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ZANZIBAR PROTECTORATE

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

held at

The Legislative Council Chamber, Zanzibar

before

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

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

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

Commencing on Monday, 25th September, 1961

THIRTEENTH DAY

Monday, 9th October, 1961.

of proceedings

Note taken by Treasury Reporter

— A

APPEARANCES

For the Government:

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

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

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

For the Afro-Shirazi Party:

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

ON RESUMPTION

CHAIRMAN: Mr. Kanji?

MR. KANJI: I can now make a statement about the question which was directed to me on Saturday.

If you please, Sir, the Commission will understand that as an advocate I can only act within the terms of instructions given to me by my clients and I can only adduce evidence which has been made available to me by my clients and which I am instructed to put before the Commission.

Whilst desiring to assist the Commission in all possible ways at the same time I have a duty to observe the instructions of my clients.

Finally, Sir, in answer to your question directed to me on Saturday there is no evidence other than that already adduced implicating the leaders of the A.S.P. in a preconceived conspiracy available to me I am able to put before the Commission.

I have considered this carefully: I think this is my position.

CHAIRMAN: May I just say this: that you have qualified it by saying "available to you". The question we put to you was whether or not you are aware of any credible evidence, other than the evidence already tendered by you, that the incidents which culminated in a number of innocent persons being murdered from 1st June onwards were deliberately planned by any person or Party. That is a very clear question - whether or not you are aware of any credible evidence. It is a simple question which we consider demands a simple answer. You are a member of the Bar; murder has been committed, and it is our duty to enquire into the incidents and report to His Excellency, the

British Resident, on the incidents that occurred from 1st June onwards.

If there is any credible evidence available to show that the outbursts were a deliberately planned affair it is obviously relevant to our terms of reference.

MR. KANJI: I agree, Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN: The answer seems to me to be quite a simple one. It does not really lend itself to a long explanation. We would like you to say a simple yes or no and if you are aware of it and we cannot get the information, of course, we shall have to consider the position.

MR. KANJI: If you please, Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN: Mr. Kanji, we will give you until 2 o'clock to reply to the question.

MR. KANJI: I am much obliged, Sir,

ATTORNEY GENERAL: I understand, Mr. Chairman, you wished me to put in this letter in evidence.

CHAIRMAN: Yes, we thought it ought to go in since it was referred to.

Examination of Sheikh Abeid Karume by Mr. Talati continued.

Q. Mr. Abeid Karume, on Saturday you were giving evidence in regard to your movements on 1st June. What happened thereafter?

A. Mr. Smithyman then said to me there is a lot of disturbance at Mtendeni.

Q. Just before then?

A. He said please come and assist us at Mtendeni. I said I am rather reluctant about going to Mtendeni because at Mtendeni

people are not out in the open, the attackers. They hide themselves in houses and only appear to attack somebody and then go back into hiding and at this place there is a very narrow road so you will excuse me. You had better go, and I am here waiting for you.

Q. Mtendeni, you have, I believe, already said, is populated by a majority of one race?

A. Yes.

Q. Who are they?

A. There are many Arabs.

Q. At approximately what time was this?

A. Between half past two and three, somewhere about there.

Q. From there where did you go to?

A. Mr. Smithyman there received a report from one of the car that there was trouble at Mikunguni.

Q. So did you proceed to Mikunguni?

A. Yes. We went to Mikunguni via Miembeni.

Q. Did you find anything at Miembeni?

A. At Miembeni we found a large gathering of people, about 400 people, on the main road running towards us, coming in our direction. They were shouting that an African woman has been killed at Mtendeni and they were going towards Mtendeni and we stopped our car there. Mr. Smithyman asked me to speak to them as much as I could and stop them from going to Mtendeni and I took the loudspeaker and I tried to speak to them and they halted. I told them it is not right, any disturbance at this time of election, you had better disperse and go away. What you have heard about this woman being killed is not true, it is just talk. Then they heard me and they dispersed. From there we continued, we went on to Mikunguni.

Q. At what time did you reach Mikunguni?

A. About half past three.

Q. What did you see at Mikunguni?

A. When we reached Mikunguni on the left hand side we saw an Arab on a stretcher; he had been beaten, he had blood. There we stopped our car and there is a market there where people sell fish. We spoke to the people, even to the fish sellers. We asked them to go away. It was not time for people to gather in groups.

Q. Did you see around the crowd at the time?

A. No. We only saw a group of about twenty or twenty-five standing on the side of the road and Mr. Smithyman said to them we do not want even you people standing here. You had better go away.

Q. Did that group of twenty or thirty persons disperse?

A. Yes.

Q. From Mikunguni where did you go?

A. We came back to Raha Leo.

Q. That was at about what time?

A. About four o'clock or four-o'clock.

Q. What did you do at Raha Leo?

A. Then there we departed. We greeted each other and departed, and the askaris who were in the car.

Q. Did you tour any of the areas later after Mr. Smithyman had left?

A. Yes, I did. I went round until the completion, until six o'clock to be exact.

Q. You said you went round?

A. I went round.

Q. Meeting groups of people or you went round your business?

A. No. I went round my business.

Q. That is in connection with the elections?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you visit polling stations?

A. Yes, the ones which concerned me.

Q. You also mentioned your meeting at Mikunguni a very big crowd, you said. You spoke to them for some time and then they dispersed?

A. For a very short time.

Q. In what direction did they disperse?

A. They went some to the left, some to the right, some straight, they just dispersed in different directions.

Q. Straight backwards or in the direction of the Stone Town?

A. Some of them went towards Kiswandui which is towards town; others came to town.

Q. Did it seem to you that they were going for the same purpose as they were shouting for going towards Mtendeni?

A. Yes. The main road to go back to Ngambo is via Mtendeni or Kiswandui.

Q. And you met the crowd at Miembeni?

A. Yes.

Q. That is Ngambo?

A. Yes.

Q. They were shouting that they were proceeding to Mtendeni?

A. They were shouting a woman has been killed at Mtendeni.

Q. And you assumed from that that they were proceeding towards Mtendeni?

A. Yes.

Q. Then you talked to them and they dispersed?

A. And I assured them that no woman was killed.

Q. When they dispersed did it seem to you that small groups still intended to proceed towards Mtendeni?

A. No.

Q. These various groups of people, did you see in these crowds of people any known A.S.P. member?

A. No, I did not. I simply saw a crowd of people.

Q. Mr. Karume, we were talking on Saturday of the January, 1961, elections. You won ten seats, did you not?

A. Yes.

Q. The Z.N.P. won nine seats and the Z.P.P.P. won three seats?

A. Yes.

Q. There were then frantic efforts made by both Z.N.P. and A.S.P. to form a coalition Government with the support of Z.P.P.P. members?

A. Yes, the three Parties.

Q. Did your Party, the A.S.P., hold discussions with the Z.P.P.P. members?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you succeed in getting the support of one of these Z.P.P.P. members?

A. Yes.

Q. And he was Sheikh Ali Shariff?

A. Yes.

Q. You then approached the British Resident, did you not?

A. Yes.

Q. And made your proposals for the formation of a coalition Government?

A. Yes.

Q. Was this the letter dated 24th January, 1961 that you addressed to the Resident (Document passed to witness)? At this stage, 24th January, 1961, the other two Z.P.P.P. members had already declared their support for the Z.N.P.?

A. No.

Q. When you addressed the letter to the British Resident.

A. Only one member of the Z.P.P.P. had gone in with the Nationalist Party. The other one had not yet.

Q. Now let us have the names. Who had already declared his support for Z.N.P.?

A. Sheikh Mohamed Shamte.

Q. Who is the present Chief Minister?

A. Yes.

Q. And who had not declared his support yet?

A. Sheikh Bakari Mohamed Bakari.

Q. At about this time did your Party try to contact Bakari Mohamed Bakari?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever succeed yourself in seeing him?

A. No, I did not.

Q. Do you remember if there was any person or persons who wanted to see Bakari Mohamed Bakari during these days?

A. Yes.

Q. Who wanted to see him?

A. One is Sheikh Ali Sharif Musa.

Q. Yes?

A. And the other was Sheikh Thabit Kombo.

Q. Who was Sheikh Thabit Kombo?

A. He is the General Secretary of the Afro-Shirazi Party.

Q. Did they succeed in finding Sheikh Bakari?

A. Yes. They got him and he agreed to come to the place where they had suggested that they should meet.

Q. Let us stop for a moment. You said "They got him". Why do you say "They got him"? Did they contact him by letter, by meeting him?

A. They saw him personally and then they had arranged that they should meet at a particular place.

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A. They saw him personally and then they had arranged that they should meet at a particular place.

Q. Do you know where they met him?

A. They met him at Othman Sharif's place because that is where Ali Sharif Musa was at his brother's house. When he comes to Zanzibar that is where he stays.

Q. So Bakari Mohamed Bakari went to meet Ali Sharif at Othman Sharif's house?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you present then?

A. No.

Q. That evening where were you?

A. I was at my house.

Q. Were you called by anybody from your house?

A. Yes.

Q. By whom?

A. A police officer called me - not on account of this settlement.

Q. No, no. A police officer, did he call you?

A. Yes.

Q. He called you where?

A. At the house of Sheikh Sharif.

Q. Did you go?

A. Yes.

Q. What did you see there?

A. I saw groups of people and motorcars belonging to the Nationalist Party, sticks and knives and all sorts of things. They were running away just as I was arriving.

Q. Who was running away?

A. Those young people, members of the Nationalist Party.

Q. Do you mean physically walking?

A. No, in their cars.

Q. You then heard of what had taken place there, why there was a crowd?

A. Yes.

Q. What did you hear?

A. I heard that Bakari Mohamed Bakari had gone there to meet Sheikh Ali Shariff Musa in order to unite with the Afro-Shirazi Party. At that time the Nationalist Party had heard that this gentleman was there, and they came there with Sheikh Mohammed Shante to take him away by force from that house so that he should not listen to that suggestion. That is the time they took him away by force.

