.m. and noon, 11 cases had been registered from Darajani: assemblies at the Polling Stations, riotous assemblies and assaults.

MR. DOURADO: Any weapons used in these incidents ?

A. Yes, Sir. Weapons came into evidence. These files record sticks, stones and in the incidents at Mtendeni, swords.

Q. Mr. Wright, when did you have the first report of incidents leading to the use of deadly weapons ?

A. Deadly weapons, large clubs, swords had begun to appear in this 10 o'clock to noon period - nearer to noon.

CHAIRMAN: Can you be a little more precise ?

A. Yes, I omitted to say a murder did occur at 11.00 a.m., but that was caused by stone throwing and not by a lethal weapon, as such. The first recorded case of grievous hurt caused by a sword is shortly before 12 noon, at Mtendeni.

MR. DOURADO: You mentioned incidents at Darajani. Do you know what is the allegation in these cases ? I think you mentioned a sword incident ?

A. Yes, Sir. That was a case in which a sword was used to cause grievous bodily harm.

Q. Were any incidents reported before that time of lethal weapons being carried, being worn or shown in any way ?

A. Yes, Sir. Several of the cases involving riot or unlawful assembly at Darajani shortly after 10 a.m. do show from the statements that swords and cudgels had appeared.

CHAIRMAN: They were in evidence shortly after 10 a.m.

A. Yes.

MR. DOURADO: From your records is it possible for you to give an indication of which particular groups were involved in these riotous assemblies you have described at Darajani ?

A. The bulk of the assaults and riots which have been reported from Darajani were cases in which Africans were accused of rioting.

Q. That would be 10 a.m. to noon, and in the cases reported from Mtendeni, what was the case there ?

A. In all these cases till just before noon - the latest incident there was just before 2 p.m. - there were allegations of serious assaults upon Africans by Arabs armed with swords and knives.

Q. You said right up till 2 p.m., did you ?

A. May I correct that ? From noon till 1.00 p.m. though the bulk of the cases were reported - seven such incidents - there was one later than that, the time given being nearer to 2.00 p.m.

Q. You mentioned the first murder that occurred, and you said it was at 11.00 a.m. ?

A. Yes.

Q. Where did that occur ?

A. That occurred at Baraste-Kipande.

Q. And who was the victim ?

A. A Comorian.

Q. Were any persons charged ?

A. Yes, two persons were charged.

Q. Do you know the race to which these persons belonged ?

A. Yes, one was Comorian and one was an African.

Q. From noon to 1 p.m. of that day, where were the major incidents ?

A. From noon to 1.00 p.m. on the 1st, the major incidents were occurring at Mtendeni.

Q. And these were the cases you referred to earlier, the seven cases ?

A. Yes.

Q. What was the situation in the Darajani area during this time ?

A. There were six more reports from Darajani during that same period of riots, assaults and similar offences.

Q. Between 1.00 and 3.00 p.m., where did the incidents spread to ?

A. Between 1.00 and 3.00 p.m. the incidents had spread out to Mwembeladu and areas beyond Ngambo police station - that is, they had spread eastwards from the Mtendeni/Darajani areas.

Q. And by 3 p.m. were there any further incidents ?

A. For the next murders I have recorded only approximate times, between 3 and 4 p.m. - possibly occurring at 3.00 p.m. The times were rather difficult to determine there; but the next murder occurred at Mikunguni - or rather two murders - shortly after 3.00 p.m.

Q. Who were the persons killed ?

A. One was an African and one an Arab.

Q. And was there another murder at that time at Mwembemimba ?

A. Yes, at about the same time an Arab was also murdered.

Q. And then between 3 p.m. and 6 p.m., did you receive reports, and if so, what were those reports ?

A. Yes, lootings and rioting was widespread by this time in the areas surrounding the Ngambo police station and two more Arabs had been murdered at Mwembemimba.

Q. And after dark of that day, did the looting and murder and other crimes continue ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. And what report did you have of the murders ?

A. An Arab woman was murdered at Kwahani at about 6.00 to 6.30 p.m. Between 7 and 8 p.m. another Arab was murdered at Makadara, and between 8 and 9 p.m. there was another Arab murdered at Miombeni.

Q. You mentioned Makadara - was there any murder at Holmwood between the hours of 7 and 8 ?

A. There was one Arab murdered at Holmwood between 7 and 8 p.m.

Q. How many cases were reported of looting of houses that were vacated, do you know ?

A. There are very few lootings directly attributable to that night - in fact reports definitely attributable to that night are only eight - but there were a further 34 cases in which we received late reports and which could have occurred on the night of the 1st.

CHAIRMAN: Were there very many reports of looting after the 1st - I mean that were clearly related to days after the 1st ?

A. Yes, Sir: there are a large number of late reports. I have in fact broken them down into four categories - those which could have occurred on the 1st or on a later date, those which could have occurred on the second or at a later date, and so on. Of the ones which could or may possibly have occurred on the night of the 1st, there are 34.



MR. DOURADO: And from these reports you prepared a schedule showing the sequence of crime, covering the period 1st to 4th June ?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you produce that ?

A. Yes.

Document  
W.W.30.

CHAIRMAN: It covers the period 1st to 4th June, both dates inclusive ?

A. Yes, Sir, in the town area.

MR. DOURADO: You mentioned houses that were vacated - who vacated those houses ?

A. Almost entirely Arab shopkeepers evacuated from the trouble areas in Ngambo.

Q. And who invariably were involved in the cases of looting ?

A. Africans, Sir.

CHAIRMAN: Did you form any opinion from the information you had as to whether this was a general case of hooliganism and looting by groups, or did you form the opinion that they were probably committed by a special element of the population ?

A. There was certainly evidence that the criminal element ...

Q. I meant criminal ...

A. .. Had taken advantage of the situation, and a number of known criminals were found looting. The widespread lootings and other serious crimes are not, however, entirely attributable to the criminal element.

Q. I was thinking particularly of the looting, as distinct from the acts of violence.

A. Yes. The criminal element undoubtedly took advantage of the situation to do a considerable amount of the looting, but by no means all of it.

MR. DOURADO: You gave us a picture of incidents in the town area covering the 1st June. Generally, what was the position in the rural areas in the 1st June ?

A. In general, on the 1st June the rural areas were very quiet indeed.

Q. Were any incidents reported ?

A. There were incidents at two polling stations in the north, at Donge and Mkwajuni.

Q. And what was the nature of the incidents ?

A. At Donge three Nationalist Party agents were accused by Afro-Shirazis of attempting to vote twice, and were arrested and taken to Mkokotoni.

Q. And Mkwajuni ?

A. At Mkwajuni a disturbance occurred when the presiding officer went outside the building with a certain number of ballot papers and it was thought by Afro-Shirazi voters there that he was destroying or removing votes; and a disturbance did take place. It was quickly over and the situation was quiet in a very short time.

Q. When was the first time when reports of any serious incidents came from the rural district ?

A. It was on the 2nd June that the first sign of serious disturbances came in the rural areas.

Q. At what time ?

A. There was a gang operating in the Ndagaa area quite early in the morning, round about 8.00 a.m. There was only one crime reported, but it does show there was a gang operating in that area.

Q. A gang ?

A. A gang of Africans operating, involving Arab property.

Q. Do you know if it was any particular tribe ?

A. In that particular case I cannot be exactly certain as to what tribe were involved.

Q. And in the afternoon of that day, were there any reports from Kitope Ndani ?

A. On the afternoon of the second, a gang began to loot and break into houses in the Kitope Ndani area, and three Arabs were killed.

Q. Were there riots and lootings in other areas ?

A. There were riots and lootings again in that same afternoon at the same two places I have mentioned - Kitope Ndani and Ndagaa. There were also cases at Dimbani down here (indicating on map), later at Kizimkazi and an incident at Welozo near to town.

Q. Anything at Bumbwi ?

A. Yes, there was also a riot there, Bumbwi being in the same area.

CHAIRMAN: The gang you have referred to, have you any information as to how it was made up ?

A. It was made up mainly of squatter labour from the farms in that area.

MR. DOURADO: To what race did they belong ?

A. They were Africans of many tribes, and the gang did in fact include one or two Arabs.

CHAIRMAN: It did include Arabs ?

A. It included two Arabs.

Q. Were they squatters ?

A. No, Sir.

MR. DOURADO: This rioting at Kizimkazi, can you tell us anything about that ? What races were involved ?

A. At Kizimkazi the disturbances were more of a political nature, the inhabitants of the Kizimkazi area being almost entirely indigenous Africans.

CHAIRMAN: You have just said the incident at Kizimkazi, in your opinion, was entirely political ?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you any information, or did you form any opinion, in respect of the other incidents that you have mentioned ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. And you said "yes" in the other instance, the group consisting mainly of squatters, was mainly racial, but also partly political. Would that be correct, the way I have put it ?

A. Yes.

Q. Would that, in your opinion, have had any relation to the fact that the Arabs were the landlords ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. And do you think it might have had reference to previous acts by the landlords ?

A. In part, yes, Sir.

Q. What was the other part ?

A. Racialism whipped up by political speeches, by the tenor of political speeches and political propaganda prior to the elections.

MR. DOURADO: Now what was the situation on the 3rd June in the rural areas ?

A. Murders and other serious crimes were widespread on the 3rd June, and 25 Arabs were murdered.

Q. Where was the first ?

A. At Chwaka: a large gang of local residents, indigenous Africans, attacked a number of Arab shops, looting and assaulting the occupants. One Arab was killed and three more injured.

CHAIRMAN: Did you form any opinion as to the cause of that?

A. Yes, Sir : in this instance the reports suggest the gang were completely hysterical by this time and the indications are that there, and at one or two other places on the 3rd June, that the members of the gang were completely hysterical and completely blood-mad.

Q. Just that ?

A. Just that, Sir.

MR. DOURADO : And where did the next murders take place ?

A. At Bambi at noon, with very serious results. There were very large ganga again, principally made up of indigenous inhabitants of the area.

CHAIRMAN : They would be indigenous Africans.

A. Yes, Sir. They swept through what is quite an extended village or series of villages, killing and looting at four different places.

MR. DOURADO: How many persons were killed ?

A. Nine.

Q. Did they all belong to a particular race ?

A. They did, Sir : they were all Arabs.

Q. Did you form any opinion as to the cause ?

A. There again, Sir, the pattern as at Chwaka appeared to be the same one in that case - complete mass hysteria.

Q. Were there any signs at Bambi of leaders inciting the group to violence, do you know ?

A. Persons did show up in most of these ganga - in a number of these gangs - as leaders; but I did not notice in this case any particular indication of leadership. It was a general ...

CHAIRMAN: In this particular case you did not see anything?

A. I did not observe any clear indication of any leadership.

Q. But in the other incidents somebody emerged as a leader ?

A. Yes.

Q. I say that because I am sure you do not mean to convey it was the leadership of either of the parties, in the sense of the responsible leaders.

A. Quite, Sir - individual leaders.

MR DURADO : These deceased at Bambi, were they Arabs ?

A. No, Sir, they were not. I am afraid I have not in front of me the precise particulars of the deceased at Bambi.

Q. But you say they were not all Arabs ?

A. No, Sir.

Q. Some were children ?

A. Yes, Sir: to give you the correct age groupings I would have to refer to this case. I am afraid it slips my memory at the moment how many were children and how many adults who were murdered at Bambi.

