Index

ADN (Allgemeiner Deutscher Nachrichtendienst, General German News Agency), 123, 210 African Bookshop, 178 African National Congress (ANC) condemns Hastings Banda, 190 criticises Lusaka Manifesto, 171 criticises Stokely Carmichael, 142 Frene Ginwala, 224, 229 Morogoro Conference, 170 office in Dar es Salaam, 141, 156 relations with GDR, 103 relocates headquarters, 39 treason trial in Tanzania, 243-44 African socialism. See ujamaa African-American Institute, 149 Africanisation, 37, 74-75, 81, 91, 93, 209, 222, 231, 241 Afriroots, 286 Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) creation of CCM, 269 relations with TANU, 41-42 rivalry with ZNP, 35 youth wing, 245 Zanzibar Revolution, 33, 36 Aga Khan, 222 Aginter Press, 166 Aldridge, Leo Clinton. See Milas, Leo Algeria, 5, 38, 53, 78, 283 American Committee on Africa, 156 Amin, Idi, 230, 251, 252, 270-71, 278 Amin, Samir, 197 Anangisye, Eli, 91, 96, 242 archives, 16-20, 104 Arusha Declaration announcement of, 66 comparison with Mwongozo, 271 consequences for press, 217 criticised by Abeid Karume, 265 Eastern Bloc views on, 110-11

leadership code, 85, 92-94 nationalisations, 86-88 preparation of, 82-86 scholarship on, 66-67 Western views on, 89 Asian Association, 71 Asian Socialist Conference, 213 Asians, 37, 75, 143-44, 159, 241, 260 Australia, 52 Babu, Abdulrahman Mohammed 'Pressman's Commentary' column in Nationalist, 76, 78, 81, 173, 186, 193, 213, 215, 221, 223 and Julius Nyerere, 90-91, 239-40, 266 - 68arrest and imprisonment, 267-68 Arusha Declaration, 88, 89-91 as minister for lands, settler, and water development, 94 as minister of health, 90 at Palm Beach Hotel, 53 background, 34 dismissed from cabinet, 264, 265 in Directorate of Development and Planning, 41, 72 Mwongozo, 255 relations with China, 34, 49-50, 282 relations with Eastern Bloc, 76 relations with GDR, 36, 48, 77, 90, 104, 105, 108, 111 relations with Soviet Union, 48 rumour, 59, 81 Tanganyika-Zanzibar union, 42, 48 Umma Party, 258 views on economic policy, 75-76, 89-91, 239-40, 263 views on press freedom, 218 Zanzibar Revolution, 35, 42 Babu, Ashura, 268

Bahr, Egon, 115 Banda, Hastings, 187-92, 250 Bank of Tanzania, 71, 86, 87 Baraka, Amiri, 268 Barongo, Edward, 83 Barre, Siad, 124, 271 Beira, Pamela, 152 Belgium, 44, 61 Ben Bella, Ahmed, 28, 78, 82, 173 Bgoya, Walter, 144 Biafra, 185-86, 193 Bomani, Paul and Julius Nyerere, 72 as minister for economic affairs and planning, 72, 94 as minister of commerce and cooperatives, 90 background and education, 71 dismissed from cabinet, 264, 265 in parliament, 95 Mwongozo, 255 relations with West, 282 views on 'German question', 105 views on Arusha Declaration, 88 views on nationalisation of buildings, 260 Brandt, Willy and Julius Nyerere, 127-28, 129, 131 as foreign minister, 115 criticism in Tanzania, 129, 130 Ostpolitik, 115, 129 Third World development, 126–27 Britain break in relations with Tanzania, 47, 84 complaints about rumour, 60 concerns about China, 50 intervention in Tanganyikan mutiny, 38 involvement in coup in Uganda, 252 propaganda, response to Arusha Declaration, 89 sale of arms to South Africa, 247-49 Tanganyika-Zanzibar union, 42 British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), 207 British Council, 55 Bryceson, Derek, 64, 71 as minister for agriculture and cooperatives, 94