Q. What did you do when you saw the crowd outside ?

A. I requested the people to disperse.

Q. Did they disperse?

A. Yes, they did.

Q. In these January 1961 elections when these efforts were being made to win over the ZPPP, did you consider it proper to approach any member of His Highness's family to make a settlement in this matter?

A. No, it did not occur to me.

Q. Would you do that if a similar circumstance arose?

A. No, I could not do that.

Q. Do you know if efforts were made by the ZNP in that direction?

A. I heard.

Q. Did that talk spread round the town in Zanzibar?

A. Yes, very much.

Q. You know the elections were held in January?

A. Yes.

Q. Can you give the Commission any idea of the date when these discussions were being held with a member of the family of His Highness?

A. Yes.

Q. When?

A. On 17th January 1961 was the election. On the following day we, the leaders of the Afro-Shirazi Party, were called by His Excellency the British Resident, or it may have been the third day, and we went before the Resident. The British Resident said "The elections are over, and it is my duty to give you time, together with the heads of the ZNP (who were also there). The Afro-Shirazi Party have got ten seats in the election and the Zanzibar Nationalist Party have got nine seats, and the ZPPP have got three seats. It is my duty to give you, the Afro-Shirazi Party, one week to try and form a Government." There we agreed, and we were very pleased that we had got an opportunity of meeting the ZPPP in order to make arrangements and form a government.

Q. Yes, the question was, about what time did you hear the ZNP had approached a member of the Royal Family?

A. It was four or five o'clock in the evening.

Q. Was it during that first week?

A. Yes, the same week, and the day after we met the British Resident the ASP sent Thabit Kombo to Pemba in order to meet the members of the ZPPP who were there. When Thabit Kombo reached Pemba he found Sheikh Ali Muhsin and Sheikh Abdulrahman Baalawy they were already there. He wanted to meet Sheikh Mohammed Shante. Sheikh Mohammed Shante sent word outside to Thabit Kombo saying "Please ask him to wait because I have guests inside." After a little while he saw Sheikh Ali Muhsin and Sheikh Mohammed Filal coming out of Sheikh Shante's house. Then Thabit Kombo went in.

Q. As a result of this talk did the ZPPP members come to Zanzibar?

A. Yes.

Q. Then on what day did the talks at Seyyid Seif's house take place?

A. I think it was on 27th or 28th January. I think so, but I was not there; I only heard.

Q. In the result were they able to get the support of the two ZPPP members?

A. Yes.

Q. You have already referred to this letter which is before you?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you produce a letter dated 24th January 1961 addressed to His Excellency?

A. Yes.

Q. You addressed this letter to the British Resident making your proposals for the formation of a coalition government?

A. Yes.

Q. Was this proposal accepted by His Excellency?

A. No.

Q. Did he then ask the ZNP to form a government?

A. Yes.

Q. And they were not successful in that either?

A. That is so.

Q. Then there was the formation of the caretaker government?

A. Yes.

Q. Now about this incident of the talks between the ZNP and ZPPP members at Seyyid Seif's house, did you complain about that to the British Resident?

A. I do not think so.

Q. May I refresh your memory? Do you remember this letter dated 31st January, 1961? (Letter handed to witness).

A. Yes, I remember it. I am sorry when you asked me I did not remember it well but I did not sign it myself..

Q. In that case I withdraw it. Can you remember at least this much, that you complained to the British Resident about this incident at Seyyid Seif's house ?

A. Yes.

Q. What did His Excellency tell you on that, if you can remember ?

A. The Resident said that he himself spoke to His Highness, who called the members of the Royal Family and spoke to them seriously, stopping them from doing any such thing. He said - "On account of this I shall again have to meet His Highness."

Q. Mr. Karume, you talked yesterday about ZNP speeches indicating that His Highness was associated with their party ?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you remember any particular speech which almost clearly indicated that ?

A. Yes.

Q. What do you remember ?

A. I remember in 1959 I think, or 1960, round about then His Highness left Zanzibar for a change to go to South Africa. When His Highness came back the ZNP held a very big meeting at Darajani at their headquarters at night. I went there because it was a big day. Sheikh Ali Muhsin stood up there in front of the microphone and he said - "I want to remind you and to give you very pleasing news, all you members of the Nationalist Party. Today I am very very happy myself on the safe return of His Highness to his dominions and what pleases me more is that His Highness has brought me two ties (and he showed them) as a present to myself. This shows very clearly that we are the only subjects of His Highness the Sultan." So that it was very clear to me - I mean the people who do not understand - they can think that His Highness really is with them or supports them. After Sheikh Ali Muhsin got down from the platform, a member of the executive committee called Hussein of the ZNP went up to the platform and said to the members of the Nationalist

Party who were there - "Are you happy?" They said - "Yes, we are happy". "What has been brought for Manjo? What did Manjo get? We tell you very clearly we are the subjects of His Highness, and, to make it more clear, in 1957 Manjo got five seats and the Nationalist Party did not get even one seat. Why did Sheikh Ali Muhsin, the leader of the Nationalist Party, get two seats? First he was chosen by His Highness himself to be a member of the Legislative Council, and second he has been chosen to be a member of the Executive Council. What has Manjo got? Sheikh Ali Muhsin's statement is very clear", and they got hold of him and dragged him down, before he concluded his speech.

Q. Suggestions have been made here that you moved about with bodyguards during the elections; is that true?

A. No, that is not true at all.

Q. On 1st June you said you made various visits to these polling stations?

A. Yes.

Q. With Mr. Smithyman, and alone?

A. Yes.

Q. I believe when you were with Mr. Smithyman there were askaris with you?

A. Yes.

Q. When you were alone were you with anybody?

A. I was alone.

Q. Was any arrangement made by your party to have bodyguards?

A. No.

Q. In the January 1961 elections you had an Indian candidate for the ASP for the Stone Town South constituency?

A. Yes.

Q. Was his name Jayantilal Hirji?

A. Yes.

Q. Did anything happen to this man just about the time of the elections?

A. Yes.

Q. What happened ?

A. He was beaten by the youths of the YOU.

A. Was it on the day of the election, before the election or after the election?

A. Before the election.

Q. How many days before ?

A. I think about a month or two before the election.

Q. Did you complain to the police about this ?

A. Yes.

Q. Was any action taken ? Was anybody arrested ?

A. I do not know about that.

Q. In the June 1961 elections you had another Indian candidate in the same constituency, Muhammed Varas Saleh ?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you remember any incident in connection with this election ?

A. He reported that some youths of the Youths' Own Union had insulted him, abused him, and had kicked him.

Q. Was this incident reported to the police ?

A. I think so. I do not know because I did not accompany him.

Q. There is one thing I wish to correct. You said yesterday the 1957 elections were held on 21st February, 1957.

A. 22nd July.

Q. That is the correct date.

A. 21st to 22nd July, because it did not finish in one day.

Q. Some allegations have been made here that your party has received funds from overseas. From where have you received funds from outside Zanzibar ?

A. Dar-es-Salaam.

Q. From anywhere else except Dar-es-Salaam ?

A. No, we have not received them from anywhere else.

Q. How many ASP branches outside Zanzibar do you have ?

A. Only one in Dar-es-Salaam.

Q. And from whom did you receive the money in Dar-es-Salaam ?

A. The Dar-es-Salaam branch of the Afro-Shirazi Party gave us Shs. 1,000/-.

Q. The Commissioner of Police gave evidence to the effect that he has heard of an ASP branch in Moscow.

A. No there is not.

Q. What do you know about that ?

A. I know that there are some Zanzibar boys who have gone there for studies. I think they support the Afro-Shirazi Party and they may have gathered. I think that is why it was said that there was a branch there, but we have no connection at all with them in Moscow.

Q. Do you have any correspondence on this subject with anybody in Moscow ?

A. No. I received a letter which was written from there.

Q. Telling you what ?

A. They said that they were trying to form a branch there, but as I am not interested in any communist country, I did not even reply to that letter. In that letter I saw it written - "Copy to the British Resident, Zanzibar".

Q. Have you heard of any other branch calling itself a branch of the ASP.

A. Yes, I have.

Q. Where was that ?

A. London.

Q. Has that any connection with the ASP here ?

A. No.

Q. Who has opened that branch ?

A. I saw the name of Singa Suleiman(?), but we have nothing to do with them at all.

Q. Has any leader of the ASP been invited to a communist country ?

A. I think there are letters inviting leaders of the ASP to communist countries, but we do not accept them, nor do we reply to them.

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

A. Yes.

Q. He said some leaders of your party had visited communist countries.

A. It is the Commissioner's presumption; he simply thinks that. But there is not a single leader of the Afro-Shirazi Party who has gone to any communist country.

Q. Have you heard of any ASP supporters having visited communist countries ?

A. Yes.

Q. Who were they ?

A. The trade union youths like Hassan Nassor Moyo and Mohammed Mfaume and others.

Q. And they are connected with what trade union ?

A. One is the General Secretary and the other one is the Chairman of the trade union. Hassan Nassor Moyo is the General Secretary, and the Chairman is Mohammed Mfaume.

Q. What was the trade union ?

A. The Zanzibar Federation of Labour.

Q. To your knowledge was a single member of the ASP prohibited from making a speech at any time before first of all the January 1961 elections ?

A. I remember one youth in Pemba; his name is Abdulrahman Mohammed Shante, the Chief Minister's son.

Q. He is a member of your party ?

A. Yes.

Q. In Pemba ?

A. I am not sure whether it was in 1959 or 1960 when he was stopped.

Q. Is there any other person apart from him ?

A. No.

CHAIRMAN: That was before the January elections ?

A. Yes.

MR. TALATI: Now before the June elections was any other person stopped from making a speech ?

A. No.

Q. You know several newspapers have been produced here supporting the Afro-Shirazi Party, and these are said to have contained articles which were inflammatory. Does the Afro-Shirazi Party own any newspapers as such ?