CHAIRMAN: When you said somebody emerged as leader, I assume you meant somebody emerged from the group itself, emerged as a leader ?

A. Yes, Sir. In a number of cases there were quite clearly individuals who were leading gangs, who were egging them on to greater effort.

SIR VINCENT TEWSON: It might just as easily be a hooligan as anyone having an association with politics.

A. Yes, Sir. In a number of cases we have clear indications that they were politicians and in others hooligans.

CHAIRMAN: Can you give us the number of examples where you have clear evidence or information that they were politicians - when you say politicians do you mean leaders - I do not mean leaders of the parties, but local leaders ?

A. In one or two cases, yes, local leaders did appear.

Q. Egging them on ?

A. Egging them on.

Q. But in the bulk of the cases, what would you say ?

A. In the bulk of the cases, particularly in this area here, Sir, the squatter area, there was apparent in the case a combination of racialism arising from the position of landlord and squatter and also quite a degree of evidence of extremist political activity.

Q. From political representatives on the spot ?

A. On the spot, yes.

Q. Was there any reliable information that any of these agitators, if I may use the expression to describe them, were sent from either of the parties' headquarters, with the object of stirring it up ?

A. No, Sir; but there is evidence that individual extremists from town did go out to the rural areas and were involved in incidents in the rural areas.

Q. And probably had some share in whipping it up ?

A. Yes.

Q. Which party or parties did they belong to ?

A. I have to date, Sir, only obtained one conviction.

Q. I am referring to what you considered to be reliable information.

A. Well, Sir, I have absolutely reliable information that in the Kizimkazi/Dimbani area a member of the Human Rights League went down there and was very actively concerned in the whipping up of the situation.

Q. And are they affiliated to any political party ?

A. They have repeatedly supported the Afro-Shirazi policy, but they also do contain a very large hooligan element.

MR. DOURADO : At 2 p.m. that day you had two murders at Mitakawani. Could you tell us about those murders ?

A. Yes, Sir, at Mitakawani, marked Usini on the map with two pins there. A gang came down the road, smashed their way into an Arab shop and killed the Arab and his wife in front of their children. They debated the killing of the children, and spared them.

Q. And what did the gang consist of ?

A. A mixture of squatters and indigenous Africans.

CHAIRMAN: The squatters being African.

A. Yes, with quite a number of WamaKonde.

Q. They are Africans ?

A. Yes, from the Protuguese/Tanganyika border.

MR. DOURADO: Did that gang appear to have any leader or leaders ?

A. The case file itself has not shown anyone particularly as a leader. I would like to say here that I have charged persons with this murder and they have been acquitted by the High Court.

Q. And that was because the evidence rested on the evidence of the two children ?

A. That is so.

CHAIRMAN : The unsworn evidence of two young children.



A. It was that, supported by evidence of an employee and evidence which broke down in the trial.

MR. DOURADO: Did you form any opinion as to the cause of this? You said the squatters were part of it - what about the rest?

A. In this case I did form the opinion that local political leaders from that area of the Afro-Shirazi Party were concerned in that gang killing.

CHAIRMAN: Was there any apparent reason for picking him out? Was it just because he was an Arab?

A. It would appear to be just because he was an Arab. Nothing else has come to light in the case.

MR. DOURADO: At 2 p.m. on that day there was another murder at Kichungwani?

A. Yes, Sir. (Illustrating on map.)

Q. Could you tell us about this murder? What time did it occur?

A. This was about 2 p.m. also, Sir. A smallish gang of indigenous Africans from the area attacked a shopkeeper and his family. Their weapons they were carrying were principally stones, there was one spear in evidence, and the Arab and his family locked themselves into their house. The doors were broken down and the Arab himself was killed by, or rather died later from injuries inflicted by a stone which struck him on the head.

Q. And the wife?

A. The wife was allowed to go away. There was discussion amongst members of the group as to whether or not she should also be killed and eventually she was allowed to go with her children.

Q. Did you form any opinion as to the motive for the killing in this case? Possibly if you described the gang first. You said a smallish gang?

A. Yes, Sir, only eight persons went to that particular scene or only eight persons were seen by the principal witness, the woman herself. They were Africans living in the area, no one of any known political importance and no evidence appearing from the file as to the reason for it. The shop which is an adjoining building was looted at the same time and it is quite possible in this case that gain bore a large part of the reason for the attack.

CHAIRMAN: By this time, of course, tempers were generally very high, were they not?

A. They were, Sir.

Q. All over the area?

A. This was the third day when tempers were high and incidents were widespread.

MR. DOURADO: Then we come to Magogoni Mwanakwerckwe. Did any murders occur that day in this place?

A. Yes. At about 3 p.m. there was a very brutal gang attack.

Q. Gang comprising of?

A. A gang comprising of a number of Africans. We have not a great deal of evidence in this case, but it is suggestive of the hooligan element from the town, this being not very far distant from the town. It has the appearance of the hooligan element being very much concerned in this particular crime. There were members of two Arab families taking refuge in one house and the doors were smashed in and two adults and five children were very brutally slashed and either killed or left dying at the spot. The two adults and five children as I say, either died at the spot or died shortly afterwards

in the hospital. The children were aged from three to nine years, five children.

Q. I think the next murder was at 4.30 p.m. at Pangeni ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Will you tell us about this murder ?

A. At Pangeni (illustrated on map) again a very large gang similar in composition to the Kitope area, largely squatter labour, sweeping through the area, attacking Arab houses and looting, and three Arabs, adults, two men and one woman were murdered there.

Q. Did you form any opinion as to the motive ? You mentioned squatters. Who were the rest ? What did you think was the motive ?

A. Again I would say much the same as Kitope where there is the background feeling of squatter and landlord and all the other circumstances I mentioned leading up to this widespread disorder which was occurring on that day.

Q. And the last murder which occurred on that day at where ?

A. At Chemani (illustrating on map).

Q. That occurred at about ?

A. Round about midnight, the precise time is not known.

Q. And who were the victims ?

A. They were an elderly Arab couple, a blind man and his wife.

Q. And you have no further information ?

A. Their bodies were discovered by neighbours who had gone to help them to evacuate and found them already dead and in this case we have no further evidence than that as to who was responsible.

Q. You have described the murders of 3rd June. Were there riotings and looting going on ?

A. Yes, Sir, and they were very widespread indeed.

Q. Mainly concentrated?

A. Mainly concentrated in the North central and central area as shown on my other map. The large portion of offences there with isolated ones dotted all round the area, except for the Southern portion.

Q. Now we come to 4th June, Mr. Wright. How many murders were committed on that day?

A. A further nine Arabs were murdered on 4th June.

Q. Let us start with the first murder on that day.

A. Yes, Sir, at Dunga Bweni. A husband and wife were killed and their son injured.

Q. Did you have any information as to who committed the offences?

A. Yes Sir. An African gang again but with a small number identified as yet.

Q. Did you form any opinion as to the motive?

A. No, Sir, I did not. The gang<sup>were</sup> reported to be an African gang but there is very little evidence as to the precise reasons for this particular murder. It is in the vicinity of others which had occurred at Bambi and Uzini already.

Q. And the next we come to Kitope Ndani and Mbaleni.

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Can you tell us about those?

A. This was a continuance of the previous day's trouble in that area. Again a roaming gang moving a little south this time to Kitope and Mbaleni. Two Arabs were killed at Kitope Ndani and shortly after that and not far away at Mbaleni a further four were killed.

CHAIRMAN: Could you now give them collectively day by day, Arab, African, as the case may be ?

MR. DOURADO: Certainly. You said on 4th June there were nine Arabs murdered?

A. I could be much quicker if I could refer to the table which was put in by Mr. Biles and which was put in on the first day.

CHAIRMAN: Yes. (Document passed to witness)

MR. DOURADO: For 4th June I think you gave nine murders?

A. 4th June, a total of nine Arabs were murdered.

MR. DOURADO: Looting and riotings in this case ?

CHAIRMAN: I do not think we need go into great detail. You can say widespread looting.

MR. DOURADO: Was it widespread?

A. There was looting, it was widespread.

CHAIRMAN: That was on 4th June?

A. Yes, Sir.

MR. DOURADO: On 5th June how many murders were there on that day in the rural district?

A. On 5th June one African and five Arabs killed.

Q. And looting was widespread?

A. There was a continuation of looting but the security forces were very much more in control of the situation by then.

Q. And 6th June?

A. On 6th June there was one man killed by the security forces in the central area.

CHAIRMAN: That was by the King's African Rifles?

A. The King's African Rifles.

Q. And that was the only casualty, so far as your information goes, the only person killed by security forces?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Throughout the period?

A. Yes Sir.

Q. As we are on the subject, have you any information of persons injured by the security forces?

A. I have not the details before me, Sir, but I can produce very quickly details of that.

Q. From the information you have ?

A. From the information I have, yes.

Q. Where would that have been obtained from?

A. These are reports of individual officers, members of the security forces who have reported opening fire, have collected casualties or have thought that some one has been wounded. There were a number of persons injured by the security forces.

Q. Understandably so. Could you give us those figures later ?

A. One instance had come to light where an individual appeared at the hospital some three weeks later with a bullet in his foot which he had been nursing for some time rather than report. He did not report to the police; it was reported from the hospital, but we have no information of any deaths inflicted by the security forces other than this one, Sir.

Q. Do you know the circumstances of that one case ?

A. It was an instance where the security patrol were being taken out by an informer to hunt for a gang. I am speaking from memory, Sir. The circumstances were extremely suspicious. They were under the impression when the informer dashed for cover that they had been led into an ambush and opened fire.

Q. And it was the informer who was killed ?

A. It was the informer who was killed.

MR. DOURADO: You wanted the information about the injuries too, Mr. Chairman?

CHAIRMAN: The witness said he could produce it.

MR. DOURADO: Can you produce the figures some time, the number injured by security forces?

A. I can, yes.

MR. DOURADO: Security and police, I think.

CHAIRMAN: When I refer to security forces I include in that all the forces.

MR. DOURADO: Yes, Sir. Have you finished 6th June:

CHAIRMAN: I think since the witness has given the number of deaths it would present a fuller picture if he would give us the figures of persons who were known to have become casualties and were treated in the hospital on these various days. We have heard of the murders. Could you ask him that - just day by day, number as far as his information goes, who were treated in hospital. 1st June, Africans, Arabs.

MR. DOURADO: Shall I finish the murders? I am just coming to the 6th and 7th June. Shall we run quickly through the casualty figures? 6th June I think the situation was contained. Was there any murder on 7th June ?

A. Yes, Sir, on 7th June a murder was believed to have occurred and it was confirmed some seven weeks later by the finding of the body.

CHAIRMAN: That was an Arab?

A. That was an Arab who was chased by a gang in the bush, not far from the town at Mpendae, and who was believed to have been killed.

MR. DOURADO: After 7th June would you say the situation was contained ?

A. Yes, Sir.

CHAIRMAN: The total according to Exhibit RHVB.22 of deaths is three Africans, sixty-four Arabs and one other?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. The other being :

A. A Comorian, Sir.

CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

MR. DOURADO: Could you give us day by day just the total casualty figures, on 1st June ?

A. Yes. These are figures not from my own records but from the hospital records.

CHAIRMAN: Casualties treated at the hospital outpatients departments?

A. Sixty-three Africans, seventy-nine Arabs and six others treated and allowed to go.

MR. DOURADO: On 2nd June?