background and education, 71 dismissed from cabinet, 264, 265 rumoured resignation from cabinet, 260 views on Arusha Declaration, 88 buildings, nationalisation of, 259-60, 262 Bulgaria, 119 Burma, 4 Burns, John F., 179, 181 Butzke, Eric, 124, 132 Cabral, Amílcar, 249, 254 Cambodia, 124 Canada, 52, 122 Canton Restaurant, 54, 147, 178, 213 Carlucci, Frank, 45 Carmichael, Stokely, 142 Castle, Barbara, 212, 214 Castro, Fidel, 85, 153, 229 Central African Republic, 78 Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 34, 60-61, 79, 80, 149, 162, 211 Četeka, 210 Chama cha Mapinduzi (Party of the Revolution, CCM), 17, 170, 269 Chande, Andy, 227, 229 Chesham, Marion, 95, 220 China activities in Dar es Salaam, 54, 64 connections to Nationalist, 213 influence on Tanzanian politics, 241, 258 influence on TYL, 176-77 propaganda, 55, 100, 107, 120, 178, 179-80, 215-16 relations with COREMO, 148 relations with FRELIMO, 147-48, 154 relations with Kenya, 178-79 relations with Malawi, 189 relations with Tanzania, 49-50, 122, 226, 275 relations with Third World, 49 relations with Zanzibar, 36 support for liberation movements, 141 Tanganyika-Zanzibar union, 48 TAZARA railway, 50, 239, 275 Western concerns about, 50-51, 117

Chipembere, Henry, 188, 191, 192 Chisiza, Yatuta, 187, 188, 189, 192 Chitepo, Herbert, 140, 163 Chiume, Kanyama, 187, 188, 191, 192 Chogga, F. K., 242 Christian Democratic Union (Christlich Demokratische Union, CDU), 115 Christie, Iain, 225 cities, 3-10, 285 Cold War in Dar es Salaam, 6-7 political culture, 8-9, 45-46 problem of geopolitical and ideological labels, 19 propaganda, 55-57 Tanzanian perspectives of, 280-81 Commonwealth, 46, 180, 248, 250-51, 255 Congo-Brazzaville, 194 Congo-Leopoldville, 8, 29, 43-44, 45, 61,281 COREMO (Comité Revolucionário de Moçambique, Mozambique Revolutionary Committee), 148, 168 Criminal Investigation Department (CID), 164, 167, 170 Cuba, 34, 44, 53, 85, 178, 227 Czechoslovakia letter plot, 44 relations with Dennis Phombeah, 111 relations with FRELIMO, 148 relations with FRG, 119 relations with Tanzania, 49 Warsaw Pact invasion, 183-87 Daily Nation, 222, 224 Daily News, 232-33 Dar es Salaam. 6 bars and restaurants in, 53-54 bombings in, 269-70 capital relocated to Dodoma, 283 contemporary perspectives, 285-86 demonstrations in, 44, 46-47, 82, 184, 187, 249 elections in. 64 embassies in, 52-53, 178 espionage in, 60-64, 271

historiography, 9–10 hosts Sixth Pan-African Congress, 284

newspapers in, 208 official receptions, 53 population, 9 propaganda in, 55-57, 215-16 radical literature in, 177-78 rumour in, 2, 57-60, 259, 267 Davies, Angela, 197 decentralisation, 264 decolonisation, 11 demonstrations invasion of Czechoslovakia, 184 invasion of Guinea, 249 Rhodesia's UDI, 46-47 threats from Malawi, 187 war in Vietnam, 182–83 Western intervention in Congo-Leopoldville, 44 Dodoma, 248, 283 dos Santos, Marcelino, 148, 150, 152, 158, 164, 168 Douglas-Home, Alec, 247 Dubček, Alexander, 183 East African Common Services Organisation, 71 East African Community (EAC), 29-30, 252, 255, 278 East African Federation, 29, 42 East African Standard Group, 209 East Germany. See German Democratic Republic (GDR) Edinburgh, University of, 69 Egypt, 5, 62, 76, 124 elite, 13-14 embassies, 52-53, 62 Eppler, Erhard, 127, 129, 130-31, 194 espionage, 60-64, 271 Fanon, Frantz, 177 Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) Anerkennungsdiplomatie in Tanzania, 105-7

complaints about GDR propaganda,

complaints about Tanzanian press,

embassy in Dar es Salaam, 52

global rivalry with GDR, 102-4

Ostpolitik, 115-18, 126-27, 129

109

2.2.8

liberation movements in, 7, 137-45

(FRG) (cont.) relations with Tanzania, 84, 128, 129 - 31Third World development policy, 126-27 film, 56, 179 Ford Foundation, 149, 162, 221 France, 52, 254 Fredericks, Wayne, 146, 162 FRELIMO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique, Mozambique Liberation Front) bombing of offices, 249 historiography, 154, 169 Mozambique Institute, 146, 149, 155, 160, 162, 168 OAU Liberation Committee, 139 origins, 146 relations with China, 147-48 relations with Czechoslovakia, 148 relations with FRG, 130 relations with GDR, 103, 125, 148 relations with Malawi, 189, 190 relations with Soviet Union, 147-48 relations with United States, 148-49 Special Congress (1968), 157-58 splits inside, 150-54 students, 152-53, 155 views on Mwongozo, 257 violence at offices, 156 war against Portugal, 44 Friendship Textile Factory, 154 Gamba, Willy, 273, 285 German Democratic Republic (GDR) 'publicity work', 107-8, 111 All-African Initiative Committee, 123 Anerkennungsdiplomatie in Tanzania, 105-7 global rivalry with FRG, 102-4 interventions in Tanzanian politics, 111-14 propaganda, 100, 125 relations with FRELIMO, 148