A. No.

Q. Does it own any press ?

A. No.

Q. An allegation has been made here that just before the June 1961 elections you imported certain vehicles from Tanganyika ?

A. Yes.

Q. And that one of these vehicles is a vehicle specially covered with expanded metal ?

A. Yes, it is true.

Q. Has that been specially ordered out by you ?

A. This is a second-hand car.

Q. Where did you buy that from ?

A. We bought it in Dar-es-Salaam with the expanded metal.

Q. For what purpose have you used that vehicle ?

A. We bought these cars because we have a large area which the Afro-Shirazi Party decided that they should buy in order to save these people who are being evicted from the shambas. We bought a large barren piece of land, and then we had to take those evicted people there and allot to them fields, and we requested the government to give us an agricultural officer to assist us in allotting the fields. We also requested the government to give us a tractor to clear this land, on payment, and we did all that. So we had to buy a vehicle in order to move the people and their property from where they had been evicted to this place which is a long distance away. That is what made us buy these cars; we had to move them with their wives and children.

Q. How many were there ?

A. About three hundred.

Q. Does that 300 represent actual squatters or squatters and their families ?

A. Squatters and their families.

Q. How many actual squatters had been evicted ?

A. About sixty I think.

Q. Do you produce a letter dated 3rd May, 1961 together with an invoice from the Cooper Motor Corporation Ltd. in connection with the sale to you of the two second-hand vehicles ?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you remember during the last elections at Mangapwani who was your candidate ?

A. Mohamed Idi Bavua.

Q. You remember just before the June elections this man was arrested by the police on a charge of offering bribes to voters ?

A. Yes, I remember.

Q. The case was later heard, was it not ?

A. Yes.

Q. What was the result of the case, do you remember ?

A. From what I heard the case was dismissed and it was proved that those people who gave evidence gave false evidence.

Q. Was there any direction with regard to them ?

A. Yes, the direction was that these people ought to be prosecuted.

Q. For what ?

A. For committing perjury.

Q. Mr. Babu, in his evidence, referred to, if I remember correctly, Ali Sultan Issa as the person who was connected with the Progressive Trade Union. Do you know Ali Sultan Issa ?

A. I know him well.

Q. Is he in any way connected with the Z.N.P. ?

A. He is General Secretary of the Z.N.P. in Pemba.

Q. Where is this man now ?

A. I saw him yesterday here in Zanzibar.

Q. There is also a reference here in some evidence to the fact that the A.S.P. held a dance on the third day after the death of his late Highness, the Sultan.

A. It is not true.

Q. To the best of your information, who had arranged a dance on the third day after the death of the Sultan ?

A. From what I heard, if it was with the Federation of Labour, there is a certain group of youths, I think, who had done that.

Q. Was it in any way connected with the A.S.P. ?

A. Not at all.

Q. Did the A.S.P. plan the disturbances of June, 1961?

A. No.

Q. Did the A.S.P. try to quell the disturbances ?

A. Yes, when it came up.

Q. What would you consider are the causes of these disturbances ?

A. In my opinion there are two causes.

Q. Yes ?

A. The first is about this Nationalist Party stealing votes in the Election because I saw in January 17th 1961 there was this trouble of accusation of stealing votes by the young people and I think the matter did even reach the Police.

Q. Yes ?

A. And I think now I do not know what resulted with the Police, whether they had really stolen the vote or not.

Q. Yes, then what happened ?

A. And because of the slowness of the Police - they did not say what action they had taken or what happened about this accusation, the people understood that it is true that these things had happened - this vote-stealing business - that is why nothing was done. Then in June, 1961, they were alert to safeguard about these people who had come to steal votes, and from what I personally saw I did see one man actually stealing a vote. When Hassan Amin came and he was dragged out of the queue and he lived at Malindi

that appeared to me certainly that these people did steal votes.

Q. Now that was the one case: what was the other case ?

A. These two, perhaps you did not understand me. That is during this period from 17th January to June.

Q. You have described the incidents of vote-stealing, as you put it. Now, why did the disturbances spread ?

A. In my opinion, it is this: what made the Nationalist Party withdraw their people from the queue of voters when everything was quiet and there was nothing wrong and directed them to go to their branches ?

Q. Yes, go on.

A. And then after a little while, we heard people were being attacked with weapons, especially the Darajani constituency. And that it appeared to me that had not the Nationalist Party done this act of attacking people, they would have lost this Darajani seat. Because in the January 17th Elections and the June Elections what they got and the disturbances they created to stop our people from coming over here to vote and then again came back, returned in the afternoon, and all of them voted without any members of the A.S.P. being there. That appeared to me that they had done this trick purposely to beat people because women are very much afraid. To see blood, it is difficult for them to come to the votes.

Q. Now you have heard of disturbances spreading on the 1st June ? Do you know of any other reason for the disturbances on the 1st June, except as you have already mentioned, the stealing of votes by the Z.N.P. on the 17th January ?

A. Yes.

Q. What were the reasons ?

A. It is about this attack on people at 2 o'clock in

the afternoon. These people they did not belong to one place. They belonged to different places and they spread out to different places.

CHAIRMAN: Has ^{the} witness given reasons ?

MR. TALATI: He has: different reasons for the incidents on the 1st June at 2 p.m. You said ?

A. It is then 2 o'clock.

Q. We are also talking of attacks with swords and weapons ?

A. Yes.

Q. And then, as a result of that, did the disturbances spread to other areas in Ngambo ?

A. Yes, because they go to hospital, get treated and they go to their homes and the parents start crying our and this is the result.

Q. Now you heard the 2nd June disturbances spread in the rural districts. What were the causes of that ?

A. I think the causes are for the 2nd June disturbances when the Manjo came from their shambas with their knives on the 1st June and they thought that these people have no discretion. This fight which is taking place in town, our people are being killed there because they are in the habit of this. If anything happens and they are called when they come, they just set down everything. I think this is what created the impression on the people in the rural areas that these people have gone to town and they have killed our fellow people.

Q. So you said the disturbances started in the rural districts ?

A. Yes.

Q. Did the squatter problem have any effect on these disturbances ?

A. In my opinion I do not think this has much to do with it because they had taken place a long time back.

Q. Were these squatters satisfied in their hearts about the squatter problem, those who had been deprived of land ?

A. They were not satisfied, but one wouldn't be satisfied after being deprived of land.

Q. Now the dock dispute you have also described. Could that have had any effect on the disturbances ?

A. No, it wouldn't have gone so much on this attack. I do not think so. But I do not deny that it did not have anything to do with it, it might have had slightly to do with it.

Q. Do you mean, if it was not the direct cause ?

A. I cannot say it was directly the cause.

Q. Now, do you think that the Police did their best to deal with the disturbances ?

A. Because I was there myself.

Q. And after these incidents, were a number of persons arrested ? Yes, a large number. Do you know of how many persons who were released later.

A. Yes.

Q. After being kept in custody for some time ?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you think anything contributed to their arrests ?

A. Contributed how ?

Q. Why were a large number of persons arrested, kept in custody and later released ?

A. In my opinion I think it was to reduce the amount of disturbances and for the safety of the people.

CHAIRMAN: What I think the witness is saying, to reduce tension.

A. Yes, Sir.

Cross-examined by MR. KANJI.

MR. KANJI: Is Mr. Othman Sharif the leader of the Opposition in the Legislative Council ?

A. Yes.

Q. And the Opposition in the Legislative Council is in fact members of the Legislative Council who are supporters - members of your party ?

A. The candidates, they are not the leaders of my party.

Q. Would you agree with me that the Opposition in the Legislative Council of Zanzibar is A.S.P.

A. Yes.

Q. Are you a member of the Legislative Council ?

A. Yes.

Q. Would it be then right to say that Othman Sharif is the Leader of the A.S.P. ?

A. Yes, he could be.

CHAIRMAN: Are you talking about the Legislative Council ?

MR. KANJI: Generally, Sir, the leader of the A.S.P. Perhaps to clarify the matter, I would ask this question again to you. Do you agree with me that Othman Sharif is generally the Leader of the A.S.P., not only in the Legislative Council, but also outside ?

A. There are the leader and leaders. If you mean the leader, is he the head of the other leaders, the No. 1, is that what you mean ?

Q. Yes, the leader of you all ?

A. No, he is not.

Q. You say that you are the leader ?

A. Yes.

Q. Is it not surprising that you are the leader of the A.S.P. in the Legislative Council ?

A. No, it is not surprising.

Q. Am I right that you have a very high respect for His Highness, the Sultan of Zanzibar ?

A. Yes.

Q. And would you agree with me that anyone describing the Sultan either in Zanzibar or elsewhere, particularly if he is a member of the A.S.P. as an Arab ruler, who is referred to as Sultan of Zanzibar, you would think that the language was very offensive ?

A. I cannot answer that because you have not said in what language ?

CHAIRMAN: In any language, in Swahili ?

A. In what way would it be offensive ?

MR. KANJI: Well, take this: if you tell me that Zanzibar has an Arab ruler who is referred to as Sultan, would you consider that to be offensive language ?

A. Yes, it is of good language. You explain to the people that Zanzibar has an Arab ruler who is the Sultan.

Q. So, would you generally use this description to describe the Sultan ?

A. It wouldn't be necessary here in Zanzibar, but if you went to another country and somebody asked you about your country and your ruler, we would say we have an Arab ruler in Zanzibar who is the Sultan.

Q. I am not asking whether it is necessary or not, but would it be in order ? If you talk to people in Zanzibar, that you have an Arab Ruler.

A. Yes, you say we have an Arab ruler, not in any offensive way or an insulting way or any way whatsoever.

Q. So, would you agree with me that if anyone says "we don't wish to be ruled by Arab rulers", it refers to the Sultan?

A. You mean Arab or Arabs. "We do not want to be ruled by Arab" or "Arabs"?

Q. Arab.

A. It is a matter of opinion because it could be a bad thing if you expressly point to this particular person.

Q. So you agree with me that the term "Arab ruler" is not very conducive to good relations between people in Zanzibar ?

A. Could it depend on the circumstances in which it is said ? If it is said by a political speaker to a crowd of people whom he knew was mostly Africans, it might well be, but if it was said in different circumstances, it mightn't be.