A. On 2nd June thirty-seven Africans, twenty-five Arabs, none of other race.



Q. On 3rd June?

A. Fourteen Africans, eighteen Arabs, none of other races.

Q. 4th June?

A. Sixteen Africans, six Arabs, no others.

Q. 5th June?

A. Eleven Africans, five Arabs, one other.

Q. 6th June ?

A. One African, three Arabs, no others.

Q. 7th June?

A. Two Africans and two Arabs. The seriously injured are in addition to those.

CHAIRMAN: You had better give those figures. You have a list of the seriously injured by day and race?

MR. DOURADO: When you say seriously injured to whom are you referring?

A. These are casualties admitted to hospital.

Q. Could you give us the figures of seriously injured and admitted to hospital on 1st June?

A. Yes, Sir. On 1st June fifteen Africans, fifteen Arabs and one other race were admitted to the hospital with serious injuries.

Q. On 2nd June?

A. Nine Africans, seventeen Arabs, no others.

Q. 3rd June?

A. Nine Africans, ten Arabs, no others.

Q. 4th June?

A. Two Africans, five Arabs, no others.

Q. 5th June?

A. Two Africans, one Arab, no others.

Q. 6th June?

A. One African, one Arab, no others.

Q. On 7th June:

A. Two Arabs killed.

CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

CHAIRMAN: Before we adjourned on Saturday morning we invited you gentlemen to agree among yourselves as to who should commence calling evidence. We understand that you have not been able to reach agreement so we adhere to our ruling that Mr. Kanji should commence; and we have also decided that if he is required to commence calling evidence he should have the right of reply. That being so, the order will be Mr. Talati or Mr. Kwaw-Swanzy, followed by Mr. Kanji, followed by the Attorney General, in addressing us at the conclusion of the evidence.

Cross-examined by Mr. Kanji

Q. Mr. Wright, prior to the June election there were three political parties in Zanzibar, namely Z.N.P., Z.P.P.P. and A.S.P. ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Would you agree with me that it was reasonably certain that Z.P.P.P. would emerge as victors in the election in Pemba ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. So, generally speaking, one could say before the election that the Z.P.P.P. would get about three seats in Pemba ?

A. I thought more, Sir.

Q. But at least three seats, you would agree with me ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. As far as the A.S.P. and Z.N.P. are concerned it was thought that these two parties may win about equal numbers of seats in Zanzibar ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Most of the rioting and serious disturbances began after 1st June, am I right ?

A. The most serious rioting occurred on 3rd; the next most serious day being the afternoon of the 1st itself.

Q. By then it was known that the Z.N.P. and Z.P.P.P. had formed a Government or at least had won the election ?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you agree with me that most of the murders followed after the election results were published ?

A. Yes.

Q. Would you agree with me that the newspaper known as "Afrika Kwetu" is an Afro-Shirazi newspaper ?

A. It is, Sir.

Q. If you look at this newspaper of 25th May, 1961, particularly to the part marked with a red line, would you have a look at this translation and say if that is a correct translation of that passage ? (Document passed to witness)

A. No, Sir, there is something missing from the first sentence. In general the rest is correct, Sir.

CHAIRMAN: The witness says "In my opinion the following is reasonably correct translation of the newspaper comment, "Afrika Kwetu" dated 25th May, 1961:

'Any victor must know that whoever is defeated can be no more healthy and he who has won will be joyful. The victor should forget all that happened to him in the past and should look ahead because what is coming has its danger.

Victor: take our advice. It may help you and you may be benefitted.' "

MR. KANJI: Mr. Wright, you read that article and some few lines which are before this particular passage to which I have referred, have you ?

A. I have only concentrated on this one particular passage of which you have given me the translation at the moment.

Q. I will ask this question: if you think that you would rather read the other passage before you reply to me, you may do so. Would you say that that passage in its context shows that the person who will emerge as victor in the election would be other than "Afrika Kwetu" party ?

A. I would have to read passages before that one because that final passage which has been put to me is extremely vague in itself.

CHAIRMAN: It is out of its context ?

A. It is out of its context and I would have to read what goes before it before giving an opinion.

MR. KANJI: Perhaps I will ask this question to you in the afternoon; during the lunch adjournment you will be able to read it instead of spending more time on it at the moment.

Would you agree with me, Mr. Wright, that the policy of Z.N.P. has been to prevent any racial organisation taking an interest in politics ? It has tried to bring various racial groups together in the form of political organisation ?

A. I know it has advocated the banning of racial parties in favour of the non-racial political party.

MR. KANJI: The Z.N.P.

A. The Nationalist Party.

Q. It does, in fact, carry out that principle in practice?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Would you also agree with me that it does not consider politics in terms of religion ?

A. I would have agreed with you, Sir, but for a number of speeches which were made by speakers of that Party shortly before the elections and when they did bring religion into politics.

Q. Would you agree with me that during the rioting and disturbances which took place on the election day and subsequently the Z.N.P. leaders prevented their members and supporters from retaliating ?

A. Yes, Sir.

CHAIRMAN: Did they prevent, or try to prevent them ?

A. My corrected answer, if I may, Sir, is they tried wholeheartedly to do so.

MR. KANJI: Mr. Wright, you deal with nearly all the political speeches which are made by leaders of the parties in Zanzibar ?

A. Yes Sir.

Q. Do you know that Mr. Abeid Karume made a speech at Machui in early 1958 to the effect that the land belongs to his supporters who are members of the ASP and not to the plantation owners who own only the trees of a permanent nature on the plantations ?

A. I cannot recall a speech in early 1958. Perhaps I should say, Sir, that I have been since the middle of 1960 maintaining records of extracts from political speeches. This one I cannot recall and I do not think I have a record of this particular one.

Q. It often happens that the Sheha of a particular area would attend political meetings and he would then give a report of what was said ?

A. Yes Sir.

Q. If a report of this particular speech had been sent to the police would you have it in your records ?

A. Yes Sir.

Q. Can I ask you to look at your records after we break for the lunch hour ?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know Sheikh Amour Zahor ?

A. I do, Sir.

Q. Would you agree with me that he began to take an interest in politics at the end of 1955 when the ZNP was formed ?

A. I think that is correct, Sir.

Q. Do you know that Sheikh Amour Zahor retired from the police force in 1953 ?

A. I do, Sir.

Q. The late Sultan of Zanzibar, Seyyid Khalifa, died in 1960, did he not ?

A. Yes.

Q. Was a dance held by a section of the Afro-Shirazi party three days after his death ?

A. Yes Sir, I accept it was three days; I cannot remember whether it was two or three days, but there was such a dance.

Q. Am I right in saying that it is a Moslem custom, and this was reinforced by an official declaration, that mourning should be observed for forty days from the death of the Sultan ?

A. Yes Sir.

Q. Was it necessary for the police to go and put a stop to this dance ?

A. Yes Sir.

Q. Was there any incident during the disturbances when the national flag of Zanzibar was torn to pieces by the Afro-Shirazi party in a certain area of Zanzibar ?

A. There were, as far as I recollect, Sir, two incidents in which the national flag was torn - torn down or torn to pieces.

CHAIRMAN: Do you know by whom ?

A. I do not, Sir. I would have to refer to the relevant files. One occurred at Kizimkazi in the south. It was His Highness's flag flying on the house of the Sheha. Another occurred in the Ngambo township, but without reference to the files I cannot recollect at this moment where it occurred.

Q. Or who was responsible ?

A. Or who was responsible.

MR. KANJI: Could you get some information on the subject for this afternoon, Mr. Wright ?

A. Yes, I will do that, Sir.

Q. Perhaps you could also find out whether any prosecution was preferred and whether a person was convicted. I understand that the person who tore the flag at Kizimkazi was in fact convicted.

A. I think that is correct, Sir, but I would like to verify it.

Q. Mr. Wright, we have heard some evidence that Seyyid Seif, the son-in-law of the Sultan, took part in negotiations to form a coalition government after the January election. Would you agree that Seyyid Seif is a kind of neutral person whom political parties may appoint to bring them closer together, and this in fact was done by the ZNP and the ZPPP after the January election ?

A. I am not personally aware of whether that was done by the ZPPP and the ZNP, but I believe it is possible that those two parties did such a thing.

Q. Would you agree that Seyyid Seif could be considered as a neutral person in Zanzibar so far as politics go ?

A. Not entirely, Sir, no.

Q. Do you know that the Youths' Own Union obtained certain musical instruments for their band ?

A. Yes Sir.

Q. Do you know where they came from ?

A. I think they obtained them from Egypt, but I am not absolutely sure of this.

Q. Is there any evidence on your file to say that these instruments came from Egypt ?

A. No, I have not a record myself.

Q. Would you dispute my information that these instruments - there are only about six of them - were purchased in Mombasa ?

A. I cannot, Sir, because I do not know the answer.

CHAIRMAN: You do not know where they came from ?

A. No Sir.

MR. KANJI: Would you agree that the Youths' Own Union hand is a very small band consisting of about six players ?

A. Yes Sir.

CHAIRMAN: How does this help ?

MR. KANJI: Allegations have been made, Sir, that there is a very strong connection between the YOU and communist countries.

CHAIRMAN: Whether it is a six instrument band or a ten instrument band does not affect it in any way.

MR. KANJI: It is in fact a small band and not a large-scale band such as the police or the military have. There is some suggestion that they have been usurping the function of the military band, for what it is worth, Sir.

CHAIRMAN: I do not think you can take that any further. Even if they did set up a band in competition it does not seem to be very heinous.

MR. KANJI: Legally there would be nothing wrong, I agree, Sir. Would you agree that the ASP speakers of ten made very provocative speeches, and frequently it was found necessary to stop them from speaking at public meetings ?



A. Yes Sir, that in fact happened with all three political parties. Quite a number of people had to be prohibited from speaking because of the provocative nature of their speeches.

Q. Would you agree it was more so with the ASP ?

A. I think the largest single number - I am speaking from memory - of speakers prohibited belong to the Afro-Shirazi Youth League.

Q. In your evidence-in-chief you referred to African crowds who attacked Arabs. Were these Arabs mainly small shopkeepers ?

A. This is at the time when the disturbances reached their height, is it ?

Q. Yes.

A. The bulk of the persons attacked were shopkeepers, yes Sir.

Q. Running shops in a very small way, holding a licence for selling goods not exceeding in the shop a value of about 750shs ?

A. A number of the attacks in the rural areas were on large rural shops by Zanzibar standards. The bulk were on shopkeepers.

Q. Do you believe that most of the African crowds who attacked the Arabs were either members or supporters of the ASP, in general terms ?

A. In general terms, yes Sir.

Q. Have you ever heard Mr. Aboud Jumbe speaking in any public meeting, or have you heard his voice ?

A. Mr. Aboud Jumbe - yes I have heard his voice.

MR. KANJI: I have a tape recording of this kind of session; would you be able to recognise his voice ?

CHAIRMAN: The witness has said he knows his voice.

MR. KANJI: I am producing a tape recorder so that it can be played.

CHAIRMAN: For what purpose ?

MR. KANJI: To show the conversation which passed between Aboud Jumbe and another person, which has a relevance bearing on this inquiry.

CHAIRMAN: When ?

MR. KANJI: Before the election.

CHAIRMAN: Are you producing evidence to show when the conversation took place ?

MR. KANJI: I am producing evidence; in fact there is some reference in the conversation itself as to when it was taking place.

CHAIRMAN: Are you producing independent evidence to show when the conversation took place, or is it merely self-serving evidence?

