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ZANZIBAR PROTECTORATE

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

held at

The Legislative Council Chamber, Zanzibar.

before

- SIR STAFFORD FOSTER-SUTTON, K.B.E., C.M.G., C.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

TENTH DAY

Thursday, 5th October, 1961.

*of proceedings*  
Note taken by Treasury Reporter.  
— 1

APPEARANCES

For the Government:

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

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

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

For the Afro-Shirazi Party:

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

ON RESUMPTION

CHAIRMAN: Mr. Attorney, could you obtain a copy of Sessional Paper No. 14 of 1960, please, as we wish it to be put in evidence ?

Document  
AG.55.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Yes Sir, I tender in evidence Sessional Paper No. 14 of 1960, entitled "Constitutional Reforms, 1960".

Examination of Ali Raza Nathani by Mr. Kanji, continued.

Q. Mr. Nathani, did you write a letter to the Commissioner of police, or did anyone else deal with the matter ?

A. The letter was written by the section dealing with the reports from the party.

CHAIRMAN: Is it dated ?

MR. KANJI: The statement is dated; the letter was written by someone else.

Q. As far as you know, was it the copy of this statement which was sent to the police ?

A. Yes Sir.

Document  
ARN.56.

Q. Do you produce this ?

A. Yes Sir.

MR. KAW -SWANZY: May I, through you, Sir, ask a question of this witness ?

CHAIRMAN: Yes.

Cross-examined by MR. KAW-SWANZY.

Q. Yesterday you said you made a statement to the Commissioner of Police as to what you had seen and heard; do you remember saying that ?

A. I did not say so.

Q. You said you wrote to the Commissioner of Police ?

A. I said I wrote ....

Q. To the Commissioner of Police ?

A. Yes, but that was made by a section of the party.

Q. You said you wrote to the Commissioner of Police  
and that is why you said that the police were aware of this ?

A. That is what I meant - this statement.

Q. Did you, or did you not, say you wrote to the  
Commissioner of Police ?

A. I did not say so.

Q. You did say so. What is there on the face of  
this statement to suggest the Commissioner of Police knows  
anything about this ?

A. I have already said it.

MR. KAW-SWANZY: What have you already said ?

CHAIRMAN: The witness has said that that was a report  
which he made which was sent on by the executive of the party.

(The witness withdrew)

CHAIRMAN: I think in the circumstances, Mr. Kanji,  
you ought to show when it was sent. It is dated 12th June.  
No doubt the Attorney General will make enquiries to ascertain  
if any such document was ever received by the Commissioner of  
Police or by his Department.

MR. KANJI: I will bring a witness who will testify  
that he brought the letter to the police and to show that there  
is a signature in respect of it.

MR. MZEE THANI called and sworn.

Examined by MR. KANJI.

Q. Is your full name Mzee Thani ?

A. Yes.

Q. Used you to live at Sogea until 1st June 1961 ?

A. Yes, correct.

Q. Are you a Shirazi by race ?

A. My mother is a Shirazi, my father is Mgunya.

Q. On 1st June did you go to vote at Mwera ?

A. Yes.

Q. Are you a member of the ZNP ?

A. Yes.

Q. Am I right that Mwera is some distance from Sogea ?

A. Yes.

Q. After you had voted at Mwera did you get on a bus to get back to Sogea ?

A. Yes, I got in a passenger bus to come back to Sogea.

Q. What happened on the way ?

A. When we reached Makaburi Msafa we came across a crowd of people.

Q. What did this crowd do ?

A. They stopped the bus, shouting "Oho".

Q. After that did the crowd do anything to the people in the bus ?

A. Then they started stoning.

Q. Did people begin to run away from the bus ?

A. Yes, and they started dispersing, running away.

The people in the bus started running away.

Q. Did you manage to run away ?

A. I ran away. I ran across Makaburi Msafa towards Sogea.

Q. Were you attacked by any member of the crowd whilst you were running away ?

A. Yes, as I was running I met five people who attacked me. The first one struck me on the arm and then the others struck me on the head until I fell down unconscious, but I know one of them who attacked me.

Q. Do you know his name ?

A. I know him by sight. I married one of the members of his family.

Q. Do you know whether this person was and is a member of the ASP?

A. Yes.

Q. Whilst these people attacked you did anything happen to your tongue ?

A. One of them pulled out my tongue, and I tried to get it away, I could not.

Q. Did you sustain an injury to your tongue ?

A. I have not been able to speak properly up to now.

Q. Do you know who rescued you from these people ?

A. I do not know who did. I did not regain consciousness until I found myself in the hospital.

Q. How long were you in the hospital ?

A. I was in hospital for seventeen days, and then I attended as an out-patient.

Q. After this incident did you shift your residence to some other place than Sogea ?

A. Yes, I was afraid, so I shifted to my home in a shamba at Fuoni.

Cross-examined by MR. TALATI.

Q. You said you went to Mwera to vote ?

A. Yes.

Q. That is about how many miles from the town ?

A. About five miles from Sogea.

Q. I think it is about seven miles from town. What time did you go to Mwera ?

A. At eight o'clock in the morning.

Q. What was the time when the bus got attacked ?

A. I finished voting at 2 o'clock.

Q. At Mwera ?

A. Yes.

Q. Then you boarded the bus; was it a special bus provided for ZNP voters ?

A. No, it was not. I simply stopped the bus and I got in.

Q. Which bus was it, do you know ?

A. I do not know whose bus it was; I simply stopped it and boarded it.

Q. What time did you join this bus ?

A. After I had voted, at 2 o'clock I boarded the bus.

Q. What time did you reach the place where it was attacked ?

A. I do not know - it would be approximately 2.30 p.m.

Q. Who was the driver of your bus ?

A. I do not know; I am not familiar with the Mwera side; I simply boarded the bus.

Q. Was there a mixed crowd in the bus ?

A. Yes.

Q. You said that after the bus was stoned and you ran, people followed you ?

A. No, I saw people in front; they barred my way.

Q. You would recognise one of these persons ?

A. Yes, I recognised him because I had married into his family; that is why I recognised him.

Q. What is his name ?

A. I do not know his name, but he said - "Father-in-law, you are finished today." That is what he said to me, and I could recognise him anywhere if I saw him again.

Q. But you do not even know the name of this person who called you his father-in-law?

A. I know him by sight.

Q. Did you actually see him that day, or because he called you father-in-law you assumed who he was ?

A. I saw him actually,

Q. You know him to be a member of the ASP ?

A. Yes.

Q. You heard that day that the ASP were attacking the ZNP ?

A. Yes, because people were speaking, talking in the bus, saying that today town people are being beaten.

Q. Did not that lead you to assume that the attacker was ASP ?

A. No, I know him actually. I know this person.

Q. You said you belonged to the Mgunya tribe ?

A. I am a Molafi, Mgunya on my father's side.

Q. Yes, but you are always known by your father's tribe, is not that so ?

A. Yes.



Q. Where does this tribe come from ?

A. I do not know where they come from. I was born here.

Q. Have you heard of the tribe coming from Lamu ?

A. Yes, I think my ancestors did.

Q. Lamu, on the Kenya coast ?

A. I think so; that is what I have heard.

CHAIRMAN: It is not denied that these individual incidents took place; it is not denied that supporters of each side on occasion during the relevant period did commit acts of violence against supporters of the other side. This sort of evidence does not carry us very far.

MR. TALATI: What is your work ?

A. I have my own donkey and I collect coconuts by donkey and also sell firewood.

(The witness withdrew).

MR. VUWAI MMANGA called and sworn

Examined by MR. KANJI

Q. Used you to stay at Kidongo Chekundu on 2nd June, 1961?

A. Yes.

Q. Are you a Shirazi by race?

A. Yes.

Q. Where are you living at present?

A. Now I live in the shamba.

Q. During the election disturbances did anything happen to you?

A. Not on the first day.

Q. Did anything happen to you on the second day?

A. On the second day I was beaten.

Q. Where were you beaten?

A. At Kwaalimsha.

Q. Where were you going at the time?

A. I was going to Kidonge Chekundu from town.

Q. That is Stone Town, is it not?

A. Yes.

Q. In which place were you attacked?

A. At Kwaalimsha.

Q. Do you know who beat you?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. Was it a big crowd or a small crowd?

A. There was a big crowd both sides.

Q. Do you know which political party the members of this crowd supported?

A. Afro-Shirazi.

Q. How did you form your opinion about this?

A. Because I always see him in the meetings; I always see him in the branch.

Q. You said you used to see him at meetings and in the branch - was this person a member of the crowd?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know his name?

A. Yes.

Q. Could you tell us his name?

A. His name is Simai.

Q. Did the people in the crowd have anything in their hands?

A. They had iron bars, they had pangas, they had sticks.

CHAIRMAN: I do not think this adds anything to what we have heard before. We have heard a considerable amount of evidence, and indeed it is not disputed that there was violence committed by supporters of both parties against supporters of the opposing party.

MR. KANJI: If you please, Sir.

CHAIRMAN: If the evidence is going to prove any particular point then by all means continue.

MR. KANJI: I thought perhaps the Commissioner would be interested in knowing persons were attacked and injured by large crowds, two crowds fighting each other.

CHAIRMAN: We have had evidence of this from people who are not parties to the dispute. I am not trying to stop you.

MR. KANJI: I have one or two more witnesses on this subject.

CHAIRMAN: You must advise yourself on it, but we all feel that a considerable body of this sort of evidence will not help very much. If you want to call one or two witnesses by all means do, if they are going to add anything to the evidence we have already heard, but if it is merely an individual case then I do not think it will add very much. Take the last witness; I do not suppose anyone would suggest the unfortunate man was not speaking the truth.

MR. KANJI: This evidence, Mr. Chairman, also indicates that there were scuffles between political parties, that race was not the reason for the attacks.

CHAIRMAN: As distinct from any racial feeling.

Q. Did anyone attempt to rescue you from the crowd?

A. Nobody except the Police came after a time and took me away.

Q. Did this incident take place somewhere near Ngambo Police Station?

A. Yes, you could see from the place where I was attacked Ngambo Police Station door.

Q. And were you then taken to the Hospital?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you admitted as an in-patient?

A. Yes.

MR. SWANZY: Was this matter reported to the Police?

A. Yes, it was reported at the Police Station and then I was put in a car and taken to hospital.

Q. To the best of your knowledge, has your case been dealt with according to the law?

A. No, not yet.

Q. Have you ever been called to the Court in connection with this matter?

A. Not yet.

Q. That is all.

Mwana Juma Abdulla called and sworn

MR. KANJI: What are you by race?

A. Shirazi.

Q. On the 1st June were you travelling by a taxi from Mwembetanga to Fubni?

A. Yes.

Q. What time was it?

A. At 9 o'clock.

Q. Did anything happen to you on the way?

A. I was hit.

Q. Where were you hit?

A. At Ngambo Police Station.

Q. What were you hit with?

A. A stone.

Q. Where?

A. In my eye.

Q. And as a result of that, did you lose your left eye?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you know whether the members of the crowd supported any political party?

A. The Afro-Shirazi Party.

Q. Were you admitted as an in-patient at the Hospital?

A. Yes, I was admitted for 25 days.

Q. Are you a member of the Z.N.P.?

A. Yes.

MR. SWANZY: No cross-examination.

CHAIRMAN: Was she merely passing that way?

A. Yes, I was passing going to shamba and suddenly I saw a crowd on both sides and was hit.

Q. Were there plenty of stones flying about?

A. Yes, the glass of the car was smashed.

Witness withdrew.

Amur Mzee called and sworn.

MR. KANJI: Could you tell us what is your race?

A. I am a Shirazi.

Q. Did you used to live at Mikunguni until 1st June, 1961?

A. Yes.

Q. Are you a member of the Z.N.P.?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you an agent of the candidate of the Z.N.P.

Constituency at Jangombe?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you appointed at Holmwood Polling Station?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you go to Holmwood Polling Station on 1st June?

A. I did.

Q. What time did you go there?

A. At 9 o'clock.

Q. Did anything happen to you whilst you were there?

A. Yes.

Q. Could you tell us what happened to you?

A. I was beaten.

Q. By whom?

A. I don't know them.

Q. Did you believe that the people who attacked you belonged to any political party?

A. Yes.

Q. Which political party?

A. The Afro-Shirazi Party.

Q. Why did you form the opinion that the people who attacked you were supporters of the A.S.P.?

A. Because they said "this man is a Hizbu".

CHAIRMAN: What is that?

MR. KANJI: The word for Nationalist.

Q. When did they first attack you?

A. On the 1st June.

Q. Where were you?

A. I was outside the polling station.

Q. Did the crowd shout anything before they started attacking?

A. Yes, there was a commotion.

Q. Did you hear any voices?

A. They said "thief" - that is all.

Q. Did anyone rescue you after you were attacked by this crowd?

A. No.

Q. Did you go to the hospital?

A. They took me to the Police Station.

Q. You mean, the crowd took you?

A. Yes.

Q. And what took place at the Police Station?

A. From the Police Station I was taken to hospital.

Q. Did anyone in the crowd report you to the Police Station?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know him?

A. I don't know him.

Q. Has any criminal case been brought against you?

A. No.

Q. Did this man who reported you to the Ngambo Police Station say to the Police that he was <sup>a</sup> supporter of any political party?

A. Yes, the A.S.P.

MR. SWANZY: You <sup>have</sup> said to the Commissioners that the crowd accused you of being a thief?

A. Yes.

Q. What did you understand that to mean? What were you accused of stealing?

A. A vote.

Q. If that was true, would you agree that it was a very serious matter?

A. Yes.

Q. You were an agent for the Nationalist Party during the Elections?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you also an agent during the General Elections in 1961?

A. I was not.

Q. You say you were arrested by the crowd and taken to the Police Station.

A. Yes.



Q. And a complaint was made against you of stealing votes?

A. Yes.

Q. Looking back after the event, are you pleased that no action has been taken by the Police against you?

A. No.

Q. You are not happy?

A. No.

MR. KANJI: Did you go to Holmwood Polling Station to steal votes?

A. No.

Q. Do you think that the crowd just attacked you for the fun of attacking you?

A. Yes, for nothing.

Q. You went for the purpose of carrying out your duties as agent of the candidate you were representing?

A. Yes, that is all.

The witness withdrew

MR. FRASER-MURRAY: I see that my name appears on the record as leading on behalf of the Zanzibar Nationalist Party but I cannot undertake that function. I hope I will be forgiven and that I have not shown any disrespect. I am only here to help my friend, Mr. Kanji.

CHAIRMAN: I think we can leave things as they are.

MR. FRASER-MURRAY: Now, Sir Stafford, I understand that allegations have been made during this Enquiry against gentleman whose name is Mr. Abdul Rahman Mohamed that he is a communist.

CHAIRMAN: Are you going to make an address? We are now hearing evidence.

MR. FRASER-MURRAY: No, I am not. I do not know to what extent that allegation is relevant to the Enquiry, but if it is, it is proposed to call Mr. Abdulrahman Mohamed to refute it.

CHAIRMAN: You must advise yourself on it. The accusations have been made with the object of trying to discredit the person concerned.

MR. FRASER-MURRAY: I am very much obliged. I would call Mr. Abdulrahman Mohamed.

CHAIRMAN: You must advise yourself.

Mr. Abdulrahman Mohamed called and sworn

MR. FRASER-MURRAY: You are Mr. Abdulrahman Mohamed? Is that right?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. I think you have a nick-name, Babu, and you are generally known by that name in Zanzibar, and you are the General Secretary of the Z.N.P.?

A. I am, Sir.

Q. How long have you done that job?

A. Since May, 1957.

Q. Where do you come from?

A. London.

Q. No, no, you do not understand me. Where do you come from originally?

A. From Zanzibar.

Q. What do you described yourself as?

A. Zanzibari.

Q. Were you born here?

A. Yes and lived most of my life here.

Q. You said you were in London? When was that?

A. 1951 - 1957.

Q. Six years immediately before returning to Zanzibar to become General Secretary of the Zanzibar Nationalist Party. What did you do in London?