Q. You would agree with me that if the term "Arab ruler" was used in addressing a large crowd of Africans, then that may disrupt the good relationships between people in Zanzibar and bring in ill-feeling ?

A. You mean a member of a political party or an ordinary man in the street ?

Q. Member of a political party ?

A. I can say it would be dangerous to this political man himself. Because the Sultan, the ruler of Zanzibar, is loved by all his subjects, and if you refer to him in a bad way, you are stopping people from joining your party, and you have formed a party and you want members.

Q. Eventually we are agreed now that to use the term "Arab ruler" in a derogatory sense would be bad ?

A. Yes.

The proceedings were adjourned for 15 minutes.

Q. Now, Mr. Karume, just before we adjourned we agreed that to call the Sultan of Zanzibar as "Arab ruler" would be a derogatory term?

A. No, that I do not say. It wouldn't be derogatory if you called the Sultan of Zanzibar an Arab ruler; it wouldn't be offensive.

Q. And you are now saying that what you said before the adjournment in your cross-examination, to call the Sultan an "Arab ruler" would not be a derogatory term.

CHAIRMAN: That would depend on the circumstances, he said.

MR. KANJI: I did get an answer from him: if it was said to a crowd at a political meeting consisting of people of non-Arabs, it might be.

CHAIRMAN: I think in effect, the Witness agreed. Put it to him.

MR. KANJI: The question which I asked the Witness just before the adjournment;

[The last three questions were read back]

Q. Would you agree with me that if the term "Arab ruler" was used in political meetings to describe the Sultan, that that would create ill-feeling to the people of Zanzibar?

CHAIRMAN: If it was addressed to a predominantly non-Arab gathering, wasn't that the point?

A. It depends on how you started, Sir. Perhaps you would refer to the "Arab ruler" in order to strengthen what you wanted to say or to reduce the strength of what you wanted. It depends on how you started.

CHAIRMAN: Generally speaking, if it was said to a predominantly non-Arab political meeting, do you think it might be taken in a derogatory sense or not?

A. If you intended to put it in a derogatory manner, then it would be derogatory. It would depend on how you put it.

MR. KANJI: Surely you would agree with me the intention of the speaker does not always matter: It is the effect it creates that matters?

A. Yes: you must also remember, by the way, that everybody leaves the speaker with his own impression.

MR. KANJI: You realise we are talking generally and not about one individual person.

CHAIRMAN: May I just put this: does it depend on the manner and circumstances in which it is said ?

A. Yes.

MR. KANJI: You remember that the late Sultan of Zanzibar died in 1960 ? - A. Yes.

Q. And do you remember that at least two political parties read out a message on the wireless, expressing loyalty in the broadcast?

A. Yes.

Q. And were these parties the ZNP and the ZPPP?

A. Yes.

Q. Is it right that your Party did not broadcast any expression of loyalty to the new Sultan?

A. Because we know our party is loyal - why should we broadcast? If we were not loyal, then that day we would have expressed our loyalty.

Q. Am I right that at the time when this loyalty was expressed to the new Sultan there was no alliance between the ZNP and the ZPPP?

A. There was.

Q. When did the alliance between the ZNP and the ZPPP begin?

A. 1959.

Q. If there was an alliance between the ZNP and the ZPPP in 1959, would I be right in assuming it would not be necessary for the ZNP to approach the ZPPP after the January elections to form a government? Because the alliance was already in existence?

A. There was a portion missing: there was a part missing.

Q. Do I understand you to say that part of the ZPPP was in alliance with ZNP in 1959?

A. It is not the part of alliance but it was the conditions, because there are other posts there.

Q. I think this is another subject, Sheikh Karume. Do you remember you said a few minutes ago there was an alliance between the ZNP and the ZPPP in 1959?

A. Yes.

Q. What I am asking you is this - at the time of the election in 1961 it would not be necessary for any further talk between the ZNP and the ZPPP to form a government, as together those two parties would have a majority.

A. Now my answer is that the ZNP and the ZPPP from 1959 they were together until the 1961 January elections. They only had an alliance of forming the government, but they had not yet agreed about posts. That is why the ZPPP had to go to the ZNP and the ASP to see which would be the most beneficial to them.

Q. Would you agree with me that if there is an alliance the question of who should take which post would be settled between the ZNP and the ZPPP, and not between the ZPPP and the ASP?

A. Does it not surprise you that the ZNP and the ZPPP, although they had united, why did Sheikh Ali Sharif leave and

join the ASP.

Q. Are you now in fact saying there was no alliance between the ZNP and the ZPPP since 1959?

A. It was there since 1959. The reason why Sheikh Ali Shariff left was that he got more benefit from the ASP than the ZNP in January 1961.

Q. Are you saying that after the January 1961 election the ASP approached the ZPPP to form a government, and for that reason gave a very attractive offer to the ZPPP?

A. And ZNP also, because both were following each other; because Mohammed Shante was the leader of the ZPPP, and in our understanding between the ZPPP and the ASP forming a government in 1961, the offer he came with from Pemba, we gave him a better one.

MR. KANJI; I want an answer to the question which I am asking you.

CHAIRMAN: I think he is giving an answer: it is rather long, but it is an answer.

A. The ZNP had given a small offer: Sheikh Mohammed Shante agreed to join the ZNP himself. Sheikh Ali Shariff was annoyed: "Why should we refuse the ASP offer which was much more? That is what we had been directed by our followers in Pemba, and under those circumstances I am not going to join the ZNP to form a government, and from now on I am joining the ASP and let them take me to the British Resident."

MR. KANJI: Shall we analyse what you have said so that we know exactly what we are talking about? Now the ASP have approached the ZPPP after the January election and gave them a very good offer if the ZPPP joined the ASP?

A. Yes.

CHAIRMAN: We have heard that one ZPPP member is the Chief Minister now.

MR. KANJI: He is, Sir; and by your very good offer you made sure of getting at least one member of the ZPPP joining you?

A. Yes, and one did not join either party.

Q. You said one member of the ZPPP did not join either party, either the ZNP or the ASP?

A. Yes, at that time.

Q. Coming to the language which I think it has been suggested by the ASP as offensive to your party, am I right that if your party was called Imperialist stooges you would be very much offended, in fact provoked?

A. Yes.

Q. Am I right that you would not call any political party in Zanzibar, and you have never called any political party in Zanzibar, by that name?

A. No.

CHAIRMAN: Does he agree?

MR. KANJI: Yes, he agrees with me that he has never called any political party in Zanzibar Imperialist stooges: and would you agree with me that that term is very provocative, in your opinion?

A. Yes, if he is not.

Q. Would you call the Zanzibar Nationalist Party Imperialist stooges?

A. No.

Q. Coming to the addition of one more seat in the Legislative Council of Zanzibar, after Sir Hilary Blood's report on the Constitution, would you say the adding of one seat for Stone Town out of 21 seats recommended by Sir Hilary Blood would be

regarded as a negative policy by those of the Administration to the people of Zanzibar?

A. You mean after the report of Sir Hilary Blood in which he recommended one seat in the Stone Town?

Q. Yes.

A. It was found it was unnecessary.

Q. I am not asking you whether it was unnecessary or not, but I am asking whether you say the adding of one Stone Town seat to the 21 seats by Sir Hilary Blood should be regarded as a negative policy on the part of the Administration by the people of Zanzibar.

A. You mean in the African population?

MR. KANJI: Would you say that would be regarded as a negative policy by the people of Zanzibar?

MR. TALATI: Does "negative policy" mean was it against the African party?

MR. KANJI: Would you please reply to the question I have asked? If he does not understand the terminology, let him say so to the Commission.

A. When you say that it annoyed the Zanzibar Africans, I do not understand you. Am I to answer for the Africans, or for the party, or what? What answer do you want me to give?

Q. I think we had better confine ourselves to your party.

A. You refer to my party?

Q. Yes.

A. It was not necessary for the increase of this seat.

Q. So you agree with me that you regard the addition of one seat as unfavourable and an unhelpful attitude by the Administration towards your party?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you remember there was a proposal in the Legislative Council on the question of the addition of one seat?

A. The Stone Town.

Q. And do you remember members of your party all voted on this one seat?

A. Not for the town: not the Stone Town. It was that if the Government wanted to increase one more seat it should consider constituencies like Chaani and Mkoani. They did not vote for the Stone Town.

Q. Are we agreed on one point, that your party supported 21 seats, as recommended by Sir Hilary Blood?

A. They were silent.

Q. Do you remember having said just now that your party wanted the addition of one seat but not the Stone Town. Do you remember that, or do you not, please?

A. Yes, but that seat had not been named for a particular place. The Government did not say: it was just increasing one seat.

Q. But that is exactly what I am asking you. Your party agreed in principle that there should be one more seat added to the 21 seats recommended by Sir Hilary Blood?

A. My party did not agree to the addition of one seat if it is to be for the Stone Town. It would agree to one seat if the seat was for Chaani or somewhere else, not for the Stone Town.

Q. Would you tell me whether you remember that at the time when this proposal came before the Legislative Council for the addition of one seat, was it known whether this one seat was to go to the Stone Town or some other district?

A. Yes, it was mentioned that it will be for the Stone Town. That was why this discussion took place.

MR. KANJI: So that at the time when you voted for the addition of one seat to the 21 seats recommended by Sir Hilary Blood, you knew that one extra seat was going to the Stone Town?

CHAIRMAN: I understand him to say that when the question was first raised it was the suggestion that it should be an additional seat for Stone Town but that when they voted for the addition of the seat if the place where the seat was to be had been Stone Town. They would not have agreed to it.