MR. KANJI: It is more of self-serving evidence than producing any person.

CHAIRMAN: Providing it is relevant to the terms of reference and is of value as evidence I do not wish to prevent you doing what you are proposing, but the witness has already said he does know his voice.

MR. KANJI: The reason why I asked him whether he knew the voice was to identify the voice, and then it is a question of the substance of the conversation.

CHAIRMAN: Was this witness present ?

MR. KANJI: This witness was not present. This witness can only identify the voice, and say in fact that this is the voice of Jumbe.

CHAIRMAN: Surely there are plenty of witnesses you can call who can prove his voice; but if you want to prove it from this witness, do so.

MR. KANJI: I will do so this afternoon, Sir, when arrangements have been made for connecting up the tape recorder. Am I right that Mr. Aboud Jumbo was a candidate standing on the ASP platform for the constituency of Fuoni ?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know that an ASP supporter was seen at Fuoni having offensive sticks and stones on election day ?

A. I do not recall this.

Q. Do you have means to find out that a record was found there of stones and heavy sticks and a report was made to the Police ?

A. Yes, I do have means of finding out if the report has been lodged with the police.

Q. Would you agree with me, Mr. Wright, that the Makonde Union have their office at the same place, in fact in the same office, as the ASP has its offices ?

A. Yes, I think that is correct.

Q. And you would agree with me that the Makonde Union is in general terms part of the ASP ?

A. I know they are in general supporters of the ASP, but I am not in a position to say whether they are an integral part of it.

Q. Did the police receive any reports from administrative officers prior to the June election that disturbances on a fairly large scale were expected ?

A. I know reports of some nature were submitted to the Commissioner by administrative officers. I do not have these in my own records, and I cannot speak exactly as to what they contain.

Q. Do you know that a report was made to Mr. Smithyman by Mr. Barwani that the ASP members and supporters were publicly saying that on election day they would have their hands full of animal blood and they would try to scare people ?

A. I do not know of Mr. Barwani's part in it. I do not know which Mr. Barwani you mean.

Q. Hilal Barwani.

A. I do not know his report to Mr. Smithyman on this subject, but I do know that the Afro-Shirazi speakers at meetings immediately prior to election day were speaking of what they alleged was a Nationalist Party plot to create disorder at polling stations when individuals of the Youths' Own Union would smear themselves with animal blood and allege they had been attacked in order to disrupt polling. That was said by several Afro-Shirazi speakers.

CHAIRMAN: That was an accusation against the youth movement of the other side ?

A. Yes Sir, of what they would do.

Q. What they thought they would do ?

A. What they thought the other side would do on polling day.

MR. KANJI: But in fact that was not done by the Youths' Own Union ?

A. No Sir.

Q. You have said in your evidence that on the first day of the disturbances, that is 1st June, an African was killed at Mkunguni ?

A. Yes Sir.

Q. Would you agree with me that that African was a member of the ZNP ?

A. He was a mental defective, Sir. I know nothing more about him than that.

Q. Just before the June election, Mr. Wright, did the Afro-Shirazi Youth Union obtain a number of landrovers from Tanganyika, or the Afro-Shirazi Party ?

A. The Afro-Shirazi Party did obtain a number of landrovers, Sir, yes.

Q. Were these landrovers covered with expanded metal ?

A. I do not know, Sir.

CHAIRMAN: Did they look like ordinary landrovers ?

A. The ones I had seen looked like ordinary landrovers, Sir; they may have had it on, I do not know.

MR. KANJI: Would you be able to find out from your records?

A. Not from my records, Sir, but I could find it out.

MR. KANJI: I understand there is one outside, Sir.

CHAIRMAN: You might have a look at it when you go out.

MR. KANJI: Am I right that in Zanzibar you would not generally see landrovers covered with expanded metal ?

CHAIRMAN: He has not said he has ever seen one. Have you ever seen one with expanded metal so far as you are aware ?

A. No Sir.

Q. You have just seen landrovers looking like ordinary landrovers ?

A. Yes Sir.

MR. KANJI: Sir, I have this tape recorder and I request, Mr. Chairman, that I should be allowed to play it this afternoon when arrangements have been made for it to be connected.

CHAIRMAN: How long will it take ?

MR. KANJI: Only about ten minutes.

CHAIRMAN: I do not think that is necessary. You can play it long enough for the witness to identify the voice. We cannot have this Commission used as a propaganda platform.

MR. KANJI: That is not my intention.

CHAIRMAN: That may not be the intention but that would be the effect. If you wish the witness to identify the voice by all means do so if you think it is of value to you as part of your case, but we cannot permit this Commission to be used as a platform from which to repeat the speech. That is all that is necessary. I believe you have asked this witness whether he can produce certain other information.

MR. KANJI: In fairness to my own integrity I think I should be allowed to say this. The intention is not to use this as a platform for propaganda.

CHAIRMAN: You have just told us you were proposing to play the tape recording for ten minutes and, although I do not suggest for a moment that you have an intention of using it in that way, that, in my opinion, would be the effect. I am not suggesting you intended it.

MR. KANJI: I am much obliged, Sir.

Cross-examined by MR. KWAW-SWANZY:

Q. Mr. Wright, you have said that a newspaper which goes by the name of Afrika Kwetu belongs to the ASP. Do you remember saying that to my friend in cross-examination?

A. I think I said "supports the Afro-Shirazi Party".

Q. That is what I mean.

A. Yes.

Q. You were shown an article from this newspaper out of which an extract was given to you?

A. Yes.

Q. Reading the article as a whole would you say there was anything wrong with it?

A. I have not yet had the opportunity to read it through, Sir.

Q. Now, Mr. Wright, you said while you were trying to make up your mind about this extract that the words "is dangerous for him" should read "has its dangers"?

A. Yes Sir.

Q. This is a translation from the Kiswahili, is it not?

A. Yes Sir.

Q. Freely translated in ordinary English you would agree that this would read something like - "Uneasy lies the head that wears the crown"?

A. Yes Sir, that could be.

CHAIRMAN: I understand that expression in this context to mean - "Authority always has a difficult job". That is what it means in English.

MR. KWAW-SWANZY: That is so, Sir. You said in cross-examination, Mr. Wright, that a dance was held about three days after the death of the late Sultan by the ASP?

A. By Africans. If I said by the Afro-Shirazi Party that was unintentional. I meant "by Africans".

Q. In fact a dance of this nature would require a permit from the police, would it not?

A. It requires <sup>in</sup> the township of Ngambo a permit which is issued by the provincial administration. If it were a public meeting of any nature it would also require police permission.

Q. Have you any notes in your notebook about this particular dance?

A. Again, Sir, I can find reference to it. I have a recollection that there was some form of permit in existence. I cannot answer you with complete conviction at this moment without looking at the record.

Q. Do you remember, without looking through your records, that it was more of a jazz festival?

A. It was certainly dancing in the European style rather than indigenous dancing.

Q. And arrangements for such a dance would be made long before the date on which it was due to take place?

A. Yes.

Q. And if for one reason or other the authorities decided it should not take place the permit would be withdrawn, would it not?

A. Yes Sir.

CHAIRMAN: Is it possible to produce either the counterfoil of the permit or some information as to when the application for a permit was made, if one exists?



A. Yes, I think in actual fact there will be records existing in the provincial administration with the district commissioner or the Town Mudir.

MR. KWAW-SWANZY: Mr. Wright, you said in answer to a question put by my friend representing the ZNP and the ZPPP that it would be incorrect to say that Seyyid Scif was a neutral person as far as Zanzibar politics are concerned; do you remember?

A. Yes Sir.

CHAIRMAN: He said "not entirely neutral".

MR. KWAW-SWANZY: Not entirely neutral. Would it be correct to say that he tended towards one group rather than the other?

A. That is my opinion.

Q. You said in answer to my friend that Shohas normally attended political meetings and at the end of the meeting submitted a report. Do you remember saying that?

A. I did not say that they normally attend and submit reports. I think I said it is possible that a Shoha may have attended and submitted a report in that particular instance which was referred to.

CHAIRMAN: I also understood the witness to say that he thinks that records of those reports only commenced to be kept in June 1960.

A. In June 1960 we began the system of police recorders at public meetings, and I then filed such reports.

Q. You undertook to find out if by any chance there was a record of this earlier one in 1958?

A. Yes Sir.

MR. KWAW-SWANZY: You would agree with me, Mr. Wright, would you not, that the majority of Shohas are Arabs?

A. No Sir, the majority of Shohas are Africans.

Q. The Shohas are immediately under a superior known as the Mudir, are they not?

A. They are under the Mudir; they are in effect the willago or district headman.

Q. And under the Mudir?

A. And under the Mudir.

Q. You would agree with me, would you not, that the majority of Mudirs are Arabs?

A. Yes Sir.

Q. You would also agree with me, would you not, that the majority of district commissioners are Arabs?

A. Yes Sir.

Q. In fact it would be more correct to say all district commissioners are Arabs?

A. Yes, at the moment they are, Sir.

Q. The Mudir is immediately under the District Commissioner?

A. Yes.

Q. In the course of your examination-in-chief you attempted to give motives for certain incidents.

A. Yes Sir.

CHAIRMAN: He was asked if he had formed any opinion and, either at the request of counsel examining him or at our request, he gave us his view.

MR. KWAW-SWANZY: You said that in certain cases it did appear to you that local politicians were leading a group of attackers?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you at any time visit any of those scenes of incidents yourself?

A. Not at the time of commission, Sir. The bulk of them, yes, at a later stage.

Q. You visited the scenes at a later stage?

A. Yes.

Q. Would it be possible for me to suggest to you that most of your information came from the officers working under you?

A. That is correct, Sir.

Q. Would it be right for me to suggest that most your informers, the informers of your officers, were members of the Nationalist Party?

A. The informers - or informants I would prefer to say - were probably members of the Nationalist Party, yes Sir.

Q. You would agree, with me, would you not, that no political leaders of the ASP were pointed at by those informants? Leading political members in the village were not normally the people pointed out to your officers?

A. Many of them were pointed out to our officers, yes.

Q. That is how you got your impression that in some cases these groups were being led by politicians?

A. That and other evidence in the files, yes Sir.

CHAIRMAN: You said you visited these places where the incidents took place afterwards in many cases?

A. Yes Sir. What I was wishing to convey was that I was not personally present at any one of these incidents when it took place.

Q. You visited them afterwards?

A. I visited a lot of them afterwards.

Q. Was your opinion contributed to or not by the result of your visits?

A. No Sir.

Q. It was based, as Mr. Kwaw-Swanzy is suggesting, entirely on the information received?

A. Information which has been reduced to evidence in the files, Sir.

MR. KWAW-SWANZY: In answer to me you said you relied mostly on your officers and other evidence. This other evidence was produced by your officers, was it not?

A. Yes Sir, it is the evidence of witnesses for those particular offences which have been reported to the police.

Q. And these witnesses, you would agree with me, were mostly supporters of the Nationalist Party, were they not?

A. They were mainly, Sir, people who had suffered at the hands of some attacker or other, and politics was not then my concern as much as crime. I would not necessarily say that they were all supporters of the Nationalist Party; I do not know.

MR. KWAW-SWANZY: You said just now that politics were not your concern.....

CHLIRMLIN: He was investigating a crime.