A. I was a student.

Q. Where?

A. At the London University.

Q. What did you read there?

A. Philosophy, social psychology and history.

Q. Did you do any wage-earning work while in London ?

A. Yes, I was Post Office clerk at a Savings Bank.

Q. I see. So you were earning your way while you were in London?

A. Working during the day and studying at lectures at night.

Q. Now the reason why I called you, Mr. Abdulrahman Mohamad, is because it has been alleged against you that you are a communist? Are you a communist?

A. No.

Q. Are you a member of the Communist Party?

A. No.

Q. Have you ever been one?

A. Never.

Q. Now you are connected with a journal, a publication which is published in Zanzibar called ZANEWS. Is that right?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. What do you do in regard to that?

A. I am the publisher?

Q. How long has this organ been published in Zanzibar?

A. About six months.

Q. I see. What does it do. What is its object?

What is the object of the publication?

A. Just to sell news.

Q. Is it designed to propagate any particular party line?

A. No, I am sending news to other newspapers; whoever wants to extract news from this bulletin writes to me and pays me. Like a news agency.

Q. ZANEWS is an organ of an agency?

A. Yes.

Q. And the agency is yourself?

A. Yes.

Q. What is your profession?

A. I am a journalist.

Q. And you say that other agencies buy news from you.

They pay you for that, you personally.

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. I see. Well, now I have got a copy of ZANEWS in front of me. I am not sure, Sir Stafford, if the members of the Commission have seen this publication?

CHAIRMAN: We have seen extracts of it. Extracts have been tendered.

MR. FRASER-MURRAY: In this copy which I am holding in my hand, in the top right-hand corner appear the words "Hsinhua News Service". Is that a Chinese word?

A. Yes, it is the New China News Agency.

Q. What does that mean. I wonder if I can show this document to the members of the Commission. Well, Mr. Abdulrahman, I expect people will say that that is rather .....

What have you got to say about that to us?

A. Like this news agency, the Hsinhua News Service are buying my news.

Q. This is an agency constituted in China?

A. They have their headquarters in London. I am in contact with the London office and they are buying my news.

Q. Am I right in supposing that it is an agency of the Peoples' Republic of Communist China and they are buying your news?

A. Yes. And they also send me some of the news bulletins connected with Africa, just in case I wanted to use any of the news in my paper.

Q. Do you use any from time to time?

A. Yes, those connected with Africa.

Q. So you have an arrangement with this news agency?

A. Also with other agencies.

Q. Yes, but I want to ask you about this one. How did you come to make this arrangement?

A. When I was in London.

Q. You made it in London. When did you make it?

A. In 1959. East African journalists, at the invitation of the Central Office of Information, were given big publicity and a lot of journalists and news agencies came to see us because they wanted to have more news about East Africa and one of them was the man in charge of this news agency.

Q. A Chinaman?

A. Yes, a Chinese.

Q. Had you ever seen him before?

A. No. He said they wanted some news from East Africa.

I asked how much he was going to pay me - I wanted a businesslike proposition. They agreed to send a certain amount of money, depending on the news. I made it quite clear.....

Q. You agreed terms as to payment.

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Did you agree any other terms?

A. There were no other terms.

Q. You were then going on to say that you made it quite clear?

A. I made it quite clear to them that I am not a communist and I am free to write anything that I think is correct and I should be under no obligation because I am a correspondent to pursue any particular line.

Q. That is what you made quite clear to this representative of this news agency. And was that agreed to?

A. Yes.

Q. By that did you mean that you were not in any way tied to the Communist Party line?

A. Not in the least.

Q. Is that what you meant?

A. Yes, Sir,

Q. Now, you were saying that you were approached by other agencies?

A. Yes, I got in touch with the British United Press and also made tentative approaches to Reuters and other news agencies and they noted my name and said that if they needed my services as a stringer they would get in touch with me.

Q. As a stringer? The Commission is aware that a

stringer is a journalistic expression for a reporter.

A. A stringer is a junior reporter who reports to a more responsible reporter nearby.

Q. He writes under his own name?

A. Yes.

Q. But in fact you did not make any binding arrangement with any of these other agencies.

A. Except as to being a stringer.

Q. And are you in fact a stringer in Zanzibar?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. For Zanzibar matters?

A. For the British United Press.

Q. Anyone else?

A. The Middle East News Agency, the Iraq News Agency and I also write for Radio Cairo.

Q. While we are on the subject of you writing, I think you have recently been advised to write a book?

A. Yes, I have been asked by Penguin Book Publications to write a biography of Mr. Julius Nyerere and I have accepted with honour.

Q. Well, how is it that the Hsinhua News Agency only appears on the paper head of ZANEWS?

A. Because when I printed these paper heads, I had no offers from other news agencies, but when the next paper head appears all the other news agencies will appear at the top as well.

Q. The presence of that news agency does not mean that you have any more inclinations towards their ideas than anyone else's?

A. No, Sir.

Q. Well, I don't want to ask you at any length about your political convictions but can I ask you to tell the Commission

briefly some of the matters on which you differ from the Communist Party line?

CHAIRMAN: We are not trying the witness. The allegation was made presumably in an attempt to discredit a certain faction of the Z.N.P.

MR. FRASER-MURRAY: Yes, I am much obliged, Sir.

CHAIRMAN: This is a long way from our terms of reference.

MR. FRASER-MURRAY: A very long way, Sir. I won't ask any more questions.

MR. TALATI: Mr. Babu, you said you took up the General Secretaryship of the Z.N.P. in May, 1956?

A. Correct.

Q. That was after the first election, or before?

A. Just before.

Q. That was almost on the formation of the Z.N.P.?

A. No, it had already been going for some time.

Q. What year?

A. I believe at the end of 1955.

Q. And who was the General Secretary, then.

A. I don't know. I came in 1957 to take up the General Secretaryship. There was no such a post.

Q. They just had a Secretary? Who was it?

A. I don't know.

Q. Didn't you take over from somebody?

A. There was nothing to take over.

Q. Am I right in saying you built up the Z.N.P.?

A. Not myself alone; with my colleagues.

Q. Did the burden fall on you?



A. No, on all of us, on the Executive Committee.

Q. I am sorry you do not want to take credit for it. Now then this news agency you started about six months ago: was your meeting with the representative of the New China News Agency also at about the same time?

A. As I said, I went to England in September, 1959, so that would be about one year later.

Q. At that time you had a talk with the representatives of the New China Agency and as a result of that you established ZANEWS?

A. Correct.

Q. May I say that what you wish to suggest is that you had your contact with New China News Agency through London. Now, before that you had visited China?

A. No.

Q. Before 1959 you had not visited China?

A. No.

Q. So as a result of that, was a trip to China arranged?

A. Yes.

Q. When did you go to China?

A. In 1960.

Q. And in 1959 the News Agency saw you. What month of 1960 did you go in China?

A. I went to Cairo and at Cairo the Afro-Asian Committee have a central office there and there I met several journalists and other people and the Afro-Asians had a committee with the representative of China on it who approached me and said they wanted to publish a little pamphlet which I had written called Utawala.

Q. What does it mean?

A. Colonialism.

Q. Both these words mean colonialism? You had written a pamphlet on Colonialism?

A. Yes. The representative of China on this Afro-Asian representative committee said we have heard that you have published a little pamphlet and we want to reproduce this to publish it in Chinese and I had no objection, so afterwards we had a long discussion on this pamphlet but they could not make any decision then so they invited me to China.

MR. TALATI: How big was this pamphlet?

A. Very small. 37 pages.

Q. And they wanted a discussion on this pamphlet in China.

A. No, they wanted to translate that in Chinese, but they couldn't agree on the question of payment. I wouldn't allow them to translate it without paying me something.

Q. You sold them your copyright?

A. Yes.

Q. In China?

A. The man there was not big enough to settle the question so he said "would you like to go to China and discuss this". Yes, I would like to.

Q. You would agree that normally a discussion on a matter like this could be settled in Cairo?

A. No, Sir.

Q. Was it of great importance?

A. The man himself was not an authority and as you yourself perhaps know, countries like China and all socialist countries have the question of sending money to many authors. The difficulty of getting money out of the country was not beneficial to the author. I was anxious that if they were going to translate it, I wanted to get the money.

Q. You said there was difficulty about money not being allowed to go out of China. Was that so ?

A. That is the experience.

Q. And that required your presence in China ?

A. Yes.

Q. Why ? Would that facilitate the payment ?

A. The people in charge who can find a licence were in China, so I had to go to China to arrange it.

Q. You just mentioned that you had been commissioned to write a biography of Mr. Julius Nyerere.

A. Yes.

Q. Are you going to London to discuss that with the publishers ?

A. No, I am going to Mr. Nyerere. With London there is no difficulty of getting money from London. The problem of exchange does not exist so it is a straight-forward arrangement. They tell me my commission in royalties and I get the money.

Q. What discussions did you have in China on this subject of buying the copyright of your pamphlet on Colonialism ?

A. What do you mean ?

Q. Were you successful in getting paid in Zanzibar in cash ?

A. Yes, whatever they paid.

Q. Was it a large sum of money ?

A. Not very large. It depended on the circulation. If they succeeded in circulating more they would get more money.

Q. And you succeeded in getting your money without difficulty in Zanzibar ?

A. No.

Q. Was that because you settled whatever difficulty that might have arisen in China ?

A. Yes.

Q. Was your visit purely and simply because you settled your copyright question. Couldn't it have been done by correspondence ?

A. No.

Q. Has the question of your payment for writing the book on Julius Nyerere been settled by correspondence ?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you afraid that if there was any correspondence on the sale of that book on Colonialism that it was not safe that letters should pass on that subject ?

A. They suggested that I should.

Q. Would you agree that the offer of a visit to China for the discussion on this pamphlet was quite generous, wasn't it ?

A. Yes, I think so.

Q. And so naturally you took advantage of it ?

A. I thought that was a splendid opportunity to see China.

Q. You didn't have a mere talk with the News Agency, but you had a visit.

A. Yes.

Q. In the course of that visit, did you also receive promises of other gifts from China to Zanzibar?

A. No. I took the opportunity of asking for scholarships.

Q. Was that very well received ?

A. Well, there was a long discussion on this and eventually I managed to get some scholarships.

Q. How many ?

A. About seven.

Q. To study various subjects ?

A. Medicine, engineering and electricity.

Q. Have students gone to China since then ?

A. Seven.

Q. All Z.N.P. students ?

A. No, we just picked people who were already mature, after finishing Standard 12 and who could benefit from the course.

Q. Incidentally Z.N.P. followers ?

A. The large majority were not, not even members.

Q. What was your motive in collecting people from non-Z.N.P. membership ?

A. The motive was to help Zanzibar, not necessarily to help members of our party and this was an opportunity to do so.

Q. Who selected the candidates ?

A. I did and with my colleagues.

Q. Who were your colleagues ? What are their names ?

A. They do not want to be mentioned; this is their private wish. There are quite a number of people engaged in good causes and they would prefer to remain anonymous. They do not want to be publicised.

Q. Would it not be in their interest for their names to be mentioned by you ?

A. They do not want the publicity.

Q. But they were in the Z.N.P. ? Were they not Z.N.P. members on this selection committee ?

A. Some of them were, though not all.

Q. Now your first visit was in January, 1960. When did you return from that visit ?

A. In April, 1960.

Q. You went in January and returned in April. Did you travel to other countries ?

A. I went through other countries.

- Q. Like Cairo ?
- A. I went there and stopped there.
- Q. How long were you in China ?
- A. About a month. I think I came back early in March.
- Q. You returned to Cairo ?
- A. No, to Zanzibar, around March.
- Q. Let us have it very clearly. How long were you in China ?
- A. One month.
- Q. And then where did you go ?
- A. I travelled by boat from China to Zanzibar.
- Q. And you visited other countries on the way ?
- A. Well, I passed through Hong Kong.
- Q. Your passage was paid for by the Agency ?
- A. The people who invited me, the Agency.
- Q. When did you visit China again ?
- A. I did not visit again.
- Q. Did you arrange for a visit of your party members to China ?
- A. This was arranged from Cairo.
- Q. When was that ?
- A. In the summer of 1960.
- Q. Do you mean English summer or our summer ?
- A. English summer, around July. It was June or July, somewhere there.
- Q. And who provided for their visit ?
- A. I believe the people who invited them.
- Q. Who were the people who invited them ?
- A. The Chinese Afro-Asian Committee.
- Q. The Chinese Afro-Asian Committee invited a delegation of ZNP members consisting of how many members ?

A. They invited 12 members, but we sent about 10,  
I think.

Q. You sent 10 people ?

A. Yes.

Q. At their expense, I believe ?

A. Yes.

Q. And they wished to show them round China ?

A. So I believe.

Q. And Moscow ?

A. No, they were invited to China. They might have  
gone to Moscow, I do not know, but they were invited to China.

Q. And they came back ?

A. Yes.

Q. With gifts in cash as well ?

A. No.

Q. Mr. Rutti Bulsara was one of the members of the  
delegation ?

A. Yes, he was.

Q. He arrived in Zanzibar with a lot of cash ?

A. Yes.

Q. Was this a personal gift to him ?

A. Yes. May I explain what happened ?

Q. Yes, please.

A. I believe in Cairo they has a mass rally organised  
by the Afro-Asian Committee, and that at the Association of Afro-  
Asians of Cairo, and introducing Mr. Bulsara, the Chairman said  
that Mr. Bulsara is being victimised in Zanzibar for the line he is  
taking - there are certain elements in Zanzibar who do not like  
the line he is taking. I understand Mr. Talati and his firm had  
a case against Mr. Bulsara, and rightly or wrongly it was alleged  
he was being stopped from being able to publish anything. So the

chairman said this was an element of victimisation and possibly the Talatis might want compensation from Mr. Bulsara of a very large sum; and as a result of this appeal I believe some people offered a sum of money - you know anywhere you can raise funds and contributions for victims; so the money was obtained, and that was why Mr. Bulsara had it.

Q. And that was the money he paid to Mr. Talati ?

A. Yes.

Q. It was not by the ZNP ?

A. No.

Q. Are you sure the money paid into court in that case was not paid in by ZNP ?

A. Well, you see our party is a very well organised party. Any responsible member who may be involved in a high sum of money will have to report to the party that "I have got such and such money for such and such a thing" - they will not allow him to have money for just nothing. I am not competent to deal with the question of funds, but I think Mr. Bulsara reported this and handed it over to the accountant in case the money was required for his case, and possibly the accountant put it in the Party's account.

Q. I see, and possibly that is why the ZNP paid it.

The Afro-Asians paid Bulsara, Bulsara paid the ZNP and the ZNP paid Mr. Talati ?

A. It was that Bulsara paid the money to the Party and the Party paid Talati.

Q. There was a very much larger fund than the payment made to Mr. Talati ?

A. I do not know.



MR. TALATI: Do you know how much ?

MR. FRASER-MURRAY: Sir, I do submit we are getting very far away from the causes of unrest.

CHAIRMAN: Yes, but I think it was expected counsel would cross-examine on this point, and that is all it is. We have to rely on counsel to keep it within bounds, I do not think we ought to stop Mr. Talati.

MR. TALATI: Thank you, Sir. This had developed out of the answer.

CHAIRMAN: Yes, I know.

MR. TALATI: Mr. Babu, you said the Zanews is an agency you have established to sell news: and you buy news ?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you buy news from the Chinese Agency, or is it a gift ?

A. I buy it.

Q. And do you sell them news ?

A. Yes; so far the business has not gone well.

Q. It is one-sided ?

A. I do not understand.

Q. It is one-sided at the moment, is it - you buy their news but they do not buy yours ?

A. Not that: they get my news. I sell locally.

You must distinguish between a correspondent and an establishment of an agency - I am a correspondent, as I am a correspondent for the British United Press. But a news agency is a different proposition altogether. To establish a news agency - anybody who wants to buy news from me might be interested to get news from Zanzibar, and they want to buy. They write and say, "We are interested in your presentation of news."