MR. KANJI: I will put it again to clarify the matter, Sheikh Abeid Karume, are you saying now that at the time when the proposal was brought to the Legislative Council for that addition of one seat to the 21 seats already recommended, you did not know in respect of which area this additional seat could be?

A. I explained to you that at that time I was a member of the Legislative Council. Everything goes beforehand, and it had already been mentioned that this additional seat was for the Stone Town.

MR. KANJI: So that at the time when you voted, you knew that this additional seat would be for the Stone Town?

CHAIRMAN: No, the witness is not saying that.

MR. KANJI: I am asking are you saying at the moment that at the time when the voting for this additional seat was done you knew this extra seat would go to the Stone Town?

A. No. During the voting each one expressed his opinion. Many people say there was no necessity for this extra seat to go to the Stone Town. If the British Resident had recommended that this additional seat be put in, then it should go to Chaani or Pemba or Mkoani.

Q. I am confining myself to the particular time of voting - when you voted for this additional seat, did you or

did you not vote for this seat?

A. I do not remember, but many people did not vote. I cannot say whether I was a Minister then or not, but many people did not vote.

Q. Did you personally make any representation to Government officially that you wanted this extra seat?

A. How can I say? The thing had already been introduced: I could not.

Q. I am not asking your reasons, but I am just asking a plain question as to whether you made any representation to any Government official that you wanted these 22 seats. If you do not remember, say "I do not remember".

A. I just want to get the question: I should not simply accept or deny. Would you like me to think? After thinking, this is my answer: I did not ask the Government to introduce this question. This question was brought up or recommended by the Government, not that I asked the Government to bring it up.

Q. Did you ever say to the Secretary of State for the Colonies that you wanted 22 seats on the Zanzibar Legislative Council?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Can you remember when you said that?

A. I think it was in 1959.

Q. When was the resolution passed in the Legislative Council that there should be 22 seats?

A. After the report of Sir Hilary Blood.

Q. And would that resolution have been passed by the Legislative Council before you made representation to the Secretary of State for the Colonies?

A. Before I answer this I would like three or four words - when the Secretary of State came to Zanzibar we went to the Residency and he conversed with us about his coming, and he said, "I have come to meet your Zanzibar representatives to get your opinion on your future Government", and I stood up to answer him and said, "Thank you very much for your thoughts: we would like our future Government to have 25 people in it. First we should have one Civil Secretary, an Attorney General, a Financial Secretary and 22 members to be elected and to join those members whom I have mentioned." Then after that he asked all the other members who were there, and they agreed.

Q. So that at that time representatives of all parties were present?

A. Yes, and there were two parties only at that time - I think the ZPPP were there.

Q. So there were three parties?

A. Yes.

Q. And representatives of all these three parties were there and they accepted there should be 22 seats?

A. Yes.

Q. And am I right that before you made this representation to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, you all knew this one extra seat was going to the Stone Town?

A. No.

Q. You did not know?

A. Nobody know how the constituencies would be divided, or anything.

Q. Can you remember when the Legislative Council passed the resolution that there should be 22 seats, and this one additional seat should go to the Stone Town?

A. Before the 1961 election.

Q. You say whether it was 1958 or 1959?

A. I think it is either 1960 or 1959.

Q. Can you remember the month?

A. No.

Q. At the time when you said to the Secretary of State for the Colonies that you wanted 22 seats, was there any suggestion at all before the Legislative Council that the additional seat would go to the Stone Town?

A. No.

Q. If you can help us, say so, and if you cannot help us, say no - would you say the resolution of the Legislative Council for the addition of one seat was passed before 27th July, 1960?

A. Yes, it could be.

(Exhibit
AG.55)

CHAIRMAN: The date of the Sessional Paper No. 14 of 1960 is the 26th October, 1960. (passed to Mr. Kanji for inspection).

MR. KANJI: Now you said in your cross-examination here that you wanted this extra seat, this 22nd seat, to go to some other constituency?

A. I said some of the members said so.

Q. Were you a party to that?

A. I was just silent.

Q. Am I right in assuming you had therefore no objection to the extra seat going to the Stone Town?

A. I did not agree that this extra seat should go to the Stone Town. If I had agreed, I would have said so.

Q. Where do you think this seat should go?

A. I just had not decided definitely. I just thought of sitting down quietly. I had not made up my mind.

Q. So you say you were indifferent as to where the 22nd seat went?

A. I was inclined towards those who wanted it to go elsewhere.

CHAIRMAN: Surely you would have wanted the additional seat to be somewhere where you thought it might be advantageous to your party?

A. Yes, certainly.

Q. And you would have expected the other party to feel exactly the same?

A. Yes.

MR. KANJI: Would you agree this was what you said in the Legislative Council of Zanzibar on 26th July, 1960: it was reported in Legislative Council Debates, the sitting of 26th, 27th, 28th July, 1960, page 61. I want you to see if your speech is correctly recorded in this volume.

A. In connection with what?

Q. With the 22 seats.

A. You can read it if you like.

Q. This is the speech: "I stood up and explained to him (I think meaning here the Secretary of State) that today we have 25 people in our Council. For a change I asked that we wanted 22 members to be elected by the people in the country, and the remaining three, the Chief Secretary, the Attorney General and the Financial Secretary, should remain for a time, because we wanted a Government which would be run by the government themselves." You admitted you said that ?

A. Yes.

Q. Let us deal with the last part of the last sentence. When you say this did you think in your mind that if you have a

Legislative Council in which there will be twenty-two elected members that the Party or the group which would be able to form the Government would be the group which can command the confidence of the majority of the elected members?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you told the Commission all the causes which in your opinion contributed to the disturbances after or on the day of the June election?

A. Yes, and many I have explained.

Q. But besides all that we have heard here and all that you have told us you do not think there are any other causes?

A. Yes, but the root is this vote stealing. The others just contribute.

Q. So if you were telling your audience after the June election that for the following reasons the disturbances are caused in Zanzibar on election day in June, you would tell them that the most important cause of the disturbances was the feeling or impression in the mind of A.S.P. members and supporters that the Z.N.P. members and supporters were going to steal the votes on election day?

A. Would steal the votes?

Q. Yes.

A. They will steal the votes or are stealing the votes?

Q. Are stealing the votes, put it that way?

A. Yes.

CHAIRMAN: What was the witness's answer?

MR. KANJI: Yes, he would tell his audience that the most important cause for June election disturbances was that the Z.N.P. members and supporters had been stealing votes.

A. How would I tell my members?

MR. KANJI: Assume that you are addressing a crowd of people in a country other than Zanzibar.

CHAIRMAN: Mr. Kanji has asked, if you had been giving your reasons to anybody, a crowd, if you were addressing a crowd, would you have given that as your reason, the main reason for the disturbances from 1st June onwards?

A. Yes.

Q. The witness has already told us that that was, in his opinion, the root cause of it.

A. Yes.

CHAIRMAN: It is merely repeating in another way what he has already said.

MR. KANJI: You remember you wrote an article in the "Voice of Africa"?

A. Which one?

MR. KANJI: Zanzibar "Voice of Africa".

CHAIRMAN: Please give ^{him} /the date.

MR. KANJI: July, 1961.

A. I personally? I do not remember.

Q. This is an article headed "Zanzibar by Karume".

Are you saying this is an article which has not been written by you?

A. Let me see, please. (Document passed to witness).

Q. Is this an article written by you?

A. I think the newspaper man wrote it. The description of different kinds of people there.

Q. What I am asking you is this, Mr. Abeid Karume. This is an article which is headed "Zanzibar by Karume". The issue of the "Voice of Africa" of July, 1961 published, I think, in Ghana. Do

you remember ever having written an article?

A. No, I do not remember.

MR. KANJI: So you say that what is stated in this article part of which I will read out to you has never been stated by you?

CHAIRMAN: He does not say that. He says he does not remember writing any article.

MR. KANJI: Would you agree this is an article written by you if you are shown it?

A. No, I do not remember writing an article, or is it because you see my face there?

Q. You remember you are on oath. Will you read part of it to refresh your memory?

A. No, I do not remember this.

Q. Let us forget for a moment the question of the memory. You have been shown the article?

A. Yes, I see it.

Q. Are you saying that you have not written that article?

A. I do not remember having written it.

Q. I want you to have a look at it and tell us whether you have written it or not. I am not asking whether you remember it or not:

A, I did not write it.

MR. KANJI: Sir, Can this be put in as an exhibit to show the witness says he has not written this article?

MR. KAW-SWANZY: If that would help my Friend that may be the result of an interview.

CHAIRMAN: By all means, if you wish it put in.

MR. KANJI: Did you ever have an interview with any correspondent of "Voice of Africa"?

A. Of where?

Q. Ghana.

A. No, I do not remember.

MR. KANJI: Did you say to any person to whom you were giving an interview passages which I am now reading out?

"Zanzibar is a British Protectorate. The British having signed a treaty with an Arab ruler who was referred to as the Sultan of Zanzibar".

Second heading "The name Zanzibar Nationalist Party is a gross misnomer as most of the members of the Party are underground imperialist stooges of the first order, whilst at the same time they are double dealers pulling fast with Communist countries and in their cunning benefitting from both East and West." Then there is another passage.

CHAIRMAN: Why not ask the witness one at a time?

MR. KANJI: If you please. Let us deal with the first one about the Arab ruler. Did you ever say to any correspondent of any newspaper anywhere at all these words, or words to the effect?

A. No.

Q. Now about the second passage starting with the name "Zanzibar Nationalist Party is a gross misnomer", did you say words to that effect to any correspondent or any person at all?