MR. KWAW-SWANZY: But in the course of the investigation you had occasion to come to the conclusion that politicians were beneath the crimes you were investigating:

A. Politics did certainly enter into the crimes I was investigating, yes Sir.

Q. You said, I believe, in your examination-in-chief that, as far as you could remember, the incidents in the rural areas, and you pointed out the most vital area, were due merely to the squatter problem and to politics; is that what you said?

A. I said in my opinion in certain areas, principally in this north central area, squatters were the persons involved. I did in reply to a question say that I thought the squatter disputes, the feeling between landlord and squatter, had contributed to the incidents.

CHAIRMAN: To exasperating the position?

A. Yes.

MR. KWAW SWANZY: Did you have an opportunity of investigating these squatter troubles when they started?

A. Not personally investigating them.

Q. That is to say your department investigated these troubles?

A. They were mainly investigated at police station level, but I was taking an interest in the matter and I have knowledge of the investigations.

Q. From your reading and assessment of the evidence in the case of the evictions of squatters, what would you say were the causes of the evictions?

A. The main cause of the eviction of squatters was political, Sir.

Q. You would agree most of the squatters were non-Arab?

A. Yes Sir.

Q. Most of the landowners were Arab?

A. Yes.

Q. And all landlords involved in squatter troubles were Arab?

A. I think all were, Sir. There may have been an Indian but I do not know.

Q. And all squatters affected by the evictions were Africans?

A. Yes Sir.

Q. And those Africans were both local Africans and mainland Africans?

A. Yes Sir; I would think principally mainland, but both were involved.

Q. From your investigation you discovered that in the south the trouble that took place was mainly political - that is what you told the Commission here this morning, do you remember?

A. Yes.

Q. You were referring to Kizimkazi?

A. Yes.

Q. Now this morning you were not quite sure about the question of a band that was playing. Have you checked up on your notes and seen what particular society was playing the band at that dance?

A. The dance is one of the questions on which I have called for certain papers. I have put my staff on to producing relevant reports which I have not received as yet.

Q. Then we will go to the troubled area in the south, in the Kizimkazi area. Now you said something happened in that area. What actually happened?

A. There was rioting at Kizimkazi.

Q. Do you also say that the main population is indigenous. What do you mean by indigenous?

A. People who are known locally as Shirazis: indigenous Africans.

Q. Now, no murder or killing took place in that area?

A. No, Sir.

Q. There was one Arab at Kizimkazi?

A. I think that is correct, Sir.

Q. No harm came to him?

A. No, Sir, insofar as I know.

Q. And in the course of your investigations in respect of the eviction of squatters, did you receive any reports as to whether there were evictions in that area?

A. I do not recall any in the Kizimkazi area.

Q. In the course of your duty in respect of the evictions, did you have any reports of evictions in Pemba?

A. I would have to refer to records. There may have been. I cannot be certain.

CHAIRMAN: What is your impression?

A. I think not, Sir, not Pemba.

MR. KWAW-SWANZY: You are quite right, I have checked up. Now, you would say that Pemba was the place where the ASP lost the elections? Wouldn't you say that?

A. Yes, Sir, bearing in mind the joinder of the two parties, the ZNP and the Zanzibar and Pemba Peoples' Party.

Q. In fact in January they won the Chake Chake seat. In June, they lost that seat.

A. That is correct.

Q. If the troubles were due to political causes you would expect the trouble to be in Pemba more than in Zanzibar, wouldn't you?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Now, Mr. Wright, you would agree that in small villages as you have in the rural areas, everybody would know everybody else's political affiliations?

A. Almost certainly, Sir.

Q. It has been said here that the ZNP has a majority of its members are Africans? Is that your impression?

A. Yes, that is my impression.

Q. The majority of Africans. Can you give any reason to the Commission why out of a total number of 66 killed, 64 should be Arabs?

A. Yes, Sir, I think that the disturbances developed into racial hatred.

CHAIRMAN: You mean, as they went on they became more racial?

A. Yes, Sir.

KWAW SWANZY: Let us look at the circumstances in connection with the dance. Do you recall that the Central Government placed any ban on dances for the period? Did the Government place a ban on the dance for the period?

A. The dance after His Highness's death in October, 1960? As I remember, Sir, the Government first of all placed a two-day official mourning and permits for dances were not issued during that time. Originally, I think it was a two-day period of official mourning, later extended. But that is one of the matters I said this morning I would get papers to refer to, Sir.

Q. Now, do you recall that certain group of persons went into that dance-hall and tried to stop the dance?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you also recall that this group was made up of ZNP members and supporters. Do you also recall that the leader of the ZNP was amongst a group, Sheikh Ali Muhsin?

A. I believe he was there. I was not there.

Q. Would you say that was highly provocative?



A. Yes.

Q. Now it has been said here that towards noon on the 1st of June, 1961, the ZNP decided to withdraw their voters from certain constituencies. One of them, Jangombe and the other Raha Loo. Do you also happen to know that he also decided to withdraw from Stone Town? The previous Witness has said that the ZNP withdrew its members from these two constituencies. Would you say that was correct?

A. Yes, Sir. I was personally informed that the General Secretary during the morning thought they were going to do so.

Q. About what time was this?

A. I think it was about in the region of 10 a.m. I haven't a note of the particular time which he told me that they were withdrawing from those seats, but it would be between 9.35 a.m. and 10.30 a.m. when he spoke to me several times on the telephone.

Q. Were you also informed that the intention was to concentrate those withdrawn members at Darajani?

A. I was told or I learnt during the course of that morning that the voters were being told to withdraw and to concentrate at the headquarters at Darajani.

Q. Do you also recall that there was a similar withdrawal from Stone Town North constituency, known as Malindi?

A. I do not recall that.

CHAIRMAN: Would you mind asking if any reasons were given?

MR. KWAW SWANZY: Do you agree that the reason given for the recall was that his members from Darajani could give moral support.....

CHAIRMAN: Would you mind asking the witness if he gave any reasons for the withdrawal?

A. Yes, Sir. The General Secretary said that the agents and voters were being beaten up and the position was impossible and that they were withdrawing their voters from these Polling Stations.

MR. KWAW SWLNZY: Do you mean the General Secretary of the ZNP?

A. I mean the General Secretary of the ZNP.

Q. Did he also say where he was taking them after withdrawing them?

A. If I recall correctly, he said "we are withdrawing to our headquarters".

Q. Where would the Headquarters be?

A. Darajani.

Q. Very close to the Polling Station?

A. Yes.

Q. Did he by any chance give you any reason why he was taking them to Darajani and not letting them disperse?

A. No, Sir, I do not recall any such reason being given or asked for by myself.

Q. What impression did you yourself gather from what he told you?

A. I gathered the impression at that stage that he was generally worried about their safety and wished to withdraw them.

Q. Now, in the course of your investigations into the troubles in the rural areas, did it ever come to your knowledge that members of the gangs attacking people said: "Now again you have killed our brothers in the town and now we are going to show you"?

A. That has been reported as having been said.

Q. Now what did you understand by that?

A. That Africans in the rural areas did think that their fellows had been killed in the town by Arabs.

Q. That is all.

MR. DOURADO: There are just one or two questions in re-examination: you said all District Commissioners were Arabs. In fact, how many District Commissioners are there?

A. There are two in Zanzibar and one in Pemba. I am sorry, Sir: there is a Senior District Commissioner also, making three in Zanzibar.

Q. The other point is: have you described the murders in the Jangombe area of the town? There was the squatter problem there.

A. No, Sir.

Q. And Chwaka? A. No Sir.

CHAIRMAN: Raha Loo and Jangombe are they predominantly African areas?

A. Yes, Sir.

MR. GROSSMITH: Would you say, Mr. Wright, that on 1st June there was any broadcast of the events of the morning. Were there any local reports actually on the air?

A. At the January Elections, as I recall, Sir, the Broadcasting Station was open all day and I believe it was broadcasting information on what was occurring. I am not absolutely sure of that.

Q. How long would you think it would take for news of the events of the morning to reach the outlying areas where these lootings and murders were reported?

A. Possibly a few hours, Sir.

Q. What times were the telephone calls from the Secretary General of the ZNP?

A. I would clarify this for you. His first call was at 9.35 when the General Secretary said he wanted polling stopped because of his agents and voters being beaten. I said that stopping the polling was not my affair, but the re-establishment of law and order, and thereafter I had several telephone calls from him during the next hour in one of which he told me that voters were being withdrawn.

CHAIRMAN: We can release you for the rest of the day.

A. I have found the answer to two of the questions put to me this morning.

Q. By whom?

A. The one regarding the newspaper.

Q. Mr. Kanji asked you a question regarding a certain newspaper article and you were invited to check the translation of a passage from it. You have since had an opportunity of reading the article. Do you wish to express an opinion in answer to the question he put to you?

A. Yes, Sir. It is, Sir, that that passage, which we had already recorded, taken in context, is in my opinion, neither an expression of impending defeat nor of an intention to cause trouble. If I might add: the heading of the article, Sir, is "Thursday Next, a Day of Happiness".

Q. And the other question?

A. I have just been handed a file, Sir, regarding the Kizinkazi flag, also put by Mr. Kanji. It is a fact, Sir, that the Shoha of Dimbani, which is near to Kizinkazi was attacked.

The flag mast which stands in front of his house was cut down and the flag torn. Three men were prosecuted for that specific offence and they have received the benefit of the doubt and have been acquitted. There was no doubt the flag mast was torn down. The prosecution was unsuccessful.

MR. KANJI: Do you think it was torn down by members or supporters of the ASP?

A. I do not know that, Sir, but it is a question I could answer after study of the file. I have merely found that we have a file on the subject. I haven't got that information to hand as to which party they belonged to.

CHAIRMAN: Thank you, Mr. Wright.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: You asked, Sir, for figures of the January and June Elections. You have some figures there of the June Elections.

CHAIRMAN: I wanted it for the record.

Document  
A.G. 31

Document  
A.G.32

Document  
A.G. 31A

Document  
A.G.32A

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Here are the detailed results of the January Elections. Also the results of the June Elections in Swahili. It gives all the constituencies. Also the Gazette Notice No. 29 of 1961 with results in constituencies. Also the candidates for the January Elections, Gazette Extraordinary of 20th December, 1960, and the June Elections Gazette.

MR. M. V. SMITHYMAN called and sworn.

Examined by the ATTORNEY GENERAL.

Q. Would you give your full name ?

A. Mervyn Vice Smithyman.

Q. And are you Permanent Secretary to the Chief Minister?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you appointed to Zanzibar first in September, 1956?

A. Yes.

Q. And I think up to the beginning of this year you were Senior District Commissioner ?

A. Yes.

Q. I think amongst the other offices you held was that of Deputy Supervisor of Elections ?

A. Yes.

Q. Which elections were those ?

A. The 1957 Elections, the January Elections, and I was still gazetted as Deputy to these.

Q. I think there are documents signed by you as Supervisor of the Elections ?

A. I was in fact, for a time, in between getting the Assistant Supervisor to take over.

Q. I want to ask you first of all your assessment of the position prior to the election of June this year, starting off by speaking generally as to the security position.

A. Security was all the time in the forefront of our minds because from the background it was obvious that it could become very serious. Therefore for two or three months before the elections the District Administration did make a special target of keeping in touch, of trying to contact sources of

information and thereby getting a good assessment of what the position was. And at the same time they were trying to influence the people they were meeting, to improve the situation, if you see what I mean - both ways. From all these contacts, as far as the District Administration was concerned, I think I am right in saying no one said that they were certain that there was going to be any disturbance. I do not think there was any clear-cut report to the effect that the situation in June would be any different from the situation in January.