Q. But that is a different thing from selling news ?

A. With "Zanews" occasionally I get somebody to sell my news, but so far I have not yet established myself.

Q. And so far as buying news is concerned, do you regularly buy news ?

A. Yes, I do. It is my function. If I have more money I will appoint correspondents and other agents in other parts of East Africa to establish there.

MR. TALATI: Do you regard China as a Communist Country ?

CHAIRMAN: You know, Mr. Talati, when the witness was called it seemed to us fair that he should be given an opportunity of answering the rather constant attack that had been made upon him. I do not suggest it was improper, but an attack had been made, and it seemed fair to us that he should be allowed to answer. We are not concerned with whether this witness is a Communist or not, you know. I want you to keep it within bounds. He has been called for that purpose, and we think it is fair that you should be allowed to cross-examine, but I think we must ask you to keep it within reasonable bounds.

MR. TALATI: Yes, Sir. Where is the "Zanews" published ?

A. At Vikokotoni.

Q. Do you have a printing press at Vikokotoni ?

A. No.

Q. Where is the printing done ?

A. It is not printed in a press.

Q. It is cyclo-styled, is it ?

A. Yes.

Q. And that -- what you do at ----?

A. At Vikokotoni.

Q. Some time ago did the ZNP import a press from China?

A. Yes.

Q. Was that a gift from the people of China?

A. No, we bought it from China.

Q. Did you negotiate that deal?

A. Yes.

Q. Was it given on very helpful terms?

A. The price was cheap.

Q. It has facilitated greatly the publication of news?

A. Which news?

Q. Whatever you have published at journal headquarters of the Nationalist Party -- the importation of that press has facilitated your work greatly, has it not?

A. Oh yes, but it took some time to establish it, because we found out the disadvantage of having such a press, because we did not have competent mechanics to set it up, so what we gained by the press we lost by the time factor. It did not prove an advantage in the end.

Q. You heard the evidence of the Commissioner of Police here?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you agree with what he said that as politicians returned from visits to Communist countries, the tempo of their political speeches went up?

A. I do not agree.

Q. He also said the tempo in the articles also went up?

A. No, it is different altogether. My analysis is different.

Q. Then the visits had a sobering effect, is that it?

A. No, neither of these facts: other causes contributed to the height of the temper, not the visits.

Q. Now in July 1957 you formed the Youths' Own Union?

A. In August.

Q. I am sorry, August.

A. I did not. The Youths' Own Union was formed by ....

Q. By whom?

A. By young people.

Q. By the ZNP?

A. No, they were not competent to become members, so they started a youth movement.

Q. Under the auspices of the ZNP?

A. No, not even under auspices. What happened was they invited some of us to come and address them at Raha Leo. There were two others, Sheikh Ali Muhsin and myself, and I believe some leading members of the Afro-Shirazi Party were invited to come, but they did not go. We delivered a speech to say what a good thing it was that youth should be organised, particularly when Zanzibar is passing through a historic political period, and it was a most important thing that youth should be organised, following the experience of Singapore and other places.

Q. That was the declared objective of the Youths' Own Union, was it not?

A. No, their declared intention was .....

Q. The organisation of youth?

A. The organisation of youth for education and for anything within the various movements.

Q. You say they were completely disconnected with the ZNP. They were not connected with ZNP - correct?

A. Yes.

Q. Would you agree they acted as stewards at meetings?

A. Well, I said initially they were not connected with ZNP.

Q. But later on they became so?

A. They supported us, yes.

Q. They supported you?

A. Yes.

Q. So that whenever you had your meetings they acted as stewards?

A. Yes.

Q. Whenever you had an important visitor or whenever a man like you returned from overseas, you had a guard of honour presented by the Youths' Own Union?

A. Yes.

Q. And when there was a procession you had motor cycle outriders by these people?

A. No, motor cycle riders would not be the youth but members of the Nationalist Party.

Q. Have you ever advised them on their organisation?

A. You see, political organisation was a new thing in Zanzibar, and so they more or less followed our party organisation. I must point out that before I came back from London Sheikh Ali Muhsin had arranged with Mrs. Eirene White that I should be trained in party organisation at Transport House in London; so I had the experience of organising a political party. It is only fair to say that if it is said the Nationalist Party is the most efficiently operated party in East Africa, it is thanks to the Labour Party. The Labour Party gave me a course of instruction, with other agents. They now have

a system of training agents at the Labour Party headquarters in the conduct of elections; and also they had overseas students from India for instance, the Socialist Party of India - so we had experience of party organisation, and when I came here, in a very small way, I helped others when they came to us for advice.

Q. Yes, gave the benefit of your experience in the organising of the Youths' Own Union?

A. Youths' Own Union, but not only that - the Afro-Shirazi Party and the trade unions.

Q. The Afro-Shirazi what, please?

A. I gave them some advice on the organisation.

Q. Did you mean Afro-Shirazi Party or Afro-Shirazi Youth League?

A. No Afro-Shirazi Party.

Q. And as the youth movement grew it gave support to the organisation?

A. From whom?

Q. As the Youths' Own Union grew in popularity, it was organised in a better and better way?

A. No, you see the organisation does not depend on the number of people in the movement, but on the structure itself.

Q. May I put it this way - the number of its activities were increased as its numbers swelled?

A. No, activities were the same. You have your constitution, you have your party structure, and you follow those objectives, so that by whatever number you increase the organisation it does not affect the initial objective.

Q. Now you remember the time they began to wear uniforms?

A. Yes.

Q. What was that time?

A. Well, Sheikh Ali Muhsin was coming back from Cairo.

Q. And that was the time when the youth thought they should present themselves in uniform?

A. You would not call it uniform in the sense of a police uniform. It was a uniform in the sense that they wore similar things, but not uniform as you call it - "black shirts".

Q. You know the first uniform, Mr. Babu?

A. Yes, I will tell you the origin of it. You know the Zanzibar boys are all very poor. We do not want to encourage a feeling that these are poor and others are better off, and we are bringing them together in an organisation, you see. If one comes there better dressed and the other is there in tatters and rags, that would not be conducive to good relationship in the movement. So we decide all we would have are plain things, khaki trousers and a white shirt, simply so that the poor could afford and the rich could afford, so that you could get a uniformity of standard.

Q. So that was the reason why the uniform was introduced?

A. Yes.

Q. Not to encourage youths into any form of drilling?

A. Well, they did their drill exercises, yes, just like school and the Scout movement.

Q. So you wanted the youth to have no class distinction between them - one better dressed than the other - so you introduced a uniform?

A. No, I did not say class distinction. I suppose you know something about the social studies? If you are dealing with young people the one thing you ought to eliminate initially is a sense of envy, which is the basic principle of social workers, So

we wanted to eliminate that by bringing a certain standardised form of clothing. These boys are going to be together most of the time, and you had to eliminate the factor which would bring envy in their hearts.

Q. And so the idea of drilling was to keep them fit?

A. Yes.

Q. That was the only thing?

A. Yes? the principle of "A healthy mind in a healthy body".

Q. And the band became an essential part of drilling?  
Drilling included marching?

A. No, the band was for musical purposes. We train our youth culturally also: they have their dramatic society, they have their music group, and we are anxious to develop an indigenous culture in promoting music and other things, so the band was primarily for this purpose, and also the band was used for marching.

Q. Was that incidental only?

A. Yes, like the Scout movement.

Q. So the band was there and the drilling was there to benefit the marches?

A. Yes.

Q. You were talking about simplicity in dress?

A. Yes.

Q. At what stage did you bring in the idea of the baret?

A. The boys themselves - this was their own initiative.

The boys themselves decided to make a tie. These ties were made in Pemba incidentally. Here the youth did not wear ties, but in Pemba they wore ties, and we saw photographs and we thought it was a good idea because it would promote the making of ties, here, a local industry.



Q. And the berets came from?

A. We bought them from local shops: sold in Darajani.

Q. They were not specially imported?

A. No.

Q. They were all a uniform type of beret, all the same colour?

A. Well, some of them were different shades of colour: some were very red, some not so red.

Q. What was the strength of the Youths' Own Union at the time?

A. You mean in numbers?

Q. Yes.

A. I would not know.

Q. It is considerable, is it not?

A. The Secretary would know.

Q. And do you agree certain reports of the Public Order Bill have been read here?

A. Yes.

Q. And the witnesses have been questioned. Do you agree they were trying to usurp the powers of the police?

A. No.

Q. And in fact when the Bill was brought about by the Government the emphasis was on the activities of the Youths' Own Union?

A. Also Y.A.T.U.

Q. And does the ZNP oppose it?

A. Well, may I explain what we opposed?

Q. Yes.

A. We opposed the encroachment by the State into the citizens' rights, not on the public order. We did not oppose it about public order, but we opposed it so that the State could have

a limit whereby it could encroach on citizens' rights, and one of these rights was to wear anything you like. We thought this was an important right for a citizen to have. Therefore we opposed this Bill because it deprived a citizen of that right.

Q. No matter whether it was a uniform or not?

A. Quite.

Q. Thereafter, after these khaki trousers and white shirts, you then imported blue shirts?

A. Not shirts, no. It is plain cloth imported from Japan with the ZNP monogram, and this was not for the youth but for the whole Party.

Q. But then it was used as a uniform or a uniform dress?

A. No.

Q. There were ..... of that kind, were there not?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you agree that ever since the start of politics in Zanzibar the political party leaders have been attacking the opposite leaders - personalities - in their speeches?

A. Yes, that is so.

Q. Is it not so?

A. Yes, like everywhere else.

Q. But I do not think it goes to that extent elsewhere, does it?

A. Yes, it is worse than that.

Q. Suggesting that somebody was a Manjo. What does that mean?

A. Manjo is a singer in a dance, in an African dance.

Q. And what does he do?

A. He would lead the singers. He would lead and the

others would take up the chorus.

Q. Who was the Manjo here?

A. I do not know. The chap who originated this manjo is now in the ranks of the Afro-Shirazi Party.

Q. You said Manjo is a singer in a dance?

A. Yes.

Q. Who were the Nationalist Party leaders referring to when they used the word Manjo?

A. I do not know because the chap who introduced this word in our political party has now gone back to the Afro-Shirazi Party, so I think he will be the man to explain it.

Q. As late as May 1961 when you were preparing for the elections, in the political speeches of the ZNP was the word Manjo not being used then?

A. Oh yes.

Q. It was: who were they referring to: Why are you feeling shy, Mr. Babu?

A. I am not feeling shy.

Q. Who were they referring to? I think they were referring to Mr. Abaid Karumo, is that not so?

A. No, because I did not originate the word, so by using it I do not know really to whom it refers, and I think the only chap who can answer is the one who invented it.

Q. You mentioned this at practically all your gatherings?

A. Yes.

Q. And you did not care to know as to whom it related?

A. No, I did not think it was necessary.

Q. It was not necessary - any speaker should say anything he likes, is that what you mean?

A. No, but if a speaker introduces a word it may mean anything.

Q. So you were referring to the leader of the opposite party and calling him names - it was not an important thing?

A. No, because it was not an offensive word.

Q. Because it was given out as a joke?

A. I think so. I think that was the original intention of the chap who introduced it.

Q. Is it not true that about May 1961 the speeches from the ASP platform said "We shall not hesitate in shedding blood"?

A. Oh yes.

Q. Who said that?

A. ASP.

Q. No, the ZNP platform said "We shall not hesitate to shed blood."

A. No.

Q. They did not?

A. No.

Q. When did you hold your last meeting in May?

A. I do not know.

Q. About the end of May?

A. Somewhere like that.

Q. Ahmed Scif Karusi was there and did he not say at that meeting a reference to Tshombe Mapara, creating repercussions in the audience? You remember your last meeting before the elections in June?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you present?

A. No.

Q. You were present at nearly every meeting.

A. Not necessarily, no.

MR. TALATI: So you are not sure whether you were present at the last meeting before the elections?

CHAIRMAN: He does not remember when it was.

A. No.

MR. TALATI: Have you ever heard that when Ahmed Scif Kharusi was addressing a meeting in May of the ZNP, he addressed the crowd saying, "We will not be ruled by Manjo or Tshombe Mapara?"

A. No.

Q. Did you hear of a speech made by the leader of your party, Sheikh Ali Muhsin, saying "It is blasphemous for us to be governed or ruled by those mainlanders"?

A. No.

Q. There were references in ZNP speeches to mainlanders from time to time, were there not?

A. No.

Q. But you referred to the ASP in speeches as an organisation of mainlanders?

A. No.

Q. You never did?

A. Never.

Q. Did you hear Ali Muhsin say "We are prepared to shed our blood so that we may not be ruled by the uncivilised mainlanders?"

A. Never.

Q. Did he not say, "Are you all prepared to shed your blood?"

A. Never.

Q. Have you heard that Ali Muhsin made such a speech?

A. No.

Q. You take the reports of speeches, do you not?

A. Yes.

Q. Or your agents do?

A. We have a special section.

Q. You have never heard of these speeches?

A. As a matter of fact we discuss our speeches before we make them.

Q. So all this is a made-up story, what I am putting to you?

A. Yes, we have been very often mis-represented by the press.

Q. I see, including the calling of names?

A. Yes.

Q. Would you agree that Manjo is a creation of the ASP?

A. Yes.

Q. And it was never mentioned by the ZNP?

A. The gentleman who used it was Abcid Omar when he was attending meetings of the ZNP. He used to come to meetings, but he has now gone back to the Afro-Shirazi Party.

Q. He was a member of the ZNP?

A. He was not a member, but he supported us then. He came to our meetings and made speeches sometimes.

Q. This "Tshombe Mapara", would you call it also an invention of ASP?

A. I have never heard of it.

Q. Did you take a great deal of part in the dock troubles in August, 1958?

A. I did not.

Q. You remember that trouble, do you not?

A. Yes.

Q. You have had nothing to do with it?

A. Absolutely nothing.

Q. The workers who were taken to the docks, were they not ZNP supporters?

A. Not necessarily.

Q. No?

A. No.

Q. Were they not taken by ZNP leaders?

A. No.

Q. Were they not supported by Manga Arabs?

A. I do not know.

Q. You did not know they were supported by them?

A. I did not know.

Q. This is the first time you have heard of it?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you not read the report?

A. Which one?

Q. Arbitrator, Sir John Gray?

A. I do not think I have read it.

Q. So you do not know of those Manga Arabs - that they were present?

A. It is very surprising news.

Q. There was a hidden threat.

A. No, please: you say there was a threat, a hidden threat - what do you want me to answer?

Q. The dock workers the ZNP workers brought were Africans?

A. Brought where? The ZNP had nothing to do with the dock dispute. I am telling you as an authority of the Party..

Q. Which I do not believe.

A. That is your view, but I am telling you the ZNP had nothing to do with the dock dispute.

MR. TALATI: All right, let us leave it at that.

CHAIRMAN: You must take the witness's answer.

MR. TALATI: Who took the workers ?

A. Where ?

Q. They did not walk on their own to the docks.

A. Who takes the workers anywhere?

Q. A new group of workers went to the docks, did they not?

A. A new group of workers organised themselves and went to the docks. It was not necessary to take them.

Q. And went straight to work on the Dhowshed ?

A. Possibly.

Q. Were the captains of these dhows normally Arabs ?

A. I do not know that. I think a lot of Africans do. I do not know most of the details, but I can tell you the principle, I think. That is what interests me, and this I can help you in giving, but I cannot tell you about the details because I do not know anything about them.

Q. We have had them.

A. Well, if you have ....

Q. I think you may have already answered this, and if so please tell me so: that Manga Arabs were present at the docks with daggers ?

A. I do not know.

Q. On that day when the new labour went in ?

A. I do not know.

Q. Manga Arabs are normally supporters of ZNP, would you say ?

A. Not necessarily. There are quite a number of Manga Arabs who are independent. There are Manga Arabs who are supporters



of ASP, but quite a large number are independent because they are not subjects of Zanzibar: they are not interested in politics, and we would not have them anyway because our policy is just to concern ourselves with His Highness' subjects. We only enlist members who are subjects of His Highness and anyone who is not a subject of His Highness is not entitled to be a member of the Zanzibar Nationalist Party.