A. No, I do not remember having told anybody.

Q. Coming to the third heading "Disturbances". "In short the causes of the disturbances which started on the day of the election, 1st June, 1961 before the results of the election were known are (1) extreme provocation on the part of the

Zanzibar Nationalist Party both before and during the election. Example: before the election Z.N.P. used deliberately to insult the A.S.P. leaders. They also used to break the A.S.P. meetings of the A.S.P. candidates. Most of these things were reported to the police and apparently no noticeable action was taken. This is understandable, of course, because the police department in Zanzibar so far has specialised in only employing Asians in the higher cadre and it is strongly suspected that Asians are backed by expatriate officers. Of course, to do that no African gets to the higher cadre. It is said that things have reached a stage where true information cannot get to the top without a certain amount of bias or distortion. Recently during the emergency the Minister of Education was alleged to have been found with a pistol and when reported to the police it was alleged to the police that it was a starter pistol." Did you ever say these words to any person at any place?

A. No, I did not tell anybody at any place.

Q. Do you remember having given any person an interview in connection with the paper "Voice of Africa"?

A. No.

CHAIRMAN: You are quoting passages to him and he says he does not remember giving anybody connected with that paper an interview. If you are going to ask him if he holds any of those views, I think it would be fairer to split them up because you are suggesting one has a derogatory effect on the Sovereign and he has repeatedly denied ever having suggested anything that would be derogatory.

MR. KANJI: Do you hold the view which is expressed in this paper? Let us refer to the first part which refers to Arab ruler of Zanzibar?

CHAIRMAN: The witness has already said he does not. I think it is fair to say the witness has denied categorically any such desire or action on his part or any such belief. You are only going to get a negative again.

(The proceedings were adjourned until 2.15 p.m.)

ON RESUMPTION

CHAIRMAN: Mr. Kanji, have you now an answer to the question we put to you at the commencement of the proceedings this morning ?

MR. KANJI: I have an answer, Sir. The answer is in the negative.

Cross-examination of Sheikh Abeid Karume by Mr. Kanji continued.

Q. Now, you remember, Sheikh Abeid Karume, that before we adjourned at 12.30 p.m. I was asking you questions in connection with an article which was published in the "Voice of Africa", July 1961 issue. The article which appears on page 30 of that magazine with the heading "Zanzibar by Karume". Just before we adjourned I asked you whether the cause which is said in this article as having contributed to the disturbances on 1st June, 1961, was ever expressed by you to anybody either in Ghana or elsewhere ?

A. My answer is I did not see anybody in Ghana or elsewhere; nor did I know anything about that paper. This is the first time that I have seen it here today.

Q. Do you agree with the views expressed in this magazine ?

A. No.

MR. KANJI: There are two further passages which I will put to you and ask you again whether you have expressed your view in accordance with these two passages.

CHAIRMAN: In view of the witness's answer you must ask him has he ever said that.

MR. KANJI: Have you ever said words to the following effect: "I assure the readers that the Afro-Shirazi Party will leave no stone unturned to fight against Colonialism and neo-Colonialism brought about

by the Zanzibar Nationalist Party and its satellites and the Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party, both of which are Imperialist instruments" ?

A. No.

Q. Now, Mr. Karume, am I right that you went to Ghana in June, 1961 ?

A. Yes.

Q. Can you tell us the date when you left Zanzibar for Ghana?

A. About the middle of June.

Q. Am I right that you returned to Zanzibar some time at the end of July, 1961 ?

A. Yes.

Q. Is this your photograph which is printed in the magazine (illustrating document) ?

A. Yes.

Q. Am I right that there was no other Karume from Zanzibar who went to Ghana immediately after the disturbances ?

A. It can be so because there are not many Karumes here.

Q. Is it possible, Mr. Karume, that somebody is your enemy and he has given this article to the "Voice of Africa" under your name ?

A. I am not certain to say that it must be so, but it is possible.

Q. Who accompanied you to Ghana ?

A. I went with Sheikh Othman Shariff.

CHAIRMAN: What is the object of this cross-examination. Is it directed to credit ?

MR. KANJI: The object is to show that there were only two people. It is directed to credit, Sir.

CHAIRMAN: Political leaders usually are not very polite to their opponents on the other side.

MR. KANJI: And also, Mr. Chairman, to show that the reasons which this witness has given now as having contributed to the disturbance are quite different from what he has said before.

CHAIRMAN: What he is suggesting today?

MR. KANJI: Yes. I put this in for identification and for what it is worth.

Document
AAK.E.

CHAIRMAN: Mark it for identity. We cannot accept it in evidence because it is not connected with the witness.

MR. KANJI: Would I be right in saying that the ASP strongly believes in a multi-racial society in Zanzibar?

A. The A.S.P.?

Q. The A.S.P.

A. Yes; if the races will live peacefully and in good relationship, yes, we do.

Q. Do you agree that your party also believes that Zanzibar should be governed by all races together, not just Africans alone?

A. Before I answer this question I can say this. The Afro-Shirazi Party have passed a resolution that all races in Zanzibar should live together and think of what will be the ultimate end of our government. We call it the freedom committee, and we did meet the African leaders, the Arab leaders, the Indian leaders, the leaders of political parties, to think about this. When Abdulrahman, the Secretary of the ZNP, returned from Cairo or somewhere this was thrown away. Now I am answering your question. My answer is if all races will agree to live together peacefully, this is the Afro-Shirazi wish.

Q. So I would be right in saying the policy of your party is to have a government consisting of all races; all races should participate in the Government?

A. That people should agree this one should not be up and the others lower; they should be on an equal basis.

Q. If you would listen carefully to the question I am putting to you I think you could easily answer my question yes or no. Am I right that your party believes in the government of Zanzibar by people of all races in Zanzibar?

A. Again I will answer that my Party would agree all people to be on an equal basis. If all people are on an equal basis then it agrees with that.

Q. Do I understand rightly that the Sauti Ya Afro-Shirazi newspaper is owned by the Afro-Shirazi Party ?

A. No.

Q. Would you agree that that newspaper is the organ of the Afro-Shirazi Party for conveying its views to the members and supporters of the Afro-Shirazi Party ?

A. No.

Q. Are you then saying that your party has no newspaper ?

A. Yes, it has not got a newspaper specially for the party.

Q. Would you agree that the heading "Sauti ya Afro-Shirazi" on a newspaper would convey to the readers that it is a paper which is very closely connected if not owned by your Party ?

A. Yes, one could think that.

Q. Do you remember having read a passage to the following effect in Sauti Ya Afro-Shirazi in the issue of August 1960. An article on page 2 of that paper says - "Africans oppose tooth and nail any form of multi-racial government which in Zanzibar meant the government of Arabs and Indians, and it is not wanted. The stooges of the ZPPP and their masters will not be able to bring a multi-racial government here. Multi-racial organisations should disappear." Do you remember ever having heard anything about this article ?

A. No. Would you read the first paragraph ?

Q. "Up to 1891 the government was a murderous one and the reign was most oppressive". Would you say that that is referring to the years before Britain took over Zanzibar ?

A. I do not know; I am only hearing that now. I wanted you to read about what you said; the Africans did not want multi-racial government. I would like you to read it again.

Q. I thought you wanted me to read the first paragraph.

A. No, the first sentence.

Q. An article on page 2 says that the Africans oppose tooth and nail any form of multi-racial government.

A. But you know I am here as the leader of the Afro-Shirazi Party, and what do those people say? That article refers to whom?

Q. That is a general article in a newspaper which apparently supports the Afro-Shirazi Party.

A. I can say this that this may be the view of the writer, not of the Afro-Shirazi Party.

Q. Would you agree with me that views were generally expressed, beginning from 1960 right up to the date of the disturbances in Zanzibar, in Zanzibar newspapers supporting your party that Zanzibar should only be for black Africans?

A. If that is so, I do not think it is speaking on behalf of the Afro-Shirazi Party; it may be one's own views, because they can say the Afro-Shirazi Party does not want this, that and the other, and if it is not put down as the Afro-Shirazi Party then it is just one person's view.

Q. So I would be right in assuming that if any newspaper in Zanzibar which supports the Afro-Shirazi Party produced an article to the effect that the Afro-Shirazi Party wants Zanzibar for black Africans only, the party is not at all concerned with it?

A. Yes, it would not be on behalf of the Afro-Shirazi Party.

Q. Am I right that you would not take any action to stop that in newspapers which support your party?

A. I would not take any action because if it does not have anything to do with the Afro-Shirazi Party what action should I take? I cannot take any action.

Q. Do you know yourself generally the tone of newspapers which supported the Afro-Shirazi Party during the period 1960 to the date of the disturbance ?

A. No.

Q. Would I be right in assuming that you did not know your party was using race as a very strong political weapon for the election ?

A. No.

Q. Is Mr. Mtoro Rehani vice-president of the Afro-Shirazi Party ?

A. Yes.

Q. Am I right that he edited an African newspaper called Afrika Kwetu ?

A. Yes.

Q. Am I right that lots of supporters and members of the ASP read this paper ?

A. Everybody reads it.

Q. Is it not read mainly by Afro-Shirazi members and supporters ?

A. No, I cannot say that, because many Afro-Shirazi people do not know how to read. I would say many others read it other than the Afro-Shirazi Party.

Q. Would I be right in saying that Jamal Nasibu is one of the leaders of the Afro-Shirazi Party ?

A. Yes.

Q. Would you tell us when the constitution of the Afro-Shirazi Party was put down in writing ?

A. In 1957, and then it was revised, and then in 1959 or 1960 it came out.

Q. Did you ever cause hatred among the people of Zanzibar by telling them - "Avoid these people"?

A. In the constitution ?

Q. I am asking you a general question.

A. You mentioned earlier the constitution, so I thought you were still referring to the constitution.

Q. I am sure you know what I am putting to you. Will you answer my question ?

A. Yes, put it.

Q. Did you ever try to cause hatred among the people of Zanzibar by telling them "Avoid those"?

A. I do not know what you mean by "Avoid those".

Q. I will perhaps help you. I will show you an article in Agozi which deals with this matter (Newspaper passed to witness). Will you please read the article on page 2 of Agozi of 14th December, 1959 under the heading "Agozi is asking Government"?

A. Yes, I understand this; I remember about this.

Q. Is this paper right in saying that the constitution of the Afro-Shirazi Party has not been passed as at the date of this article, which is 14th December, 1959 ?