Q. Did you see during this period the political leaders? You know the political leaders in Zanzibar ?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you see them ?

A. On many occasions, yes.

Q. Did you speak to them about it ?

A. We made an arrangement that there would be a special elections committee. This was set up before the January elections and on it the Supervisor of Elections was the Chairman, and in addition he had two members from each political party as members.

CHAIRMAN: Of all three political parties ?

A. Yes.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: And you used to attend it?

A. Yes. The object of the Committee was to try and see the elections were carried out to the satisfaction of everybody and that any difficulties were smoothed over, and during those meetings we regularly had a chance of meeting all the leaders and finding out their difficulties, as they saw them, and also the question of security.

Q. In the course of your conversations with these loaders, did they give you their assessment of the situation ?

A. Yes: on many occasions one asked them the direct question, "Is there going to be trouble ?" - because that was the thing which was uppermost in our minds. I think invariably it was the same answer, more or less to the effect that "we Zanzibaris are peaceful people: there won't be any trouble." On the other hand there were certain reports that some areas of Ngambo were worse than others: they were areas in which one should keep one's eyes open.

Q. Were there any rumours about Chinese pencils and blood-stained clothes?

A. We did have quite a number of rumours which circulated.

Q. What sort of rumours ?

A. The Chinese pencil was raised at a meeting of the Committee, and it was stated that a large amount of them had arrived from China, and the idea was that they should be distributed so that when members of a certain party came along to vote, their X's would disappear after half an hour and leave the papers blank.

Q. Which party was credited with this bright idea ?

A. The report came from the Afro-Shirazi leaders. They said their opponents were planning this.

CHAIRMAN: What are these Chinese pencils ?

A. I have never heard of them. It may have got mixed up with Chinograph pencils.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: I am afraid we cannot exhibit any of them, Sir. What about the blood-stained clothing?

A. That was a rather more serious matter. That report was from the leaders of the Nationalist Party. They said they



had reports that on the day people would go around with clothes which were all blood-stained and thereby give the impression that they had been wounded, and thereby cause confusion and upset the election.

CHAIRMAN: And who was credited with this bright idea?

A. The Nationalist Party made the report, and the inference was that the Afro-Shirazis would be the people who would be planning this measure. As far as I remember, the Supervisor said he reported it to the police. I do not think any other action was taken.

Q. This morning we understood a witness to say that the Afro-Shirazi Party were afraid that this exercise you have described was going to be performed by the Y.O.U.

A. I have the minutes here, Sir, which give details.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Would you refer to the minutes?

A. This the Elections Committee meeting held on 27th May. Item 6 says, "Sheikh Barwani said he had heard strong rumours that some people had decided to visit polling stations on election day with blood-stained clothes and cause chaos. Sheikh Karume said he had also heard about this. Mr. Moore and Mr. Smithyman agreed that this matter should be taken up with the police, and Mr. Moore agreed to see to it."

Q. That was the time of the Coalition Government prior to the June elections. As far as you could ascertain, were the relationships of the political leaders good?

A. Yes, the leaders were mixing freely. As far as I know, at that time the relationships were rather better.

CHAIRMAN: That is immediately before the election?

A. Yes, there was a Coalition Government and the Ministers were meeting together in their normal business. I have even seen them shaking hands, and at that time it did not appear they had got to the stage when they were not on speaking terms. They were meeting in the course of ordinary government business.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Does the District Administration come under the Chief Minister's Office ?

A. Yes.

Q. Did the D.C. (Urban) in March raise any question about Ngambo polling station ?

A. Yes, just after the middle of March the District Commissioner discussed the question of certain stations in Ngambo with the Senior District Commissioner and the Senior District Commissioner wrote to the Commissioner of Police, the Supervisor of Elections and one or two other people, and suggested that a meeting should take place.

Q. Do you know if a meeting took place ?

A. No, it did not. The Commissioner of Police felt that there would be no particular purpose served by this meeting. I have his letter here in which he says "the police dispositions during the January elections were made by the Commissioner and approved by the British Resident following discussions with the Senior Commissioner and the Supervisor of Elections. The police dispositions for the June elections will be reviewed by me nearer the date in the light of experience gained in January, but such dispositions will again be limited by the police resources then available to meet security needs throughout the Protectorate. I do not think any useful purpose will be served by the Commissioner of Police Zanzibar discussing with the D.C. (Urban) the details of a matter which has been dealt with at a much higher level."

Q. Can you put shortly what the appreciation was from intelligence sources as to the situation in June in relation to the situation in January?

A. This is the report for May, drawn up at the end of May: "In assessing the political situation the Committee is of the opinion that the situation is not as tense as it was at a similar time in the last election, yet the atmosphere is not pleasant." As far as the District Administration was concerned, the individual assessment of the Senior District Commissioner was that it was expected, if trouble did break out "it will be in the nature of an odd scuffle here or there." No one thought the trouble would turn into riots which would lead to the killing of innocent people and women and children. That was the assessment of the Senior District Commissioner.

Q. Now I want to take you to preparations prior to the elections. They were close together and I think we can take them together. Starting with the January one, were instructions sent out to the District Administration ?

A. Yes, Sir, I spoke to the Senior District Commissioner on several occasions, and it was confirmed that the District Administration would play its usual role of mediators and conciliators. The District Administration was not concerned in any way with the technical side of running the elections. The senior officers had no personal responsibilities. The Mashoha - they are the village headmen, and they had a certain role to play in the processes of the election, but the rest of the Administration did not, and their task was to keep fully in touch with public opinion and feeling at the time. They were instructed to go round touring the whole of that day and keep in touch with their senior officer in each case. The Senior District Commissioner, as a result of our talks, said that

mootings were held in May to go over the ground which had already been covered in January, just to remind people. Each District Commissioner had to visit as many polling stations as he could. The District Commissioners, for their part, held mootings with their mudirs, and also were instructed to move around their districts. It was known at that time that the Ngambo area would need special attention, and therefore the District Commissioner (Urban) held special meetings in the Ngambo area before the election to try and persuade the people to act in their normal good manner. In addition in May he broadcast a message on the radio, calling for the same good behaviour.

Q. Have you got a copy of that?

A. I have not a copy of his message, no; but I could get one. There is a monthly meeting held of all mudirial officers, and for three or four months before the election the question was discussed of the security cover. On 31st May, the S.D.C. held a final meeting with the District Commissioners to tie up all the loose ends and to ensure that everything was under control. He had no information at that late stage that there would be anything unusual.

Q. Prior to the January elections, had the Senior Commissioner - whose post is now abolished - issued a circular, No. D9/78A, setting out the positions of the administration and the departmental staff?

A. Yes, this was a general circular to ensure that people understood their respective duties: the line of responsibility between the District Administration and the other branches of Government.

Q. Have you a copy?

A. I am not sure whether I have that.

Q. If you have, you might as well put it in.

A. I do not think I have brought a copy of that, but I can get one.

Q. Then we will put it in, yes. Did the Supervisor of Elections in January issue any circulars?

A. Yes, on the 7th January he issued a note to all his officers, giving instructions as to the division of responsibility for law and order at each polling station; and this makes it clear that the Presiding Officer is in charge inside the polling station and the police are in charge outside the polling station. I have a copy if you want it.

Document  
MVS.33.

Q. There are six copies, enough for the Commission and for the counsel. Did he issue any other circular of which you have a copy?

Document  
MVS.34.

A. A circular was issued on 7th January, 1961, by the Senior Commissioner, making clear the duties of the Masheha on polling day. I have a copy of that, if you want it.

Q. That bears your signature, does it not?

A. Yes.

Q. No further orders in writing were circularised by the Senior District Commissioner in May?

A. No, Sir.

Q. Because they had already been sent out in January?

A. Yes.

Q. Continuing with the measures taken prior to the elections, were any instructions given to voters in October last year?

A. Yes, in October a radio talk was drafted - in fact there was a series of six talks, which were also printed, and 5,000 copies of those were distributed. Those instructions dealt with the various aspects of the elections. Certain of them dealt

with law and order at the elections. I have copies of them here if you wish to have them.

Q. Those radio talks were by you, were they not?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. And you now produce copies ?

A. Yes.

Q. They are not dated, Sir, but the witness says they were October.

A. They were repeated before the June elections, these talks, and 500 copies were given to each political party for distribution among their leaders.

Q. In May was the question of personation raised by one of the parties at a meeting arranged by the Election Committee?

A. Yes, Sir. I think the Z.N.P. suggested at a meeting in May of the Elections Committee that there would be large-scale personation planned for the election; and this was discussed at the Election Committee meeting. It was suggested by the Z.N.P. that the remedy was for the presiding officer and his staff to adjourn the polling every two hours to go outside and then to check each voter in the queue. Then, having checked all the people queuing at that time, to go back again and let them vote; and this process would be repeated every two hours.

Q. Was that agreed to?

A. No, there was objection to this proposal by several of the members of the Committee. It was considered that the system laid down by law provided adequate safeguard, and secondly that if this system was tried it would lead to disorder.

Q. Are agents of the political parties allowed inside the polling station during polling?

A. That is laid down in the Decree.

Document  
MVS. 36.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Sir, I tender a copy of that Decree, the Legislative Council (Elections) Decree, 1956. The Commission of Inquiry also asked for details of the composition of the Council, and I tender also the Council's Decree, 1956. I also tender General Notice No. 185 of 1961, in the Gazette of 4th March, 1961.

Document  
MVS. 37.

Document  
MVS. 38.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Is there a newspaper, I think I am right in saying, published by the Government called "Maarifa"?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. When is that published - weekly ?

A. Once a week, yes.

Q. Did that have information and advice about the elections prior to the June and prior to the January election?

A. There were regular articles and the last one appeared on 25th May.

Q. In Swahili and Arabic?

A. In Swahili and Arabic. Seven thousand copies are distributed.

Q. Prior to the elections were appeals for calm and good behaviour made by the Government?

A. Yes, Sir. In particular in July, 1960, His Excellency made a broadcast and this called on the people of Zanzibar to co-operate and it included a joint declaration which was signed by all the leaders. I have a copy of that.

CHAIRMAN: Of all the parties?

A. Of all the parties. I have a copy if you wish.

Q. Was that given publicity?

A. That was broadcast and also appeared in a Press release and was also printed in the Government newspaper. That is July, 1960.

(Document  
MVS. 39.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: What was the joint declaration by the Party leaders? What did that declare?

CHAIRMAN: Did you tell us when it was broadcast?

A. It was issued on 26th July, 1960, broadcast that day and repeated, Sir.

Q. And then repeated?

A. And then was printed in the Government newspaper for that week and a Press release was issued on the same day.

Q. Did it appear again immediately prior to the June, 1961, election?

A. No, Sir.

Q. That was a long time before the January election, was it not?

A. Yes, Sir.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: At the end of the year did the British Resident give a New Year's message?

A. Yes, Sir. The British Resident gave a New Year's message and this also mentioned the general election and called for unity. I have a copy if you would like to have it.

Document  
MVS,40 &  
40A

CHAIRMAN: This was given publicity in January, 1961?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Immediately before the January election ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Was it repeated again before the June election ?

A. No. Sir.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: On 19th May did the Civil Secretary hold a meeting with the delegates of all parties and the Commissioner of Police ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. What transpired at the meeting?