Q. But during the recent disturbances a number of Manga Arabs were killed ?

A. Oh yes.

Q. They were not necessarily your supporters ?

A. No.

Q. Mr. Babu, you said the ZNP had nothing to do with the disturbances in the docks in 1958 ?

A. Yes.

Q. Would it be strange for you to hear that the organisation, as you call it, of the new labourers gave their address as Box 1188, Zanzibar? What is that Box 1188 ?

A. It is a Nationalist Party headquarters box.

Q. Was that a mere coincidence ?

A. No, every member of the party uses headquarters address.

We have a system there where we receive members' post and a member goes into the office.

Q. Poste Restante - something like that ?

A. Anybody can use our headquarters post box.

Q. It was a mere coincidence ?

A. No, it was not.

Q. They did not give their address as ZNP?

A. If I had somebody who was a member of the ZNP who also wrote a letter, and thought a convenient place to send a reply was to headquarters.

Q. Mr. Babu, you have heard the evidence here about the squatters' trouble, particularly in 1958 and 1959?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Had the ZNP anything to do with that?

A. No.

Q. Was it a spontaneous action on the part of Arab landlords to evict squatters?

A. It was not an action of Arab landlords; it was an action of some landlords. Some are not Arab, they are Africans, Indians. There was a speech of Mr. Karume at Machui, and at Machui Mr. Karume is alleged to have said that landlords have no right to land except for trees; so some of the squatters see this and they thought it would be a good proposition. They have taken to be nasty to their landlords, to the owners of the shambas. They become very rude to them, so some of them I believe took action to expel those ones who were rude and they were evicted.

Q. Quite a few hundred of them have been evicted?

A. I do not think so, no. The case is about 30 to 34.

Q. And you say the squatter trouble started because Aboid Karume made a speech at Machui in 1958?

A. Yes he said about this because we wanted to maintain the old custom which existed in Zanzibar whereby anybody could go into anybody's plantation and plant something, make a living out of it without paying any rent for anything. We thought that was a good proposition, and unfortunately Mr. Aboid Karume upset the agriculture - upset the system.

Q. You have heard the nature of the offence of the squatter trouble here?

A. Yes.

Q. Which was to the effect that soon after the 1957 elections the Arab landlords started to evict the squatters. You have heard that ?

A. No, it was not Arabs. I think Mr. Smithyman and the Commissioner of Police pointed out ...

Q. All right: shamba landlords.

A. Shamba landlords, some of the shamba landlords evicted some squatters.

Q. And later on this speech was made by Mr. Karumo ?

A. Before Mr. Karumo's speech.

Q. So you say Karumo made the speech first, and then retaliatory action was taken by the landlords ?

A. No, not retaliatory action on this. I said Mr. Karumo made a speech in 1958. Some of his audience took the speech seriously and wanted to put that in practice, and they went to the plantations, and some of the landlords said "no, they are not going to take my land."

Q. But the cause of the squatter trouble - that is not the official summary of the official view of this incident, is it ?

A. You mean the Government view by "official"? I do not know what the Government view is.

Q. You have heard the evidence ?

A. The evidence was they did not want to pin down who is to blame. They did not say what caused it.

MR. KANJI: Sir, the Commissioner of Police gave evidence on this subject.

CHAIRMAN: We are aware of that.

MR. TALATI: The official evidence on this was that the squatter trouble was started by the landlords?

A. No. I was saying no, that is not how I understood it.

Q. Would you say this: that the Z.N.P. supported the landlords in their actions against squatters?

A. On the contrary, we supported squatters. In fact, we wanted to bring harmony between the squatters and the landlords because we thought that we must maintain this system because this is a system to be cherished. All over the world there is a problem of squatters and landlords except Zanzibar and because of this old system whereby anybody could go into anybody's land we thought this was a very important system to be maintained and we were very sad when it was threatened.

Q. What efforts did you make to prevent this trouble? What action did the Z.N.P. take to prevent this trouble?

A. We took a lot of action. Mr. Karume knows it. He has often sent a message that an A.S.P. supporter has been evicted and we would go there.

Q. You know that no reconciliation was possible and therefore the Government enacted an Administrative Order, 1959?

A. As far as we know we have reconciled quite a number of cases.

Q. You did succeed? ..

A. Yes, we did succeed.

Q. You heard the number of cases, the evidence of which was brought before this Commission?

A. Yes.

Q. Is it true that this action was being brought about with a view to forcing squatters to join the Z.N.P.?

A. Absolutely untrue.

Q. You have heard that evidence as well, have you not?

A. Yes.

Q. You do not agree with it?

A. No, I do not. The reason is the squatters are not His Highness's subjects and as I said earlier we only take His Highness's subjects as members so to to say that is the principle is absolutely unfounded.

Q. Let us come to this Progressive Trade Union. What is it called, the full name is something else?

A. Federation <sup>of</sup> Progressive Trade Unions.

Q. It was formed in about January, 1960?

A. I am not sure.

Q. Did you have anything to do with that organisation?

A. Nothing.

Q. Did you give the benefit of your advice on organisation to that body?

A. Well, perhaps I might indirectly in discussion with individuals, indirectly, but I did not do it officially.

Q. Officially not. Does it support the Nationalist Party policies?

A. It did issue a statement after we published a manifesto in January, 1961. We published our manifesto and the Federation of Progressive Trade Unions issued a statement after a week or so, about two weeks later, it issued a statement supporting the statement that Zanzibar Nationalist Party issued.

Q. Has it not been formed with the support or blessings of the Z.N.P.?

A. No.

Q. With a view to providing a counter Federation of Labour to the Federation of Zanzibar and Pemba Workers Union?

A. Not officially, no. We do not know about that.

Q. Do you lecture to the Progressive Trade Union?

A. I do not.

Q. You do not?

A. No.

Q. On socialism?

A. No.

Q. On any subject - trade unionism?

A. I have never lectured on any subject.

Q. Do you lecture Z.N.P. youths?

A. I did sometimes.

Q. On what subjects?

A. On politics and on other things. Cultural development, various subjects, that we should get the best out of the country.

Q. You know the Project Mercury was opposed by Z.N.P.?

A. Yes.

Q. By the Youths Own Union?

A. Well, I do not know if they did it officially but Zanzibar Nationalist Party officially opposed it.

Q. It is opposed incidentally by the Progressive Trade Union?

A. I do not know.

Q. You do not know?

A. I do not know.

Q. Who burnt the replica of the rocket?

A. We did.

Q. It has been suggested that you did it in order to repay to the Communist countries the benefit you have received from them from time to time, is that true?

A. No.

Q. You are against the establishment of the American Consulate for instance?

A. We said that while we are in the transition to independence there is no point in the American Government establishing a Consulate at this stage because they may be the centre of political differences and we said as we were going to be independent shortly it would be better for the American Government to wait until there was a responsible elected government in Zanzibar.

Q. In other words, you opposed it because it is an entry of neo-Colonialism and Imperialism into the country, is not that so?

A. No.

Q. You have said so in your newspapers, your "Zanews"?

A. I will say the question of neo-Colonialism is a policy set out at the Cairo Conference of the All Africa Peoples Conference at which all the parties from Zanzibar took part and at this Conference a resolution was passed whereby everybody is opposed to Colonialism, neo-Colonialism and Imperialism but we did not oppose the Consulate because it represented neo-Colonialism.

Q. Have not Press statements been made by Z.N.P. to that effect?

A. I am not quite sure.

Q. Have not articles been printed in "Zanews"?

A. "Zanews" is not the official mouthpiece of the Party.

Q. I am sorry. It has been said in "Zanews"?

A. About what?

Q. About the entry of Imperialism and neo-Colonialism through the American Consulate?

A. Oh, yes. Not through the American Consulate, no.

Q. Not through the American Consulate?

A. With the entry of neo-Colonialism they wanted to take out the British so they could come in. This was their line.

Q. Was it not in connection with the opening of the American Consulate in Zanzibar?

A. Nothing to do with it.

Q. To whom were you referring when you said as the British went they were trying to enter?

A. I am referring to myself. You asked me about "Zanews".

Q. You were referring to who?

A. Myself.

Q. The entry of whom?

A. Neo-Colonialism not necessarily American.

Q. But you were opposing something. You were not writing an article in the abstract, were you? You were criticising an event or possible event?

A. No. I am criticising the kind of policy, not one particular event. I do not form my political opinions by one event.

Q. Is this a mere coincidence that the language in your newspapers is what is normally called the Communist jargon?

A. What is Communist jargon?

Q. Communist clap-trap - you heard that phrase here the other day?

A. I do not know what it means really.

Q. The usual Communist phraseology?

A. What is the usual Communist phraseology.

Q. You can use the word Socialist if you like instead of Communist?

A. There is no particular phraseology of Communist.

Q. Your articles are mostly copied from extracts in other countries?



A. Not extracts, full reports.

Q. Articles written by others?

A. Reports, not articles.

Q. What do you say is the language? What was the word you used - original?

A. English.

Q. The Afro-Asian Conference decided upon what? You said it was a policy of stopping neo-Colonialism?

A. I do not understand.

Q. You mentioned that in Cairo you held a Conference?

A. Yes.

Q. And you passed a resolution - will you repeat what the resolution was?

A. A resolution was passed for people to be careful about neo-Colonialism, that the people in Africa now the old Colonial system is going they should be careful about new forms of Colonialism.

Q. Do you agree or do you not that the articles in "Zanews" are normally taken from anti-British Communist literature?

A. No.

Q. Mr. Babu, there was a suggestion here from Government witnesses that you do not have the support, or there is a possible suggestion that you do not have support from the Z.N.P. hierarchy. Is that true?

A. I do not think anybody suggested that.

MR. TALATI: They said you were a wing by yourself. There was a Communist-thinking wing in the Z.N.P.

CHAIRMAN: Let us get it clear. As I understand the evidence the witnesses to whom presumably you are referring, said they thought it was one small section of the Z.N.P. not necessarily approved and supported by the leadership.

MR. TALATI: Yes, Sir, that is the point.

Do you agree with that view expressed by the witnesses?

A. No. That is the view of the witness.

Q. You do not agree with that?

A. No.

Q. In fact, am I right in saying whatever you do or had done in the Z.N.P. had the support of the Z.N.P. leadership?

A. Not necessarily. Whatever the Party does. I am not doing anything independently; except if I am by myself, a private person, but anything I do on the Party it is the responsibility of the Party.

Q. You are not doing anything of your own?

A. We are an organised thing.

CHAIRMAN: The witness did say that anything he does in a personal capacity, is his own responsibility, but anything that he has done in the name of the Party is the responsibility of the Party. In other words, it is the policy and accepted by the Party.

MR. TALATI: You heard evidence from the Commissioner of Police in particular with regard to the actions of the Youths Own Union after 1959, particularly so from January onwards. He said they maintained surveillance over Government officers and senior police officers. Are you aware of that?

A. No.

Q. You heard this for the first time in the Inquiry?

A. Yes, it was news to me.

Q. Would you have considered that to be a proper action?

A. Proper action of what?

Q. On the part of Youths Own Union to do?

A. I do not know. It depends, you see.

Q. You would approve of it in any case whether you had heard of it or not?

A. I do not know. Certain things I would approve; others, no, I would not approve.

Q. You remember the evidence here being lead to suggest that when there was trouble in the Congo, for instance, as Mr. Smithyman heard from his verandah, boys talking to themselves suggesting why they could not do something of the sort as well, you heard that?

A. Yes.

Q. What was Z.N.P. policy on the Congo matter? They were pro-Lumumba, anti-Tshombe, is not that so?

A. No. We were pro a united Congo and against the split; we are not interested in individuals.

Q. Am I right in saying that Z.N.P. thought in the same terms?

A. In what terms?

Q. What Mr. Smithyman said?

A. No, far from it.

Q. No?

A. He was referring to hooligans, mainly Afro-Shirazi hooligans who were passing through under his house.

Q. He was referring to people passing his house discussing current world affairs, particularly with reference to those in Africa?

A. Yes.

Q. And they seemed to indicate to him that those actions had the support of those who were talking. Did you support that as well or not?

A. No. I did not support that.

Q. You did not support that policy?

A. I never support violence anywhere.

Q. You do not?

A. I do not.

Q. But the Youths, did they not, felt it was a proper action that was being taken?

A. Not Youths Own Union. Perhaps Afro-Shirazis.

Q. Beating up Europeans in the Congo, had it the support of Z.N.P. leaders?

A. Never.

Q. Sympathy?

A. No.

Q. They received encouragement from them?

A. No.

Q. Your Press continuously attacked the earlier United Nations stand against Lumumba?

A. Which Press?

Q. Your "Zanews". Did it?

A. No.

Q. The Nationalist Press?

A. No, never.

Q. And that is how the phrase starts "Tshombo mapara"?

A. No.

Q. To indicate that the person in the Afro-Shirazi Party is a stoogo?

A. No.

Q. You have never heard of that before?

A. No, never.

Q. You have used the language "A.S.P. were stooges of the British"?

A. I might have.

Q. Come, let us be fair. You have heard that, have you not?

A. I might have.

Q. You believe in it or is that journalistic cant?

A. In a political campaign you do use some words sometimes in order to have more members supporting. This is clear enough. Anybody does anywhere and if you talk about the opposition Party you are bound to exaggerate sometimes in order to exhibit.

CHAIRMAN: I think the witness is merely saying that he thinks they are entitled to a certain amount of political licence.

A. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN: That is what he regarded many of those statements as being.

MR. TALATI: You did not realise that certain people would take offence to insulting language?

A. Nobody was insulted.

Q. Illiterate people?

A. Nobody was insulted by our Party.

Q. You expected them to take all remarks in good grace?

A. All good remarks because they gave all very good remarks to our comments. We often referred to our opponents in a very respectable manner. It is part of our committee's instructions not to refer to Abeid Karume without having Sheikh, not to refer to any political leader on the opposition side without putting his proper title. This is an instruction.

Q. Except when you call them by names other than their own?

A. No, not from our Party officially.

Q. Have you heard Mr. Smithyman on his exposition of the social revolution in Zanzibar?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you agree with his views ?

A. I think he used the word 'revolution' when he meant social change. I agree that there has been a social change all along.

Q. Do you agree that since 1957 there has been a fooling of political consciousness in a large majority of the population in Zanzibar?

A. I will tell you my view.

Q. Please say yes or no.

A. No, I will give you my view. You asked a question which I cannot answer yes or no, Mr. Chairman. I will give you my views about this.

Q. Right.

A. The political consciousness did not start from 1957. The political consciousness started in 1954 when the Arab Association boycotted the Legislative Council when they demanded universal adult suffrage in Zanzibar. The Arab Association which was representing a very small section of the community in Zanzibar; they demanded universal adult suffrage. That was a revolutionary demand for a community. Whereas the whole of East Africa, the trend was the minorities were inhibiting, trying to stop the progress of the African people. In Zanzibar you had the opposite. The Arab Association was the one which demanded universal adult suffrage and they put their demands so vigorously that they had to boycott the Legislative Council so in my assessment it was there that the political consciousness of the country took the real form.

Q. Was aroused in the hearts of Africans as well ?

A. Yes. We formed the Nationalist Party afterwards.

Q. Mr. Babu, you are an Arab, are you not?

A. Really I do not know. I am so full of so many tribes in me that I cannot say categorically what I am. I prefer to call myself Zanzibarian.