relations with Oscar Kambona, 95 relations with Tanzania, 109–10, 120, 124–25, 131 relations with Zanzibar, 36, 104–5,

106, 125

response to Arusha Declaration, 110 - 11response to Ostpolitik in Tanzania, 120 Tanganyika-Zanzibar union, 48 German Social Democratic Party (Sozialdemocratische Partei Deutschlands, SPD), 115, 126, 132 Ghana, 5, 63, 79–80, 113, 139, 146, 281 Ginwala, Frene appointed Standard editor, 224-25 background, 140, 224-25 clashes with diplomats, 227 criticism of, 226, 229 dismissed as Standard editor, 230-31 rebuked by Nyerere, 228 treason trial, 244 Goethe Institute, 55 Gordimer, Nadine, 275 Gordon, Robert, 45 Gott, Richard, 225, 227, 229, 230, 231 Grimshaw, Brendon, 209 Grundy, Trevor, 229 Guevara, Ernesto 'Che', 44, 141, 177 Guinea, 112, 249-50, 254, 255 Gwenjere, Mateus, 155, 156-57, 159, 163, 168-69 Hall, Tony, 225, 230 Hallstein Doctrine, 102, 107, 115, 116, 120 Hanga, Kassim and Oscar Kambona, 73, 95, 97 and Sékou Touré, 249 as minister of industries, mines, and power, 41 background, 34 death of, 245-46 dismissed from cabinet, 94, 112 relations with GDR, 48, 105, 108, 111, 112 relations with Soviet Union, 48, 49 return to Tanzania and arrest, 97-98, 112 Tanganyika-Zanzibar union, 43, 48 views on economic policy, 72 Zanzibar Revolution, 36, 42 Healey, Denis, 247 Heath, Edward, 247

Hebich, Norbert, 116-17, 118, 119, 120, 128, 131 Ho Chi Minh, 177, 179, 182 Ho Lin, 54 Hong Kong, 4 Houphouët-Boigny, Félix, 230, 250 Houser, George, 156, 162 Hungary, 119 ideology, 14-15 India, 84, 85, 276 Indonesia, 53 International Monetary Fund, 71, 278 International Press Institute (IPI), 221 - 22Interpol, 164 Iraq, 124 Israel, 252, 286, 287 Issa, Ali Sultan, 266 Ivory Coast, 116, 171, 250 Jamal, Amir and Erhard Eppler, 130, 131 and Julius Nyerere, 71–72 as minister of commerce and industries, 264 as minister of finance, 94, 246 background and education, 71 economic diplomacy, 282 in Directorate of Development and Planning, 72 nationalisations, 88 papers of, 17 relations with FRG, 128 relations with Yugoslavia, 118 rumoured resignation from cabinet, 260 views on economic policy, 75, 87–88, 239, 240-41, 263, 269 James, C. L. R., 197 Jardim, Jorge, 166 Johnson, Lyndon B., 84, 180-81 Johnson, Phyllis, 143 Jumbe, Aboud, 269 Kabwe, Zitto, 287

Kaduma, Ibrahim, 282 Kajunjumele, Sam, 64, 203–4, 213 Kamaliza, Michael as NUTA secretary-general, 76, 91