A. I was present at the meeting, Sir, and the matter of security at the elections was discussed and considered in some detail. As a result of the meeting certain action was proposed and this included speeches to be broadcast by the four Ministers and one by the Chief Minister who at that time was the Chief Secretary. The theme of these broadcasts as regards the Chief Minister was that we wanted orderly elections and making specific instructions or ideas or proposals in the way in which orderly elections could be brought about, such as people should go home as soon as they have given their vote.

CHAIRMAN: And those were made by the Civil Secretary?

A. Those were made by the Civil Secretary.



Q. Who was then Chief Minister in the coalition Government ?

A. Yes, Sir. But it was also agreed that the four Ministers would also individually broadcast on different days before the June election.

Q. Was that done ?

A. I have got copies of their speeches. I have only one copy of each speech.

Q. Was that done ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Documents  
MVS. 41

ATTORNEY GENERAL: They broadcast on 25th May; 26th May; 27th May; 29th May and the Chief Minister finished up with a broadcast on 30th May. I tender them in evidence, Sir. They were in Swahili. The English translation is with them.

CHAIRMAN : They were broadcast in Swahili. These are the translations ?

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Swahili is also there.

Apart from the Ministers in the Government did the Supervisor of Elections during this period, December to May, make appeals for calm ?

A. Yes. The Supervisor also held Press Conferences, both before the January and the June elections, and he also issued Press Releases. I have one here which covers various matters, issued in January. He also issued some in May, 1961, which I have got here to be handed in. There is also a large notice which he arranged to have issued in conjunction with the police. This notice here (producing notice). It says :

DOCUMENT  
MVS. 42

"The best way you can help is to return to your home as soon as you have cast your vote.

It is an offence to congregate within one hundred yards of the polling station."

That was also posted up on the day of the elections. It was also printed in Swahili and posted up for general information.

CHAIRMAN : Was that posted up all over Zanzibar and Pemba ?

A. Yes, at polling stations, Sir.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: I think we can go on now to the Supervisor. Mentioning the election committee, that met regularly, did it ?

A. It did not meet every week. It met whenever there was business to be discussed and it sometimes met four times in a month, sometimes only once.

Q. We have had evidence of the police instructions. We need not repeat those. Before I come to ask you about your estimation of causes of the riots I would like you to refer to your diary. Did you keep a diary on the election day ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. If you would refresh your memory as to what happened on that day, what time did you first go out ?

A. At 7 a.m. I just took a round, I drove round the township areas.

Q. At 9 o'clock did you go to Malindi ?

A. At 9 o'clock I received a report from the Supervisor that the reports he had already received showed the election was proceeding normally. I then left my office to go and see personally and first went to Malindi where voting was proceeding in an orderly manner.

Q. I hope we can take this quite shortly because we have already had evidence about it. Did you then go on to Gulioni ?

A. I went to Gulioni.

Q. Was it orderly when you arrived ?

A. There was a large crowd. The voting was proceeding normally.

Q. Did you go on ?

A. I then went to King George VI School which is only a few hundred yards away and there everything was orderly also.

Q. Where did you go after that ?

A. I returned to Gulioni but when I saw a number of people it was obvious something was wrong so I went to the station and a riot squad had been called out and there were quite a lot of people there and rather a lot of excitement. I spoke to the D.C. who was also there, D.C. (Urban) and Seyyid Majid. They were both there already and as a result of discussion we decided that it would be a good thing to find the leader of the Afro-Shirazi Party and ask him to come and speak to the people.

Q. Did you find him?

A. I then went off to try and find him. It was difficult on election day to find anybody but I understood he might be at Holmwood so I set off for Holmwood and met one of the other Afro-Shirazi leaders, Mtoro Rehani, and I asked him if he would help by going to Gulioni until such time as I could find the leader.

Q. What did he do ?

A. I asked him to use his influence.

Q. To do what ?

A. To try and quieten the crowd, to assist the police in keeping as much order as he could. I assumed that as usual people would listen to their leaders. That has been the custom here. He left at once by car and I then proceeded to Holmwood but on the way I met a Z.N.P. man called Haji Hussein who told me that a group of men were beating one of the Z.N.P. followers. So I went on in that direction and we met a group of about forty people with one man in the middle being pulled along. So we stopped the group and they said this man had tried to vote twice and they were therefore taking him to the police.

Q. Did you form the impression as to what Party this man was ?

A. I had not a clue. All I knew was that he was being dragged by a lot of men who were Afro-Shirazi supporters and they said he was Z.N.P. But he was just one among many. Nothing to differentiate him from anybody else.

Q. You said he was being dragged ?

A. He was being dragged by a lot of people who said he was a Z.N.P. man who had voted twice. I explained to them that is quite all right, we will make a charge to the police and the best thing was to take this man in my car with some witnesses. I opened the door and tried to get him into the car. Unfortunately some small children aged about six or seven started to shout and as soon as they started to shout everybody else started to shout and everybody just screamed and shouted and the two of us could do nothing. We were unable to get the man away. They just pushed straight past us. I then went at once to the Police Headquarters in order to get some police to go down. I met Majid who said he was just leaving and would take a squad.

Q. Yes ?

A. I gave him the Mudir. I asked him to go with the Commissioner to guide him to this particular disturbance while I went on with the original idea of getting hold of Abeid Karume. When I got to Holmwood I found Abeid Karume.

Q. Is that his house ?

A. No. He had gone up there because of the election.

Q. It is part of his constituency ?

A. Yes. I told him what was happening and he at once agreed to come in the car with me and we went to Gulioni.

Q. Yes ?

A. When I got there I reported to the Superintendent in charge who was Superintendent Derham and told him that Abeid Karume was prepared to speak to the crowd over the public address system and the Superintendent then arranged that. Abeid Karume spoke on the loudspeaker asking everybody to behave themselves and to disperse and as a result of his talk the crowd then went across to the other side of the road.

Q. Is that the Creek side ?

A. Yes, and they all stayed along the other side of the road.

Q. Did the atmosphere calm down then for a time ?

A. At that time there was no real excitement. The police were all lined up. The voters were all queued up and these chaps were lined up along the other side and everybody was looking at everybody else. The voting had been proceeding exactly normally because a person came up to me and said he had been unable to get into the station and he produced his authority and it was his appointment as an agent of the Zanzibar Nationalist Party and he was entitled to go into the polling station. He told me he was unable to get in because certain people were stopping him from getting in. I personally took him in and in getting him in there were three or four people who tried to be difficult; and when I explained he was an official agent and entitled to be in there, I took him inside, but he told me he was unable to get in until I arrived to help him.

Q. Yes ?

A. When I left the situation was quite calm. The voters were voting and the police were standing by. There was no one actually rioting.

CHAIRMAN : What time would that be approximately ?

A. Two or three minutes before ten. I had arranged to meet the Civil Secretary at ten and I stayed there until the last minute before I went to keep my appointment with the Civil Secretary, so it would be two or three minutes before ten.

ATTORNEY GENERA: Did you meet the Civil Secretary as arranged?

A. Yes, at ten o'clock. I went to his office. I reported the situation to him as I had seen it and we then proceeded to Kiembe Samaki station.

Q. That is at the polling station. Did you have a report from the Supervisor of Elections about that time concerning a boycott of the elections at Jangombe and Raha Leo constituencies ?

A. On our way back from King George VI School we decided to call in at the Supervisor's office and when we got there he reported receiving a telephone message from Sheikh Ali Muhsin who had stated his Party was going to boycott the election for the Jangombe and Raha Leo constituencies. We at once proceeded with the Supervisor to Police Headquarters where the general situation was discussed with the Assistant Commissioner because the Commissioner was away, with the Deputy Commissioner, Sullivan and Meyer. As a result Sheikh Ali Muhsin was asked to come to Police Headquarters.

Q. Did he come ?

A. At 11.15 he arrived.

Q. Yes ?

A. And a meeting took place with the Civil Secretary, the Commissioner of Police, Sheikh Ali Muhsin and myself.

Q. Did Sheikh Ali Muhsin say what his Party intended to do ?

A. He said his Party was going to stop voting at Raha Leo and Jangombe. He explained they considered the important seat to them was Darajani.

Q. Had they lost the two seats at Jangombe and Raha Leo in the January election by large margins ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Had they won the Darajani seat in January election ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. By a not very large majority ?

A. No.

Q. Yes ?

A. He explained that he believed the Afro-Shirazi Party had a campaign and their campaign was to upset the election in Darajani by using commotion in the Jangombe and Raha Leo constituencies.

Q. Was that to intimidate voters ?

A. Yes, I presume that is what he meant when he said to upset the election.

He said Afro-Shirazis did not mean to upset the election in Jangombe and Raha Leo but hoped to divert people who were living in the Darajani area. The idea was to get people to go to other places or to fail to vote because of the commotion.

Q. Yes ?

A. Those were his words at the time. The idea was to create fear so that people would be afraid to vote in Darajani. He explained that three members of his committee had already been beaten and other people who were leaders, such as Sheikh Hilal Barwani, and he himself had been molested or pushed about in an unquiet manner.

Q. Sheikh Hilal ... ?

A. Barwani, candidate from outside the town.

Q. He was a nominated member for the Legislative Council ?

A. Yes.

Q. He said he himself was pushed about ?

A. He himself said he was pushed about. When we went to visit one of the stations he said that the Nationalist agents who were official agents were threatened and in one case a list of voters was taken from them and his idea was because the attack was aimed at Darajani the Nationalist Party had decided to leave the other two seats and to concentrate on Darajani. He said they had therefore ordered their

agents, the voters, to leave these two constituencies because of the incidents. He ended up by saying that violence had been suggested by one or two people but he personally had strongly opposed this. This they would oppose but if the security forces could not cope then they would have to use violence if necessary.

Q. He said if the police could not cope ?

A. Then they would have to use violence if necessary.

Q. "They" meaning whom ?

A. I presume his Party.

Q. Did he say why he was going to concentrate on the voters of the other two constituencies at Darajani ?

A. Moral support, I think he said. He used the words moral support.

Q. For the electors at Darajani ?

A. To give the electors at Darajani moral support in order to enable them to go and vote without fear.

Q. Yes. How did the discussion go on ?

A. During the course of the discussion there were reports coming in over the police network and at 11.30 the Commissioner reported to the meeting he had a report from all stations that voting was proceeding normally.

The Civil Secretary then explained that the position was now quiet and that there was therefore no reason why the Nationalist Party should not continue in the elections. I myself pointed out that it was most undesirable for the Nationalist Party to boycott these two constituencies because in the first place this would give the impression of a victory to the Afro-Shirazis and possibly excite undesirable elements. In the second place it would mean that undesirable elements could concentrate at Darajani if they wished to. The third thing was the most dangerous thing of all, was any talk of having gangs to give



support to their people or to meet violence with violence. This was most undesirable and would be certain to create trouble. Sheikh Ali Muhsin then said that they could not dissipate their efforts and their voters were being intimidated in these two constituencies. The Civil Secretary pointed out there were still six hours for voting but that if the Nationalists decided for their own reasons not to vote that would be their own affair. Then Sheikh Ali Muhsin said they were not concerned with the matter of the elections being illegal; they were approaching this entirely from a practical point of view. The Commissioner finally asked Sheikh Ali Muhsin to advise his followers not to go around armed as that would either provoke trouble or it would mean they would get into trouble and at that stage Sheikh Ali Muhsin left.