Q. That was at the time of the last census that you began to call yourself an African ?

A. No, no, no.

Q. Was there a change in the policy ?

A. Let me explain to you. You are asking me questions. I must explain those questions. There was at the time a section of the people who were thinking in progressive terms and I was thinking backward. Those who are thinking in progressive terms, they wanted to introduce new conception in Zanzibar politics, not merely tribal and racial. Indian, Arab, Comorian Association, they thought this was a better idea. So there was a section of people who wanted to feel Zanzibar united with loyalty to the country. It was patriotism, whatever the connotation means. Therefore this section which was thinking in progressive terms was gaining popularity because this was the feeling of the great majority of the people and others were trying to inhibit this movement, to stop this movement. This movement became more and more popular and by the time the 1959 census started most of the people said we are Zanzibaris; they refused to call themselves a racial compartment, to be classified in a racial compartment. They thought it would be dangerous.

Q. Am I right in saying that the Africans called themselves Africans in that census ?

A. Some Africans would call themselves Africans.

Q. But the Arabs called themselves Africans also ?

A. No.

Q. Or refused to enter anything in that column with the result there was not a way in which to give a straight figure of Arabs and Africans ?

A. No, I disagree with you.

Q. That was the reason why in the census figures you had to call them Arabs, Africans ?

A. No, that is not the reason. There were some Africans who called themselves Africans; the Arabs called themselves Arabs and a lot of Africans and a lot of Arabs who refused to call themselves anything,

they called themselves Zanzibaris. Only Indians classified themselves as Indians.

Q. Mr. Babu, do you agree that His Highness's flag should be used and be associated with political parties ?

A. It is normal in England. Conservatives are using the Union Jack.

Q. That is the country's flag.:

A. Yes.

Q. Is it true here that from time to time you have been requested not to do so ?

A. No, we have not.

Q. You remember this (producing document) ?

A. I know what you are referring to.

Q. You signed this exhibit MVS. 39 ?

A. Yes.

Q. You signed this along with Sheikh Ali Muhsin and Maalim Zaid Mbaruk on behalf of the Nationalist Party ?

A. Yes.

Q. And this was a joint declaration brought about as a result of very strong protest by the A.S.P. ?

A. Protest on what ?

Q. Protest on the use of the flag or any other means by which you associated yourself or associated His Highness and his family with a political party ?

A. Yes.

Q. Strong protests were made by the A.S.P. ?

A. Yes.

Q. As a result of that after a great deal of negotiations and talk this joint declaration was read by His Excellency on 25th July, 1960 ?

A. Yes.

Q. Is not that so ?

A. Yes.

Q. Was that promise ever kept by you ?

A. I will tell you something about that.

Q. Was that kept by Z.N.P. ?



A. There was no promise.

Q. I will read this :

"It is the wish of all parties not to involve His Highness and the Royal Family in politics. We exhort everyone to avoid any action or statement which gives the impression that His Highness is exclusively associated with any particular party, or to use His Highness's name or flag in any way which cause racial animosity. We unite in the desire to promote racial harmony and peace in these Islands, and devoted loyalty to His Highness our Sultan; long may he reign in peace."

A. Shall I give you the background ?

CHAIRMAN: Will you ask the witness a question and it can be answered shortly. Did he pursue that policy thereafter ?

MR. TALATI: Did you pursue that policy contained in paragraph 2 thereafter ?

A. We did.

Q. You did ?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you make any change in the carrying of flags at Z.N.P. meetings ? Did you make any change ? Do you understand that ? Prior to that you had been using that ?

A. From the statement it is His Highness's flag; we were using the national flag.

Q. What is His Highness's flag ?

A. His Highness's emblem. If you have a flag and an emblem on it that becomes His Highness's flag but a red flag is the national flag.

Q. Mr. Babu, we are hearing this for the first time in Zanzibar. I am sure you understand that His Highness's flag is plain red ?

A. It is not. It is the country's flag. The Union Jack is not the Queen's flag.

Q. I know that but we are talking of His Highness's flag and please confine yourself to the question. His Highness's flag is plain red, and there is no other mark on it, except the plain red ?

A. That is the country's flag.

Q. Where have you seen any flag with a mark on it ?

A. What do you mean ?

Q. Have you ever seen a flag, His Highness's flag, indicating His Highness's position on His Highness's car, on His Highness's Palace ?

A. No.

Q. Anything but a plain red ?

A. No.

Q. Why do you suggest anything now ?

A. I am suggesting that the red flag is a national flag.

Q. You are trying to make a distinction, it is quite clear.

A. I am not making a distinction. I am clarifying the point. By carrying a flag we were not associating ourselves with His Highness.

Q. You know His Highness's emblem surely ?

A. Yes.

Q. That is called His Highness's emblem and there is a separate thing that is His Highness's flag ?

A. Yes.

Q. You were using that red flag ?

A. Yes. We were using the national flag, not His Highness's flag.

Q. Did you tell the Resident what you were doing ?

A. Yes. I was going to give the background story to this and you did not want me to say. You asked me to answer yes or no. His Excellency made it quite clear to Karume, Mbaruk and the rest that they had a perfect right to use the red flag and we did not by so doing associate ourselves with the Sultan. We only expressed our loyalty to the country, patriotism, and he made it perfectly clear.

Q. Still this is signed and printed ?

A. They may be referring to His Highness's flag, yes.

Supposing - I do not know - they were referring to the national flag, anybody had the right to use the national flag.

Q. Where was the necessity of paragraph 2 ?

A. I do not know.

Q. This statement consists of only two paragraphs and the second one is devoted to this subject.

A. They may be writing something for the future development.

CHAIRMAN: The evidence was, as I remember it, that they were told that any person was at liberty to use the national flag, is that not so, and the witness is making the point that it is not exclusively His Highness's ?

A. That is correct.

MR. TALATI: Was not the object of this declaration to protect His Highness or members of his family from falling under ... suspicion in the eyes of uneducated and ignorant persons ?

A. What sort of suspicion ?

Q. Of being connected with any political party ?

A. Yes.

Q. And all these matters were discussed at great length ?

A. Yes.

Q. At meetings called by the Resident and the Government ?

A. Quite right.

Q. What action had you taken before this date to associate His Highness and the Royal Family with your Party ?

A. None at all.

Q. So that in your minds this declaration was worth nothing ?

A. No, it was worth while.

Q. What was it intended to correct ?

A. I meant a declaration does not necessarily correct anything.

It is just a statement, continuation of a policy.

Q. You did not intend to change whatever you had been doing up to then because in your viewpoint you had been doing nothing wrong ?

A. Exactly. Precisely.

Q. And so you continued to do what you had been doing before ?

A. Exactly.

Q. You have a Z.N.P. branch called Mtendeni Branch ?

A. Yes, we have.

Q. Do you agree a number of acts of violence were committed on 1st June ?

A. No.

Q. Outside Z.N.P. branch at Mtendeni ?

A. No, I did not know.

Q. People were beaten and dragged into it and locked up ?

A. No.

Q. You do not know ? Is it likely these acts would have been committed without your knowledge ?

A. If it was committed the matter would have been reported to us.

Q. Is it true that, or do you agree that, certain Africans were beaten up by Arabs at Mtendeni ?

A. A lot of Africans have been beaten up by Afro-Shirazis.

Q. I am talking of something else.

A. I do not know because we have instructed all our members not to beat anybody up.

Q. You know there are certain cases pending in Court where Arab followers of Z.N.P. are accused of beating up African passers-by?

A. There may be.

Q. At Mtondoni ?

A. There may be, I do not know.

Q. You have never heard of these things ?

A. No.

Q. Never heard these points being discussed ?

A. No.

Q. Mr. Babu, we have not heard from you what were the causes of these troubles ?

A. The Afro-Shirazi Party started boating up members of the Zanzibar Nationalist Party.

Q. On 1st June ?

A. Yes.

Q. Why?

A. ...Because in my view, they wanted to create sufficient rowdyism in the country so that we may lose the election - the Nationalist Party lose the election. They know beforehand as a result of a merger, an electoral alliance, between the Z.N.P. and the Z.P.P.P., the Afro-Shirazi Party became thoroughly disappointed. They knew there was no hope of their having the Government and they concentrated on the Darajani seats so they might do better on the marginal seats.

Q. The rowdyism on 1st June was in the Ngambo only, am I right ?

A. Yes.

Q. The results of the election was two seats out of that Ngambo went to A.S.P. , one to Z.N.P.; the same result as in January elections ?

A. Yes, but with very much reduced majority.

Q. The same thing as in January elections ?

A. Not the same thing. I say with a reduced majority.

Q. For whom ?

A. For the Nationalist Party.

Q. But the result remained the same ?

A. The result was the same.

Q. Of the three seats in Ngambo the results were the same as in the January election ?

A. Yes, but we scraped through.

Q. And the other - you may call it rowdyism, you may call it violence, you may call it anything, in the rest of the island did not start until the 2nd ?

A. It spread through the country.

Q. Would you call this spontaneous ?

A. No.

Q. Then what do you call it - planned ?

A. I think so.

Q. Planned by whom ?

A. By Afro-Shirazis.

Q. You must bring our your case ?

A. You want my belief.

CHAIRMAN: Will you answer the question.

MR. TALATI: By the Afro-Shirazis you say ?

A. It is what I believe.

Q. Can you account for the fact that more Arabs died than Africans ?

A. Yes.

Q. How can you account for that ?

A. Because most of the Arabs were isolated members, isolated Arabs. They were having their shops in predominantly Afro-Shirazi towns. African supporters of Afro-Shirazis would live in a village together so Afro-Shirazi attackers would not be able to come and attack in a village because they would have met opposition. They concentrated on those isolated individuals who are living in predominantly Afro-Shirazi areas and it so happened those Arabs were trading in shops so they had shops in predominantly Afro-Shirazi areas and they attacked them in those areas.

Q. But the Arab shopowners who died, they were not necessarily Z.N.P.?

A. No. They were not killed necessarily because they were Arabs but because they said they would be supporters.

Q. Do you remember telling me earlier that all Mangas are not Z.N.P.?

A. Yes.

Q. All the dead ones, were they all Z.N.P.?

A. Not all of them.

Q. But the Arabs?

A. The majority of them were supporters of Z.N.P. or they had inclination towards Z.N.P.

Q. Do you still say it was political, the killings in the shambas on the 2nd onwards were on political grounds ?

A. Yes.

Q. No racialism in it at all ?

A. No racialism.

Q. None at all ?

A. You are convinced this is a question of endless discussion but I am not prepared to say that you can just stop and pick out one thing and say this is the cause.

Cross-examined by the Attorney-General.

Q. Mr. Babu, would you agree with me that in the last few months there has been a great influx of Communist literature into Zanzibar.

A. Yes.

Q. Are you responsible for that?

A. No.

Q. I refer the witness, Sir, to Legal Notice 87 of 1961, the Importation of Publications (Prohibition) (No.2) Order, 1961. Have you seen this Order? It is quite a recent one. Does that set out 27 publications which are prohibited from importation into Zanzibar?

A. Yes.

Q. Are they all publications from China?

A. I think so.

Q. Are they all publications listed on an invoice sent to you by the Peace Book Company, Hong Kong?

A. Yes.

Q. They were imported by you?

A. No, they are sent to me.

Q. Why were they sent to you? Did you ask for them?

A. No.

Q. Are you going to pay for them, the ones that have not been banned?

A. If we sell them, yes.

Q. Would you agree that all those enumerated here are Communist literature?

A. I do not know. I have not had the chance to read the whole list. By Communist you mean published in Communist country or advocating Communism?



Q. Advocating and extolling Communist way of life and opposing Imperialistic or Capitalistic way of life?

A. Not all of them; some of them are short stories.

Q. I do not suppose you will take it from me that I have read that book of short stories and it extols the Communist way of life. Is a man called Mr. Ali Sultan Issa a member of the Z.N.P.?

A. He was very active but now he is in the Federation of Progressive Trade Unions.

Q. Do you know that he has been sent on his order £77 worth of books, Communist literature?

A. I do not know.

Q. Of this variety (Producing examples) of which he will get a discount of 40 per cent?

A. I do not know.

Q. What is Umma Bookshop?

A. It is owned by, I think, a gentleman called Ali Salom, I am not sure,

Q. Is it connected with the Nationalist Party?

A. Not officially, no.

Q. Do you know that they have been sent - I have not counted them - some £223 worth of Communist literature from the Peace Book Company, Hong Kong?

A. I do not know.

Q. Do you import any literature advocating the spirit of Liberalism or Conservatism?

A. We import all kinds of literature. When I was in London this time in 1960 I spoke to some American publishers and requested them to send us some books from America and they promised to send us some books.

Q. Have they sent you some?

A. Not yet, I do not think.

Re-examined by Mr. Fraser-Murray.

Q. Just elaborate that point for the benefit of the Commission.

A. The point is .....

CHAIRMAN: I do not think it is for our benefit. It is to explain his own position, if you want the witness to elaborate, please ask the witness to elaborate.

MR. FRASER-MURRAY: Yes, Sir.

A. We have requested several publishers, Penguins, W.H. Smith & Sons in London, American publishers, Egyptian publishers, all sorts of publishers and the ones who have responded quickly were from the Socialist countries.

Q. In fact have you emphasised one rather than the other?

A. No.

Q. Has there been any pressure from one in one direction or the other?

A. No.

Q. Has there been any pressure upon you in one direction or the other, Communist or non-Communist?

A. No.

Q. Can you tell the Commission what are the respective

attitudes towards flooding countries with literature on the one hand the Communist countries and on the other hand the non-Communist countries, can you tell us about that?

A. I am not an authority on this but I would think that the Communist countries would take it seriously, flooding a country with Communist literature whereas other countries, I think they go to publishers and other things and so they are slow, they tend to neglect. As a matter of fact we approached even the United Kingdom Information Office in Dar-es-Salaam to ask the British Government to supply some books and they neglected it.

Q. I think you approached them through the United Kingdom Information Office in Zanzibar?

A. Yes, and they had their representative here and came here.

Q. Asking them for literature, is that right?

A. Yes, the Information Office here.

Q. And the Zanzibar Government's own information office?

A. That is right.

Q. Asking them to supply you?

A. Supply books, yes.

Q. What was your object in making these requests?

A. Because we wanted to establish a book shop and get some money out of it, and to promote other people to read.

Q. Have these requests been met?

A. No, not so far.

Q. Either by the Zanzibar Government or by the United Kingdom Government?

A. No, they neglected all our requests.

Q. The Zanzibar Nationalist Party runs schools, does it?

A. Yes.

Q. And it needs books for the schools?

A. Yes Sir.

Q. Has it made requests for books?

A. We have made an appeal, we have requested the British Government, the American Consulate, everybody, for books and so far we have had no response.

Q. How long is it since these requests have been made?

A. I do not know; I think Ali Muhsin will be able to tell you.

Q. You know of your own knowledge that they have not been met?

A. Yes.

(The witness withdrew)

(The proceedings were adjourned for a short time).

ON RESUMPTION.

SHEIKH ALI MUHSIN called and sworn.

Examined by MR. FRASER-MURRAY.

Q. Sheikh Ali Muhsin, how do you describe yourself? You have heard lots of descriptions of Africans, Arabs and so on, what are you?

A. Racially, Sir, I do not know.

Q. Were you born in Zanzibar?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Have you lived all your life here?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. If you were asked to describe yourself how in fact would you do so?

A. I am a Zanzibari, Sir.

Q. You are I think a member of the Legislative Council of Zanzibar?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. And you have been a member for some time?

A. That is so.

Q. For how long altogether?

A. I have been a member of the Legislative Council on and off. I think I first joined in 1951 or thereabouts, and I left in about 1954. I re-joined the Legislative Council in about the middle of 1955 I think and then left again. The Council was dissolved in 1957. I continued after the Council was reconstituted, and I resigned again in 1958, I should think. I was elected in January, 1961.

CHAIRMAN: Is that the first time you sat as an elected member?

A. That is so.

Q. Before that you had been nominated ?

A. That is so.

MR. FRASER-MURRAY: You at present hold the office of Minister of Education.