dismissed from cabinet, 94 Newspaper Ordinance (Amendment) Act, 220 treason trial, 242-43 Kambona, Mattiya, 97 Kambona, Oscar and Julius Nyerere, 79, 80, 96-97, 112 and Kassim Hanga, 73 and Sékou Touré, 249 Arusha Declaration, 86, 93-94 as foreign minister, 80, 106, 123 as OAU Liberation Committee chairman, 143 as TANU secretary-general, 77 background and education, 72-73 expelled from TANU, 242 flight into exile, 96 mutiny, 37 Nationalist, 213 OAU Liberation Committee chairman, 28, 73, 138 plotting with Portugal, 270 relations with FRELIMO, 159 relations with GDR, 90, 108, 111-14 relations with Malawian dissidents, 188, 192 relations with United States, 43, 57 resigns from government, 95 rumours about, 39 Tanganyika-Zanzibar union, 42 treason trial, 143, 242–45 Kambona, Otini, 97, 112, 219 Kankhomba, Paulo, 163 Kapuściński, Ryszard, 140 karadha system, 259 Karume, Abeid and A. M. Babu, 266 and Julius Nyerere, 265, 266 and Kassim Hanga, 94 assassination of, 267 deaths of Kassim Hanga and Othman Shariff, 245-46 relations with GDR, 105, 106 Tanganyika-Zanzibar union, 42 Zanzibar Revolution, 33 Kasella-Bantu, Joseph, 91 Kaunda, Kenneth, 221, 250, 251 Kavandame, Lazaro, 151-52, 157, 158, 159, 163, 167, 169

Kawawa, Rashidi addresses Malawi demonstration, 187, 193 as second vice-president, 254 invasion of Guinea, 249 Mwongozo, 255 Newspaper Ordinance (Amendment) Act. 220 relations with China, 49 relations with Eastern Bloc, 49 relations with FRELIMO, 155, 159, 160relations with FRG and GDR, 118 Kenva ban on Nationalist, 222 cabinet crisis, 78 coup in Uganda, 251 East African Federation, 29, 42 mutiny in, 37 relations with China, 178-79 Kenyatta, Jomo, 29, 162, 178, 221 KGB, 48, 60, 211 Kiesinger, Kurt Georg, 115, 128 Kilimanjaro Hotel, 1, 8, 53, 147, 210, 223, 235 Kisch, Richard, 213 Kivukoni College, 188, 214, 254 Leballo, Potlako, 229, 243-44 Leonhart, William, 43, 45, 149 Lessing, Gottfried, 109, 120 Lewis, Ida, 26 liberation movements concerns about security, 38-39 criticism of, 141-43, 156, 161 historiography, 136-37 in Dar es Salaam, 28, 53, 137-45 media, 140 relations with communist world, 141 subversion of, 143-44 treason trial, 243-45 Liberation News Service, 227 Life magazine, 26 Little Red Book, 55, 177, 178, 230 Lonrho, 209 Lumumba University (Moscow), 34 Lumumba, Patrice, 8, 173, 281 Lusaka Manifesto, 171, 247, 257 Lusinde, Job, 62, 79, 93

Machel, Samora, 148, 153, 155, 168 Magaia, Filipe, 153 Magombe, George, 155, 171, 250 Magufuli, John, 286 Makame, Hasnu, 219-21 Makerere College, 69, 71, 122, 214 Makonde, 140, 150-52, 153, 154, 156, 158 Malawi, 187–92, 250 Malecela, John, 261 Manikam, Gerald, 167, 169 Mao Tse-tung, 49, 177 Maoism, 176-77, 258 Markham, Jimmy, 213 Markow, Walter, 100 Martin, David, 143, 164, 211 Martins, Helder, 168, 169 Masha, Fortunatus, 86, 242 Mbita, Hashim, 138, 255 Mbuya, Mejah, 286 Mdee, Sammy, 231 Mexico, 4 Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga, 178 *Mfanya Kazi*, 160, 220 Mgonja, Chediel as regional commissioner, 264 protest at Soviet embassy, 184, 198-99 Mhando, Stephen relations with Eastern Bloc, 282 relations with GDR, 100, 122-25, 1.32relations with West, 199 views on liberation movements, 162, 171 Milas, Leo, 152 Mkapa, Benjamin at Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 32 director of SHIHATA, 234 editor of Daily News, 232 editor of Nationalist, 182, 214 Mogadishu Declaration, 257 Mohammed, Bibi Titi, 92, 242-43 Mohammed, Humud, 267 Mondlane, Eduardo and Henry Chipembere, 192 and Julius Nyerere, 158 and Lawi Sijaona, 160-61, 201 and Mateus Gwenjere, 156-57 assassination, 135, 163-70