CHAIRMAN: Did you form any opinion as to why that advice was given ?

- A. Which advice, Sir ?
- Q. The request to advise his followers not to go about armed?
- A. He had mentioned earlier that if the security forces could not keep the peace that his people would have to look after themselves, protect themselves.
- Q. That is Z.N.P. ?
- A. Yes, Sir. It is a normal custom for many people in Zanzibar to go about armed, just in ordinary normal dress.
- Q. They wear small daggers ?
- A. They have these small daggers. Some people have knives; some people have sticks, but on a day like this it would be a different matter and I think the Commissioner was trying to prevent the trouble becoming more serious than it was at that stage.
- Q. Could you give us the election results of these two constituencies in January.
- A. Jangombe and Raha Leo ? They are on that sheet which you were given.

Q. In the June election I notice in Jangombe there was no Z.P.P.P. candidate ?

A. By the June election there had been an agreement.

Q. That may explain the difference in the number of votes recorded. They are very close in the two elections, you agree ?

A. Yes.

ATTORNEY GENERAL : There was in fact only one Z.P.P.P. candidate in the Zanzibar Island at the June election ?

A. Yes, Sir.

CHAIRMAN : All the rest were in Pemba ?

A. Yes.

ATTORNEY GENERAL : Then did you go back to your office, or did you continue touring, or what did you do until 12.30 ?

A. There was a very quick discussion on the situation, and a press release was provided. Then I received a telephone message saying His Excellency wished me to contact Sheikh Abeid Karume and persuade him to speak to his supporters and persuade them to return home after voting and behave themselves. That was at 12.30.

Q. Did you meet Abeid Karume ?

A. Yes, I met him at Raha Leo voting station.

Q. At what time ?

A. At 12.45 p.m.

Q. What was the situation there ?

A. It was all quiet, but there were quite a few people gathered about 200 yards from the station, and I thought it best to ask him to speak to them. He did so over the radio and they dispersed. We then proceeded to Gulioni. My idea was to go to Gulioni first and then on to Darajani, the two trouble spots. When I got to Gulioni there was a large crowd there which prevented the car from proceeding along Hollis Road. They saw Abeid Karume in the car; they stopped the car and said

it was not safe for him to go along the road because Nationalist supporters were stoning all cars further up the road, and if they saw Abeid Karume he would be injured. We tried to persuade Abeid Karume this was not true and we could go along the road, but it was not possible to get him to see any sense, and Abeid Karume decided it would not be safe to go along that road, and I took him back to his headquarters.

Q. They were where ?

A. On the road to Raha Leo; about half-way between the two points.

Q. Where did you go?

A. I then proceeded to Darajani to see for myself what was happening, and at Darajani I met Mtoro Rehani, a leader of the Afro-Shirazi Party. All was quiet at the station.

Q. Is that the polling station at the school?

A. At the school.

Q. It is not very far away from the Nationalist headquarters?

A. The police were lined up, quite a large body of police; the voters were also lined up and voting was proceeding normally, but I noticed there were various groups of people in various directions 300 or 400 yards away from the polling station, crowds gathered together, which was not very hopeful. I asked Mtoro Rehani to go and speak to these people, which he did. At that <sup>time</sup> Ibuni Saleh who was the Nationalist candidate for Darajani came to see me in front of the station, and he reported that because of intimidation in the areas, not actually at the station but places approaching the station, the Nationalist Party were withdrawing all their people from the Darajani constituency. I tried to persuade him not to take this step, but there were two party agents present and they all decided they could not break the party decision. But he said that he would speak to the

leaders, explaining the views I had given, and the agents and the candidates for the Nationalist Party then withdrew. At the time there were about seventy police I would say within about 100 yards of the station, and certainly within 100 yards of the station there were no people except voters.

Q. Did you go back and report then to the Civil Secretary?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Later did you hear the report of an incident at Mkwajuni polling station?

A. Yes Sir, at 2.10 p.m., the first report we had received of anything from the rural areas. That is up in the north.

Q. Did you send anybody to deal with it?

A. We arranged by telephone for the Deputy Supervisor of Election to go to the area, and also for the District Commissioner to be contacted and for him or the Mudir to go at once to the area. Naturally, this was a thing we had been looking for. Anything in the rural areas would be very serious indeed, and we were looking for it. I understand in fact that the District Commissioner did proceed there.

Q. The District Commissioner (Rural) ?

A. District Commissioner (Rural).

Q. That afternoon was there a meeting of the security committee ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Later did you see Sheikh Ali Muhsin again at police headquarters ?

A. Yes, Sir, just before 3 o'clock, at five minutes to three, I took Ali Muhsin to police headquarters. He agreed to make a broadcast to the people of Zanzibar calling for an end to the disturbances, and I arranged to meet Sheikh Ali Muhsin and Sheikh Abeid Karume at Raha



that he was not able to come to the Raha Leo station because of the disturbances which had occurred in the morning when he himself had been molested, so I sent a tape recorder to his house. Sheikh Abeid Karume arrived and he duly made his broadcast.

Q. Have you prepared a folder containing a record of the Press Releases and Broadcasts from 1st June to 9th June ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. I would like to hand in this bundle of documents now and then we can refer to the various items. When did Abeid Karume make his broadcast ? - as soon as he got there ?

A. Yes, at 3.20. It was at this time also that for the first time I heard rumours about Mtendeni. It was mentioned to me by the Afro-Shirazis that at Mtendeni their followers were being very badly injured; they were being attacked and injured.

Q. Is Mtendeni near Darajani ?

A. Yes, it is just off Darajani. Immediately after this I got a message from the Civil Secretary that there was threatening crowd at the fire brigade, and I proceeded there with Abeid Karume.

Q. Did you go with Abeid Karume to the fire station ?

A. Yes, he went with me, but when we reached the fire brigade area we found the crowd consisted entirely of Nationalist supporters, and they were rather incensed by the sight of Abeid Karume, and it was quite useless of course speaking to them. I said a few words to one or two of their leaders, and then we went off to Darajani where there was a very large crowd with sticks and stones, and Abeid Karume addressed them.

Q. They were his supporters ?

A. I presume they were because they did after a little while disperse. The leaders of this particular mob I had never seen before; they were not regular political leaders.

Q. Did they give the appearance of being a hooligan element?

A. Very much so. For example, one big crowd Abeid Karume was addressing refused to move and I was expecting any moment for them to start a riot on us, but suddenly one particular leader jumped out in front all in rags and said "Hip Hip", everybody said "Hurray"; he said "Hip Hip" again and everybody said "Hurray", and then he said "Hip Hip, we are all going home", and they said "We are all going home". I am quite convinced if he had said "Hip, Hip, we are all going to attack them", they would have attacked them just like that. I think it shows the feeling in the crowd. They had got to the stage where they were hardly responsible for their actions, that particular crowd. A few minutes later in a similar crowd a boy was brought up. They were saying "The Arabs are wounding our people" and one little boy said "Look at my leg". It was covered with blood, and I was a bit alarmed because in a crowd like that if they see blood the next thing is they get out of hand. I looked at the leg, I examined it carefully and found a great big cut on the sole of the foot. When I held it up and said "The Arabs don't cut the bottom of a foot" they all laughed and that crowd went away. He must have been just running and he cut himself on the glass, but to the crowd there, if I had not shown them the foot, that would have been another case proved of an injury.

Q. This crowd dispersed. Did you then go towards the Ngambo police station ?

A. Yes, I had a further report, and we proceeded towards Ngambo, but before we got there we met a large crowd at Kikwajuni by the Mosque, all with sticks showing as they went along the road. We stopped these and again Abeid Karume spoke to them and after persuasion they dispersed.

CHAIRMAN: Whom did that particular crowd appear to be supporting ?

A. From the fact that they listened to Abeid Karume I assumed they were his supporters. If they had not been they would have taken no notice. I had no other way of knowing.

Q. You assumed that ?

A. I assumed that, yes.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: What were they carrying - sticks ?

A. Yes, I only noticed sticks and stones. Then we proceeded on to Ngambo and before we reached the police station there was another crowd rather more wild and some of them had iron bars as well as sticks.

Q. And pangas ?

A. I cannot remember seeing any pangas. They said they were going to rescue their people who were being killed in Mtendeni.

Q. You speak Swahili quite well ?

A. Yes, Sir. Every gang we met from here onwards repeated this word Mtendeni, their people were being killed in Mtendeni. This gang was going to the rescue of their people being butchered in Mtendeni. When they were told by Abeid Karume and myself that there was nothing at Mtendeni eventually they agreed to disperse and we saw them go off, some into the houses and some into the bush.

Q. Did you then go to Saateni ?

A. I then went on to Saateni on the Chwaka Road. There were two groups of people, one at each side of the road. There were one or two injured people round about, and we heard there had been a lot of stoning taking place, so we persuaded these people who were round about to disperse and leave the area, and they all went away. The injured people were then seen off to hospital. Because of the reports which I continually had about Mtendeni I sent a message through to ask for a police patrol to go down there in order to be able to give definite



news. I was not there but I understand a police patrol did go down, and later on it was reported to me they had been down there and found nothing.

Q. Did you yourself go to Mtendeni ?

A. As these reports continued I felt the only thing to do was to go down with Abeid Karume, let him see and then get him to scotch this rumour, but he was not prepared to go because he said it was a Nationalist area and it would not be safe for him. So I went down myself. It was perfectly quiet, a lot of people sitting on one side of the road, and a lot of people sitting on the other perfectly peacefully.

Q. Is that a road of shops ?

A. There are a lot of shops each side.

Q. Were they all closed ?

A. They were all closed and people were sitting in the doorways. As far as one could see there was absolutely nothing, no sign of any trouble, no people were armed and I never saw anybody holding a stick or stone, but that is not to say sticks and stones were not readily available if they wanted them. But there was certainly no foundation for these rumours.

Q. That is quite close to the Nationalist Headquarters, is it?

A. Yes, I took the opportunity of returning via the Nationalist headquarters. I spoke to Ali Muhsin who was there, and we discussed the dangers of groups of people forming themselves into bands, and we also discussed the question of Mtendeni. Various difficult things were discussed such as damage to property. I explained to him the orders about the curfew and asked for the complete co-operation of himself and his followers in enforcing the order.

Q. Had the curfew been arranged ?

A. It had been arranged that there would be a curfew that night, and I explained it to him. He told me at that time how they were doing their best to keep order. I would mention one example of a man

taking his sword out to go out and cause trouble and another man took a sword out and said - "I will stop you with my sword". That was an example of how the leaders were going to stop trouble; a man had to use a sword to stop another man.

Q. After that did you go to the polling station at Darajani, which is quite close ?

A. Yes, I did, Sir.

Q. Had voting ceased at that time ?

A. Yes, it was just 6 p.m. and according to the law that is when voting is closed, and the station was in fact closed and all was quiet.

Q. I think you went back for a further meeting of the security committee ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Was there a press release sent out that evening ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Is it in the bundle ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Appendix 5, No. 43.

A. At 1729 hours, 5.30.

Q. Was the security committee concluded at 9 p.m. and was all reported quiet in the town ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Have you any more notes about occurrences on that day ?

A. No. There was another notice issued about the carrying of weapons that went over the air at 9.30. When I went round the town at 10.30 everything was quiet.

Q. Did you conclude your busy day then ?

A. The election results were coming in.

(The proceedings were adjourned until Tuesday,  
3rd October, 1961, at 8.30 a.m.)

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