A. And Welfare.

Q. In the Government of the Protectorate ?

A. That is so.

Q. You are I think a member of the Zanzibar Nationalist Party ?

A. That is so.

Q. In fact, am I correct in saying you are regarded as its leader ?

A. I am so regarded.

Q. Perhaps you can tell us a word or two about the formation of the Zanzibar Nationalist Party ?

A. The Zanzibar Nationalist Party was formed in 1955, somewhere in October or November - from September onwards. It was at a time when I was in England. I had gone there to acquaint British public opinion of the desire of some of us for a constitutional expert to visit Zanzibar. That was the time when it was formed, when I was away. When I was in England I had no idea that the party had been founded here. I had our General Secretary, Mr. Abdul Rahman Mohamed (Babu), and after consultation with the late George Padmore who was Adviser on African Affairs and Dr. Nkrumah who at that time was in exile in England, we had the idea of forming the Nationalist Party on the basis that it is run on now, but when we came here we found that a group of people, mostly peasants, had started the party. Some time later I was invited to join the party and I joined; I joined I think in 1956, early 1956, about February, Sir.

Q. What were the objectives of the party at that time ?

A. The original objectives of the party at that time were to work by all peaceful and constitutional means to attain self-government for this country, to unite all the people who are subjects of His Highness the Sultan, that is Zanzibaris, and to abolish racialism. Those were the fundamental aims I remember of the party at the time.

Q. Was a constitution drawn up containing those aims ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Have the aims of the Zanzibar Nationalist Party been altered since those early days ?

A. I would not say altered, Sir; I would say expanded I think. Those fundamentals are still there, but I think perhaps some of the statements have been couched in more radical terms. For instance the question of working by all peaceful and constitutional means, I think these are the words - "To struggle relentlessly for the independence of Zanzibar;" also factors like the universal declaration of human rights were put in, the United Nations, and so on, and the raising of the standard of living of the workers of Zanzibar and East and Central Africa, and co-operation or affiliation with all bodies which would facilitate the achievement of the aims and objects of the party. There were also some clearer terms regarding the question of racialism, communalism, tribalism and religious separatism. I think these are mostly based on our discussion, as I say, with George Padmore when I could have a hand in it and advise the party later. There were also some adaptations to matters of structure on the party, some bits were borrowed from the Labour Party and some from the Conservative Party.

Q. I think you know the booklet "Whither Zanzibar"

A. Yes Sir.

Q. I believe that booklet has been produced before the Commission. Does that booklet enshrine the objectives of the Zanzibar Nationalist Party ?

A. That is so.

Q. Then I will not elaborate further at this stage, except to ask you this. Generally what is the attitude of the party towards communalism and racialism ?

A. The party is totally and unalterably opposed to any form of racialism, tribalism or communalism, whatever you like to call it.

Q. Has that always been one of the objectives of the party ?

A. That is so.

Q. I am not going to labour this, but it has been alleged I think, at any rate indirectly, against the Zanzibar Nationalist Party that it is in some way a communist party. Is there any truth in that suggestion ?

A. There is no truth in it at all, Sir.

CHAIRMAN: In fairness, I do not think that has been alleged. The allegation has been that a certain element in the party is communist inclined. It has never been suggested by any of the counsel representing any party that the ZNP as such was communist. I only make that clear statement in fairness to everybody concerned.

MR. FRASER-MURRAY: I am much obliged, and I do apologise for putting the question. Are you able to help us ? Is there any element in the Zanzibar Nationalist Party connected with the communist party ?

A. I cannot say, Sir, just in the same way as I cannot say whether there are any elements in our party which are Fascist inclined, but definitely nobody who is a member of another party



can be a member of our party; even a member of the Conservative Party cannot be a member of our Party.

Q. I am taking the opportunity of reminding you - I hope I may be allowed to do so, Sir - of the terms of reference of this Commission. (Terms of reference read). I am going to ask you about these three things, that is the causes and the developments and the steps taken to deal with them. I am going to take them slightly out of order and not deal with causes at the moment. I want you to tell us first of all what you yourself actually witnessed on the 1st June and succeeding days.

A. On 1st June at about 8 o'clock in the morning I received a telephone call from a colleague of mine, Mr. Ahmed Seif, telling me there was trouble at the polling station at Gulioni, and that an agent or two of ours had been beaten. I went out to investigate and in actual fact I was told there was trouble brewing up in a number of other stations, so I started with the nearest to my house. I took a car, and I had with me one Ali Salim who is a student at George VI school and Abdulla Soud, my wife's cousin. I went with them to Kikwajuni polling station. Everything was peaceful and orderly. As I was going out of this polling station - you have to leave the main road and go into a lane - and when I was driving out on the main road I saw a group of about a dozen people cycling; they were wearing shirts and trousers, all new faces as far as I was concerned, completely new; they did not look like the ordinary people of Zanzibar. They were obviously under the leadership of one man. He told half a dozen of them to go - "You go to the polling station at Kikwajuni" - whilst he led the other half dozen towards Stone Town. I drove on to the next polling station which was Raha Leo, and there before reaching the station, in front of the Afro-Shirazi shop nearby - I do not know whether it is their shop or office, I am not sure, there is a

door there "Afro-Shirazi" at Raha Leo .....

Q. Afro-Shirazi Party?

A. Afro-Shirazi Party, Sir. I found a group of about fifty people who were pushing about a young Arab who looked to me like an immigrant, he was not an Arab of Zanzibar. They were pushing him about. He was about the age of eighteen I should say, or nineteen. I went out to talk to these people and to get them to let him go. They said - "He is here; he has no right to be here; he wants to steal a vote, and he has no right to be here." This was about 50 yards or more away from the main queue to the polling station.

Q. At Raha Leo ?

A. At Raha Leo. So I tried to get him away, but they kept on pushing him, and so I asked the two young men I had with me to go and fetch him and put him in my car so that I could take him away. When these two lads went to take him they were beaten up particularly the one I referred to as my wife's cousin, not Ali Salim. Ali Salim had slight bleeding but this one had severe bleeding. I got out of my car to go and rescue these and while doing so someone pushed me about, not very much really, but they said, literally translated - "The Honourable like you should not be here." So I took these young men into my car and went to the police station. It was about 8.45 by the time I reached there and reported the matter to police headquarters. After this I went to the party headquarters at Darajani where I kept on receiving more news of trouble, people coming in and telephoning all the time, and all the time I kept in constant touch with police headquarters, informing them of the situation as it was reported to me to be

developing. More news of trouble came pouring in and by ten o'clock the situation as it was reported to me was so bad in the Raha Leo and Jangombe constituencies that our people were just not able to vote. I rang up His Excellency the British Resident, and Mr. Moore, the Supervisor of Elections, and informed them I would find it impossible to go and it seemed we were not having adequate police protection. I said - "Our voters are not able to vote and so we are withdrawing our candidature from these two constituencies."

Q. These two constituencies being Jangombe and Raha Leo ?

A. That is so. Some of the people round about our headquarters were anxious to go and fight, but I kept sending messages all the time to tell the people not to fight back if they were attacked. At one time it was very serious really. An older Indian who was nearly seventy years of age came with a cut in his cheek; his cheek was completely open for about six inches or so with blood pouring out. He came from Darajani station and he staggered into our office. I well remember that one young man took a sword and wanted to rush out, and an older person took another sword and said - "You have not been instructed to go and fight; put down the sword."

They wanted to fight. I was in the inside office and I heard this confusion. When I came out I saw these two people facing each other, trying to fight each other.

Q. The young man and the other ?

A. Yes, the more elderly person was trying to disarm the young man at the point of the sword. When I saw them they stopped. I said - "You are not to fight; if you have to fight I will give you instructions to fight." The young man obeyed and later we took away the swords. The situation then became more serious. I kept on; sometimes going to police headquarters to see the various authorities, but I also kept in touch with the Civil Secretary, Mr. Robertson, who was then Chief Minister. I cannot remember how many times I went to the police station or at what times, but by about mid-day when the Riot Act was read I informed the Commissioner of Police and the Civil Secretary that we were stopping our people from voting at Darajani. We were not withdrawing the candidate but we were stopping our people from voting in order to save life.

Q. At Darajani ?

A. Yes.

Q. You had withdrawn at the two others and now you are talking of Darajani ?

A. We were stopping our people voting in order to save lives.

Q. Whose lives?

A. The members of the Nationalist Party.

Q. Meaning they were not to vote, their lives were in danger, is that right?

A. That is so. I appealed to His Excellency the British Resident either to call off the elections in those three constituencies or, if nothing could be done, then they should call off the elections in those three constituencies. I am not quite sure, but I think I got the information from him that he had consulted the Attorney General and his opinion was that once the elections had been started there is no provision in the law to stop them until the proper time for closing the polling stations. So that was the situation.

Q. Did you in fact send orders to members not to vote?

A. Yes Sir, I did.

Q. At Darajani?

A. Yes.

Q. What did you tell them to do?

A. I told them to go back to their homes <sup>or</sup> to go to their branches and stay there. Some time in the afternoon, I think it was Mr. Smithyman, I was called to the police station. I am not sure whether I was called there or whether I went there on some other business.

Q. Is this the central police station?

A. No, the headquarters - it is different now - at Ziwani. There was an arrangement that we should tour the town to tell our people to disperse and not to fight, not to use violence. I understood the same thing had been done by Sheikh Aboid Karume. He had also been asked to do the same and been provided with a police escort.

Q. That is Sheikh Aboid Karume?

A. Yes, he is leader of the Afro-Shirazi party. I drove with my escort to the ZNP election office at Kisiwandui where there was a group of people but all policemen; there was nobody there to appeal to. I was told - I do not know whether I gathered that information from Mr. Smithyman at police headquarters or there - that there was trouble at Mtendoni and that I should go and appeal to my people. While we were still there we heard news that there was no trouble at all at Mtendoni and there was no point in our going there, so I dismissed the escort, and I think it was Mr. Knight of the CGA, the special police constabulary, who was in charge of the van. Then another event in the afternoon was the request that was made to me by Mr. Smithyman also to broadcast an appeal to the people. That was at about 3 p.m. I think and we made an arrangement for the broadcasting station to come to my house to record my speech.

Q. That was duly done, was it?

A. That was duly done. Then from that day there was the the question of the forces coming in and I think evidence with regard to that has been given. I do not know much about it, particularly at that time, but forces were coming from outside and then there was the question of evacuating people from the trouble areas, particularly the areas around Mikunguni, Holmwood, Kidongochokundu, and all the outlying areas of Ngambo, trying to evacuate the people to safer areas in the town. This was a job that occupied a good deal of our time in the next few weeks, the question of the refugee problem. The ZNP organised a committee. On the first day it was spontaneous, it started with one branch at Mkunazini, then we enlarged that and made it comprehensive and also with the co-operation of the ZPPP members; it was the ZNP and ZPPP Refugee Committee.

Q. Presided over by Sheikh Abdulla Sulaiman?

A. No, this was presided over by Sheikh Mohamed Othman, a member of the ZNP. Sheikh Abdulla Sulciman, with Mr. Kapadia and other people - practically all of them are not members of our party, nor do we know whether they are supporters or not, they are mostly business people or people who have plantations, non-political people - organised a relief committee, and we had one member as a sort of liaison, I think it was Sheikh Hilal, I am not sure. This was to organise events, and so on, mostly collecting funds, and I think Mr. Kapadia was the treasurer. The Government later also formed a refugee committee and on that also we had representation in the person I think also of Sheikh Hilal, who is Chairman of the Town Council. The committee of our party together with the ZPPP was made up of men and women and some younger people who belonged to the youth organisation, and they looked after these refugees. They evacuated people from the trouble areas with the help sometimes of police escorts, sometimes alone, throughout that afternoon, the evening, night and the next day, and they kept on doing that. For the next few days we were engaged in that. I should say nearly 6,000 refugees in all poured into Stone Town.

Q. You saw these refugees yourself of course?

A. Yes.

Q. If one were to use terminology like Arab and African how would they be composed, these 6,000?

A. Using that term as it is used, with which I do not agree, the term Arab meaning anyone who has a tinge of Arab blood and African one who cannot make any claim to any blood other than Bantu or Negroid..

Q. Accepting that.

A. Accepting that, I should say that the majority of refugees were what are called Africans. I remember this distinctly,

Sir, because as I was taking the correspondent of the Observer to these camps ...

Q. That is the London newspaper?

A. The London newspaper. His question to most of these people was - "We have been told that your party is an Arab party, is that true?"

Q. Who was saying that?

A. This correspondent, and the answer was invariably - "Look at us". "Are we Arabs?" - because the majority of them were obviously not Arab at all, only the minority were.

Q. Even within that definition that you gave?

A. Even within that definition.

Q. Can you say which, if any, political party these people were supporters of?

A. I think they were almost all supporters of the Zanzibar Nationalist Party, except that I had difficulty on one occasion where an Arab, and a Manga Arab at that, in the Aga Khan school camp was an Afro-Shirazi, and the people there were incensed at his being there; he was a refugee.

Q. The Manga Arab was actually a member of the Afro-Shirazi Party?

A. Yes. I was actually called because there was an uproar in the camp and I was called to settle it. I appealed to the people, quoting what the prophet David in the past said in similar circumstances, that this is the time of forgetting and forgiving, and I said - "Particularly you should not be bitter, even against the Afro-Shirazis, because not all of them are criminals, only those who have been guilty of these offences will be brought to book, and this is the time when people may lose their sense of proportion; this is actually the time for reconciliation; we should not lose lives and at the same time lose



unity; those sacrifices should not be in vain. I would ask you to have this man, even if he belongs to the Afro-Shirazi Party, as your brother". He apologised to them and they accepted him, they all clapped and they were happy. Some of them said when I was going on - "No, we will not agree to this until he kisses your feet". I said - I will not allow this".

Q. Is there anything else about the events of 1st June and the immediately following days that you wish to tell the Commissioner?

A. Then, Sir, I was called by His Excellency the British Resident to form a government, as our party on our ZNP/ZPPP alliance had won the majority of seats. We were all called together with representatives of the Afro-Shirazi Party, and the Council Chairman was there. His Excellency said he was under instruction from His Highness that those who had won the majority should form a government; he had advised His Highness the Sultan that the alliance of ZNP and ZPPP had won a majority and it was up to them to form a government. We waited for our members from Pomba to come and we held a meeting and we were presented to His Excellency, Sheikh Mohamed Shemto, Chief Minister, myself as Minister of Education, Sheikh Ibuni Saleh Minister of Works and Communications, Sheikh Juma Aloy Minister of Agriculture, Dr. Baalawy as Minister of Health and Sheikh Maulidi Mshangama as Assistant Minister to the Financial Secretary.

Q. I want to stop there if I may. I want to go back a little bit in time to the third part of the terms of reference of the Commission about the steps taken to deal with the events. First of all I want you to tell the Commissioners what steps you had taken and your party, the Zanzibar Nationalist Party, had taken before the election in case violence should break out?

A. Months before, I cannot remember exactly when, in various ways - in fact I myself in the previous caretaker government was Minister of Education also ....

CHAIRMAN: That was the coalition government from January to May 1961?

A. That is so, Sir. I remember there was an informal meeting, not an Executive Council but under the chairmanship of the then Chief Minister, Mr. Robertson. I raised the question of the dangers that might face us in the polling stations in certain areas, and we pointed out the Jangombe and Raha Leo constituencies.

MR. FRASER-MURRAY: You actually mentioned those two?

A. Yes, that these were bad spots as a result of our experience in the January election and would stronger security forces be placed in these. I said plainly that I was fully aware of the difficulties involved in over-weighting certain areas while depleting perhaps the reserve forces which could be mobile and could be made available anywhere. You may distribute your forces in certain areas where you think the trouble will arise and then quite another area may flare up. But I said from the very beginning to the then Chief Minister - "I know this is a problem, but I will leave it to the forces of security and law and order".

Q. To strike the right balance between static and mobile ?

A. I had emphasised these two courses even at an earlier stage and I am informed also that our representative informed meetings of the Security Committee and in meetings with the Election Supervisor and the Commissioner of Police our representatives made similar suggestions and also to the Government and before that we kept on urging our people that whatever happens, not to retaliate. I remember the expression that I used in broadcasting and in speeches before the January Elections, which I repeated also before the June Elections, that you should not retaliate either in words or in deed. I actually used the expression "you cannot get a clash until two parties strike each other".