background and education, 145-46, 150 criticism of, 152-53, 161-62 establishment of FRELIMO, 146 ideological outlook, 151 media, 146 memorial in Dar es Salaam, 286 relations with Britain, 155 relations with China, 147-48 relations with GDR, 148 relations with Soviet Union, 147-48 relations with Tanzanian leadership, 158, 163 relations with United States, 148-49 Second FRELIMO Congress, 157, 158 views on splits inside FRELIMO, 154 Mondlane, Janet, 145, 146, 152, 169 - 70Mongolia, 185 Monteiro, Casimiro, 166 Morocco, 286, 287 Mozambique Cahora Bassa hydroelectric scheme, 129 emigration from, 150 memory politics in, 166-67, 169 Mtaki, Ali Saidi, 93 Mtei, Edwin Arusha Declaration, 86 background and education, 71, 72 views on economic policy, 87, 240-41 Mulungushi Club, 248 Musiba, Elvis, 273 mutiny, 37-38 Mwananchi Development Corporation, 216 Mwananchi News Company, 208 Mwapachu, Juma, 182, 194, 257 Mwongozo African liberation, 256 announcement of, 237 approved by TANU National Conference, 263 comparison with Arusha Declaration, 271 consequences of, 262 contents of, 255-59 Standard, 229-30 vanguardism, 257-58

Nasser, Gamal Abdel, 5, 35, 62, 76, 98 Nation Group, 222 National Development Corporation (NDC), 276 National Union of Tanganyika Workers (NUTA) calls off Czechoslovakia demonstration, 186 creation of, 39 criticism of, 76 liberation fund, 144 organises Malawi demonstrations, 190, 196 views on economic policy, 76, 91 nationalisation Arusha Declaration, 85–88 buildings, 259-60, 262 debate about, 76 Standard, 223-24 Nationalist banned in Kenya, 222 criticises Eduardo Mondlane, 161 criticises foreign news agencies, 210 criticises FRG, 108 editorial staff, 213 establishment, 208-9 financial problems, 216-17 merger with Standard, 232 reputation, 212-14 rivalry with Standard, 214-16 Naudy, André, 63 Netanyahu, Benjamin, 287 Netherlands, 80, 91 New Africa Hotel, 1, 8, 53, 140, 142, 210, 286 New China News Agency, 34, 227 New Dar es Salaam Club, 223 New International Economic Order, 233, 276, 284 New World Information and Communications Order (NWICO), 233, 234 New Zahir Restaurant, 54, 286 news agencies, 209-11 newspapers. See press, Nationalist, Ngurumo, Standard, Uhuru Ng'weno, Hilary, 221 Ngombale-Mwiru, Kingunge background and education, 253-54 creation of militas, 254

Ngombale-Mwiru, Kingunge (cont.) informed of Babu's imprisonment, 268 Mwongozo, 255, 257 relations with North Vietnam, 182 vanguardism, 258 Ngurumo, 207-8, 224, 234 Nigeria, 38, 78, 185-86 Nimeiry, Gaafar, 230 Nkomo, Joshua, 246 Nkrumah, Kwame African liberation, 5, 139, 146 decolonisation, 11 overthrown in coup, 79, 82, 173, 281 pan-Africanism, 29 views on German question, 103 views on press, 203-4 non-alignment, 30-31, 101-2, 202 'German question', 103-4 China, 122 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 149, 166 North Korea, 178, 207 Northwestern University, 145 Nsa Kaisi, Kabenga, 213, 214, 216 Nungu, Silvério, 167, 168 Nyakyi, Anthony, 129 Nyerere, Julius 1965 elections, 64 African liberation, 2, 28, 172 and A. M. Babu, 90-91, 239-40, 266 - 68and Amir Jamal, 71-72, 87, 260 and Eduardo Mondlane, 145 and Hastings Banda, 189, 190, 191 and Kassim Hanga, 97 and Milton Obote, 251-52 and Oscar Kambona, 73, 80, 93, 96-97, 112 and Paul Bomani, 72, 265 and Sékou Touré, 249 and Willy Brandt, 127-28, 129, 131 Argue Don't Shout, 228 Arusha Declaration, 66, 82–86 as TANU chairman, 73 assessment of Tanzania's achievements, 285 background and education, 69 bans USARF, 197

cabinet reshuffles, 72, 90, 94-95, 161, 264-66 Commonwealth, 250–51 concerns about subversion, 2, 8, 45, 61, 78-79, 96, 98, 256 criticises liberation movements, 142 criticism of leadership style, 261-62 deaths of Kassim Hanga and Othman Shariff, 245–46 East African integration, 29 economic diplomacy, 48, 260, 281 - 82engagement with international media, 51, 128, 207 expulsion of TANU members, 241 - 42foreign policy, 27-32, 281 human rights, 246 international respectability, 198, 199 interventions in Tanzanian press, 162, 186, 209, 212, 214, 228-29, 230 - 31leadership code, 92 limits to power in Tanzania, 282 mutiny, 37-38 Mwongozo, 237, 256 nationalisation of buildings, 260 nationalisation of internal trade, 241 nationalisation of Standard, 217, 223 - 24nationalisations after Arusha Declaration, 86 New International Economic Order, non-alignment, 30-31, 101-2, 122 opposition to arms sales to South Africa, 248-49 orders demonstrations against invasion of Czechoslovakia, 184, 194 pan-Africanism, 29 recognition of Biafra, 185 relations with Britain, 212, 228, 248 - 49relations with China, 50, 185 relations with Commonwealth, 180 relations with Eastern Bloc, 123 relations with FRELIMO, 158, 159 relations with FRG, 105-7, 128-29, 130