A. No, it is not true.

Q. Would you generally agree with the views expressed in this article ?

A. No, not at all.

Q. Sheikh Abeid Karume, am I right in saying that Mr. Abdulla Amur is a very leading member of the Afro-Shirazi Party ?

A. No.

Q. Is he a member of your party ?

A. Before I answer this I would like to explain.

Q. I do not want explanations; I just want to know as a matter of fact whether Abdulla Amur is a member or not ?

A. He is a man who gets into every party; for a month he is a member there; for a month he is a member there, and for a month the other; together with this man Jamal Nasibu they were members of the ZPPP and then they came to the Afro-Shirazi Party, and then Abdulla Amur was a member of the ZNP. Then, perhaps you would be interested to know, I do not know actually where they are.

Q. But they are members of the ASP at the moment, Abdulla Amur is a member at the moment ?

A. From 24th January 1961.

Q. Are you very happy to accept him as your leading member?

A. No. Can he be a leading member, such a man ?

Q. Do you know whether Abdulla Amur is a member of the A.S.P?

A. From the 24th January I have seen him coming and going. That is the way he carries on.

Q. I will show you an article which he has written about you in "Mwangaza".

CHAIRMAN: Is it the same gentleman ?

A.A.K.
64. MR. KANJI: He became a member of his party since 20th January, 1961. Would you read this please ?

CHAIRMAN: The article starts off by saying that you are stupid. Obviously not a complimentary one.

A. That is why I want to assure you what sort of a person he is.

MR. KANJI: At first you were pleased to have him in the party ?

A. He is an ordinary man. He is not an asset in the party. He is a subject, what can one do ?

Q. You did not refuse his help ?

A. Even if it is a bad help.

Q. This man you said has been a help to you ?

CHAIRMAN: Did he say he has been a help to him?

MR. KANJI: He has been your party supporter ?

A. Since January 28th, 1961. I saw him in Z.P.P.P. but I think he had run away from there. Now he sometimes will get into A.S.P.; sometimes he will go somewhere else.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: The paper is dated 1959.

MR. KANJI: You have told us about Amur. Would you say the same of Othman Sharif ?

A. He is a Government official. I do not know whether he has ceased to be a Government official or not. Because some months back I heard he was on leave.

Q. You don't know very much about Othman Sharif ?

A. No.

Q. Do you know whether Mr. Othman Shariff^{is} going to give evidence on behalf of your party before this Commission: I am asking you this because I want to put certain questions. If Mr. Othman is not going to give evidence I would rather put this question to you.

A. Up to now I cannot say whether he will give evidence or not, but if you have any questions you would like to ask me, please do so.

Q. About Othman Shariff ?

A. Personally, or the Party ?

Q. In relation to the party.

A. I am ready.

Q. Did I understand you to say generally that your party has behaved very well indeed right from its inception in 1956 ?

A. Yes.

Q. It has not abused anyone nor has it tried to make a difficulty for any individual ?

A. Where, in court ?

Q. Outside.

A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. Now, were you a member of the Legislative Council in 1957?

A. Yes, from 1957 up to now.

Q. Would I be right in assuming that you attended a meeting of Legislative Council on July 26th, 27th and 28th in 1960 ?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you remember that Mr. Othman Shariff spoke about the party on 27th July, 1960, in the Legislative Council ?

A. Yes, it could be.

Q. And would you agree with me that at that time Mr. Othman Shariff was not a member of the party, but was an independent person working for the Government ?

A. Yes.

Q. Would you say that his views were generally very fair and reasonable on any subject ?

A. On what ?

Q. On any matter on which he expressed his views.

A. Some views were good, people agreed, and some were bad. People did not agree with them.

Q. Do you trust Othman Shariff ?

A. Well, now ...

Q. A person is not trustworthy now and untrustworthy five years ago. Or do we have a different conception of a person being truthful or untruthful, depending on your interest.

A. I cannot say that five years back he was a good man or a bad man. I am here now and perhaps you find me a bad man, but I cannot speak about 5 years ago. He may be a good man at one time and at the

same time he may be a bad man to some other people.

Q. And you have said that about yourself sometime ?

A. About every human being.

Q. I am not asking your opinion about every human being, but about yourself.

CHAIRMAN: He has said he is the same as everyone else.

MR. KANJI. Now am I right that Ali Shariff used to be a member of the A.S.P. before he joined the Z.P.P.P. ?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know that the supporters of your party, the members, harrassed him very much after he joined the Z.P.P.P. ?

A. No, I don't know.

Q. You have never heard anything about it ?

A. No.

Q. Perhaps I can refresh your memory ?

A. Yes.

Q. I am now reading a passage by Othman Shariff in Legislative Council on 27th July, 1960, contained in the Legislative Council debates of 34th meeting, page 73. "I would like my Honourable friend to come and stay with me for a week if his political feelings permit him." And the speech is then interrupted by laughter. And then Othman Sharif continues: "We will never forget and we will not be able to stick it longer than a day. A group of people came to my house and called my brother by his name. Called him by name and called us all sorts of names because my brother belongs to the Z.P.P.P. and not to the A.S.P. I think my brother will bear me out on this. I have had my wife crying several times because of this hooliganism drummed into people deliberately and it is openly said by some people that when they get their "uhuru" they will burn some people alive.

A.A.K.

Local Officers are run down publicly in public meetings for no just cause. Sheer prejudice against the so-called educated people."

CHAIRMAN: Do you want to ask a question on it ?

MR. KANJI: Yes. Does that surprise you, Sheikh Abeid Karume ?

A. No.

Q. You think it is immaterial if people of the party and their supporters go harrassing the people ?

A. It says it shows clearly that no member of my party has gone to harrass anybody.

Q. Is that how you interpret it ?

A. I know. Sheikh Ali Sharif is a member of Legislative Council. He is a sensible man and in the same house Othman Shariff's wife is there, and it is a thing which will annoy Ali Shariff and will annoy Othman Shariff. It is surprising. Perhaps Othman wanted to say something during conversation because Ali Shariff is a big speaker. He is well-known. He has been a member of Legislative Council for nearly 10 years now. You will agree with me. If that was true, he would have brought it then.

Q. You are saying in effect that Othman Shariff was lying when he said that in Legislative Council ?

A. I cannot use that term. Yes.

Q. Am I right in saying Sheikh Abeid Karume that Mr. Ameri Tajo used to be a member of the A.S.P. ?

A. Yes.

Q. Would I also be right in saying he was one of the founder members - in fact the leader at one time ?

A. Yes.

Q. Just before he left the A.S.P. and became part of the Z.P.P.P. ...

A. Sheikh Ameri Tajo did not leave the A.S.P. The A.S.P. members did not want him. They expelled him.

Q. Would it be right to say that whenever one person leave the A.S.P. he is not said to have left A.S.P., but is said to have been dismissed A.S.P.?

A. No.

Q. Have you heard of the word "chachandu" with reference to Ameri Tajo ?

A. I cannot say that because I heard it in the band when the band was being played. They were playing this "chachandu". This originated from the bandmen.

Q. Would you be saying a very great majority of people in Ngambo are members and supporters of the A.S.P.?

A. Yes, many and there are also Nationalists.

MR. TALATI: I do not think we have had a translation of that word "chachandu" in Swahili ?

CHAIRMAN: Would you translate it ? What does it mean ?

A. "Chachandu" - as far as I know it - is an octopus. It refers to the octopus, not alive. The children cut it and then fry it very nicely in oil and then they add chillies, very strong chillies and put it aside. The children then sell it and they say that they dip it in chillie and then when they eat it and exclaim "chachandu" because of the hot chillies. That is what I understand by "chachandu".

MR. KANJI. Do you know that Mr. Ameir Tajo was called "chachandu" by members of your party ?

A. No. We respect Ameir Tajo until today, and he has a great respect. We are starting to hear such a thing today referring to Sheikh Ameir Tajo.

Q. You know many things that go on in Zanzibar and you do not know "chachandu" ?

A. No, I do not. I only know about this point. And they played it with the band.

Q. Do you know that the matter of "chachandu" was raised in the Legislative Council?

A. Yes, it was brought to my notice.

Q. And despite that you do not know who was called "chachandu" ?

A. Because this "chachandu" has been there for many years. More than 15 or 30 years it has been used.

Q. In the Legislative Council ?

A. No, outside. Even before the political party was formed.

Q. Did you know this word "chachandu" referred in the Legislative Council . to one particular person ?

A. It is possible.

CHAIRMAN: We are getting a long way from the terms of reference. We are roaming all over the field of political abuse. Is it going to help us very much ?

MR. KANJI: This cross-examination, Mr. Chairman, would be to show the witness is not a credible witness.

Q. Did you know this matter was raised in the Legislative Council in July, 1960 ?

A. Yes, I said so.

Q. And it referred to one individual person ?

A. No, I do not remember well.

Q. I will read out the passage to refresh your memory :-

"And as for the relations between the people, one has only to walk about anywhere at Ngambo and one will hear a mob of people daily chanting away "Chachandu Tumenzika", that is "We have buried "Chachandu"" (somebody nicknamed as Chachandu) - respectable people being subjected to intolerable mockery in an attempt to force them to accept unacceptable political views, and what are the political leaders and other politicians doing about this - hatred deliberately inculcated in the minds of the ignorant mass by a leader of a party, and yet some Honourable Members opposite have the courage to accuse the Government of encouraging racialism instead of accusing themselves of antagonism and complete lack of understanding in their political problems."

You remember that ?

A. He did say it, but it did not refer to any party.

It was said in the Legislative Council.

Q. And referring to squatters and landlords' problem do I understand you to say that in accordance with your opinion, all quarrels between the landlords and squatters after 1957 were as a result of landlords insisting that a squatter should either become a member of ZNP or else should be evicted ?

A. Yes.

You remember that ?

A. He did say it, but it did not refer to any party.

It was said in the Legislative Council.

CHAIRMAN: All disputes between squatters and landlords rest on this?