Q. In other words, it takes two to make a quarrel.

A. And we have often used this expression and in fact this was my theme at almost every meeting that any insults are like insects, you have only to brush them off your coat, so do not retaliate and I quoted the Arabic verse which has become almost Swahili now, it is so often quoted "Jawab Safih Sukut" - "the answer to the insolent is silence".

Q. Now, you say that you made these representations to Mr. Robertson who was then Chief Minister. Did you make them just on that one occasion ?

A. On this particular occasion is where I was speaking specifically with regard to constituencies, but I may have made it previously, but I cannot remember that I had.

Q. I see. You told me that you made these representations among other reasons because of the experience of the January Elections ?

A. That is so.

Q. What were your fears with regard to the June Elections then ? What were your apprehensions ? What did you fear ?

A. We feared that there would be more violence in the June Elections.

Q. Had there been any violence in the January Elections ?

A. Some scuffles, yes, particularly in those areas, and people being insulted, being intimidated.

Q. Yes. Why did you fear that there would be more violence in the June Elections ?

A. Well, for a number of factors, Sir. The speeches during the meetings of the A.S.P. were more violent than they had been before the June Election. There was constant reference to violence and the introduction of people from outside Zanzibar. We got reports that they had said in their meetings, one of the leaders said, that Zanzibar is only a few oars away from the mainland. Just with a few pushes of your boat you can get the people coming here and, in addition to that, there were many more new faces in Zanzibar than we know before. People were coming in larger numbers from outside Zanzibar. Various reports from various parts, from Ngambo and other areas that strangers were coming in. There were a number of threats in public speeches of the A.S.P. against racial communities. The Indians were threatened in speeches in the town here: if they did not vote for the A.S.P. they would only have themselves to regret, and the Comorians the same. Arabs the same. Each community would be taken in turn by various speakers, in various parts of the town and also the tone of newspapers, the abuses were too open and blatant and the fact that we had had a previous election just six months ago. In any country it would be a risky proposition. Tension would flare up. The January election was after three years of respite but this was six months after an election which proved

to be a stalemate and inconclusive and the A.S.P. had a feeling that they had been deprived of victory, to which they had always been accustomed. We as a party had always been defeated. It was nothing new to us, and there again another serious pointer that there would be trouble was the almost certainty that our coalition was going to win. Our party is accustomed to lose.

Q. Now you were saying that another factor increasing the tension was that your coalition was going to win. You were explaining that to us.

A. And in defeat we could contain ourselves. We had learned to hold our people together and in fact we got more impetus after every defeat and tribute was paid to this by the leader of the A.S.P. in one of their meetings. He warned his people that the Nationalists had been defeated on such and such a date and they were persevering. Previously they got not a single seat but they kept on, they persevered and they got nine seats. If you are defeated, you must persevere. He saw what was coming. But the fears of any sensible person could be that the A.S.P. which is an amorphous body, could not control itself in defeat ? That any sensible person could measure and understand.

Q. And you said that factor led to tension and was the reason why you and your colleagues felt dangers of violence were greater than in January ?

A. Yes.

Q. And I understand you to say that fear was shared by at least one A.S.P. leader in his speech ?

A. Yes, in the report of that speech.

Q. Now, did you make known these feelings to the authorities ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Did you explain ? To whom did you explain ?

A. As I said before, Sir.

Q. Did you tell Mr. Robertson ?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you tell the Commissioner of Police ?

A. I remember, Sir, to have told him. But in meetings of the Election Committee and preparation for the Elections where our representatives Sheikh Hilal and Sheikh Juma Aley were present they had put these matters to them and to the Commissioner of Police.

CHAIRMAN: It is unfortunate that all this was not put to the previous Witnesses in cross-examination because it is a very important point.

MR. FRASER MURRAY: It is indeed.

CHAIRMAN: And in fairness to them, if any suggestions are going to be founded on it I think we ought to recall the persons concerned.

MR. FRASER MURRAY: With great respect, Sir, I must agree. I should say that in fairness to my friend, Mr. Kanji, who has been labouring alone night and day on this, it was impossible to cover every point.

CHAIRMAN: It is a very important point and has a direct bearing on our terms of reference.

MR. FRASER MURRAY: I do think I owe the Commission an explanation as to why this was not done. It is not easy to find time to go over all these details.

CHAIRMAN: I do not think that is a sufficiently valid excuse.

MR. FRASER MURRAY: I do not put it forward at all as an excuse.

CHAIRMAN: It may be an explanation but it is not an excuse.

MR. FRASER MURRAY: I agree with great respect. However, these are important details and I have got to ask these witnesses.

CHAIRMAN: Undoubtedly if that is part of your case.

MR. FRASER MURRAY: Sheikh Ali, what measures were in fact taken for the General Elections. Were any additional measures taken as a result of these representations, as far as you know?

A. As far as I know, Sir. Well, further appeals were made to the public and we were requested actually to appeal to our various parties to keep the peace.

Q. By whom, Mr. Muhsin?

A. These requests for speeches were made to me directly by Mr. Smithyman and he certainly had it from His Excellency, the British Resident and the Civil Secretary and the Chief Minister, to make broadcast talks to the people, and appeal to the people, and in addition to that I was assured at a meeting with Mr. Robertson that forces were available on the Mainland - I don't know, Nairobi, or where - that could be made available in a few hours' notice to go to Zanzibar if any troubles broke out and that my fears would be communicated to the Commissioner of Police and people concerned with security.

Q. In your view, were the measures taken at any rate having regard to the information which was available before 1st June.

A. Sir, at that time I could not say whether they were adequate because I do not know the details, nor was I supposed to

know them.

Q. I take it you know now what measures were taken before 1st June and what you know now of those measure taken before 1st June, were they adequate in the light of the information available before 1st June ?

Q. Not adequate. Particularly because of what I have reported: When these two young men that I had with me were attacked at Raha Leo and I was involved in this a little bit, there were only two Policemen who were sauntering towards where we were, arriving after the scuffle was almost over. Not only the inadequacy of the number, but the action of the Police at the time was rather negligent and no quick action was taken. If you see people involved in a scuffle, I should think that it is the duty of a policeman to grab one of them at least, or two, but to come sauntering and make enquiries like any bystander only tends in the eyes of the mob to show that the Police are there only for show and they could do nothing. If the thing was tackled immediately it started, and action was taken, I think life would have been saved.

Q. Do you base that opinion simply on that one incident ?

A. On others also. There was a feeling about the Policemen that it was just a show. I remember seeing a photograph where a European Policeman, a Special Police Constable, was smilingly fraternising with the mob while violence was taking place. I think at Gulioni. I remember seeing the photograph.

Q. You criticise the Police as lacking the necessary vigour ?

A. That is so.

Q. But what about reinforcements.

A. The reinforcements: I think that immediately afterwards full credit must be paid to Government for the quick



admirable. I action that was taken at the end of the 1st day of June. I think it is/ think, Sir, quick action was taken and Sir George Mooring took a great personal interest. I know he attended the security committee's meetings personally. He practically made Police Headquarters his home and the forces that came from the Mainland did admirable work and I think that it is largely due to the fact that the forces were more than adequate that it was unnecessary to shoot perhaps later, because they did not need to shoot anybody in order to make them feel the strength of the forces of law and order. Their very ..... and promptness when they came were sufficient. They did a marvellous job of work.

Q. Much obliged to you. Now I don't want to suggest that you should be wise after the event, but in as impartial a way as possible, looking back, what if anything should have been done before the Elections in June with a view to avoiding these troubles ?

A. I think the first thing which should have been done, perhaps years ago, all along was the banning of any use of any exploitation of racial feelings. They should have been made an electioneering offence. This should have been done.

Q. Did you ever suggest that ?

A. Oh, yes, Sir.

Q. You, personally ? To whom did you suggest it ?

A I kept on suggesting and writing from 1954 onwards, before the formation of the Nationalist Party. I sent a petition to Mr. Coutts, now Sir Walter Coutts.

Q. So the Commission would be aware of the Coutts Report ?

A. That play on racial feelings should be an electioneering offence. That is also the thing I tried to acquaint British public opinion with in 1955, before Mr. Coutts came, in a memorandum that I distributed to the newspapers and M.P.s in the United Kingdom when I informed them that a party had been formed and I made representations to Mr. Coutts and the British Resident on various occasions and in writing to Mr. Lennox Boyd in England and to Sir Hilary Blood in the new constitution that we are now working.

Q. All to this effect ?

A. To this effect. Play on racial feelings should be made an electioneering offence and racial or religious parties, communism, tribalism, religious separatism. All those groups, Sir, which are national, non-political, which one cannot control, which are beyond the control of any individual. You cannot recreate your mother or father or your religion or your group. All those things which are fascist, the cause of the 1939 World War, should be made an electioneering offence and no party based on racial or religious lines should be able to contest an election. We were assured that there was no such law in the United Kingdom. We argued that we did not want to undergo the difficulties that the United Kingdom underwent where Protestant burnt Catholics and Catholics burnt Protestant throughout the ages, or the Jewish pogroms, etc. I think they come to realise what democracy was after centuries and centuries.

But we must appreciate the situation here. We have been living in racial compartments and we are trying to build a society based on the nationality of the country, irrespective of one's origin or religious beliefs.

Q. Sheikh Ali, what you have just said is what was said in detail?

A. Oh yes, Sir.

Q. The British Residents in detail?

A. Yes.

Q. Successive British Residents?

A. Successive British Residents, and I should say successive Secretaries of State.

Q. I was going to ask you that: and successive Secretaries of State?

A. Yes, and successive constitutional experts.

CHAIRMAN: I do not want to interrupt, but can you remember any particular occasion upon which you made these representations to the present British Resident or to the present Civil Secretary, who was afterwards for a period Chief Minister?

A. No, Sir. The last time was when Sir Hilary Blood was here, and I think I am right in saying it was contained - we did write after Sir Hilary Blood's recommendations that he should take that into consideration; and I think it was said in the Legislative Council also during the regime of the present British Resident, but on what day exactly, I cannot remember.

MR. FRASER-MURRAY: Would you take time to think about that answer? I think the Commissioners can get details in due course.

A. Yes.

Q. You see, the Commissioners would like to have details of

this. Can you remember anything of any other particular occasion? You have mentioned the Legislative Council during the present British Resident's tenure of office; you have mentioned Sir Hilary Blood's recommendations - those recommendations were made to him?

A. Yes, Sir, and they are contained in his report.

Q. I am much obliged. You may not be able to remember at this period of time the specific times and places when these representations were made, but can you tell us of two?

A. The time the representations were made?

Q. Yes, the persons to whom and when these representations that you have been describing found their way - do you follow me?

A. Yes. In 1954 I myself submitted and circulated a memorandum to various members of Parliament in the United Kingdom, and newspapers. I had a discussion in the Colonial Office with Mr. Mathison about this, now I think, in Kenya.

Q. Now His Excellency, the Governor of Kenya?

A. Yes, Sir. He was then Head of the East African Department in the Colonial Office.

Q. Did you say this to him?

A. Yes, that was before the formation of the Nationalist Party, or when it was being formed here in Zanzibar without my noticing.

Q. And?

A. And when the Nationalist Party had been formed and Mr. Coutts had been commissioned here after my visit to the U.K. requesting a commission on constitutional development, the Nationalist Party presented these proposals to Mr. Coutts

in 1956. It was then also conveyed to Mr. Lennox Boyd when he visited Zanzibar: that is definite.

Q. Yes?

A. And I think - though we may or may not have - we submitted them to the United Kingdom Home Secretary when he was here.

Q. When was that?

A. I do not remember exactly but it was after the 1957 election.

Q. He ceased to be Home Secretary round about 1958 or 1959.

A. Yes. And Sir Hilary Blood's Commission, when he came here we submitted that and it is contained in his report, and subsequently that was debated in the Legislative Council: various speakers from our party stressed that point.

Q. When this point was debated in the Legislative Council, that was the time of the Blood Report?

A. Yes, and in the press continuously and on public platforms also.

CHAIRMAN: I believe the communication by you which is published with the Report contains precisely what you are saying now.

A. Yes, Sir.

MR. FRISER-MURRAY: But your efforts were not successful, Sheikh Ali?

A. Not successful, and we quoted also one of our arguments, this recommendation - in the first instance, that was 1957, as a result of Mr. Coutts' recommendations, we quoted the example of the British Guiana Constitution - that it was recommended, but the Colonial Office turned it down; and the Government here then said it is because the Colonial Office saw

it was impracticable to implement this. We argued that it could. We argued the existing law of sedition was adequate enough to deal with the situation; but we have never had anybody stirring racial hatred on public platforms - it is now public knowledge that there were inflammatory speeches and without anybody being prosecuted and convicted in Zanzibar under the existing sedition law so the laws as they are, I think, are inadequate to cope with a situation which we know before the first election would arise, but somehow the Government, the authorities, argued it did not exist.

Q. I wanted to ask you: in fact were speeches made running on racial feeling in the election?

A. Yes, Sir, that is my report. I have never attended any meetings except those of the ZNP.

Q. Have any speeches playing on racial feelings been made in your Party?

A. On racial feelings, no, Sir; but it would be impossible. It would result in a mass resignation in our Party because it is a non-racial party.

Q. And you say it is one of the most cherished ideas - perhaps the most cherished?

A. I would say we put that even before independence.

Q. By whom then were these speeches made that you heard about, playing on racial feeling?

A. By various members of the Afro-Shirazi Party, by the Afro-Shirazi Youth League and by the Afro-Shirazi Human Rights League.

Q. And were these speeches made before the June elections? Is that what I understand you to be saying?

A. Yes.

Q. Were they limited to the June elections ?

A. No, Sir; from the very beginning. There was a respite for a short period during 1959 after P.A.F.M.E.C.A. which is the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East and Central African, after they had conciliated and brought us together.

Q. By "Brought us together" you mean the Zanzibar Nationalist Party and the Afro-Shirazi Party ?

A. That is before the Z.P.P.P. came into being. I remember exactly the time when we held our first rally together, when thousands came and Sheikh Abeid Karume and Mr. Francis Khamisi, who was a delegate, all came together.

Q. Sheikh Abeid Karume is a leader of the Afro-Shirazi Party ?

A. About 1959, I think.

Q. Yes, and ... ?

A. Yes, he put up his arm like that and said, "Those days when I would say only the colour of one's skin matters - those days are gone".

Q. Actually the word he used was ... ?

A. Ngozi, which means "skin".

Q. And this was the respite you mentioned ?

A. Yes.

Q. And then apart from that respite, where there was this meeting where Sheikh Abeid Karume said "These days have gone ... ? ?

A. I think the situation could be described as harmonious for the greater part of the year, when we went also to the Moshi conference in Tanganyika. We went more or less as one delegation, the Afro-Shirazi Party and ourselves, under what we termed the Freedom Committee. That was also in 1959.

Q. But apart from that ?

A. The tone has been racial all the way through.

Q. Of the ... ?

A. Afro-Shirazi Party and its wings.

Q. All the way through ?

A. Meaning from the foundation of the Party until recently, until these disturbances.

Q. Right up to the June election ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. And when you say "racial", what kind of thing has been said - can you tell us very briefly ?

A. Well, in brief, Sir, that the country belongs to black Africans and it is inconceivable that people of any other colour should have a share in the ruling of a country in Africa; and then various persons, depending on the mood or location - it would be Arabs mostly but also Indians and sometimes Comorians - would be subjected to attack because they were of a different race.

Q. Now what effect did this have, in your view, on the hearers ?

A. I think it tended to start with to bring in a larger following of people who could be mobilised under no other slogan than that of colour of one's skin, which was the most easily conceived thing that could bring them together. Then it created a sort of attitude that all other people have no rights to exist in a country except themselves; that political rights and everything should be exclusive to those people who belonged to that race. It created animosity, even with those of the same race, if they did not agree with those views, because they were considered to be traitors to the race.