relations with GDR, 105-7, 112-13, 120-21, 124-25 relations with Netherlands, 91 relations with Soviet Union, 186 relations with TYL, 195, 198, 201, 254 relations with Uganda, 270-71, 278 relations with United States, 43, 180 - 81relations with Zanzibar, 245-46, 265, 268 relocates capital to Dodoma, 283 response to coup in Ghana, 79 response to coup in Uganda, 251–52 response to student demonstrations, 46.82 rumours about, 259, 267 self-reliance, 11, 83-85, 88, 114 stands down as president, 278 Tanganyika-Zanzibar union, 40-42 treason trial, 243 ujamaa, 69–70, 89 views on 1968 revolutions, 194 views on decolonisation, 11 views on democracy, 40 views on foreign propaganda, 56, 109 views on Mwongozo, 257 views on nationalisation, 76, 85-86 views on propaganda, 120, 180 views on relations with South Africa, 250 views on rumour, 57-59, 81 views on vanguardism, 91, 257-58 views on war in Vietnam, 180-81 views on youth politics, 176 Oberlin College, 145 Obote, Milton addresses TANU NEC meeting, 255 and Julius Nyerere, 251-52 Commonwealth, 250 dismisses fears of coup, 253 East African Federation, 29 opposition to arms sales to South Africa, 248 overthrown in coup, 250–51 relations with Britain, 252 Ochieng, Philip, 225, 232, 233, 236, 265-66

Odinga, Oginga, 96, 178 Ogunsanwo, Cornelius, 226 Okello, John, 33 Operation GLADIO, 166 Organisation of African Unity (OAU) charter, 29, 79, 185 emergency meeting after mutiny, 38 foundation of, 28 Liberation Committee, 28, 38, 62, 129, 138–39, 143, 170, 171, 189, 285 politics following coup in Ghana, 80 response to Rhodesia's UDI, 47 Tanzania, 29 Organisation of the Petroleum Exporting Countries, 277 PAIGC (Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde, African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde), 139, 249 Pakistan, 276 Palestine Liberation Organisation, 287 Palm Beach Hotel, 53, 108, 112, 243 Pan-African Congress, 284 Panafrican Democratic Party (PDP), 188 Pan-African Freedom Movement of Eastern and Central Africa (PAFMECA), 28 Pan-African Youth Movement (PAYM), 176, 253-54 pan-Africanism, 29, 41 Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), 229, 243 Peace Corps, 182, 211 Peace News, 225 Phillips, Horace, 227-28, 248 Phombeah, Dennis, 90, 97, 111-12, 114 PIDE, 154, 165-66, 168 Plekhanov, Georgi, 135, 164 Poland, 49, 119 Portugal assassination of Eduardo Mondlane, 165 - 66coup in, 274 intelligence activities in Dar es Salaam, 54, 143-44, 154, 210

Portugal (cont.) invasion of Guinea, 249 letter plot, 44 NATO member, 149 relations with FRG, 103, 108, 125, 129 relations with Malawi, 189 resistance to colonial rule in Mozambique, 150 response to coup in Ghana, 79 threat to Tanzania, 44, 118, 190, 220, 250 Prensa Latina, 227 press 'developmental journalism', 218 ban on Daily Nation, 222 concepts of, 204-5, 236, 283 creation of Press Council, 232 foreign journalists' complaints, 234-35 freedom of the press, 218-22, 224 liberation movements, 140-41 Newspaper Ordinance (Amendment) Act, 219–20 Prince, Rod, 225, 230 propaganda, 55-57, 100, 120, 177-78 Qullatein, Badawi, 266 radio, 138, 140-41, 206-7 Radio Cairo, 206 Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam, 138, 140, 217 Reuters, 210, 211, 230, 234-35 Rhodesia expulsion of spies from Dar es Salaam, 61 threat to Tanzania, 118 Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI), 46-47, 50 Ridley, Ken, 209, 216 Riyami, Abdulla, 218, 221, 222 Rockefeller Foundation, 221 Rodney, Walter, 227 Romania, 115, 119 rumour, 57-60, 80-81, 259, 267 Rupia, Paul, 28, 32 Rweyemamu, Justinian, 269