Q. Yes, it was the political party asking the landlords who are members of the ZNP to get the squatters to join the ZNP, and they were to give their cards to register as members of the ZNP.

MR. KANJI: Do you know that one Indian owned a farm in Zanzibar? His name was Champsi.

A. There are many Champsis - which particular Champsi?

Q. You say there are many Champsis which are Indians and who own farms in Zanzibar?

A. Yes. If you can tell me a particular Champsi....

Q. Have you ever read a report of Middleton on "Land Tenure in Zanzibar"?

A. No, I have not. Which date is this?

Q. 1958.

A. No.

Q. I put it to you that you do not really know the basis of the trouble between landlords and squatters?

A. I do: it is what I have told you.

Q. You remember in February 1958 you made a speech at Machui at an Afro-Shirazi gathering?

A. Yes.

Q. Am I right that you said to this meeting that the land belongs to you?

A. No, I did not say that.

MR. KANJI: Did I understand you to say the day before yesterday in your evidence in chief that you said in this meeting that the landlords should not uproot the crops of squatters because if they do that would mean it is like pouring petrol over the crop and later on setting fire to it?

CHAIRMAN: I thought the witness said that it was like pouring petrol over the squatter and setting him on fire when he

stood there looking at his crops destroyed. He was trying to emphasise that it was a bitter blow to the man whose crops had been destroyed.

MR. KANJI: Perhaps I am quite wrong in putting this.

CHAIRMAN: I am speaking from recollection, but that is my recollection, and I have a good memory for facts. I cannot allow the evidence to be misquoted. Yes, here it is on page 40, the 12th day, at the bottom of the page: "He feels, when he stands and looks at his destroyed property, as if the person who did it has poured petrol over his body."

MR. KANJI: I beg your pardon. What did you say at this meeting at Machui?

A. I stated it, I think, the day before yesterday. If you want me to say it again I will do so.

Q. I would be very grateful if you would do so.

A. After receiving the report from the people who live there in Machui - the report which was brought to our members, of the Afro-Shirazi Party, of their crops being destroyed and, I think, their huts burned on the instigation from the Nationalist Party to the owners that they should ask the squatters to join the Nationalist Party.

Q. What I am asking you is what did you say at that meeting?

A. We went there to say two things only.

Q. To the meeting?

A. Yes, the first was to calm down the people whose property had been damaged or destroyed, and to advise the shamba owners. We went and told them.

Q. I want to know what was said at the meeting.

A. I am telling you about the meeting. We said, "We have come here. We have received your reports and we are telling you this: the first thing is do not agree to vacate the land which has been given to you by the owners for many many years, even if it has been damaged. Be patient, because there is a law in Islam that if anybody gives land to somebody to cultivate he cannot evict that person who has cultivated the land until he compensates him. And we will take this to the Government and request the Government to introduce or to bring this law; and you will get your rights or your compensation." And then we went to the landowners and told them.

Q. I want to know about the meeting. I put it to you that at this meeting you said to a gathering of the Afro-Shirazi Party that "No-one can move you from the land because the land belongs to you and the trees are from Nature and only belong to the owner, and if anyone tries to throw you out he would be pouring petrol upon himself with one hand and setting it on fire with the other hand."

A. No, I did not say that. I think you know what I said the day before yesterday, and it is there in the report if you read it. That is what I said: and they were very pleased. They did not bring any quarrel until the law was introduced, and they were getting their compensation.

Q. Are you saying there was no squatter trouble until the legislation was brought after your speech ?

A. There is very slight trouble. Then afterwards the heads of the Nationalist Party got up again and stirred up the matter again. Then it continued.

Q. If in fact you had told your gathering the words which I have just quoted, would I be right in saying that your political prestige would be enhanced very much amongst the squatters ?

A. It did enhance.

CHAIRMAN: I do not think the witness understood the question. The question that was put to you was this : If you had said the things that Mr. Kanji put to you and which you have denied saying, do you think it would have enhanced your political prestige with the people ? Do you understand ?

A. I thank you, Mr. Chairman, for making me understand. I think at that moment I would have been immediately nothing before them. I would have been nobody before them.

MR. KANJI. You do not think they would have liked you for saying that ?

A. They would not - a thing to create ill feeling: they would not have liked it.

Q. I think it was in connection with the copra market that you mentioned that Salim Rashid was a member of the Z.N.P. Executive Committee ?

A. Well, I did not mention Salim Rashid alone.

Q. I am referring only to Salim Rashid at the moment. Would you be surprised if I told you he has never been a member of the Z.N.P. Executive Committee ?

A. No, I said a member of the Executive of the Z.N.P. was Ali Ahmed Riyami. He was the one I referred to, and then I said Salim Rashid.

Q. So you did not mean Salim Rashid was a member of the Executive Committee of the ZNP ?

A. No, Ali Ahmed Riyami; and this man is just his follower.

MR. KANJI. Am I right to say the dispute between the two groups of labourers was settled and it was provided that each group - one group is mainlanders and the other group is Zanzibaris - should work in the copra market and also at the dock on the alternative day ?

CHAIRMAN: What the witness said to you was that there was some effect, indicating with his hands very little, if at all. That is what I understood. I understood you to say this morning, Sheikh Karume, that you thought the labour disputes had very little to do with the disturbances - if any at all.

A. Yes, very little.

MR. KANJI: Coming to the shop boycott, how many shops were opened after this movement of opening organised shops ?

A. People did not boycott going to the shops, the co-operative stores.

CHAIRMAN: He said this before. He denied the boycott. He said they opened the co-operative stores and some people - they were limited in what they had: rice and one or two other things, no fruit, the witness said - some people would go to the co-operative shop for some things and to others for other types of things. He has never accepted the boycott.

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MR. KANJI: How many shops were there in 1957 ?

A. 25, I think, between 25 and 26, but I think actually 25. The whole of Ngambo Mudiria.

Q. I am referring now to Zanzibar as a whole. Do you know how many co-operative shops there were in the whole of Zanzibar ?

A. Rural, about 50, I think.

Q. Am I right that the co-operative movement was supported strongly by the ASP ?

A. Members of the ASP ?

Q. Well, the lead was given by the ASP ?

A. In forming these co-operatives ? No, this was by the Government. The Government used to teach it. If some people in the locality wanted to open a co-operative they would send a young man who was up to Standard VIII to learn from the co-operative how to keep books and money and to the satisfaction of the Registrar of Co-operatives. Then he would say, "Well this man now knows about this: he can handle the co-operatives." Then people contribute their money to buy a share of 20shs., and if people paid 40shs, they owned two shares.

Q. Do I understand you to say the Afro-Shirazi Party had nothing to do with the co-operative movement ?

A. They said it is a good thing. They proclaimed it is a good thing for people to do this.

Q. They supported it ?

A. Yes.

Q. You know there is a legislation in Zanzibar under which all co-operative shops should be registered ?

A. Yes.

Q. Would you be surprised if I told you only 15 co-operative stores are registered today in the whole of Zanzibar ?

A. No, I am not surprised.

Q. Would you say in fact other shops are Afro-Shirazi shops ?

A. No, not Afro-Shirazi Party, because I would like to explain to you: if you should inform the Registrar he can tell you, "You can carry on and then I will register you." He can do that: he has that power.

Q. Have you ever heard of the word "zuwiya"?

A. Very much.

Q. Do you know this word was used in connection with prominent people going to buy from the shops of the Nationalist Party, or shops other than those of the ASP ?

A. No. I know what "zuwiya" means. Would you like me to tell you the meaning of it ?

Q. I think we have already heard. I just wanted to relate it to the question of the shops.

A. No.

Q. Do you know the supporters of the ASP were running buses and used to make use of the symbol of the ASP for obtaining passengers ?

A. I am sorry, but I must tell you that the ASP have no motor cars and have no buses.

CHAIRMAN: He has dealt with this: however, you can ask him if you like. It was covered by Mr. Talati.

MR. KANJI: Do you know whether supporters of the ASP were using symbols on the buses ?

A. Which symbols ?

Q. Pakacha, for instance.

A. Well, they did use this: it is a basket.

Q. It was used to promote the boycott of buses.

A. Because these bus owners, when they saw that politics have come in, they also made business out of this political situation.

MR. KANJI: What I am asking is do you know this ?

CHAIRMAN: He said so already. He expressed the view that the bus owners took advantage of the political situation and used it to benefit themselves.

MR. KANJI: I am much obliged.

CHAIRMAN: But I do not think he confined it to the ASP.

MR. KANJI: I was at the moment only asking about the ASP.

Q. You remember on Saturday in your examination in chief you said that you were delivering a speech - I am open to correction on this - and people in the crowd then shouted the words :

"Rahalahoano" meaning "With whom God is pleased"?

A. Yes.

Q. Would you agree with me that that term is only used for companions of the Prophet ?

A. No. It is used for anybody. It is a blessing of God on somebody - may the blessing of God fall on you. If you do a good act to me I would express that phrase to you.

Q. Do you think it is quite normal to use that term ?

A. It is just a prayer to God. People pray in many forms.

MR. KANJI: You have said in your evidence in chief that you saw Y.O.U. youths drilling with guns and other lethal weapons.

CHAIRMAN: Would you mind pointing to the evidence ? I have no recollection of that.

A. No, I said sticks.

MR. KANJI: Sticks - not guns ?

A. No, not guns.

CHAIRMAN: I understood him to say with sticks.

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CHAIRMAN: Yes, he said sticks as guns.

MR. KANJI: I misunderstood him, Sir. I thought he used the word "guns".

I put to you that Y.O.U. youths never used any sticks whilst they were being drilled ?

A. They were being paraded at a place called Kuta La Tembo with sticks.

CHAIRMAN: Using them as guns ?

A. Yes.

CHAIRMAN: We will adjourn until 8.30 a.m. tomorrow morning.

(The proceedings were adjourned until
8.30 a.m. Tuesday, 10th October, 1961)