Q. Yes, I see. Perhaps I can just ask you at this stage, if one is to accept - and I recognise this is repugnant to you - if one is to accept this method of categorising people, as a matter of interest what proportion of the Zanzibar Nationalist Party is "African", as a rough estimate ?



A. I should say it is anything between 70 per cent and 80 per cent of our members.

Q. I shall come back to that later. You remember my question some time back was what, looking back now, do you consider ought to have been done to avoid this ? Do you remember that question ?

A. Yes.

Q. And the first thing you said was there should have been legislation to make it an election offence to play on racial feelings. Looking back, what else could have been done to avoid this ?

A. I think another thing would have been to exercise greater control of immigration into this country.

Q. Would you explain this, please ? It is not a straightforward subject.

A. You see, the difficulty is these are two islands with very limited potentialities. They can only absorb a certain number of people. At the same time we have been trying to rid this country, even in the past, with racial representation in the Legislative Council, of racial representation; but people have been living quite amicably. In fact it was pointed out, and it has always been pointed out, as an example to the rest of Africa and sometimes to the rest of the world; that it is a place where there is always very good racial harmony, irrespective of the racial origins of the people, and all the people stay quite amicably together. Now that is for centuries, though there have been troubles as in other countries, but they are not a major circumstance, not to disrupt the actual basic harmony of the people. Now in order to maintain that, with the new feelings of racial hatred that have been engendered in other parts of Africa, I think it is imperative that Zanzibar should be safeguarded against that infiltration, the infiltration of disruptive elements; and this was the thing, or one of the things, which started this idea of the Nationalist Party being formed;

that is to prevent ideas which started in South Africa, went to Kenya and might well come to Zanzibar, which are becoming more or less universal in East and Central Africa - racial feelings, and so on. Another thing is, as I said at the beginning, our economic potentialities are limited: there has been here a good deal of under-employment, and the tendency has been for the rich people, the Indian merchants and the Arab landowners, building contractors and so on, to prefer cheap labour from the mainland, to bring it here to the detriment of the indigonus workers of Zanzibar. This has been the tendency. I am not quite sure, but I think the 1948 Census, which was on tribal lines, gave the number of mainland Africans in Zanzibar as over 40,000. That is a large number in relation to a total population of 300,000.

Q. By mainland African, you mean somebody who has come here from the mainland ?

A. An immigrant, who is usually coming there for work. Some are genuine and honest, law-abiding citizens, but you always get in immigrants like that people who are coming from a place where there is a different kind of law - one type of law in one country, and in another it is quite different. You may get people, for instance, running away from poll tax. They might well come here; it is just a few hours' sailing from the Tanganyika coast. Or you may have killed or robbed someone and you are running away from the police. He comes here and lives here quite happily. When they come here, also the tendency is for a man - they may not be doing it deliberately - to undercut the local workers; but his needs are less than those of an indigonus worker; he does not need to have a house of his own; he has no family; he comes here usually alone, a bachelor; and he may live anywhere; and many live anywhere they can get. They do not need a proper shelter or to pay for rent. They would accept any job at a fraction of the price the Zanzibari would. The Zanzibari is not perhaps popular and used not to be popular both with the Arab and Indian merchants or landowners, because the Zanzibari would require more pay and he would require to knock off earlier, to go and send food or buy fish for his wife and family, would like to ask for an advance to bury a relative or to pay for the wedding of his child - and so they were not popular. They were supposed to be always sitting idle, and the outsiders were perfect.

Q. When you say not popular, not popular with employers ?

A. Not popular with employers.

Q. A little more Expensive, family ties and family loyalty ?

A. This sort of thing. So long as there was this cheap market for labour the Zanzibari worker had always to meet with unfair competition and the tendency is for him to feel bitter. That is one of the . fundamental causes for the foundation of the Zanzibar Nationalist Party, why it was founded for the poor. Actually they had jobs but could not get in the Public Works Department, they did not get there, and the docks, they did not get jobs either as workers repairing the roads. All the minor jobs were taken by outsiders, while the Zanzibari had to remain in unemployment. And that is the feeling of this group of people. They said what are these Associations because previously, Sir, here there were only these racial Associations which were really not political parties, just pressure groups. The Arab Association would be interested in Arabs only; the Shirazi Association would be interested in Shirazis; the African Association would be interested in Africans of whatever country, the Comorians the same, and so on with the others. These people argued we are Africans, but do I fill my stomach? If I help an African coming from Timbuctoo and give him a job and help him, shall I eat ? We are wasting our time. The African Association would claim that every African has a right here. The Arab Association might say the same about Arabs. We have an Arab Sultan and therefore every Arab has a right. The Indian Association would say we have developed this country and every Indian has a right. The Comorians would say we served in the past loyally the old Sultan and so Comorians have a right. Who is going to fight for the rights of the Zanzibari ? This point people argued in this way: they are going to fight for the interests of Zanzibaris in order to fill the stomachs of the people of Zanzibar.

Q. Was there any measure taken to protect the economy of the country against this danger which you have described ?

A. No, Sir.

Q. Was this represented to the Government ?

A. I beg your pardon, Sir, I must be clear. An Immigration Committee was constituted and it sat; it found findings that I have explained here, Sir, produced its recommendations. I cannot give the definite dates, but I think the report has been tendered. But no action has been taken.

Q. The report has been tendered and no action has been taken on it ?

A. No.

Q. And it is throughout 1959, would that be, when it was published ?

A. Yes, Sir, I should say.

Q. So that the position has been and is even today that in these small islands there is no immigration restriction ?

A. There is only now through the emergency. Through the emergency there is, yes. That was brought to the attention of the Authorities in a rather unfortunate way of the dangers of this absence of immigration controls because of these tragic deaths in which definitely a considerable number, if not the majority, of the people who were involved were non-Zanzibaris.

CHAIRMAN: The Report is dated December, 1959.

A. Thank you, Sir.

MR. FRASER-MURRAY: And you say that the force of your Party's argument has now, after the damage has been done, been recognised in the Emergency Legislation ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. But apart from that no action was taken ?

A. No, Sir.

Q. And immigration into the Protectorate was uncontrolled ?

A. Uncontrolled.

Q. My Friends are shaking their heads.

A. I must make it clear. This is with regard to Africans from the mainland. It is not for Africans from East Africa.

CHAIRMAN: It is not uncontrolled for everyone, but it is uncontrolled in so far as Africans from the four territories are concerned ?

A. That is so.

CHAIRMAN: Between Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

MR. FRASER-MURRAY: I am much obliged. I think some of the tribes are also excluded ?

A. Excluding Kikuyu, Embu and Meru.

Q. They have been excluded ?

A. They are under control. They are excluded from this exemption on immigration.

Q. In fact, the vast majority of the people who come in in this way are from what tribes, from what places?

A. From Tanganyika and from Mozambique also, although Mozambique which is Portuguese East Africa <sup>it</sup> does not come in under that line but they still come in.

Q. They still come ?

A. They come, yes.

Q. When they come they stay, do they ?

A. Yes, Sir, for a number of years. A few of them settle permanently but the majority stay for some years and then go back and others come again.

CHAIRMAN: It would be correct to say, would it not, that that concession is reciprocal in the various territories ?

A. Yes, Sir. I should point out this, that it is a small territory with limited potentialities which suffers.

Q. One can see the difference.

A. It is like Tanganyika, Sir, trying to close its doors in the north to some of the provinces which are thickly populated and they are not half as thickly populated as we are, Sir.

MR. FRASER-MURRAY: In fact, in Tanganyika which are the principal tribes from which immigrants come in this way, are you able to say ?

A. No, Sir, but I should think that Wanyamwezi and the coastal tribes which comprise all various types. But you get Makonde who claim to have come from Tanganyika. I do not know because the Makonde are on both sides of the border, Portuguese East Africa and Tanganyika and so it is easy for them all to say they come from Tanganyika.

Q. I have asked you about those things which in your opinion should have been done to prevent this ?

A. Yes, I would like, if I may, to make this clear. I do not mean by control, restriction and stopping immigration. This is the only thing, that I think it is the State, the Government, the Authorities must know who is coming in and who goes outside. This is my main aim and it should work the same with us. I do not think that everybody from Zanzibar should be allowed to enter any other country; in the same way we should know who is coming in and if a man has proper documents coming in, it is not that they should be stopped from coming. They should be subjected to the normal law which is applicable to all other people. Perhaps there may be some relaxation because of the fact of our neighbourhood and our common destiny but I do not say that the cause of the tragedy is unrestricted immigration where anybody can come in.

He has to tell the Immigration Officer he has come in. There is no way of checking with people of Zanzibar. Any restriction of any kind is not known. It makes the whole thing impossible, not only for economic and political reasons but the social services over our country. I find it impossible in my own Ministry with the question of educational facilities. We do not know for how many to cater because there is always an influx. Our abilities to meet our social commitments are very limited; hospitalisation and all these problems arise. How can they cope with a situation like this where a very large number proportionately come in. By that token 40,000 people coming to Zanzibar in a population of 300,000, where 40,000 are immigrants would compare with over a million in Tanganyika if one and a half million Kenyans had to think of crossing the border into Tanganyika, that would be an uproar.

Q. Are there any other measures which you think ought to have been taken in order to avoid the troubles which occurred in June ?

A. The question of an adequate police force composed entirely of the people of Zanzibar. One of the things that was quite apparent here was the unreliability of some of our police.

Q. Will you explain the unreliability of the police force ?

A. At Darajani when orders were given by the Superintendent in charge.

Q. Who was that ?

A. I think Suleiman Said Kharusi and there was no adequate response.

Q. Can you explain what you mean ? What I meant by the question was this: can you tell us what you meant by the force formed of Zanzibaris and immediately afterwards you say it was apparent to us the police force was not adequate. Can you explain it ?

A. There again I do not say that I am against anybody in the existing force, that the non-Zanzibaris are always inefficient or unco-

operative or anything like that, or disloyal.

Q. You are not saying that ?

A. No, I am not saying that. The thing is when you get a police force where there is such a large number of non-Zanzibaris, non-Nationals, I think the figures that were given here were only a third. I do not know whether I am correct. I think only a third were Zanzibaris on the day of the troubles, and the rest were foreigners. If a country depends for its force upon foreigners, mercenaries from abroad, what can it expect, particularly when you have troubles like this when it is the foreigners who are mostly guilty. Their sense of loyalty is subject to a good deal of suspicion.

CHAIRMAN: I understand you to mean by that that you are accusing the non-Zanzibaris of having been the substantial cause of the troubles ?

A. Yes, Sir.

MR. FRASER-MURRAY: And you felt that the non-Zanzibari members of the police force were torn between conflicting loyalties ?

A. That is so.

Q. And therefore less effectual in the troubles than it could be expected to be had it been composed of Zanzibaris entirely, is that what you meant ?

A. Yes. I think Zanzibarisation of the force would have been one of the solutions that should have been taken a long time ago. Now as it has been given in evidence here with all the new recruitments they got to be suspicious.

Q. Since when was that ?

A. From the time of the emergency.

Q. We have really passed on to the first part of the terms of reference because you have been dealing, as I apprehend that, with what you consider to be the causes of the disturbances, and perhaps if



I may summarise these, you have summarised them as three ?

A. Yes.

Q. Firstly, the liberty: the absence of any legislation to prevent racial speeches at elections; secondly the absence of immigration control; and thirdly, a regular policy in the recruitment of the police force ?

A. Yes, Sir.

MR. FRASER-MURRAY: Do I represent you correctly ? These you consider to be fundamental causes ?

CHAIRMAN: I think the witness went further. Have you not omitted one - absence of proper security arrangements ?

MR. FRASER-MURRAY: Yes, Sir. I should have really asked you more about that.

CHAIRMAN: I thought you omitted it from your three points.

MR. FRASER-MURRAY: Sir, I do not want to put words in the witness's mouth. I am dealing with fundamental causes.

CHAIRMAN: I am sorry.

MR. FRASER-MURRAY: It is entirely my fault for confusing the issue. Am I correct ?

A. Yes, Sir. Those were fundamental causes from my point of view.

Q. But in addition to that you say this, and I am only trying to recapitulate what you have been saying. You say that the absence of election legislation, for instance, was exploited and racial speeches actually did take place?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. And do you consider that these were related to the disturbances ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. And you have also said that you criticised the security arrangements as being inadequate ?

A. Yes, Sir.

CHAIRMAN: I should have thought that that was fundamental too.

MR. FRASER-MURRAY: At any rate, Sir, they are the witness's five reasons. There has been heard, I must ask you, these other questions. Perhaps you can deal with them fairly shortly. Various other reasons have been put before this Commission, I understand, during the many days in which it has been patiently listening. Some of these are as follows : there is a dock dispute; there is the squatter problem; there is the use of the Sultan's name; there is the use of the Sultan's flag; there is the Y.O.U. and then it has been said there were inflammatory speeches by your Party. I may not be giving a comprehensive list but at any rate as I understand it these are some of the reasons which have been advanced towards this Commission as the reasons for the disturbances.

CHAIRMAN: As being contributory causes.

MR. FRASER-MURRAY: As being contributory causes.

Would you care to say something in regard to these. Firstly, in regard to the dock dispute ?

A. I should say, Sir, that the dock dispute, if there was a dispute, it was not the cause but the effect. The cause is the preference of outsiders to Zanzibaris. The Zanzibaris thought they must get a share of work. They wanted to and the alien

worker did not like that and instead of allowing them to work they did not go to oust them, as far as I know, but rather to take share, but oust them by degrees.

CHAIRMAN: This dock strike took place in 1958 ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Is it not rather remote to call it an effect ?

A. An effect of the causes which have been allowed to go on all along. There was no immigration, no control, no preference of Zanzibaris, which is their right, Sir, to get jobs.

MR. FRASER-MURRAY: It is a manifestation of the particular thing that you have been explaining to us ?

A. Yes.

Q. An effect. In other words, that the effect of immigration legislation, that is what you meant, you said it is an effect ?

A. Yes, Sir.

Q. Apart from that was the dock dispute itself the cause of the disturbances, do you think ? Was there any connection at all between them otherwise than that ?

A. I could not say that it was an effect. If I worked as a dock worker myself I think I could have given an answer but it is difficult to put myself in that capacity so that I could see that it was really. I would still bear the feeling that somebody else wanted to share with me my work and therefore I am angry and must kill him.

Q. Can I put this to you: I suppose the dock dispute would have been a manifestation of some degree of antipathy between mainlanders and Zanzibar?

A. That is what I said, that the Zanzibari must feel bitter when he sees that every job that he can do is done by

others and he is not allowed to go in.

MR. FRASER-MURRAY: Apart from that has it any relevance at all in your opinion to the disturbances of June, 1961?

CHAIRMAN: This is what I understood: it was alleged that there was an effort to displace persons already employed who were non-Zanzibaris by Zanzibaris who it was suggested belonged to a particular political party and that that made some contribution to the exacerbation of feelings.

MR. FRASER-MURRAY: You heard that?

A. Yes Sir.

Q. Have you any comments to make

A. It is difficult, Sir, It may have contributed but it is a bit far fetched. This is my feeling, and after all, Sir, that dispute was amicably settled whereby they were to have turns. I do not know whether it continues today, whereby they were to have turns and shares in the work in the docks. I do not know whether the workers who work there were members of the Z.N.P. although I can say that many of them were members but I can not say whether all of them were.

CHAIRMAN: In fairness to you, you do not necessarily accept that part of the proposition?

A. I do not, Sir.

Q. So that really looking back to an event in 1958 which was satisfactorily settled in your opinion if it was a cause it is a very remote contributory cause?

A. Yes.

Q. What is the most in your opinion that could be said?

A. Yes.

MR. FRASER-MURRAY: Perhaps we can leave that then.

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CHAIRMAN: We will adjourn until 8.30 a.m. tomorrow.

(The proceedings were adjourned until  
8.30 a.m. Friday, 6th October, 1961).