Salazar, António de Oliveira, 149, 166 Salim, Salim Ahmed, 60 Salumu, Hamisi, 96 Sarakikya, Mrisho, 39, 255 Schlegel, Horst, 123 Schroeder, Herbert, 105 Scotland Yard, 164 self-reliance, 83-85, 88, 114, 241 Senegal, 194, 254 Shaba, Austin, 105, 113 Shariff, Othman, 245-46 SHIHATA (Shirika la Habari la Tanzania, News Agency of Tanzania), 234 Shipanga, Andreas, 142 Shivji, Issa, 83, 197, 278 Sijaona, Lawi as regional commissioner, 264 protest at Soviet embassy, 184, 198-99 relations with FRELIMO, 159-61, 163, 169 relations with FRG, 131 TANU Youth League, 195, 199, 201 views on Vietnam war, 193 Simango, Uria, 147, 155, 158, 159, 164, 168, 169 Simonstown Agreement, 247, 248 Smith, Ian, 46, 246 socialism, 76-77 Somalia, 124, 271 South Africa arms sales from Britain, 228, 247-49, 250-51 bombings in Dar es Salaam, 270 expulsion of spies from Dar es Salaam, 61 intelligence on Tanzania, 26, 165 post-apartheid diplomacy, 287 relations with African states, 171, 250 relations with FRG, 103, 108, 125, 130 relations with Malawi, 189 South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), 139, 142, 170

Soviet Union, 55 Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation, 148 intelligence activities in Dar es Salaam, 63 interventions in Tanzanian press, 211 invasion of Czechoslovakia, 183-87 propaganda, 178 relations with FRELIMO, 147-48 relations with Oscar Kambona, 95 relations with Tanzania, 48-49, 183-87, 274 relations with Zanzibar, 36 response to Arusha Declaration, 110 response to Ostpolitik, 119 support for liberation movements, 141 Tanganyika-Zanzibar union, 48 Standard background, 209 consequences of Mwongozo, 229-30 criticism of, 223, 227-28 implications of Arusha Declaration, 217 internationalism, 226-27 merger with Nationalist, 232 nationalisation, 217, 223-24 news agencies, 210, 227 Newspaper Ordinance (Amendment) Act, 220-21 report on preventative detention, 226 rivalry with the Nationalist, 214-16 staff politics, 225-26, 229 Stanleyville, 44 Stasi, 45, 48, 104, 109, 110, 113, 245, 258 State Trading Corporation (STC), 239, 261, 264 state, scholarship on, 11-13 students as liberation movement members, 141, 152–53, 155 decolonisation and, 175 demonstration against invasion of Czechoslovakia, 184, 194 demonstration against national service, 82, 176 demonstration against war in Vietnam, 182-83 reading radical literature, 178

relations with TYL, 196-98 views on 1968 revolutions, 194 Sudan, 124, 230-31 Svendsen, Knud Erik, 261-62 Swai, Nsilo, 71, 72, 90 Sweden, 152 Syracuse University, 146 Tabora Boys School, 69, 71, 73 Tambo, Oliver, 225, 244 Tanganyika mutiny in, 37-38 union with Zanzibar, 40-43 Tanganyika African Association, 69 Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) cell system, 39-40 Central Committee, 73, 93 creation of CCM, 269 establishment of, 69 expulsion of critics, 241-42 ideology, 73 institutional structure, 73 National Conference, 73, 180, 263 National Executive Committee (NEC), 40, 64, 73, 83, 84, 92, 217, 237, 241-42, 254-55, 259-60 newspapers, 208-9, 216-17 one-party state, 40 Press Council, 232 relations with ASP, 41-42 special conference after Arusha Declaration, 91, 92 Tanganyika Bookshop, 54, 55, 64, 178, 275 Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation (TBC), 56, 138, 206 Tanganyika Federation of Labour, 39 Tanganyika Rifles, 37, 39, 176 Tanganyika Sisal Marketing Association, 123 Tanganyika Women's Union, 93 Tanganyika-Zanzibar union, 40-43 TANU Youth League (TYL) 'Operation Vijana' campaign, 195, 223 criticises Standard, 223 demonstration against invasion of Czechoslovakia,

TANU Youth League (TYL) (cont.) demonstration against invasion of Guinea, 250 demonstration against war in Vietnam, 182-83 establishment and role, 175-77 Nyerere's views on, 198, 201 Pan-African Youth Movement and, 253 - 54relations with student movements, 196-98 response to Arusha Declaration, 91 response to coup in Uganda, 252 support for North Vietnam, 182-83 vanguardism, 241 Tanzania cabinet reshuffles in, 72, 90, 94-95, 122, 161, 264-67 creation of, 40-43 economic performance, 81, 239-41, 277, 278 elections, 64, 72, 74, 92 elite in, 13-14 one-party state, 40 parliament, 95 relations with United States, 180-81 response to coup in Uganda, 251-53 sensitivity to critical media coverage, 212 treason trial, 242-45 Tanzania People's Defence Force (TPDF), 39, 78, 97, 138, 158, 176, 220, 255, 267, 275 Tanzanian economic policy First Five-Year Plan (1964-69), 72, 75,81 Second Five-Year Plan (1969-74), 130, 239, 240 Tanzanian foreign policy African liberation, 28-29 contemporary perspectives, 286-87 core principles, 27-32 international respectability, 15, 198 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 32 New International Economic Order, non-alignment, 30-31, 118, 200 pan-Africanism, 29 recognition of Biafra, 185 relations with Britain, 47, 212, 248-49

relations with China, 49-50, 122, 185,275 relations with FRG, 106-7, 117-18, 128-31 relations with GDR, 109-10, 124-25, 131 relations with India, 276 relations with Malawi, 187–92 relations with Pakistan, 276 relations with Soviet Union, 48-49, 183-87, 274 relations with Uganda, 270, 278 relations with United States, 43-44, 274 Tass, 227 TAZARA railway, 50, 114, 122, 239 television, 56 Thaker, Randhir, 207 Tito, Josip Broz, 131 Touré, Sékou, 97, 249 transnational history, 3 treason trial, 242-45 Tshombe, Moïse, 43, 98 Turok, Ben, 53, 140 Twiga Hotel, 53, 243 Uganda cabinet crisis, 78 East African Federation, 29, 42 espionage in Dar es Salaam, 271 influence of coup on Mwongozo, 255 mutiny in, 37 relations with Tanzania, 278 Tanzanian response to coup, 251-53 Uhuru, 208, 234 *ujamaa*, 10–11, 58, 69–70, 77, 89, 98-99, 232, 261, 269 Ulimwengu, 219 Ulimwengu, Jenerali, 196, 197, 211, 232 Umma Party, 34, 35, 36, 258, 266, 267 United Nations (UN), 27, 30, 71, 145, 155, 184, 186, 246, 250 United States 'letter plot', 43-44 'phone tap' controversy, 45 aid conditionality, 84 complaints about TANU Youth

```
League, 199
```

complaints about Tanzanian press, 228 concerns about China, 50-51 embassy in Dar es Salaam, 52 relations with FRELIMO, 148-49 relations with Tanzania, 43-44, 180-81,274 response to Zanzibar Revolution, 33 - 34Tanganyika-Zanzibar union, 42 war in Vietnam, 179-83 United States Information Service, 55 University College, Dar es Salaam, 54, 82 University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM), 227, 232, 286, See University College, Dar es Salaam University Students African Revolutionary Front (USARF), 197-98 Upper Volta, 78 van Eeghen, Ernest, 96 vanguardism, 91, 93, 158, 232, 258 Verwoerd, Hendrik, 26 Vieira, Sérgio, 168-69 Vietnam, 5, 84, 179-83 Vigilance Africa, 55, 64, 213 villagisation, 11, 66, 238, 239, 240, 259, 264, 277 von Hassel, Kai-Uwe, 117, 121, 128 Vorster, John, 230

West Germany. *See* Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) Western Sahara, 286–87

Willi Stoph, 129 Williams, G. Mennen, 45 Wilson, Harold, 46 Winzer, Otto, 124-25 World Bank, 274, 278 youth, 175-76 Yugoslavia, 103, 115, 116, 118, 120, 131 Zambia, 50, 114, 148, 168, 171, 190, 239, 284 Zanzibar economic situation in, 265-66 FRELIMO in, 151 racial politics in, 35, 245 relations with China, 36 relations with GDR, 36, 104-5, 106, 125 relations with mainland, 246-47, 265 relations with Soviet Union, 36 Revolutionary Council, 36 situation under Karume regime, 245 teenage brides controversy, 246 union with Tanganyika, 40–43 Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party (ZPPP), 33, 35 Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP), 33, 34, 35 Zanzibar Revolution, 33-37 Zhou Enlai, 50, 185 Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), 46, 140, 142, 190

Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), 46, 61, 142, 190